BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA.

VOLUME THE THIRD.

Biographia Britannica:

OR, THE

LIVES

OF THE

MOST EMINENT PERSONS

WHO HAVE FLOURISHED IN

GREAT-BRITAIN

AND

IRELAND,

FROM THE EARLIEST AGES, TO THE PRESENT TIMES:

COLLECTED FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES, PRINTED AND MANUSCRIPT,

AND DIGESTED IN THE MANNER OF

Mr. BAYLE's Hiſtorical and Critical DICTIONARY.

THE SECOND EDITION,

With CORRECTIONS, ENLARGEMENTS, and the Addition of new LIVES:

By ANDREW KIPPIS, D.D. F.R.S. and S.A.

With the Aſſiſtance of the Rev. JOSEPH TOWERS, LL.D.

And other GENTLEMEN.

VOLUME THE THIRD.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY JOHN RIVINGTON, JUN.

FOR C. BATHURST, W. STRAHAN, J. RIVINGTON AND SONS, L. DAVIS, T. PAYNE, G. KEITH, T. LONGMAN, B. LAW, C. DILLY, T. CADELL, G. ROBINSON, J. ROBSON, T. EVANS, R. BALDWIN, T. LOWNDES, S. FOX, J. NICHOLS, W. OTRIDGE, AND S. HAYES.

MDCCLXXXIV.

MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM

TO

HIS GRACE

The DUKE of RICHMOND,

AN EARLY PATRON OF THE FINE ARTS,

A ZEALOUS ENCOURAGER OF HISTORICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL KNOWLEDGE,

AND A STEADY AND ARDENT SUPPORTER

OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY,

THE

THIRD VOLUME OF A WORK,

WHICH, WHILST IT ENDEAVOURS TO DO JUSTICE TO DECEASED MERIT IN GENERAL,

WILL PARTICULARLY REJOICE

IN RECORDING

THE ILLUSTRIOUS ASSERTORS OF THE RIGHTS OF MANKIND,

IS INSCRIBED,

WITH THE GREATEST GRATITUDE AND RESPECT,

BY HIS GRACE'S MOST OBLIGED,

AND MOST OBEDIENT SERVANT,

MAY 12, 1784.

ANDREW KIPPIS.

PREFACE

TO THE

SECOND EDITION OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

IN preſenting the third volume of the enlarged edition of the BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA to the public, ſomething may, perhaps, be expected from me in apology for its late appearance. Many circumſtances might be mentioned that have contributed to this event, and which, if related, would probably be judged of conſiderable moment; but I am unwilling to trouble the world with a detail of particulars which have myſelf for their object. A few things, however, muſt be ſaid to two or three anonymous letter-writers, who, under the ſignature of purchaſers, have aſſumed great conſequence, and have addreſſed me as if I had no other employment than that of being Editor of the Biographia, and as if no ſmall degree of perſonal advantage accrued from the work. It is proper to inform the Gentlemen referred to, that they are miſtaken in both theſe reſpects. I have profeſſional duties, connections, and engagements, which require ſerious attention; and as to the profit derived from the preſent undertaking, it is very trifling, compared with the time and labour which are ſpent upon it. I have no complaints to make upon this head; but it is an act of juſtice to my character to have it underſtood, that I have been influenced far more by public than by private conſiderations. If this had not been the caſe, the deſign would have been carried on with greater rapidity, and with a much greater degree of imperfection. It may farther be obſerved, that nearly one half of the volume now publiſhed conſiſts of freſh matter: And when it is reflected upon, that more than double the proportion of new lives hath fallen to my ſhare; that the additions to the old articles, which are very numerous, and, in many caſes, very large, are almoſt excluſively my own; that the previous reviſion and ſubſequent correction of the whole work come within my department; that no ſmall compaſs of reading is abſolutely neceſſary to the due execution of the undertaking; and that often the requiſite information cannot be obtained without a correſpondence by letters, and a variety of perſonal applications; it will, I hope, be allowed, if the Biographia alone be conſidered, that I have not acted the part of an undiligent man. I ſhall only add upon this ſubject, that there is good reaſon to believe, from ſome particular circumſtances, that the publication of the future volumes will be more ſpeedy, without any diminution of the attention with which they have hitherto been conducted.

In the minds of ſome perſons, the extent of freſh matter, and the variety of new articles, may appear to be carried too far.—On this point there will neceſſarily be a diverſity of ſentiments, according to the difference which ſubſiſts in the taſtes and judgments of men. But conſidering the preſent ſolicitude for Biographical knowledge, it ſeems better to err on the ſide of exceſs than of defect. There is one thing which may be ſuggeſted to ſuch as will be diſpoſed to think that certain articles might have been omitted. With reſpect to ſtateſmen, warriors, and characters of the like kind, none ſhould be introduced that have not been very diſtinguiſhed. But as a Hiſtory of Britiſh Literature, the Biographia ought to contain as much information, and include as great a variety of objects, as the nature of the deſign can admit. It is hence only that it can fully be known even to many of our own countrymen, and eſpecially to foreigners, what a number of valuable writers, in every department of ſcience and learning, the nation has produced. To extend in this reſpect the honour of Great-Britain as far as poſſible, both at home and abroad, is a deſirable undertaking.

There is one important article, which I have been obliged to defer to the concluſion of the letter C, where it will be introduced by way of Appendix, and that is CHATTERTON. From the many tracts which have already been publiſhed concerning this extraordinary youth, I was in hopes that the controverſy excited

excited by him would have been ſo far ended, that I ſhould be able to give the hiſtory of it in the preſent volume. But this I found was by no means the caſe. My ingenious and learned friend, Mr. Herbert Croft, is writing an improved life of Chatterton; and he will accompany it with another edition of the Poems aſcribed to Rowley, which is expected to throw new and particular light on the ſubject. For this publication, therefore, I have determined to wait; that the Biographia may be as complete a depoſitory as poſſible of what ſhall have been advanced on one of the moſt curious literary queſtions which hath occurred in any age of the world. I requeſt permiſſion to add, that the view of the controverſy ſhall be conducted with impartiality and candour. If the apprehended force of evidence ſhould incline me to one ſide of the argument, my ſentiments ſhall be expreſſed with all the reſpect which is due to the able and worthy men from whom I may differ in opinion.

The obligations I am under to a number of Gentlemen are too various to be diſtinctly ſpecified in this place. Their names, where I am permitted to declare them, will occur under the articles which have been benefited by their communications. I cannot, however, omit to mention how greatly I am indebted to Edmund Calamy, Eſq; Dr. Johnſtone of Kidderminſter, Joſhua Steevens, Eſq; Mr. Canton, William Hayley, Eſq; the Reverend Dr. Thomas Campbell, and John Baynes, Eſq; of Lincoln's Inn. It will be ſeen, likewiſe, in the courſe of the work, either in this or the ſucceeding volumes, how much I continue to be obliged to moſt of the Gentlemen to whom I have formerly expreſſed my acknowledgments.

Two of the new lives are wholly written by two of my friends. The firſt comes from the Right Reverend the Biſhop of Dromore, who hath favoured me with the article of Cleiveland the Poet. This he was enabled to complete in a manner far ſuperior to what I could have done, as he is deſcended from the family, and fully informed of every circumſtance that relates to the author.

The account of Lord Clive I owe to the pen of my intimate and excellent friend, Henry Beaufoy, Eſq; repreſentative in the preſent parliament, for Great Yarmouth, in Norfolk. Knowing that, in the courſe of his hiſtorical, political, and commercial enquiries, in order to become an active and uſeful member of the legiſlature, he had paid a particular attention to the affairs of the Eaſt-Indies, and being myſelf very ignorant of the ſubject, I requeſted him to draw up an article, which required no ſmall acquaintance with the ſtate of things in that part of the world. With that obligingneſs of temper which marks Mr. Beaufoy's character, he inſtantly acceded to my requeſt; and he hath written Lord Clive's life with an authenticity of information, and a perſpicuity and elegance of expreſſion, which render it one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed ornaments of the preſent volume. For the materials of his Lordſhip's perſonal Hiſtory, particular thanks are due to the Reverend Mr. Archdeacon Clive and to Mr. Burman.

It is well known, that the plan of conducting the Biographia in the manner of Bayle's Hiſtorical Dictionary, whilſt it is attended with many advantages, is occaſionally ſubject to a few inconveniencies. One is, that the text is ſometimes too ſcanty, and the moſt important matters are thrown into the notes. This defect I have been ſolicitous to remedy, as far as the nature of the undertaking will permit. Accordingly, I have endeavoured to make the text as full as poſſible, that the articles may, in that reſpect, be read with the greater pleaſure. Regard being had to this circumſtance, the form of Bayle will be found, on the whole, beſt ſuited to a Work, in which accounts of books, extracts from authors, original letters, and critical diſcuſſions are frequently neceſſary.

I cannot conclude this Preface, without expreſſing my gratitude for the candid approbation with which the two preceding Volumes of the BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA have been honoured, from many reſpectable perſons. To merit the continuance of an approbation ſo eſtimable, will be the object of my warmeſt ambition: And I ſhall be peculiarly happy to find, that the Third Volume doth not leſſen the favourable opinion which has been entertained of my honeſt endeavours to do impartial juſtice to Britiſh Worthies, of every rank and character, of every denomination and profeſſion.

A. K.

FARTHER

CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA

TO THE

First Volume of the Biographia Britannica.

ADDISON (Joseph), p. 63.

SINCE the publication of the ſecond volume of the Biographia, the world hath been favoured, among the reſt of the Engliſh Poets, with Dr. Johnſon's beautiful Life of Mr. Addiſon. In this life, as might be expected, we meet with only a few new facts: but, amongſt theſe, there is one, which, if true, doth by no means redound to Mr. Addiſon's reputation. "Steele, ſays Dr. Johnſon, whoſe imprudence of gene-"roſity, or vanity of profuſion, kept him always incurably neceſſitous, upon ſome "preſſing exigence, in an evil hour, borrowed an hundred pounds of his friend, pro-"bably without much purpoſe of repayment; but Addiſon, who ſeems to have had "other notions of a hundred pounds, grew impatient of delay, and reclaimed his loan "by an execution. Steele felt, with great ſenſibility, the obduracy of his creditor; "but with emotions of ſorrow rather than of anger (*a*)." It is much to be wiſhed, that Dr. Johnſon had produced his authority for this narration. It is very poſſible, that it may be only a ſtory the Doctor had ſomewhere heard in converſation, and which is entirely groundleſs: and this the preſent Editor is the rather inclined to believe, as he has been aſſured, by one of the moſt reſpectable characters in the kingdom, that the fact hath no foundation in truth. Mr. Potter, in a late publication, hath informed us, that he is told, by the beſt authority, that the ſtory is an abſolute falſehood (*b*). Another circumſtance, related by Dr. Johnſon, is more probable, and more ſuitable to Mr. Addiſon's character. When, at the acceſſion of the preſent reigning family, he was made Secretary to the Regency, he was required by his office to ſend notice to Hanover that the Queen was dead, and that the throne was vacant. "To do this would not "have been difficult to any man but Addiſon, who was ſo overwhelmed by the great-"neſs of the event, and ſo diſtracted by choice of expreſſion, that the Lords, who "could not wait for the niceties of criticiſm, called Mr. Southwell, a Clerk in the "Houſe, and ordered him to diſpatch the meſſage. Southwell readily told what was "neceſſary, in the common ſtyle of buſineſs, and valued himſelf upon having done "what was too hard for Addiſon (*c*)." We have obſerved with pleaſure, that Dr. Johnſon, in eſtimating Mr. Addiſon's character and merit, both as a Poet and a Proſe Writer, doth not materially differ from the ſentiments we had advanced, at large, concerning him, in our additions to his article.

(*a*) Lives of the moſt eminent Engliſh Poets, vol. ii. p. 324. Octavo edition.

(*b*) Inquiry into ſome Paſſages in Dr. Johnſon's Lives of the Poets, p. 6.

(*c*) Lives of the Poets, *ubi ſupra*, p. 357.

Our ingenious and worthy friend, Thomas Tyers, Eſq; in "An hiſtorical Eſſay on "Mr. Addiſon," printed, but not publiſhed, has mentioned ſome facts concerning him, with which we were not before acquainted. Theſe are, that he was laid out for dead, as ſoon as he was born: that, when he addreſſed his verſes on the Engliſh Poets to Henry Sacheverell, he courted that gentleman's ſiſter: that, whenever Jacob Tonſon came to him for the Spectator, Bayle's French Hiſtorical and Critical Dictionary lay always open before him: that, upon his return to England, after his travels, he diſcharged ſome old debts he had contracted at Oxford, with the generoſity of good intereſt: that he was put into plentiful circumſtances, by the death of a brother in the Eaſt-Indies: that, having received encouragement from a married lady, of whom he had been formerly enamoured, he had the integrity to reſiſt the temptation: that he refuſed a gratification of a three hundred pounds Bank note, and afterwards of a diamond ring, of the ſame value, from a Major Dunbar, whom he had endeavoured to ſerve in Ireland, by his intereſt with Lord Sunderland: and that his daughter, by Lady Warwick, is ſtill alive, and unmarried; reſiding at Bilton, near Rugby, and poſſeſſing an income of more than twelve hundred a year (*d*).

(*d*) Hiſtorical Eſſay on Addiſon, p. 16. 18, 19. 21. 24. 27. 58. 63.

The following letter, lately publiſhed by Mr. Maty, and which probably relates to the caſe of Major Dunbar, reflects great honour on Mr. Addiſon's integrity:

"SIR, JUNE 26, 1715.

"I find there is a very ſtrong oppoſition formed againſt you; but I ſhall wait on my "Lord-Lieutenant this morning, and lay your caſe before him as advantageouſly as I "can, if he is not engaged in other company. I am afraid what you ſay of his Grace "does not portend you any good.

"And now, Sir, believe me, when I aſſure you I never did, nor ever will, on any "pretence whatſoever, take more than the ſtated and cuſtomary fees of my office. I "might keep the contrary practice concealed from the world, were I capable of it, but "I could not from myſelf: and I hope I ſhall always fear the reproaches of my own "heart more than thoſe of all mankind. In the mean time, if I can ſerve a gentleman "of merit, and ſuch a character as you bear in the world, the ſatisfaction I meet with "on ſuch an occaſion is always a ſufficient, and the only reward to,

"Sir, your moſt obedient, humble ſervant,

"J. ADDISON (*e*)."

(*e*) Maty's new Review, for June, 1783, p. 520.

The anecdote which follows, was told to the Editor by Dr. William Watſon, ſenior, who had it from Dr. Birch. Addiſon and Mr. Temple Stanyan were very intimate. In the familiar converſations which paſſed between them, they were accuſtomed freely to diſpute each other's opinions. Upon ſome occaſion, Mr. Addiſon lent Stanyan five hundred pounds. After this, Mr. Stanyan behaved with a timid reſerve, deference, and reſpect; not converſing with the ſame freedom as formerly, or canvaſſing his friend's ſentiments. This gave great uneaſineſs to Mr. Addiſon. One day they happened to fall upon a ſubject, on which Mr. Stanyan had always been uſed ſtrenuouſly to oppoſe Addiſon's opinion. But, even upon this occaſion, he gave way to what his friend advanced, without interpoſing or defending his own view of the matter. This hurt Mr. Addiſon ſo much, that he ſaid to Mr. Stanyan, "Either contradict me, or pay me the "money."

In Mr. Macpherſon's "Original Papers," are two letters to Monſ. de Robethon, written officially to that gentleman by Mr. Addiſon, as Secretary to the Regency, at the acceſſion of King George the Firſt (*f*). There have, likewiſe, lately been publiſhed, in the Gentleman's Magazine, a few letters which he wrote to the young Earl of Warwick, and which are no otherwiſe of conſequence, than as they ſhew how well he could accommodate his ſtyle to the capacity of a child.

(*f*) Macpherſon's Original Papers, vol. ii. p. 652, 653, 654.

Mr. Addiſon's character as a Poet has been greatly depreciated by two modern writers, Mr. Robert Lloyd and Mr. Knox (*g*). Their cenſure, we think, is ſomewhat too indiſcriminate; and we have not hitherto ſeen ſufficient reaſon to retract the eſtimate we have formed of Addiſon's poetical merit.

(*g*) Lloyd's Poems, vol. ii. p. 14, 15. Knox's Eſſays, vol. ii. p. 143—145. Edition of 1782.

Mr. Hayley, in the notes to his admirable Eſſay on Epic Poetry, has expreſſed himſelf with a juſt indignation on the manner in which Biſhop Warburton has treated Mr. Addiſon. Speaking of that Prelate's want of refined ſenſibility, he ſays, "Perhaps it "may be found, that in proportion as authors have enjoyed the quality which I ſuppoſe "him to have wanted, they have been more or leſs diſtinguiſhed by the eaſe, the ele"gance, and the beauty of their language. Were I required to fortify this conjecture "by examples, I ſhould produce the names of Virgil and Racine, of Fenelon and Ad"diſon—that Addiſon, who, though inſulted by the Commentator on Pope, with the "names of an indifferent Poet and a worſe Critic, was, I think, as much ſuperior to "his inſulter in critical taſte, and in ſolidity of judgment, as he confeſſedly was in the "harmony of his ſtyle, and in all the finer graces of beautiful compoſition (*h*)."

(*h*) Hayley's Eſſay on Epic Poetry, p. 133, 134.

Mr. Addiſon naturally fell in Dr. Blair's way, in his excellent "Lectures on Rhetoric "and Belle Lettres." Accordingly, the Doctor hath, in ſeveral places, made remarks upon his compoſitions, with great propriety and judgment. Beſides this, he hath employed four lectures in a critical examination of Mr. Addiſon's ſtyle, in which he hath taken four numbers of the Spectator, being ſo many of the eſſays on the pleaſures of imagination, and hath diſcuſſed them ſentence by ſentence. The analyſis is particularly curious and inſtructive, and various inſtances are pointed out, in which the language is incorrect or defective, and might apparently be improved. But although it is poſſible to ſhew wherein Mr. Addiſon is capable of being amended, it does not hence follow that it would be eaſy to write with the ſame eaſe, elegance, and beauty. Indeed, no one can be more ſenſible of his excellencies than Dr. Blair, who hath beſtowed upon him repeated teſtimonies of applauſe (*i*). When Addiſon hath been examined with the greateſt nicety, we ſhall ſtill agree with Dr. Warton, that the *ſweetneſs* and *purity* of his ſtyle contribute to make him the firſt of our Proſe-writers; and that the Pleaſures of Imagination, the Eſſay on the Georgics, and his laſt papers in the Spectator and Guardian, are models of language (*k*).

(*i*) Blair's Lectures, vol. ii. p. 408—474.

We cannot omit the beautiful character which hath been given of Addiſon by Dr. Beattie. "He who underſtood," ſays this ingenious author, "better than any other "writer,

(*k*) Warton on the Writings and Genius of Pope, vol. ii. p. 265.

" writer, the nature and province of true humour, is Addiſon. Let thoſe, therefore, " who wiſh to be fully inſtructed in this matter, ſtudy him; and learn the theory from " his practice. In his mirth, there is nothing profane or impertinent. He is perfectly " ſerious, where he ought to be ſo: and his ſmiles, like thoſe of innocence, though ir- " reſiſtibly captivating, are ever inoffenſive. He is not, ſome think, a profound Phi- " loſopher; for he is always clear and harmonious, rational, manly, and intereſting. " But if writing be good, in proportion as it is uſeful; and if its nobleſt uſe be, to im- " prove the heart, refine the taſte, and ſweeten the temper, Addiſon is of all uninſpired " authors, at leaſt in proſe, the beſt, and the moſt delightful (*l*)."

(*l*) Beattie's Diſſertations, moral and critical, p. 198.

ÆLFRED, or ALFRED, p. 84.

Mr. Pennant, in his " Tour in Wales," has greatly celebrated Ethefleda, the daughter of Alfred. She was married to Ethelred, Earl of Mercia; but, on the birth of her firſt child, ſhe ſeparated herſelf from her huſband, and, for the reſt of her days, like an Amazon of old, determined on a life of chaſtity, and devoted herſelf to deeds of arms. She kept on the beſt terms with her huſband, and they united together in all acts of munificence and piety. They reſtored cities, founded abbies, and removed to more ſuitable places the bones of long-departed Saints. After the death of her huſband, in 912, ſhe aſſumed the government of the Mercian Earldom, took upon her the command of the army, and became ſo celebrated for her valour, that the effeminate titles of Lady and Queen being thought unworthy of her, ſhe received in addition thoſe of LORD and KING. This heroine appears to have been worthy of ſo great an eulogium; for her abilities and activity were perpetually exerted in the ſervice of her country. Death put an end to her glorious courſe, at Tamworth, in 922, whence her body was tranſlated to Glouceſter. Her loſs was regretted by the whole kingdom, and by none ſo ſenſibly as by her brother Edward; for ſhe was as uſeful to that wiſe Prince in the cabinet as in the field (*a*).

(*a*) Tour in Wales, p. 122—124.

AGARD (ARTHUR), p. 93.

In the " Collection of curious Diſcourſes, written by eminent Antiquaries," publiſhed in two volumes octavo, 1771, are no leſs than twenty eſſays, by Mr. Agard. Some of them were never printed before; and they all of them evince, that he had a juſt title to the character of an able and diligent Antiquary.

AINSWORTH (ROBERT), p. 103.

A few farther particulars, concerning Robert Ainſworth, may be ſeen in Nichols's Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer. Beſides his Theſaurus, the ninth edition of which hath lately been reprinted, he wrote a tract on the moſt natural and eaſy way of inſtitution; a deſcription, in Latin, of Mr. John Kemp's collection; and two diſſertations, in the ſame language, on ſubjects of antiquity. The full titles of theſe pieces are given in the valuable work juſt mentioned (*a*).

(*a*) Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer, p. 108—112.

AKENSIDE (MARK), p. 107.

The Rev. John Brand, M. A. lately elected one of the Secretaries to the Society of Antiquaries, informs us, in his " Obſervations on popular Antiquities," that a halt, which Dr. Akenſide had in his gait, was occaſioned by the falling of a cleaver from his father's ſtall upon him, when he was a boy. " This," ſays Mr. Brand, " muſt have been " a perpetual remembrance of his humble origin (*a*)."

(*a*) Obſervations on popular Antiquities, p. 113, 114. note.

In 1761, Mr. Thomas Hollis purchaſed a bed which once belonged to Milton, and on which he died. This bed Mr. Hollis ſent as a preſent to Dr. Akenſide, with the following card. " An Engliſh gentleman is deſirous of having the honour to preſent a " bed, which once belonged to John Milton, and on which he died; and if the Doctor's " genius, believing himſelf obliged, and having ſlept in that bed, ſhould prompt him " to write an Ode to the memory of John Milton, and the aſſertor of Britiſh liberty, " that gentleman would think himſelf abundantly recompenſed." The Doctor, we are told, ſeemed wonderfully delighted with this bed, and had it put up in his houſe; but we do not find that he took any other notice of Mr. Hollis's benefaction and requeſt (*b*).

(*b*) Memoirs of the late Thomas Hollis, Eſq; vol. i. p. 111, 112.

Dr.

CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA

Dr. Johnſon heard Mr. Dodſley relate, that when the copy of "The Pleaſures of "Imagination" was offered him, the price demanded for it, which was an hundred and twenty pounds, being ſuch as he was not inclined to give precipitately, he carried the work to Pope, who, having looked into it, adviſed him not to make a niggardly offer; for "this was no every day writer (*c*)."

(*c*) Lives of the Engliſh Poets, vol. iv. p. 436, 437. Octavo edition.

Concerning Dr. Akenſide's diſcourſe on the Dyſentery, our great Poetical Biographer obſerves, that it was conſidered as a very conſpicuous ſpecimen of Latinity; which entitled him to the ſame height of place among the Scholars, as he poſſeſſed before among the Wits (*d*).

(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 441.

On Akenſide's Odes, Dr. Johnſon, who in general is not favourable to our Lyric Poets, hath, we think, been ſomewhat too ſevere. In matters of taſte, there will always be a diverſity of opinion; and we ſee no reaſon to retract what we have advanced in our article. We have not aſſigned a high rank of merit to Dr. Akenſide, as a writer of Odes; and, indeed, if he had imbibed the notion aſcribed to him by Mr. Maſon (*e*), that "Poetry was only true eloquence in metre," ſo falſe an idea could not fail to have a bad effect on his later compoſitions. Dr. Warton, with whom the Editor is always proud to agree, calls our author a didactic Poet, who has happily indulged himſelf in bolder flights of enthuſiaſm, ſupported by a more figurative ſtyle, than was uſed by Pope; and, after producing a paſſage from "The Pleaſures of Imagination," adds, "we have here a ſtriking "example of that poetic ſpirit, that harmonious and varied verſification, and that ſtrength "of imagery, which conſpire to excite our admiration of this beautiful poem (*f*)."

(*e*) Maſon's Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Gray, p. 261.

(*f*) On the Writings and Genius of Pope, vol. ii. p. 148, 149.

Dr. Akenſide is believed to have written, in Dodſley's Muſeum, the "Table of "modern Fame;" at which, ſays Dr. Warton, the gueſts are introduced and ranged with that taſte and judgment which are peculiar to the author (*g*).

(*g*) *Ibid.* p. 53.

In the Appendix to the Memoirs of Mr. Hollis, are two letters, extracted from the Public Advertiſer, relative to Dr. Akenſide's Ode to Thomas Edwards, Eſq; and to his ſuppoſed reflections upon the Clergy, in a paſſage in the "Pleaſures of Imagination (*h*)." Among Dr. Birch's papers in the Britiſh Muſeum, are ſeveral letters written to him by Dr. Akenſide.

(*h*) Memoirs of T. Hollis, Eſq; vol. ii. p. 722—726. 94—104.

ALLESTRY (JACOB), p. 150.

Several of Mr. Jacob Alleſtry's poetical performances, together with a ſhort account of his life, are inſerted in the third volume of Mr. Nichols's ſelect Collection of Poems.

ANDREWS (LANCELOT), p. 188.

It appears, from Mr. Ayſcough's Catalogue, that there are ſome Manuſcripts of Biſhop Andrews in the Britiſh Muſeum; and, among the reſt, "A Diſcourſe againſt ſecond Marriage, after Sentence of Divorce with a former Match, the Parties then living;" written in 1601 (*a*).

(*a*) Ayſcough's Catalogue of hitherto undeſcribed Manuſcripts in the Britiſh Muſeum, p. 291.

ANSELM, p. 215.

In the Hiſtory of the Abbey of Bec, not long ſince publiſhed, ſome farther mention is made of this great prelate.

ANTHONY (FRANCIS) p. 225.

Though Dr. Anthony is called by our predeceſſor a very learned phyſician and chemiſt, he was, in fact, an empiric; but an empiric of a higher rank and greater abilities than are common to that claſs of men. His works are at preſent, we appprehend, in no kind of eſtimation. Extraordinary effects have been aſcribed to his preparations; and he found means to engage the patronage of ſeveral perſons of rank, and the good opinion of the people at large. "It is certain, ſays Mr. Aikin, that later empirics, with more "abſurd pretenſions, and much leſs merit to ſupport them, have been alike victorious "over good ſenſe and modeſty; ſo that we need not be ſurprized at the triumph Dr. "Anthony obtained, in ſeeing his reputation, practice, and emoluments arrive at a "great height (*a*)."

(*a*) Biographical Memoirs of Medicine in Great-Britain, p. 213, 214.

ARBUTHNOT (JOHN), p. 243.

In the poſſeſſion of the Miſs Arbuthnots, are a large number of letters, written to Dr. Arbuthnot by the Duke of Shrewſbury, the Lords Oxford, Peterborough, Mar, and Bolingbroke; by Pope, Swift, Parnell, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Boerhaave

and others; and by the Earl of Chesterfield, when he first sustained a public character at the Hague. Some of these letters will probably hereafter see the light. It is manifest, from the whole correspondence, that Dr. Arbuthnot was in great favour with Queen Anne; that he employed himself in doing good offices for his friends with her Majesty, and indeed with all the world; that he was much depended upon in his profession; that he was upon the highest footing with the first writers of that elegant age, both for his wit and his learning; and that, if possible, he was still more esteemed by them all for his exemplary and amiable virtues. Extracts from some of these letters, with which the Editor was favoured by the late Dr. William Hunter, in whom the Biographia Britannica has lost an ardent friend, will occur in future articles.

Dr. Johnson and Dr. Warton have given very honourable testimonies to Arbuthnot's merit. "It is to be regretted, says Dr. Johnson, that either honour or pleasure should "have been missed by Arbuthnot; a man estimable for his learning, amiable for his "life, and venerable for his piety." The Doctor adds, that he "was a man of great "comprehension, skilful in his profession, versed in the sciences, acquainted with ancient "literature, and able to animate his mass of knowledge by a bright and active imagi-"nation; a scholar with great brilliancy of wit; a wit, who, in the crowd of life, retain-"ed and discovered a noble ardour of religious zeal (*a*)." Dr. Warton is large in our Author's praise; and, among other things, besides observing that he was a man of consummate probity, integrity, and sweetness of temper, says, that he had infinitely more learning than Pope or Swift, and as much wit and humour as either of them (*b*).

Dr. Arbuthnot is supposed to have written an anonymous work of merit, entitled "A Sermon preached to the People at the Mercat-cross of Edinburgh, on the subject "of the Union, 1706." The late ingenious William Duncombe, Esq; who did not know that the Doctor was the Author of it, re-published it, with a preface (*c*).

Of Arbuthnot Dr. Beattie says, that he undoubtedly possessed more wit and learning, as well as virtue, than any other writer of his time, Addison excepted (*d*).

(*a*) Lives of the Poets, vol. iv. p. 116, 117.

(*b*) Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope, vol. ii. p. 276—278.

(*c*) From the information of the Rev. Mr. Duncombe, of Canterbury.

(*d*) Dissertations, moral and critical, p. 513.

ASCHAM (ROGER), p. 289.

Dr. Jortin takes notice, that Erasmus, who could not endure even the smell of fish, and had a most Lutheran stomach, was resembled in this respect by Roger Ascham. Accordingly, when he resided at Cambridge, he applied, in a long letter, to Archbishop Cranmer, for leave to be dispensed with as to abstinence from flesh meats, in Lent and on fast days; and that prelate granted him a dispensation (*a*).

Some manuscript letters of Ascham's are preserved in the British Museum (*b*).

(*a*) Life of Erasmus, p. 581—583.

(*b*) Ayscough's Catalogue, p. 179. 215.

ASCOUGH (WILLIAM), p. 289.

The name of this prelate is spelled Aiscough in the register book of the bishoprick of Salisbury. He was not slain at Edington in Lincolnshire, as is asserted in the article; but at his own house, at Edington in Wiltshire. Edington is a village at the end of Salisbury Plain, in the old road from that city, by way of Steeple Ashton, to Bath (*a*).

(*a*) Information from Mr. Cooper, of Salisbury.

ASGILL (JOHN), p. 295.

Besides the publications of Mr. Asgill, mentioned in his article, he is said to have written, in 1717, a tract entitled, "A Question upon Divorce." He opposed marrying again; but whether he was against all second marriages, or only against marriages after divorce, we are not acquainted. After quoting many passages from the Gospels, he concludes, "That the laws ecclesiastic, or the canon laws, not allowing adultery to be a lawful cause for dissolving the bond of matrimony, and setting the conjugal pair at large to marry any other, are consonant to the law divine, as expounded by Christ himself (*a*).

(*a*) Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, Esq. p. 518.

ATTERBURY (FRANCIS), p. 348.

Mr. Nichols has lately published, in three volumes, octavo, "The Epistolary Correspondence, Visitation Charges, Speeches, and Miscellanies of the Right Reverend Francis Atterbury, D. D. Lord Bishop of Rochester;" with historical notes. The greater part of these volumes is entirely new, and what is not new is either reprinted with greater accuracy, or with the advantage of farther illustration. The letters have different degrees of value, and consequently were not equally deserving of the public eye. Those which relate to the illness and death of Mrs. Morice, and the diary of her journey and voyage from Westminster to Bourdeaux and Toulouse are peculiarly inte-

reſting and affecting. Were we to point out all the circumſtances that might be ſelected from this publication, or to recite the teſtimonies to Dr. Atterbury's merit, chiefly as a writer, accumulated by Mr. Nichols, we ſhould be carried beyond the compaſs which muſt neceſſarily be aſſigned to this department of our undertaking. Upon the whole, the Biſhop's character, as a private man, appears to have derived conſiderable benefit from the volumes in queſtion. His Letters to Sir Jonathan Trelawny diſplay his gratitude and reſpect to that prelate, even when he himſelf had attained his higheſt ſtation in the Church. His paternal affection and conduct to his daughter were beautifully amiable; and his correſpondence with Dr. Wall and Biſhop Potter fully proves his belief in, and his zeal for the honour of the Chriſtian Revelation. Indeed, there ſeems to have been juſt cauſe for one of the lines of Pope, which Mr. Nichols has adopted as his motto:

How pleaſing Atterbury's ſofter hour!

As to his public character, it ſtands as it did before, and can never admit of a juſt vindication. "The turbulent and imperious temper of this haughty prelate, ſays Dr. "Warton, was long felt and remembered in the college over which he preſided. It "was with difficulty Queen Anne was perſuaded to make him a Biſhop; which ſhe did "at laſt, on the repeated importunities of Lord Harcourt——. After her deceaſe, "Atterbury vehemently urged his friends to proclaim the Pretender; and on their re-"fuſal, upbraided them for their timidity, with many oaths; for he was accuſtomed to "ſwear, on any ſtrong provocation (*a*)."

(*a*) Eſſay on the Writings and Genius of Pope, vol. ii. p. 432, 433.

Dr. Blair, who has examined a diſcourſe of Biſhop Atterbury's in the ſame critical manner in which he has done ſome numbers of the Spectator, ſays of him, that he is deſervedly accounted one of our moſt eloquent writers of ſermons. "At the ſame "time adds the Doctor, he is more diſtinguiſhed for elegance and purity of expreſſion, "than for profoundneſs of thought; his ſtyle, though ſometimes careleſs, is, upon the "whole, neat and chaſte; and more beautiful than that of moſt writers of Sermons. "In his ſentiments he is not only rational, but pious and devotional, which is a great "excellency (*b*)." Dr. Warton thinks that Atterbury was, on the whole, rather a man of ability than a genius; and that he writes more with elegance and correctneſs, than with any force of thinking or reaſoning (*c*).

(*b*) Blair's Lectures on Rhetoric and Belle Lettres, vol. ii. p. 127—155.

(*c*) Warton, *ubi ſupra*, p. 435.

We had nearly forgotten to mention, that the Latin verſes in note [*A*], which are given as a ſpecimen of Atterbury's tranſlation of Dryden's Abſalom and Architophel, were, by a miſtake of our predeceſſor, into which he was led by following Stackhouſe, taken from Coward's verſion of that poem. It appears, likewiſe, that the verſion of Cato's ſoliloquy, ſuppoſed to have been Atterbury's, was by Dr. Bland (*d*).

(*d*) Atterbury's Epiſtolary Correſpondence, &c. vol. ii. p. 351, 352. 397.

BAKER (THOMAS), p. 525.

In the memoirs of the life and writings of Mr. Baker, very recently publiſhed by Mr. Maſters, from the papers of Dr. Zachary Grey, there are ſeveral particulars concerning him, with which we were not acquainted when this article was compoſed. The Sir George Baker, whom we mentioned as having exerted himſelf in the defence of Newcaſtle againſt the Scots, was not the uncle of our learned antiquary, as we had been informed, but his grandfather. His father was George Baker, Eſq; of Crook, in the pariſh of Lancheſter; and his mother was Margaret, a daughter of Thomas Forſter, of Edderſton in the county of Northumberland. He had his grammatical education at the Free School of Durham, under the care of Mr. Batterſby; was admitted of St. John's College, on the 13th of June, 1674; and matriculated on the 9th of July following. He took his firſt degree in 1677, and proceeded Maſter of Arts in 1681. From Biſhop Compton he received Deacon's Orders, on the 20th of December, 1685, and was ſoon after ordained prieſt, at Bugden, by Dr. Thomas Barlow, Biſhop of Lincoln. In 1689, being then Bachelor of Divinity, he was appointed one of the Univerſity preachers. When Dr. Thomas Watſon was promoted to the Biſhopric of St. David's, Mr. Baker was invited by him to be his Chaplain; but he declined the offer, probably from an expectation of his being taken into the family of Lord Crew, Biſhop of Durham, in the ſame capacity. This event accordingly happened, and in June, 1687, he was collated by his patron to the Rectory of Long Newton. It was ſuppoſed, by many in his Lordſhip's family, that the Biſhop intended to confer upon Mr. Baker the Rectory of Sedgefield, with the Prebend called the Golden Prebend, the beſt in the Church of Durham. Theſe preferments, however, if they were intended for him, he loſt by his integrity. By refuſing to read King James's declaration for liberty of conſcience, he diſpleaſed Lord Crew ſo much, that he was obliged to quit his connection with that prelate. Not long after, in conſequence of his not being able to take the oaths enjoined at the Revolution, he was laid under the neceſſity of reſigning his living of Long Newton, which he did with great chearfulneſs, on the firſt of Auguſt, 1690. From this time his life was ſpent at St. John's College, Cambridge, after, as well as before, his ejection from his Fellowſhip, in 1716 (*a*).

(*a*) Maſters's Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the late Rev. Thomas Baker, B. D. p. 1—9.

Notwithſtanding the difference of political ſentiments, Biſhop Kennet had ſuch a regard for Mr. Baker, that he reſerved ſome of his beſt preferments for him, and would not give

give them even to his own ſon, till the other had modeſtly declined them (*b*). Archbiſhop Wake, having received ſome aſſiſtance from our learned Nonjuror, in writing his State of the Church, after the work was completed, wrote to him a letter of thanks; and as a teſtimony of his ſenſe of the ſervice he had done him, offered to accept of his recommendation of a friend to a benefice worth two hundred pounds a year, then vacant. Mr. Baker waved the offer; and politely requeſted that his Grace's favour might be to himſelf, by a preſent of a copy of the aforeſaid work, with his Grace's corrections and additions in his own hand-writing. With this requeſt the Archbiſhop complied (*c*).

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 39.

(*c*) *Ibid.* p. 55, 56.

Mr. Baker was remarkably communicative to gentlemen who were engaged in literary undertakings. Many proofs are produced by Mr. Maſters, of the aſſiſtance which he gave to the learned men of his time, and of their grateful acknowledgments on that account. A variety of letters, likewiſe, written by Mr. Baker to his friends, and by his friends to him, are inſerted in Mr. Maſters's Memoirs. They were proper to make a part of the publication, though but few of them are in themſelves very intereſting. Of Mr. Baker's death, who was carried off by a paralytic ſtroke, Mr. Maſters hath given a very minute and particular account, in a number of extracts of letters, written upon that occaſion. The character of our Antiquary is drawn at large, and juſtly placed in a very advantageous light.

It muſt ever be reflected upon with regret, that Mr. Baker ſhould have ſpent a long life in collecting materials, when he ought to have been employed in erecting and finiſhing his grand Temple of Fame, to the honour of the Univerſity of Cambridge. The tranſcribing of papers, which, with ſo much loſs of time, he took upon himſelf, might have been aſſigned to any common amanuenſis. As his Hiſtory of St. John's College was completed by him, the publication of it could not fail of being acceptable to the literary world.

Mr. Maſters is wholly miſtaken in ſuppoſing that the materials of our article were drawn from the ſource he hath mentioned. They were ſolely taken from the authorities to which we have regularly referred. If, therefore, any one has committed a treſpaſs on Mr. Maſters's literary property, we have not, in the leaſt degree, been partakers of the ſpoil. At the ſame time, we think very lightly of the criminality of the gentleman with whom Mr. Maſters is ſo angry in his preface. The chief fault ſeems to have been the not acknowledging from whom the communications were, in a great meaſure, originally derived. As to mere dates and facts, they ought to be deemed matters of common right, and of which every author ſhould be at liberty to make uſe. It is the compoſition, it is the arrangement, it is the writing upon a large or narrow ſcale, it is the liberality and ſtrength of ſentiment and reflection—theſe are the things which diſcriminate one Biographer from another. Mr. Nichols and myſelf have readily tranſmitted our articles to each other, previouſly to their publication; and a friendly communication of materials hath taken place between the preſent Editor and the ingenious and judicious continuator of the Britiſh Biography.

In another reſpect Mr. Maſters has done us injuſtice, and that is, in charging us with being diſpoſed to lower Mr. Baker in the opinion of the world (*d*). We had no ſuch intention, but entertain a due value for his writings. The character we gave of his "Reflections on Learning," at the end of note [*A*], in the article, was the reſult of mature deliberation and judgment. This character was drawn up the Editor, and there are few books in the Engliſh language with which he is better acquainted. That he might be well founded in his opinion, he read the work over again with attention, before the note was written.

(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 118.

It would have been a recommendation of Mr. Maſters's life of Mr. Baker, if, after being poſſeſſed of the materials of it for a number of years, he had delivered them to the world with greater advantage in point of arrangement, and in a ſuperior ſtyle of compoſition. However, we are thankful for the information he hath given us, and do not wiſh to treat him with diſreſpect. We ſhall find occaſion to avail ourſelves of his labours, and eſpecially of his Hiſtory of Corpus Chriſti, or Bene't College, which will rank him among the learned and uſeful Biographers of this country.

Mr. Maſters hath never met with the leaſt hint of Mr. Prior's having given the profits of his Fellowſhip to Mr. Baker, and, therefore, cannot imagine that Dr. Goddard could be well informed in that matter (*e*).

(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 120.

The catalogue of Mr. Baker's manuſcript collections, inſerted at the end of Mr. Maſters's Memoirs, is more complete than that which hath appeared in the Biographia.

BAKER (HENRY), p. 528.

In the addenda to this article, prefixed to our ſecond volume, ſpeaking of Mr. David Erſkine Baker, we have ſaid that his *ſecond* wife was the daughter of Mr. Clendon, a Reverend Empiric. The fact was, that ſhe was his *only* wife (*a*).

(*a*) From the information of the Rev. Mr. Duncombe.

CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA

BALE (JOHN), p. 534.

Mr. Thomas Warton, in the third volume of his hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, hath taken notice of Bale's Scriptural Interludes, and hath given a particular account of one of them, entitled "The Comedy of the three Laws." It is commonly ſuppoſed to be a myſtery, and merely doctrinal; but it is a ſatirical play againſt Popery, and perhaps the firſt of the kind in our language. With regard to Bale's Interludes in general, Mr. Warton obſerves, "What ſhall we think of the ſtate, I will not ſay of the ſtage, but of "common ſenſe, when theſe deplorable Dramas could be endured? Of an age, when the "Bible was profaned and ridiculed from a principle of piety? But the faſhion of acting "myſteries appears to have expired with this writer (*a*)."

(*a*) Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, vol. iii. p. 78, 79. 198, 199. note.

BALEY (WALTER), p. 548.

With reſpect to Baley's Treatiſe of the Preſervation of the Eye-ſight, Mr. Aikin remarks, that "it is a compilation chiefly from the ancients; and with a few good "rules, contains many fanciful and idle notions concerning the *iuvantia* and *lædentia* of "the eyes, with extraordinary recommendations of the herb *eye-bright* (*a*)."

(*a*) Biographical Memoirs of Medicine in Great-Brit. in, p. 167.

BANCROFT (RICHARD), p. 582.

In the firſt volume of the Nugæ Antiquæ, p. 11—16. is a character of this prelate, by Sir John Harrington.

BANISTER (JOHN), p. 583.

Mr. Aikin hath given the characters of the different works of Dr. Baniſter, from which it appears that he was a phyſician of diſtinguiſhed learning and judgment, regard being had to the time in which he lived. He was for ſome time in the ſervice of the Earl of Warwick (*a*).

(*a*) Aikin's Memoirs, *ubi ſupra*, p. 163—166.

BARCLAY (JOHN), 589.

It is not true, as is aſſerted in note [*B*], of this article, that the firſt Engliſh Tranſlation of Barclay's Argenis was publiſhed in 1628, by Sir Robert Le Grys. The firſt tranſlation of this work that appeared in our own country, was in 1625, quarto, by Kingſmill Long, Gent. The verſes are the ſame as in the ſubſequent tranſlation by Le Grys, and conſequently are May's (*a*).

Mr. Mortimer, in his Student's Pocket Dictionary, referring to Niceron for his authority, ſays, that John Barclay was born at Paris.

(*a*) From the information of John Baynes, Eſq; of Lincoln's-inn. Mr. Baynes is poſſeſſed of Kingſmill Long's firſt edition.

BARRINGTON (JOHN SHUTE), Lord Viſcount, p. 628.

Mr. Shute, when a Student at Utrecht, beſides his "Oratio de Studio Philoſophiæ conjungendo cum Studio Juris civilis," publiſhed three other academical exerciſes. Theſe were, 1. "Exercitatio Phyſica, de Ventis." Utrecht, 1696, quarto. 2. Diſſertatio Philoſophica, de Theocratiâ morali." Utrecht, 1697. 3. "Diſſertatio Philoſophica Inauguralis, de Theocratiâ civili." Utrecht, 1697. The ſecond of theſe tracts has been cited, with great commendation, by two eminent writers on the civil law, Cocceius and Heineccius (*a*).

In 1722, was printed, but not publiſhed till the year 1732, "The Lord Viſcount Barrington's Caſe in Relation to the Harburgh Company, and the Harburgh Lottery." quarto. There is an advertiſement prefixed, dated May 12, 1732, containing a ſhort apology for the work's not having appeared before. To this tract is added, and ſaid, in the title page, to be printed in 1723, "A Speech upon the Queſtion, that the Project called the Harburgh Lottery is an infamous and fraudulent Undertaking, whereby ſeveral unwary Perſons have been drawn in to their great Loſs: and that the Manner of carrying it on has been a manifeſt Violation of the Laws of this Kingdom." Theſe two pieces are curious, concur with the account in the note [*E*], and offer many important conſiderations in Lord Barrington's Vindication (*b*).

(*a*) From communications by the Honourable Daines Barrington, Eſq;

(*b*) From the information of Iſaac Reed, Eſq;

BARROW (ISAAC), p. 638.

Some manuſcript letters of Dr. Barrow's are preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum (*a*). This is the caſe, more or leſs, with regard to ſeveral other perſons, where we have not thought the matter of conſequence enough to be particularly noticed.

(*a*) Ayſcough's Catalogue, p. 742.

BARRY (LODOWICK), p. 648.

Our predeceſſor has been guilty of a great miſtake in aſſerting, that, in Barry's "Ram Alley," the Plot of Will. Smallſhanks decoying the Widow Taffeta into Marriage, is taken from the Engliſh Rogue. The play of the "Ram Alley, or merry Tricks," was publiſhed above fifty years before the "Engliſh Rogue" appeared. Killegrew's "Parſon's Wedding," againſt which the ſame charge is brought, preceded the "Engliſh Rogue" ten or twelve years. The "Ram Alley" has been republiſhed in the fifth volume of the late edition of "A ſelect Collection of old Plays (*a*).

(*a*) From the information of Mr. Reed. Select Collection of old Plays, vol. v. p. 405. Edition of 1780.

BASKERVILLE (JOHN), p. 672.

Once, when Mr. Baſkerville was in France, he was offered by the French King apartments in the Louvre for himſelf and all his apparatus, and every kind of encouragement, if he would bring over and exerciſe his printing at Paris. This he refuſed, becauſe he would not deprive his own country of the credit of the art (*a*). It is well known that Mr. Baſkerville's types have, ſince his death, been ſold to France; and that the ſplendid edition of Voltaire's works, now carrying on in that country, is to be printed from them.

(*a*) From the information of John Wilkes, Eſq;

BATE (GEORGE), p. 685.

For a more particular account of Dr. Gliſſon than is given in our note, and for an eſtimate of his medical writings, the merit of which appears to have been eminent, we refer our Readers to Mr. Aikin's "Biographical Memoirs of Medicine in Great-Britain, p. 326—338.

CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA

TO THE SECOND

Volume of the Biographia Britannica.

BATHURST (ALLEN), Earl Bathurſt, p. 10.

MR. Daines Barrington, in his account of little Crotch, having obſerved that the connexions of muſical ſounds not only ſeem to make an earlier, but a more laſting impreſſion on us than what we hear by the medium of words, mentions Lord Bathurſt as a proof of this, and the fact was related to him by the Earl himſelf. "As his Lordſhip "had much frequented the Opera in the time of Queen Anne, Frederic, Prince of "Wales, wanted him to ſing a favourite air of Nicolini; which he could not at that inſtant recollect, as it had been performed not leſs than forty years before. Some time "afterwards his Lordſhip dreamed that Nicolini ſung part of the air to him, and when "he awoke he remembered the whole ſong, repeating it from hour to hour till he had "waited on his Royal Highneſs, before it had eſcaped his memory." Lord Bathurſt, when eighty-ſeven, ſung throughout, to Mr. Barrington, another air of Nicolini's, and imitated that performer's peculiar exertions, though his Lordſhip could not probably have heard the ſong for more than threeſcore years. This, as Mr. Barrington juſtly remarks, affords a ſtrong inſtance of the muſical memory being very perfect, even in that late ſtage of life (*a*).

(*a*) Barrington's Miſcellanies, p. 322, 323.

BAXTER (ANDREW), p. 27.

A Treatiſe of Mr. Andrew Baxter's, on the natural Immortality of the Soul, hath lately been publiſhed by our ingenious and learned friend, the Rev. Dr. Duncan, Rector of South-Warmborough, Hants. We need not ſay, that Mr. Baxter's ſentiments upon the ſubject are very different from thoſe which have lately been advanced by Dr. Prieſtley.

BAYLY (LEWIS), p. 27.

In line 22, of the ſecond column, for *in ipſum*, read *id ipſum*.

BEATON (DAVID), p. 56.

Among the remains of the Caſtle of St. Andrew's, "the window is ſhewn," ſays Mr. Pennant, "out of which it is pretended that Cardinal Beaton leaned to glut his eyes with "the cruel martyrdom of George Wiſhart, who was burnt on a ſpot beneath. This is "one of thoſe relations, whoſe verity we ſhould doubt, and heartily wiſh there was no "truth in it; and, on enquiry, we may conſole ourſelves that this is founded on puritanical bigotry, and invented out of hatred to a perſecutor ſufficiently deteſtable on "other accounts (*a*)."

(*a*) Pennant's Tour in Scotland, Part 2d, p. 193.

Notwithſtanding Mr. Pennant's remark, we ſtill continue of opinion, that the fact is not inconſiſtent either with the Cardinal's character or the general ſpirit of the times.

Though Beaton merited his death, it is candidly admitted, in the following lines, by his enemy, the Hiſtorian and Poet, Sir David Lindſay, that the manner of it was indefenſible:

"As for this Cardinal, I grant,
"He was a man we might well want:
"God will forgive it ſoon.
"But of a truth the ſooth to ſay,
"Altho' the loon be well away,
"The fact was foully done (*b*)."

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 193, 194.

Beaumont

CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA, &c.

BEAUMONT (LEWIS), p. 86.

In Noble's "Account of the Durham Coins," ſome notice is taken of Biſhop Beaumont. Not having the book at hand, we can only here refer to it in general.

BEAUMONT and FLETCHER, p. 100.

It appears, from Cockayne's Poems, that Maſſinger was employed in completing the unfiniſhed Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher (*a*).

Mr. Davies, in his dramatic miſcellanies, has drawn the character of theſe Poets; and, whilſt he does juſtice to their excellencies, ſhews wherein they differ from, and are excelled by Shakſpeare. Out of the fifty-four dramatic pieces written by Beaumont and Fletcher, two only, "The Chances," and the "Rule a Wife and have a Wife" have kept permanent poſſeſſion of the ſtage (*b*).

(*a*) From the information of Mr. Reed.

(*b*) Dramatic Miſcellanies, vol. ii. p. 373—375. 385—387. 390—402.

BEK (ANTHONY), p. 149.

In Noble's "Account of the Biſhops of Durham and their Coins," particular notice is taken of this prelate.

BENBOW (JOHN), p. 167.

In the thirty-ninth volume of the Gentleman's Magazine, there is a narration of various circumſtances, relative to the life of William Benbow, the younger ſon of the Admiral. Had not this account unfortunately eſcaped our attention, we ſhould have been able to correct Dr. Campbell's miſtake concerning the importance of Mr. John Benbow's "Complete Deſcription of the South Part of the Iſland of Madagaſcar." Inſtead of being the large and very comprehenſive book which the Doctor ſuppoſed, it was no other than a journal, of the ſame nature with thoſe that are kept by every ſea officer. The moſt curious and intereſting part of it, was the hiſtory of his conduct with reſpect to the black King, his Queen and ſon, as is related in note [*A*], of John Bembow's article. This journal was accidentally burnt, in 1714, in a fire which happened at the lodgings of Mr. William Benbow, near Aldgate. The loſs of it is believed to be well ſupplied by Drury's Deſcription of Madagaſcar. With regard to Mr. William Benbow, we muſt refer to the Magazine above-mentioned, for the particulars concerning him. He was for ſome time a Clerk in the Navy-Office; was a man of a ſingular turn of mind; and had a talent at writing Epitaphs, in Latin and Engliſh, both of a grave and a facetious nature. Theſe, which were very numerous, are underſtood to have been very different in point of execution and value (*a*).

(*a*) Gent. Magazine for 1769, p. 171, 172.

BENEDICT, Abbot of Peterborough, p. 171.

This Abbot wrote a Hiſtory of Henry the Second and Richard the Firſt, which was publiſhed by Thomas Hearne, in 1735, in two volumes, octavo. The hiſtory begins at the year 1170, and ends at 1192 (*a*).

(*a*) From a manuſcript paper of Mr. Morant's; communicated by Thomas Aſtle, Eſq;

BENSON (GEORGE), p. 208.

In note [*N*], a ſcheme is mentioned, which Dr. Benſon had formed; of printing a cheap edition of Biſhop Hoadly's "Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper," in order to render it more generally uſeful. The deſign was actually carried into execution, under the Doctor's immediate direction. As the book was principally intended for the benefit of the Diſſenters, thoſe parts of it were left out in which the good Biſhop endeavours to reconcile his ſentiments with the Liturgy of the Church of England. In 1772, was publiſhed an Abridgment of the "Plain Account," entitled "The rational Chriſtian's Aſſiſtant to the worthy receiving of the Lord's Supper," price four-pence; and a ſecond edition followed, in 1774. The Editor was our much valued friend, the Rev. Dr. Diſney.

CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA

BENTLEY (RICHARD), p. 247.

By the favour of two ingenious and learned correſpondents, the Rev. Mr. Duncombe, and John Baynes, Eſq; we are enabled to correct and improve our additions to this article. When Dr. Bentley, who was originally of St. John's College, was appointed Maſter of Trinity, the adjoining College, he applied to himſelf a paſſage in the Pſalms, "By the Help of my God I have leaped over the wall (*a*)."

(*a*) From Mr. Duncombe.

The Doctor was ſuſpended for contempt, by the Vice-chancellor, on the 3d of October, 1718. The Vice-chancellor held three courts after the ſuſpenſion, to give him an opportunity of appearing. Theſe were on the 7th, 9th, and 15th of the ſame month. On the 17th the grace of degradation paſſed. The mandamus for reſtoring Dr. Bentley was granted on the 7th of February, 1723-4, and not in 1728, as is mentioned in his article. The following is a copy of the grace for the reſtitution of him to his degrees.

"Placeat vobis, ut, juxta Tenorem Mandati modo lecti, R. B. reſtituatur ad omnes "& ſingulos Gradus Academicos, à quibus dejectus fuit & excluſus, una cum omnibus "Franchiſis, Privilegiis & Commoditatibus eaſdem ſpectantibus & concernentibus." Lect. & conceſſ. 26 Mart. 1724.

From the above it appears that the Anecdote of the Vice-chancellor's reprimanding the Cryer, mentioned in p. 247, muſt be wrong in point of date (*b*).

(*b*) From Mr. Baynes.

It is related that Dr. Green, Biſhop of Ely, being preſent in the Court of King's Bench when the extent of his viſitatorial power over the Maſter of Trinity College was argued before Sir Robert Raymond, and the Counſel on the part of the Viſitor having contended for his power in ſome extraordinary caſes, Sir Robert turned to the Biſhop, and ſaid: "Would your Lordſhip wiſh to have ſo great an extent of your viſitatorial "power confirmed? I confeſs, my Lord, I ſhould be unwilling to truſt myſelf with ſo "unlimited a power in my hands, in the like caſe (*c*)."

(*c*) From another reſpectable correſpondent.

In juſtice to Mr. John Walker, we muſt obſerve, that he was not the Walker ſatirized in the lines quoted from Mr. Pope. It was Dr. Richard Walker, who was Vice-maſter of Trinity College, and who was called Dr. Bentley's Zany. He was well known by the name of *Frog Walker*, and was not diſtinguiſhed for his learning. By his laſt will, he was the founder of the Phyſic Garden at Cambridge. The reaſon why Dr. Bentley always took care to be on good terms with the Vice-maſter is ſaid to have been, that the latter would never execute the proceſs of the Biſhop of Ely, as Viſitor, againſt Dr. Bentley. With regard to Mr. John Walker, who uſed to be called *Clariſſimus* Walker, a name which was ſaid to have been given him by Dr. Bentley, he became afterwards Chaplain to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Dean of Bocking in Eſſex (*d*).

(*d*) From Mr. Baynes.

Though Dr. Richard Walker was not remarkable for his literature, he was an amiable man, and much eſteemed in his College. He was fifty, and Dr. Bentley ſeventy years of age, when they both began to ſmoke, which they did in their own defence, all the reſt of the ſeniors being ſmokers. In time Dr. Walker became ſo fond of the practice, that (like Aldrich and Barrow) he was ſeldom ſeen without a pipe in his mouth.

A foreign nobleman once viſiting the Univerſity, Dr. Bentley received him in great ſtate, and, the Vice-maſter ſitting by his ſide, began his addreſs to the foreigner in theſe words, "Ego ſum Magiſter hujus Collegii, & hic eſt Vice-Magiſter meus!" To this, among other things, the gueſt replied, that he did not doubt but as that gentleman was ſecond to him in ſtation, he was alſo ſecond to *him only* in learning. The Vice-maſter anſwered, "Spero equidem (*e*)."

(*e*) From Mr. Duncombe, who knew Dr. Richard Walker well, and has had letters from him.

It is ſaid, that Thomas Bentley, the Doctor's nephew, was ſo offended at Mr. Pope's treatment of his uncle, that he ſent the Bard a challenge. This the Poet communicated to ſome of his military friends; two or three of whom (his perſon pleading his excuſe) took up the gauntlet, and inſiſted upon Thomas Bentley's fighting one of them, or making a ſubmiſſion, the latter of which he preferred.

Dr. Bentley's youngeſt daughter, afterwards Mrs. Cumberland, was the Phebe on whom Byron wrote his celebrated Paſtoral Ballad (*f*).

(*f*) From the ſame communication.

For ſome farther particulars and ſtrictures relative to Dr. Bentley, we refer to the Gentleman's Magazine, for 1779, p. 442, 443. 545—548. 640; and to the ſame work, for the year 1780, p. 221.

Mr. Pope, ſays Dr. Warton, had imbibed from Swift, an inveterate and unreaſonable averſion and contempt for Bentley; whoſe admirable Boyle's Lectures, Remarks on Collins, Emendations of Menander and Callimachus, and Tully's Tuſculan Diſputations; whoſe edition of Horace, and, above all, Diſſertation on the Epiſtles of Phalaris, (in which he gained the moſt complete victory over a whole army of Wits) all of them exhibit the moſt ſtriking marks of accurate and extenſive erudition, and a vigorous and acute underſtanding (*g*).

(*g*) On the Writings and Genius of Pope, vol. ii. p. 295, 296.

BERKELEY (GEORGE) p. 262.

Mr. Duncombe, by the permiſſion of Mrs. Berkeley, the worthy relict of the Biſhop of Cloyne, has favoured us with that Lady's remarks on his article, and with ſome freſh anecdotes concerning him. Theſe we ſhall take notice of, in the order in which they were delivered.

Biographia, vol. ii. p. 249. It is not true, as the Biographer aſſerts, that Dr. Berkeley was much addicted to the reading of romances. On the contrary, he did very ſtrongly, and at all times, diſlike them, regarding them as no better than fooleries.

Ibid. The Biſhop, ſays Mrs. Berkeley, "purſued Mr. Locke's own mode of reaſoning: and by it has demonſtrated, that the primary qualities of matter being as mutable as the ſecondary qualities, *both* alike deſerve to be rejected. And if matter be poſſeſſed neither of primary nor of ſecondary qualities, the Biſhop aſks, 'Of what does it conſiſt?' He puſhes Mr. Locke's argument home, and no farther than truth and experiment lead." We ſhall not enter into a controverſy with this ingenious Lady, on ſo abſtruſe a ſubject.

Ibid. Dr. Berkeley never ſpoke or thought highly of the learning or abilities of Sir Richard Steele. He believed the Knight to be a man of uncommon good-nature, and more witty in converſation than any perſon he had ever ſeen.

P. 253. The Biſhop never dined but once at the houſe of Mrs. Vanhomrigh, and that was only by chance. This, too, Mrs. Berkeley has often heard him ſay, was the firſt and the laſt time of his life in which he ever ſaw Vaneſſa.

Ibid. All Dr. Swift's letters to this Lady tended greatly to her honour. Dr. Berkeley diſapproved extremely of the publication of "Cadenus and Vaneſſa;" which ſtep, however, was reſolved upon, and executed, by Mr. Marſhall, the other executor. Dr. Delany ſaid, that this publication put an end to poor Stella's life. Mr. Duncombe remarks, that the writer of the Biſhop of Cloyne's life doth not ſeem to have known that Vaneſſa's letters have been publiſhed.

P. 254. Dr. Berkeley did not rely ſolely on the favourable diſpoſition of King George the Firſt for the ſucceſs of his plan. Having been ſtrongly recommended by many common friends, and eſpecially by the firſt Earl of Egmont, to Sir Robert Walpole, he requeſted that Miniſter only not to oppoſe his project. This requeſt Sir Robert granted in a very cordial manner, declaring that nothing ſhould induce him to violate the promiſed neutrality. This engagement being obtained, the projector found means, by himſelf, or by ſome friend or acquaintance, to apply to every Member of the Houſe of Commons, recommending his plan as one which the King favoured, and which the Miniſter did not wiſh to impede. The ſucceſs of theſe applications was ſuch, that Admiral Vernon gave the only diſſenting vote in the Lower Houſe, upon the occaſion. Lord Townſhend, aſtoniſhed at the ſucceſs of Dr. Berkeley's manœuvre, expoſtulated with Sir Robert Walpole on his paſſive conduct. Sir Robert replied, that he really thought the preamble of the bill would have enſured its rejection with the Engliſh Commons, and that under the conduct of a leſs dextrous manager this muſt have been the caſe.

Ibid. Twenty thouſand pounds was the ſum promiſed for founding St. Paul's College in Bermuda. Dean Berkeley was an excellent architect, and he had completed elegant plans of his projected town, as well as of his ſeminary. The laſt edifice was to have occupied the center of a large circus; and this circus was to have conſiſted of the houſes of the Fellows, to each of which in front a ſpacious garden was allotted. Beyond this academical circus was another, compoſed of houſes for gentlemen, many of which houſes had been actually beſpoken, and the Dean had been requeſted to ſuperintend the building of them. Beyond this circus was one more, which was calculated for the reception of ſhops and artificers. Dr. Berkeley diſliked the cuſtom of burying in Churches; for which reaſon a Cypreſs Walk, called, "The Walk of Death," was to be ſolemnly appropriated to the ſole purpoſe of interment. There monumental urns or obeliſks might be erected.

P. 255. The mention of Dr. Berkeley's uſefulneſs as a clergyman, during his reſidence in America, is by no means ſufficiently expreſſive and full. When he was not employed as an itinerant preacher, which buſineſs could not be diſcharged in the winter, he preached every Sunday at Newport, where was the neareſt Epiſcopal Church. To that Church he gave an organ. When the ſeaſon and his health permitted, he viſited the Continent, not only in its outward ſkirts, but penetrated far into its receſſes. The ſame generous deſire of advancing the beſt intereſts of mankind which induced him to croſs the Atlantic, did uniformly actuate him whilſt America was the ſcene of his miniſtry. The Miſſionaries from the Engliſh Society, who reſided within about a hundred miles of Rhode-Iſland, agreed among themſelves to hold a ſort of Synod at Dr. Berkeley's houſe there, twice in a year, in order to enjoy the advantages of his advice and

exhortations. Four of these meetings were accordingly held. One of the principal points which the Doctor then pressed upon his fellow-labourers, was the absolute necessity of conciliating, by all innocent means, the affection of their hearers, and also of their dissenting neighbours. His own example, indeed, very eminently enforced his precepts upon this head; for it is scarcely possible to conceive a conduct more uniformly kind, tender, beneficent, and liberal than his was. He seemed to have only one wish in his heart, which was to alleviate misery, and to diffuse happiness. Finding, at length, that the fear of offending the Dissenters at home, and of inclining the Colonies to assert independency, had determined the Minister to make any use, rather than the best use, of the money destined for, and promised to St. Paul's College, the Dean of Derry took a reluctant leave of a country, where the name of Berkeley is justly revered more than that of any European whatever. At his departure, he gave a farm of a hundred acres, which lay round his house, and his house itself, as a benefaction to Yale and Harvard Colleges: and the value of that land, then not insignificant because cultivated, is now pretty considerable. He gave, of his own property, to one of these Colleges, and to several Missionaries, books to the amount of five hundred pounds. To the other College he made a large donation of books purchased by others, and trusted to his disposal.

P. 256. It was from a hope of advancing the interest of his College, that Dr. Berkeley submitted to the drudgery (for such he esteemed it) of bearing a part in the fruitless weekly debates with Clarke and Hoadly, in the presence of the Princess Catherine.

P. 258. Bishop Berkeley never had any idea of Cloyne as a beautiful situation. He declared to Mrs. Berkeley, soon after he was advanced to the Prelacy, that his resolution was never to change his see; because, as he afterwards confessed to the Archbishop of Tuam, and the late Earl of Shannon, he had very early in life got the world under his feet, and he hoped to trample on it to his latest moment. These two warm friends had been pressing him to think of a translation: but he did not love episcopal translations. He thought that they were sometimes really hurtful to individuals, and that they often gave, though unjustly, a handle to suspect of mean views, an order to which that holy and humble man was himself an honour, and to which it may be said, without adulation, that he would have been an honour in any age of the Church. Humble and unaspiring as was the Bishop of Cloyne, the Earl of Chesterfield sought him out; and when, as a tribute to exalted merit, that nobleman offered to him the see of Clogher, where he was told he might immediately receive fines to the amount of ten thousand pounds, he consulted Mrs. Berkeley, as having a family, and, with her full approbation, not only declined the Bishopric of Clogher, but the offer which accompanied that proposal, of any other translation which might become feasible during Lord Chesterfield's administration. The Primacy was vacated before the expiration of that period. On that occasion, the Bishop said to Mrs. Berkeley, "I desire to add one more to the list "of Churchmen, who are evidently dead to ambition and avarice." Just before his embarkation for America, Queen Caroline endeavoured to stagger his resolution, by the offer of an English Mitre; but, in reply, he assured her Majesty, that he chose rather to be President of St. Paul's College, than Primate of all England.

Ibid. The Bishop was summoned out of the world, whilst Mrs. Berkeley was reading to him the lesson in the burial-service, taken from the xvth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians. On this most sublime chapter he was commenting, when his heavenly spirit soared aloft to his kindred souls.

Ibid. The writer of the article is mistaken as to the hour of the Bishop's rising, and with respect to his concert. Unless for a short time, and to keep off a lethargy, he never did rise at four o'clock in the morning, but generally at six or seven. To exclude cards, which through life he despised and disliked in no small degree, he usually had a concert after tea. As to authors, Plato and Hooker were two of his principal favourites.—So far Mrs. Berkeley.

On the authority of Dr. George Berkeley, the Bishop's son, we are enabled to confirm the facts mentioned in the additional note, p. 259, concerning the Chaplainship and Degree; and on the same authority we are assured, that his father did not write, and never read through, the "Adventures of Signor Gaudentio di Lucca." Upon this head, the Editor of the Biographia must record himself as having exhibited an instance of the folly of building facts upon the foundation of conjectural reasonings. Having heard the book ascribed to Bishop Berkeley, and seen it mentioned as his in Catalogues of Libraries, I read over the work again under this impression, and fancied that I perceived internal arguments of its having been written by our excellent prelate. I was even pleased with the apprehended ingenuity of my discoveries. But the whole was a mistake, which, whilst it will be a warning to myself, may furnish an instructive lesson to others. At the same time I do not retract the character which I have given of the "Adventures of Signor Gaudentio di Lucca." Whoever was the author of that performance, it does credit to his abilities and to his heart.

Dr. Warton hath paid a juſt tribute to the great ingenuity and worth of Biſhop Berkeley, in his Eſſay on the Writings and Genius of Pope. Speaking of the Biſhop's "Siris," the Doctor obſerves, that many a vulgar Critic has ſneered at it for beginning at *Tar* and ending with the Trinity; incapable of obſerving the great art with which the tranſitions in that book are finely made, where each paragraph depends upon and ariſes out of the preceding, and gradually and imperceptibly leads on the reader, from common objects to more remote, from matter to ſpirit, from earth to heaven (*a*).

(*a*) Eſſay on Pope, vol. ii. p. 259—261.

One of the Guardians written by Dr. Berkeley, was Number 69 (*b*). It is an encomium upon the Archbiſhop of Cambray's "Demonſtration of the Exiſtence, Wiſdom, "and Omnipotence of God," and a tranſlation of the Act of Devotion with which that book ends.

(*b*) Gentleman's Magazine for 1780, p. 125.

There has very lately been publiſhed a ſecond edition of "Memoirs of George Berkeley, D.D." being the ſame with our article by Dr. Stock. To theſe Memoirs are added ſix letters which Dr. Berkeley wrote from Italy, and a great number of extracts from letters ſent by him to Thomas Prior, Eſq; of Dublin. Theſe laſt ſerve to mark the progreſs of the Bermuda project, and of the Author's hopes and fears on that intereſting occaſion.

A handſome Edition of all Biſhop Berkeley's works, printed at Dublin, in two volumes quarto, has juſt been announced to the public.

BETTERTON (THOMAS), p. 297.

In Mr. Davies's "Dramatic Miſcellanies," frequent mention is made of Mr. Betterton, and always in terms of the higheſt applauſe. Mr. Davies has alſo conſecrated a whole chapter to the memory of the abilities and character of this great actor. As the work now mentioned cannot fail to be in the hands of the admirers of dramatic poetry and lovers of theatrical hiſtory, we ſhall chiefly content ourſelves with adverting to a few circumſtances in which the author has corrected ſome miſtakes of our learned predeceſſor.

According to what may be deemed the well founded teſtimony of Southern, which is followed in the Biographia, Mr. Betterton was born in 1635. But Downs places his birth three years later; "which, ſays Mr. Davies, ſeems a little ſurpriſing, as the "Roſcius Anglicanus" was publiſhed in the life-time of Betterton, who muſt have con-"verſed with the author almoſt continually from 1662 to 1706, the date of his nar-"rative (*a*)."

(*a*) Dramatic Miſcellanies, vol. iii. p. 385, 386.

The marriage of Mr. Betterton with Mrs. Saunderſon is fixed, by Dr. Campbell, to the year 1670. But the exact time is very uncertain. From Downs, it appears, that the Villain, a Tragedy, and Shakſpeare's Henry the Eighth, were revived, at the Duke's Theatre, before the Plague of London, in 1665; and the name of Mrs. Betterton is placed to Belmont, in the Villain, and to Queen Catherine, in Henry the Eighth. The marriage, therefore, muſt have taken place five years ſooner than the time ſettled in the Biographia (*b*). We beg leave to ſuggeſt to Mr. Davies, whether the name of Mrs. Betterton's being annexed to Belmont, a man's part, muſt not have been a mere literal error.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 386.

The union of the two companies is ſuſpected, in the article, not to have taken effect till 1686. But Mr. Davies, by looking on the date of the firſt edition of Dryden's and Lee's Duke of Guiſe, which was printed in 1683, finds, from the title page and the dramatis perſonæ, that Betterton and Company were then in poſſeſſion of the King's Theatre (*c*).

(*c*) *Ibid.* p. 389.

Mr. Davies thinks that Powel the Player, who is mentioned in note [*I*], is treated with too much contempt. This Actor had abilities, but, by putting too much confidence in them, and by indulging to idleneſs and intemperance, he was prevented from riſing to a greater degree of perfection in his poſſeſſion. In note [*K*], Mrs. Montford and Mrs. Verbruggen are mentioned as two different Actreſſes, whereas they were the ſame perſon. Mrs. Montford, by her ſecond marriage, became Mrs. Verbruggen (*d*).

(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 394, 395.

Though the time of Mrs. Betterton's death cannot abſolutely be ſettled, it has been ſuppoſed that ſhe lived no more than ſix months after her huſband. But Mr. Davies has proved, that ſhe was living thirteen months after that event: for, on the 4th of June, 1711, at the particular deſire of ſeveral Ladies of quality, the Comedy called "The Man of Mode, or Sir Foplin Flutter," was acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury-Lane, for her benefit (*e*).

(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 398.

Mr. Pope, when very young, was ſo charmed with Betterton, and Betterton with him, that, at the requeſt of the latter, the good old man ſat to him for his picture, which he drew in oil. This curioſity is ſtill to be ſeen in Kenwood, in the poſſeſſion of Lord Mansfield (*f*).

(*f*) P. 400, 401.

We

CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA

We cannot forbear mentioning a circumſtance which diſplays, in a very ſtriking light, Mr. Betterton's excellence in theatrical repreſentation. When he performed Hamlet, his countenance, which was naturally ruddy and ſanguine, when he came to the ſcene of the third act where the ghoſt appears, through the violent and ſudden emotion of amazement and horror, turned, inſtantly, on the ſight of his father's ſpirit, as pale as his neckcloth; and, at the ſame time, his whole body ſeemed to be affected with a tremor inexpreſſible; ſo that, had his father's ghoſt actually riſen before him, he could not have been ſeized with more real agonies. This was felt ſo ſtrongly by the ſpectators, that the blood ſeemed, likewiſe, to ſhudder in their veins; and they, in ſome meaſure, partook of the aſtoniſhment and horror with which they ſaw this excellent Actor affected (*g*). (*g*) *Ibid.* p. 57, 58.

Another fact, to the ſame purpoſe, occurs in the Richardſoniana. The firſt time that Booth attempted the ghoſt, when Betterton acted Hamlet, Betterton's look at him ſtruck him with a dread and horror, which diſconcerted him to ſuch a degree, that he could not ſpeak his part (*b*). (*b*) Richardſoniana, p. 77, 78.

BINGHAM (JOSEPH), p. 315.

Mr. Bingham's works were tranſlated into Latin, and publiſhed at Hall, in Germany, in eleven volumes, quarto, in the year 1751.

BIRCH (THOMAS), p. 323.

From a paper with which we have been favoured by the Rev. Mr. Briſted, Rector of St. Peter's and St. Mary's Weſtoutrit, Lewes, in Suſſex, we learn, that Birch made but a ſmall proficiency in the firſt ſchool to which he had been ſent. After he had been there ſix or ſeven years, Mr. Claridge, the learned Clergyman who turned Quaker, examined him, and found him very deficient; but, at the ſame time, thought, from the boy's manner of anſwering, that he did not want parts or diligence. Accordingly, he was committed to the care of Mr. Welby, and under this new Tutor his progreſs was great. Mr. Welby was afterwards elected maſter of the Grammar School at Lewes, and thither Mr. Birch accompanied him as his Uſher. This happened about the year 1726.

We were miſtaken in aſſerting, that Mr. Birch muſt have entered into the Church ſo early as in 1728. He was ordained Deacon by the Biſhop of Saliſbury (Dr. Hoadly), at King-Street Chapel, Jan. 17, 1730, and Prieſt by the ſame prelate, Dec. 21, 1731, as appears by his letters of orders. He could not, therefore, be Curate to his wife's father, when he married. The death of Mrs. Birch was owing, in part, to a conſumption, though the dreadful criſis was brought on by child-bearing. It was at the time of Mr. Birch's being ordained Prieſt, that he was preſented to the Rectory of Siddington St. Mary, and the Vicarage of Siddington St. Peter (*a*). (*a*) Ayſcough's Catalogue of the Manuſcripts preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum, hitherto undeſcribed. Preface, p. v.

We expreſſed ourſelves inaccurately, in mentioning, ſeveral times, that Dr. Birch was *inducted* to his different livings. The proper term is *inſtituted*. In eccleſiaſtical language, the Dioceſan *collates*, when the preferment is in his own gift, or *inſtitutes* on the preſentation of any other Patron. *Induction* is, in the former caſe, the ſecond, and in the latter the third ſtep in the proceſs of taking poſſeſſion (*b*). (*b*) From the information of Dr. Diſney.

Dr. Birch, in his office of Secretary to the Royal Society, was ſucceeded by Dr. Maty, and not by Dr. Morton.

In the marginal note, p. 323, for *Grenſco*'s read *Greaves*'s.

To the Catalogue of Dr. Birch's publications, the following muſt be added. "Profeſſor Greaves's miſcellaneous Works," in two volumes, octavo, 1737. Dr. Cudworth's "Intellectual Syſtem, (improved from the Latin edition of Moſheim;) his diſcourſe on the true notion of the Lord's Supper, and two Sermons, with an account of his life and writings; in two volumes, quarto, 1743. An edition of Spenſer's "Fairy Queen," in three volumes, quarto, 1751, with prints from deſigns, by Kent. "Letters between "Col. Robert Hammond, Governor of the Iſle of Wight, and the Committee of Lords "and Commons at Derby-Houſe, General Fairfax, Lieut. General Cromwell, Commiſſary "General Ireton, &c. relating to King Charles the Firſt, while he was confined in "Cariſbrooke-Caſtle in that Iſland. Now firſt publiſhed. To which is prefixed a "Letter from John Aſhburnham, Eſq; to a Friend, concerning his Deportment towards "the King, in his Attendance on his Majeſty at Hampton-Court, and in the Iſle of Wight." octavo, 1764. Dr. Birch's laſt Eſſay, "The Life of Dr. Ward," which was finiſhed but a week before his death, was publiſhed by Dr. Maty, in 1766 (*c*). (*c*) Nichols's Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer, p. 116, 117.

Mr. Ayſcough has extracted, from a ſmall pocket-book belonging to Dr. Birch, the following memoranda of ſome pieces written by him, of which he was not before known to be the author. 1726. "A Latin Tranſlation of Hughes's Ode to the Creator." 1727. "Verſes on the General Hiſtory of Printing." Publiſhing the General

History of Printing. Collections for Smedley's View. 1728. "Abelard to Philotas." 1732. Began the General History. 1739. "Account of Alga." Published in the Works of the Learned for July. "Account of Milton." Published in the Works of the Learned. 1741. Wrote the Letter of Cleander to Smerdis, in the Athenian Letters. 1742. Wrote an Account of Orr's Sermon, in the Works of the Learned. 1743. Wrote the Preface to Boyle's Works. 1760. By a letter from Dr. Stonhouse, it appears that Dr. Birch was the author of the Life of the Rev. Mr. James Hervey, which is prefixed to that gentleman's writings. He was employed, likewise, in correcting a great number of publications, and among the rest Murden's State Papers. At the time of the Doctor's death, he had prepared for the press a collection of letters, to which he had given the title of "Historical Letters, written in the Reigns of James the First and "Charles the First, containing a Detail of the public Transactions and Events in "Great-Britain during that Period; with a Variety of Particulars not mentioned by "our Historians. Now first published from the Originals in the British Museum, "Paper-office, and private Collections." Mr. Ayscough proposes to undertake the publication of these letters, provided he meets with such an encouragement as shall reimburse him for his expence (*e*). We hope that the specimens of this work, which have lately been given in Mr. Maty's Review, will recommend it to the protection of the lovers of history.

(*e*) Ayscough's Catalogue, *ubi supra*.

Anthony Bacon's papers were not chiefly transcribed from the Lambeth library, as was mentioned in page 323, but, for the most part, from other collections.

In a late splendid and ingenious publication, we have met with a passage concerning Dr. Birch, which has struck us with surprise. "Dr. Birch, says the writer, was said to "be a dextrous man, prepared to sail with every wind; but as his temptation to trim "had not commenced in 1738, he wrote the life of Milton, without any mixture of "that aldermanly discretion which disposed him afterwards to serve the times with more "deliberation (*f*)." Upon what this severe insinuation is grounded we are not able to say. In none of our enquiries concerning Dr. Birch, have we found reason to impeach the sincerity or uniformity of his regard for the cause of civil and religious liberty.

(*f*) Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, Esq; vol. i. p. 364.

BLACKMORE (RICHARD), p. 335.

From the inaccuracy with which Blackmore, in his poems, has pronounced the ancient names of nations or places, Dr. Johnson has inferred, that the thirteen years he spent at the University, seem to have passed with very little attention to the business of the place (*a*). A strong testimony, however, to his diligence, whilst at Edmund-Hall, has lately been produced, in the Gentleman's Magazine, from Turner's "Book of "Providence." "Dr. Richard Blackmore, says Turner, my contemporary and colleague "(*fellow-collegian*) at Oxon, now living, and one of the College in London, was, in "his first years, one of the most eager and diligent students I ever knew; sitting up "at his book till twelve, one, two, and sometimes three o'clock in the morning, and "then lying down only upon his chairs till prayer-time, till his health broke, and he "was constrained, by necessity, to retire into the country, to repair himself by "physic (*b*)."

(*a*) Lives of the Poets, vol. iii. p. 65, 66. Octavo edition.

(*b*) Gent. Mag. for 1781, p. 460.

Besides the works mentioned in the article, Sir Richard Blackmore wrote "A true and impartial History of the Conspiracy against King William, of glorious Memory, in the year 1695 (*c*)."

(*c*) Lives of the Poets, *ubi supra*, p. 90.

Dr. Johnson has added to the number of those liberal-minded men who have endeavoured to rescue Sir Richard Blackmore's name from the contempt with which it has been treated, and to do justice to his abilities, as well as to his virtue. To his "Creation" the Doctor hath given high praise, and has drawn the character of it with singular precision and elegance (*d*). As to Sir Richard's other poems, nothing, we suppose, can preserve them from oblivion.

(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 92—95.

BLACKWELL (THOMAS), p. 343.

Lord Kaims, speaking of the wonderful perfection to which Homer arrived, at a period when arts were far short of maturity, says, "An author of genius has endea-"voured to account for this extraordinary phenomenon; and I willingly acknowledge, "that he has exerted much industry, as well as invention; but in my apprehension, "without giving much satisfaction (*a*)." Dr. Beattie, however, thinks more favourably of Dr. Blackwell's work (*b*).

(*a*) Sketches of the History of Man, vol. i. p. 275, 276. Second edition.

(*b*) Dissertations, moral and critical, p. 158.

CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA

BLOOD (THOMAS), p. 317.

An ingenious Critic, in the Gentleman's Magazine, has expreſſed his ſurpriſe, that, in our additions to this article, we ſhould have omitted the following famous epigram:

" When daring Blood, his rent to have regained,
" Upon the Engliſh diadem diſtrained,
" He choſe the caſſock, ſurcingle, and gown,
" The fitteſt garb for him that ſteals a crown:
" But his lay-pity underneath prevailed,
" And while he ſpar'd the keeper's life he fail'd.
" With the Prieſt's veſtments had he but put on
" The Prelate's cruelty, the crown had gone (*a*)."

(*a*) Gent. Mag. for 1780, p. 125.

BOLTON (EDMUND), p. 400.

Mr. Warton, in his Hiſtory of Poetry, calls Edmund Bolton " that ſenſible old Engliſh Critic;" and hath given, from his " Hypercritica," a curious extract, as a ſpecimen of the manner in which he hath deſcribed the ſtyle of our moſt noted Poets before the year 1600. The ſame diſtinguiſhed author has added a learned note concerning Mr. Bolton's writings (*a*).

(*a*) Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, vol. iii. p. 275—279.

BOOTH (BARTON), 421.

The name of Booth frequently occurs, and in terms of high applauſe, in the three volumes of Mr. Davies's " Dramatic Miſcellanies." To the abilities of the Actor he added a very amiable character; and whilſt he was a manager of the Theatre, he mixed in the ſociety of the reſt of the players, took part in their intereſts, and was valued and beloved by them as their companion. When Harper remonſtrated to him, that Shepherd's income was larger than his by twenty ſhillings a week, though he preſumed, he ſaid, that his own induſtry and variety of buſineſs were not inferior to other's, Booth replied, " Suppoſe, now, Harper, we ſhould make you both equal, by reducing his " ſalary to yours?"—" By no means, anſwered Harper, I would not injure Mr. Shep- " herd for the world; I would only, by your favour, Sir, honeſtly ſerve myſelf."—The manager ſaid no more; but on pay-day, Harper found his weekly allowance increaſed by an addition of twenty ſhillings (*a*).

(*a*) Dramatic Miſcellanies, vol. iii. p. 458, 459.

A ſhort account of Booth is, likewiſe, given by Mr. Davies, in his Life of Garrick (*b*).

(*b*) Life of Garrick, vol. ii. p. 349—351.

BORLASE (WILLIAM), p. 426.

Dr. Borlaſe was Vice-Warden of the Stannaries. Gent. Mag. for 1780. p. 140.

BOTT (THOMAS), p. 428.

To the publications of this author muſt be added, " A Review of the Paſſage in Tully's firſt Tuſculan Diſputation, concerning Pherecydes's Notion of a future State, againſt Mr Warburton." Octavo, 1744.

We were miſtaken in aſſerting that Mr. Edmund Bott was ſome time a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

BOULTER (HUGH), p. 436.

In 1745, was publiſhed, " Boulter's Monument: A panegyrical Poem, ſacred to the Memory of the late Archbiſhop of Armagh." Price 3s (*a*). The Archbiſhop's own excellent character has erected for him a far more durable monument than this Poem could raiſe; which, whatever its merit might be, has ſunk into oblivion.

(*a*) Gent. Mag. for 1745, p. 560.

BOW-

TO THE SECOND VOLUME.

BOWYER (WILLIAM), p. 448.

Since the article was printed, Mr. Nichols has publiſhed, in quarto, "Biographical and Literary Anecdotes of William Bowyer, Printer, F.S.A. and of many of his learned Friends." To this work, which contains a moſt valuable treaſure of information, under the head of Biography, we refer for every farther particular that might be collected, relative to Mr. Bowyer.

BOYD (ROBERT), p. 455.

James, late Earl of Errol, was alſo hereditary Lord High Conſtable of Scotland, and walked as ſuch at the coronation of his preſent Majeſty, in 1761 (*a*).

(*a*) Gent. Mag. for 1780, p. 125.

BOYLE (RICHARD), Earl of Cork, p. 471.

Agreeably to what may be deemed the beſt authority, that of the Earl himſelf, in his "True Remembrances," his birth is fixed to the third of October, 1566. But the Earl alſo ſays, that his father, "Roger Boyle," and his mother, "Joan Naylor," were married in Canterbury, on the 16th of October, in the eighth year of Queen Elizabeth; which as that Princeſs came to the Crown in November, 1558, muſt alſo be in 1556. This, at firſt ſight, ſeems ſtrange, as, according to his Lordſhip's own account, his parents muſt have been married a fortnight after he, their ſecond ſon, was born. But, according to the following authentic certificate, the Earl has unluckily miſtaken two years in the date of his father's marriage: viz.

"Marriages, 1564.

"Roger Boyle and Joane Naylor, 31 Day July."

"This is a true copy of the regiſter belonging to the pariſh of St. Paul's, in the "city of Canterbury,

"Feb. 1, 1780. "J. Airſon, Vicar."

The legitimacy, therefore, of the Earl is fully eſtabliſhed, ſuppoſing him to have been born at the time he has mentioned (*a*).

(*a*) Gent. Mag. for 1780, p. 124.

In page 459, for Sir *Richard* Manwood, read Sir *Roger* Manwood, Chief Baron of the Exchequer. Some anecdotes concerning Sir Roger Manwood and his family, are in the hands of Mr. Boys of Sandwich, which, by the favour of that gentleman, we hope, in a proper place, to introduce to the public.

In page 464, our predeceſſor has ſaid, that the great Earl of Cork had intereſt enough to obtain that the poſt of Lord High Treaſurer of Ireland ſhould be made hereditary in his family. It has not, however, continued in the male-line of the Houſe of Boyle. It is certain, that, on the death of the laſt Earl of Burlington, in 1753, this great office was conferred, by his late Majeſty, on the then Marquis of Hartington, who was not of the Boyle family; and it is now enjoyed by his ſon, the preſent Duke of Devonſhire, who deſcends from a female branch. His Grace, in right of his mother, enjoys, alſo, the Barony of Clifford, by which title her anceſtor, Charles, the ſon of the firſt Earl of Burlington, was called up by writ to the Houſe of Peers (*b*).

(*b*) Gent. Mag. for 1780, p. 140.

BOYLE (ROBERT), p. 516.

It is mentioned, in the article, p. 495, that after Mr. Robert Boyle quitted Eton, his father carried him to Stalbridge, in Dorſetſhire. This Manor came into the poſſeſſion of the great Earl of Cork, by grant of King James the Firſt, upon the attainder of Lord Audeley. The Earl, at his deceaſe, left it to his ſon Robert. The Manſion-Houſe is a large ſtone building, which is ſtill in good repair. It ſtands in the center of a rich and luxuriant Park, and commands an extenſive proſpect of the fertile vale of Blackmore. Here Mr. Boyle reſided for ſome years; and it has always been a tradition, that his earlieſt experiments in natural philoſophy and chemiſtry were made in this place. A room is ſhewn to ſtrangers, which he is ſaid to have appropriated for theſe uſes. The Rev. Mr. John Douch, his Tutor, was a native of Dorſetſhire, and educated at Trinity College, Oxford. In 1621, he was inſtituted to the Rectory of Stalbridge, from which he was ejected by the parliamentary Commiſſioners, in 1649. Upon this occaſion,

occaſion, Mr. Douch, his wife, and children were expoſed to ſevere and cruel hardſhips. He lived to the time of the Reſtoration, and was re-poſſeſſed of his living. The advowſon of the Rectory of Stalbridge was afterwards purchaſed by Archbiſhop Teniſon, who gave it to Bene't College, Cambridge (*a*).

(*a*) From the communications of our ingenious and much-eſteemed correſpondent, the Rev. Mr. Hall, of Child-Okeford, Dorſetſhire.

BOYLE (CHARLES), Earl of Orrery, p. 519.

At the beginning of the ſecond volume of Atterbury's "Epiſtolary Correſpondence, Viſitation Charges, Speeches, and Miſcellanies," lately publiſhed by Mr. Nichols, are eight Letters written to his famous Tutor, by Mr. Charles Boyle, whilſt he was a Student at Chriſt-church. Theſe diſplay his abilities, and his ſtudious turn of mind, to good advantage. From a Letter of Atterbury's to Mr. Boyle, written in 1698, it appears that the former laid the deſign of the celebrated book in anſwer to Bentley's Diſſertation, wrote above half of it, reviewed a good part of the reſt, and tranſcribed the whole (*a*).

(*a*) Epiſtolary Correſpondence, &c. vol. ii. p. 1—22.

In the Index to the ſecond volume of the Supplement to Swift's Works, we are informed, upon the authority of Dr. Johnſon, that the inſtrument called the Orrery was firſt invented by Mr. Rowley, a Mathematician born at Litchfield. Mr. Rowley gave it the name of his Patron's Title.

BOYSE (JOHN), Earl of Cork and Orrery, p. 527.

The diſſenſions between Charles Earl of Orrery and his ſon Lord Boyle, together with its fatal conſequence, originated, it is believed, from a refuſal of the latter to ſuffer his wife to ſit at table with his father's miſtreſs. Upon this occaſion, old Southern ſaid, "What will not the devil and a whore make a man do?"

In Number 161, of the World, written by John, Earl of Cork and Orrery, the noble author painted from the life his own ſon, Charles Lord Dungarvan. This young Nobleman, with a good-nature bordering upon weakneſs, happening to fall in among the Philiſtines of Party at Oxford, his conſtitution was ruined by liquor, and his decay and death were the conſequence. He was otherwiſe entirely free from vicious inclinations.

Among many bon mots of Hamilton Boyle, Mr. Duncombe recollects the following: his father once wondering why the Iriſh Peers are allowed to walk at royal funerals, but not at weddings, his ſon (then Lord Dungarvan) replied, that neither could he conceive the reaſon, unleſs it were that the Iriſh Peers were expected to *howl*.

It muſt be regretted, that the Earl of Cork and Orrery, in his laſt illneſs, burnt many manuſcripts, and among them the continuation of his letters from Italy, on account of their not being corrected and fairly tranſcribed. It is apprehended that his Florentine Hiſtory underwent the ſame fate (*a*).

(*a*) From the communications of Mr. Duncombe.

The verſes quoted, p. 524, were from an imitation of Horace, Ode 9. Book IV. by Mr. Duncombe.

In the fourth volume of Mr. Walpole's "Anecdotes of Painting in England," may be found ſeveral curious and entertaining particulars relative to the laſt Earl of Burlington, and his fine taſte in architecture and gardening.

BOYSE (SAMUEL), p. 537.

Several of Mr. Boyſe's poetical productions are publiſhed, in different parts of Mr. Nichols's ſelect Collection of Poems.

BRINDLEY (JAMES), p. 602.

Monkey's Iſland is ſaid to be near Richmond; whereas it is near Maidenhead.

BROWN (ROBERT), p. 621.

Mr. Brown is ſaid, p. 617, to have been preferred to the Rectory of a Church in Northamptonſhire. This living was *Achurch*, near Thrapſton, in that county. Dr. Chambers, the late worthy Rector of the ſame place, informed his friend Dr. Diſney of this circumſtance, and ſhewed him the ſtone in the Pariſh Church which covered the grave of Brown.

A ſhort communication of Mr. Maſters's, concerning Robert Brown, has unfortunately been miſlaid.

BROWNE (SIMON), p. 647.

An additional letter, written by Mr. Browne, when he was under his extraordinary frenzy, is too curious to be omitted. It has been communicated to us by our friend, the Rev. Mr. Emans of Coventry.

Letter from Mr. Simon Browne to his Friend Mr. Billingſley.

"SIR,

"You went away without Collins, which I have therefore ſent after you. You may "profit by him: I cannot ſo much as wiſh to profit by that, or any thing elſe, and am too "thoroughly deſtroyed to have advantage from your or any one's compaſſion or prayers. "For which reaſon I think Mr. Leveſly may ſpare himſelf the pains of a trip hither, if he "comes to the bath. If he has any thing to communicate relating to my affairs in the "city, you will, I ſuppoſe, ſee him, and may, if you pleaſe, communicate it at ſecond "hand. But if he has the melancholy curioſity to ſee a wretch, all body, without ſo much "as the remembrance of the ruins of that mind that was once a tenant in it, and ſhould "come over, I would requeſt if I could, that when he ſees me it may be with no com-"pany out of the neighbourhood; that if he be not ſtruck with conviction of my caſe upon "view, and God ſhall ſtill have left me the power of ſpeech, I may at laſt convince him "that my caſe has not been a deluſion of fancy, but the moſt tremendous reality, and "that the thinking being that was in me is by a conſumption continual of five years "duration now wholly periſhed, and come to NOTHING."

BROWNE (ISAAC HAWKINS), p. 653.

In p. 647, the "Profeſſor of Poetry," at Cambridge, is mentioned. But we are informed that, properly ſpeaking, there is no ſuch Profeſſor at that Univerſity. The cenſor of the verſes ſpoken of muſt probably be underſtood.

The Proſe Tranſlation of Mr. Browne's Poem, "Animi Immortalitate," was by his friend, Mr. Highmore, the painter.

In p. 652, for "Though Mr. Browne was *not* bred to a Profeſſion," read "Though Mr. Browne was bred to a Profeſſion."

When the late Dr. Henry Goddard, a learned and able Phyſician, who practiſed at York, was an Undergraduate at St. John's College, in Cambridge, his room was immediately above that of Mr. Baker, the famous antiquary, who, being ancient and infirm, was eaſily diſturbed and affected by any unuſual noiſe in the neighbouring apartments. On this account, Goddard, who was a very ſober regular perſon, had his room matted, that he might not incommode the worthy old Gentleman. One night however, having invited ſome of his friends, among whom was Mr. Browne, to ſpend the evening with him, the chearfulneſs of the converſation (notwithſtanding Mr. Goddard's frequent remonſtrances) put them off their guard, and in the end brought up Mr. Baker, to ſue for peace. Upon opening the door, appeared a tall meagre figure in a black gown, a night-cap, over which was a broad brimed hat, on his head, and a twinkling taper in his hand. Without giving the apparition time to ſpeak, Browne ſtarted up, and repeated from Shakſpeare,

"Angels and miniſters of grace defend us!
"Be thou a ſpirit of health, or goblin damn'd,
"Bring with thee airs from heaven, or blaſts from hell,
"Be thy intents wicked or charitable,
"Thou com'ſt in ſuch a queſtionable ſhape,
"That I will ſpeak to thee."———

This, which in other circumſtances would have appeared a cruel inſult, was really no more than an enthuſiaſtic impulſe, neither the effect of intoxication, nor of a ſpirit of malignity. Accordingly, it was readily excuſed by the good old man, after a genteel apology, from Mr. Browne in perſon, was made the next morning.

The following anecdote, which was related by Mr. James Cloſe, a reſpectable Solicitor of Lincoln's-Inn, is of more conſequence, and highly honourable to Mr. Browne. During the time that Mr. Browne attended the Chancery Bar, the merits of a cauſe were argued before the Lord-Chancellor Hardwicke, the deciſion of which depended

upon aſcertaining the rights and obligations of gavel-kind. The Counſel, employed on each ſide, having rather perplexed than thrown light upon the ſubject, the Lord-Chancellor ſaid, "There ſits a gentleman, (meaning Mr. Browne) who, I believe, "knows more of the matter than any of us;" at the ſame time requeſting him to favour the Court with his ſentiments on the caſe in queſtion. Mr. Browne, having firſt modeſtly excuſed himſelf, was prevailed upon to comply with the Chancellor's motion, and ſpoke for an hour on the riſe and tenure of gavel-kind, with great learning, accuracy, and preciſion, and with a particular application to the matter in hand. The Chancellor thanked him much for the information himſelf and the audience had received, and expreſſed his concern that he had not the pleaſure of hearing him oftener upon other ſubjects (*a*).

(*a*) From the communications of an eminent dignitary of the Church of England.

In the ſixth volume of Mr. Nichols's ſelect Collection of Poems, are two poetical pieces of Mr. Browne's, not publiſhed in his works, and three epigrams by him, never before printed (*b*).

(*b*) Select Collection, vol. vi. p. 93—99.

BROWN (JOHN), p. 674.

By the favour of the Rev. Dr. Balguy, we are enabled to correct ſome inaccuracies in this article.

Brown was admitted of St. John's College, Cambridge, on the 8th of May, 1732, but was not matriculated till at the time we have mentioned. His tutor was not *Tonſtall*, (it ſhould have been *Tunſtall*) but *Wrigley*. The former was only employed as an aſſiſtant, and did not become tutor himſelf, till many years after. Mr. Wrigley, who was tutor to Dr. Balguy, as well as to Brown, was reputed a Jacobite. However that may have been, he was a zealous advocate for the divine authority both of Kings and Biſhops, and a zealous oppoſer of Mr. Locke. Fortunately he was an indolent man, and took no great care to inſtil his own ſentiments into the minds of his pupils. It was in January, 1735-6, that Mr. Brown took the degree of Bachelor of Arts. He was, indeed, "Wrangler," at the taking of that degree; but he was not at the head of the liſt. The moderator, Rutherforth, gave the preference to a pupil of his own; one much inferior to Brown: but Brown himſelf was by no means equal to ſome others of the ſame year. In p. 660, the name of "Oſbaldeſton" is wrong ſpelt. It was Oſbaldiſton. The information given us, that Dr. Brown's "Principles of Chriſtian Legiſlation" were nearly completed, was erroneous. The work may more properly be ſaid to have been but juſt begun. The plan, which was immenſe, could not have taken leſs than twenty volumes. The firſt volume he ſhewed to Dr. Balguy, and conſulted him about the farther progreſs of the deſign. Dr. Balguy took much pains to perſuade Dr. Brown to *read*, before he went on to *write*. Even *without* reading, he muſt have been very expeditious, if he had finiſhed the work in ſeven years. The plan was really a curioſity, and, if we had obtained it, would have well deſerved to have been printed.

The impromptu to Dr. Brown, in p. 658, is ſaid to have been written by Mr. John Sharp, then Fellow of Corpus-Chriſti College, Cambridge, afterwards Doctor in Divinity, and Rector of St. Mary Abchurch, London (*a*).

(*a*) From Mr. Duncombe's communications.

In Mr. Davies's Life of Garrick, are ſome ſtrictures on Dr. Brown's "Barbaroſſa" and "Athelſtan;" an account of the manner in which theſe tragedies were received by the public; and obſervations on his character and writings in general. Mr. Davies concludes the chapter relative to Dr. Brown, with ſaying, that he had a ſoul full of gratitude, and that his honour and integrity were unqueſtioned by all who knew him (*b*).

(*b*) Life of David Garrick, Eſq; vol. i. p. 197—206.

A curious letter, concerning the character of Dr. Brown, which originally appeared in the St. James's Chronicle, is preſerved in the Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, Eſq; p. 714—717.

In p. 655, agreeably to what was generally regarded as an undoubted fact, we aſſerted, that Dr. Brown had the principal hand in Mr. Charles Aviſon's Eſſay on Muſical Expreſſion. But we are now informed, from the united teſtimonies of Robert Page, Eſq; of Newcaſtle-upon-Tyne, of a worthy and learned Clergyman in that neighbourhood, and of another of the ſame deſcription at Carliſle, that this was not the caſe. Mr. Aviſon did, indeed, ſend his manuſcript to Dr. Brown, who made ſome corrections in the ſtyle, and recommended ſome alteration in the order and diſpoſition of the parts, but could in no ſenſe be conſidered as the writer of the work. There are few authors who do not ſubject their compoſitions to the criticiſm of their friends, before they ſuffer them to appear in public. This was all that was done by Mr. Aviſon, with regard to his Eſſay on Muſical Expreſſion.

Mr. Charles Aviſon was the ſon of a Muſician at Newcaſtle. Such was his early paſſion for muſic, that, when he was only eight years of age, fearing to be refuſed admittance to a morning Concert, he entered the Hall on the preceding evening, and hid himſelf among the benches; being contented to paſs the whole night in that diſagreeable ſituation, that he might enjoy, on the next day, the pleaſure he expected. He afterwards travelled with an Engliſh Gentleman, and during this excurſion diligently at-

tended the lectures and performances of the moſt famous Profeſſors, to which he joined a critical examination of every thing that had been written on the ſcience of muſic. By theſe means he cultivated the happy diſpoſitions with which nature had bleſſed him. But his peculiar attention was directed to the works of thoſe great maſters in harmony, who have flouriſhed during the laſt eighty years, and whoſe beauties of ſtyle he has, with ſo much ſkill and taſte, tranſplanted into his own compoſitions. That he was no ſervile copier, even of thoſe models he moſt admired, evidently appears from the many improvements he has introduced into his own Concertos. Finding that the *fugues* even of the greateſt maſters, were apt to hang too much upon the ear, and to weary the attention, he has happily corrected this, by occaſionally introducing lively and animated *ſolo paſſages*, attended with the moſt graceful accompanyments. By theſe accompanyments, the ear is prepared to receive with double pleaſure the united ſounds of the grand *counter points* which follow them. As a performer, Mr. Aviſon exemplified, on his favourite inſtrument, the harpſicord, all the elegance and effect of the rules he has left us. Chaſte, flowing, and pathetic, his performance was an uniform repreſentation of the feelings of his own tender mind. Even when he gave a looſe to his fancy in the playing of *voluntaries*, his ſtrains were never diſgraced by thoſe baſtard embelliſhments, under which many capital maſters ſtrive to hide their want of taſte and ſentiment. The habitual ſerenity of Mr. Aviſon's mind pervaded his every performance, and no true judge ever ſaw him riſe from his harpſicord without regret. In private life he was moſt amiable. His good breeding was the reſult of elegant feelings, and of boundleſs benevolence. An affectionate huſband, a tender parent, a ſteady friend, without gall, as without guile, he was moſt beloved by thoſe who knew him beſt, and ſuch was his general deportment, that it captivated the hearts of all about him.

Mr. Aviſon did not underſtand the learned languages, but had a competent knowledge of French and Italian, and was extremely well read in the admired Engliſh Authors. His talents as a writer, and his abilities as compoſer, were ſuch as rendered him fully equal to the propriety of diction, and to thoſe truly juſt and elegant ſtrictures upon the principles of muſical expreſſion with which his work abounds. The paſſage from Polybius, quoted in his Eſſay, was taken from a French tranſlation.

Mr. Aviſon died in 1770, being ſixty years of age. He had a numerous family, three of whom ſurvived him; but only one of his children is now living, and that is his youngeſt ſon, who is an Organiſt at Newcaſtle.

The above character has chiefly been taken from a letter written to Mr. Page by Mr. Callander, a Gentleman of faſhion and fortune, at Craigforth, near Edinburgh, who was Mr. Aviſon's intimate friend, and who was for ſome time engaged in a deſign of writing an "Account of the Lives and Works of the moſt eminent Profeſſors of Muſic, "from the Age of Paleſtrina to the year 1750."

We ſhall here, once for all, take notice, that manuſcript letters, by ſeveral of the Browns, whoſe articles have occurred in our work, are preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum.

BUCHANAN (GEORGE), p. 688.

In Dr. Gilbert Stuart's Hiſtory of Scotland, Buchanan frequently occurs, and an elaborate character of him is there drawn by that able writer. This character is, in ſeveral reſpects, greatly to Buchanan's diſadvantage; and Dr. Stuart even goes ſo far as to charge him with being the forger of the famous letters of Queen Mary to Bothwel, which have occaſioned ſo much controverſy among the Scottiſh Antiquaries (*a*). It cannot comport with the nature of theſe Addenda, to enter into ſo nice and difficult a queſtion.

(*a*) Hiſtory of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 242—246.

In Mr. Hollis's Memoirs, are ſome diſcuſſions and facts relative to Buchanan, and eſpecially to his book "De Jure Regni apud Scotos," together with the characters of him, at full length, which are given by Burnet, Thuanus, and Spotſwood (*b*).

(*b*) Memoirs of T. Hollis, Eſq; vol. ii. p. 549—557. 637—640.

The Abbé de Mably hath lately applauded in high terms the excellence of Buchanan as an Hiſtorian (*c*).

(*c*) Dialogues concerning the Manner of writing Hiſtory, p. 97, 98.

BUDGELL (EUSTACE), p. 693.

The only numbers, in the "Guardian," that appear to have been written by Mr. Budgell, are 24 and 31 (*a*).

(*a*) Gent. Mag. for 1780, p. 125.

The epitaph aſcribed to Budgell, in note [*B*], is in Camden's Remains. It was written for Queen Elizabeth, to whom alone the title of the firſt maid on earth could properly be applied. We are indebted to the Right Rev. the Biſhop of Dromore for pointing out to us this miſtake.

We

We find, likewiſe, that the epigram on the bad Dancers was not the production of Mr. Budgell, but of Mr. George Jeffreys, who hath reclaimed it, in the preface to his works (*b*).

(*b*) Gent. Mag. for 1779, p. 599.

BULL (GEORGE), p. 708.

The learned writings of Biſhop Bull, in defence of the Doctrine of the Trinity, have lately excited freſh attention, upon account of the controverſy occaſioned by Dr. Prieſtley; and, accordingly, the demand for them has increaſed to ſuch a degree, as to produce a conſiderable advance in the price for which they are ſold.

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TABLE of the LIVES

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THIRD VOLUME.

[Thoſe with this Mark *** prefixed are new Lives. Thoſe with this Mark † have ſome Addition made to them.]

Page			Born A. D.	Died A. D.
1	†	BULLEYN (William), Phyſician and Botaniſt -	——	1576
11	†	BUNYAN (John), Divine - - -	1628	1688
13	***	BURGH (James), Moral and Political Writer -	1714	1775
16	†	BURNET (Thomas), Divine and Philoſopher -	——	1715
20	†	BURNET (Gilbert), Prelate, Divine, and Hiſtorian -	1643	1714-15
41	†	BURTON (William), Topographer - -	1575	1645
43		BURTON (Henry), Controverſial Writer - -	1579	1647-48
46	***	BURTON (John), Divine and Critic - -	1696	1771
49	***	BENTHAM (Edward), Divine - -	1707	1776
52	†	BUSBY (Richard), Schoolmaſter - - -	1606	1695
57		BUTLER (Family of)		
59	†	BUTLER (James), Duke of Ormond, Stateſman -	1610	1688
80	†	BUTLER (Thomas), Earl of Oſſory, ſplendid and popular Nobleman - - - - -	1634	1680
86	†	BUTLER (Samuel), Poet - - -	1612	1680
94	***	BUTLER (Joſeph), Prelate, Divine, and Ethical Writer	1692	1752
103	†	BYNG (George), Lord Viſcount Torrington, Naval Commander - - - -	1663	1733
120	***	BYROM (John), Poetical Writer - - -	1691	1763

C

124	***	CABOT (Sebaſtian), Navigator - - -	1477	1557
128	†	CÆSAR (Julius), Civilian - - -	1557	1636
131	†	CALAMY (Edmund), Divine - -	1600	1666
136		CALAMY (Edmund), Divine - - -	1635	1685
137	†	CALAMY (Benjamin), Divine - -	——	1686
140		CALAMY (James), Divine - - -	——	1714
140	†	CALAMY (Edmund), Divine, Controverſial Writer, and Biographer - - - -	1671	1732
145	†	CALDERWOOD (David), Divine, and Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian, in the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century -	——	——
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151		CALVERT (George), Lord Baltimore, Stateſman -	1582	1632
153	†	CAMDEN (William), Hiſtorian and Antiquary -	1551	1623

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194	†	CAMPBELL (Archibald), Earl of Argyle, Patriotic Nobleman	——	1685
200	***	CAMPBELL (John), Duke of Argyle, Warrior, and Stateſman	1678	1743
208	***	CAMPBELL (Archibald), Duke of Argyle, Stateſman	1682	1761
209	***	CAMPBELL (John), Hiſtorical, Biographical, and Political Writer	1707-8	1775
215	***	CANTON (John), Natural Philoſopher	1718	1772
222	†	CAPEL (Arthur), Lord Capel, Warrior	——	1648-9
226	†	CAPEL (Arthur), Earl of Eſſex, Stateſman	——	1683
232		CAREW (Family of)		
232		CAREW (Sir John), Baron Carew, Warrior	——	1363
232		CAREW (Sir Thomas), Warrior	——	1430-31
233		CAREW (Thomas), Warrior, in the Sixteenth Century	——	——
234		CAREW (George), Earl of Totneſs, Warrior and Stateſman	1557	1629
235		CAREW (Sir Andrew)	——	1644
235	†	CAREW (Thomas), Poet	——	1639
236	***	CAREW (Richard), Antiquary	1555	1620
237	***	CAREW (Sir George), Embaſſador	——	1613
238	†	CARLETON (George), Prelate and Divine	——	1628
239	***	CARLETON (Dudley), Viſcount Dorcheſter, Embaſſador and Stateſman	1573	1628
249	†	CARPENTER (Richard), Divine and Poet, in the Seventeenth Century	——	——
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250	†	CARPENTER (George), Lord Carpenter, Warrior	1657	1731-32
254	***	CARSTARES (William), Divine and Political Agent	1649	1715
264	***	CARTE (Thomas), Hiſtorian	1686	1754
270	***	CARTERET (John), Earl Granville, Stateſman	1690	1763
280	***	CARTWRIGHT (Thomas), Divine	1535	1603
287	†	CARTWRIGHT (William), Divine and Poet	1611	1643
290	†	CARY (Henry), Viſcount Falkland, Stateſman	——	1633
291	†	CARY (Lucius), Viſcount Falkland, Stateſman and Author	1610	1643
300		CARY (Robert), Chronologer	1615	1688
301	†	CASAUBON (Iſaac), Critic	1559	1614
306	†	CASAUBON (Meric), Divine and Critic	1599	1671
309	***	CASLON (William), Letter-founder	1692	1766
310	***	CASTELL (Edmund), Divine and Lexicographer	1606	1685
312	†	CAVE (William), Divine	1637	1713
313	***	CAVE (Edward), Printer	1691	1754
316		CAVENDISH (Thomas), Navigator, in the Sixteenth Century	——	——
321	†	CAVENDISH (Sir William), Stateſman	1505	1557
324		CAVENDISH (William), firſt Earl of Devonſhire	——	1625-26
325	†	CAVENDISH (William), ſecond Earl of Devonſhire	1589	1628
327		CAVENDISH (William), third Earl of Devonſhire	1617	1684
329	†	CAVENDISH (William), Duke of Newcaſtle, Warrior and Author	1592	1676
336	***	CAVENDISH (Margaret), Ducheſs of Newcaſtle, Author	——	1673
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344	†	CAVENDISH (William), firſt Duke of Devonſhire	1640	1707
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419	†	Chaloner (Sir Thomas, junior), Naturaliſt -	1559	1615
422		Chamber (John), Phyſician - -	——	1549
422		Chamberlayne (Edward), Miſcellaneous Writer -	1616	1703
423		Chamberlayne (John), Miſcellaneous Writer -	——	1724
424	***	Chambers (Ephraim), Author of the Cyclopædia -	——	1740
430	***	Chandler (Samuel), Divine - -	1693	1766
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494	***	Cheyne (George), Phyſician - -	1671	1742
499	†	Chichley (Henry), Archbiſhop of Canterbury -	——	1443
506	†	Chichester (Arthur), Lord Belfaſt, Warrior and Stateſman	——	1625
508	†	Chillingworth (William), Divine - -	1602	1643-44
518	***	Chishull (Edmund), Divine and Antiquary -	——	1733
521	***	Chubb (Thomas), Controverſial Writer - - -	1679	1746-47
532	†	Chudleigh (Lady Mary), Poetical Writer -	1656	1710
533	†	Churchill (Sir Winſton), Hiſtorical Writer -	1620	1688
537	†	Churchill (John), Duke of Marlborough, Warrior and Stateſman - - -	1650	1722
565	***	Churchill (Charles), Satiric Poet - -	1731	1764
581	***	Cibber (Colley), Actor and Dramatic Writer -	1671	1757
592		Clagett (Nicolas), Divine - - -	1607	1663
592		Clagett (William), Divine - -	1646	1688
594		Clagett (Nicolas), Divine - - -	1654	1726-27
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610	***	Clarke (William), Divine and Antiquary -	1696	1771
620	***	Clayton (Robert), Iriſh Prelate and Divine -	1695	1758
628	***	Cleiveland (John), Poet - -	1613	1658
633	†	Clifford (George) Earl of Cumberland, Navigator	1558	1605
642	†	Clifford (Thomas), Lord Clifford, Stateſman -	1630	1673
645	***	Clive (Robert), Lord Clive, Warrior -	1725	1774
663	***	Cockburn (Catherine), Poetical and Ethical Writer -	1679	1749
672	†	Codrington (Chriſtopher), Benefactor to Religion and Literature - - - - -	1668	1710
675	†	Coke (John), Stateſman - - -	——	1644
677	†	Coke (Sir Edward), Lord Chief Juſtice, and Writer upon Law - - - - - -	1550	1634

THE

LIVES

OF THE

Moſt eminent PERSONS

Who have flouriſhed in

GREAT-BRITAIN, and *IRELAND*,

From the earlieſt Ages, to the preſent Times.

BULLEYN (WILLIAM), a learned Phyſician and Botaniſt in the reigns of King Edward VI. Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth. He was born in the former part of King Henry the VIIIth's reign, and, as himſelf informs us, in the Iſle of Ely (*a*). He was nearly related, as he alſo ſays, to the principal family, or chief houſe, at Blaxhall in Suffolk (*b*). Whether he was any ways a-kin to Sir William Bulleyn who was Sheriff of that county and Norfolk, in the fifteenth of Henry VII. and grandfather to Queen Anne Bullen, we might better reſolve, if we could find that his arms agreed with theirs; which were *Argent*, a *Chevron Gules*, *inter Three Bulls Heads couped Sabel, armed Gules* (*c*). He was bred up, it ſeems, at the univerſity of Cambridge. However, he might lay ſome foundation of learning in arts at Oxford, as Anthony Wood ſays; though he knew not, through the imperfection of their records in thoſe times, whether he took any degree in that univerſity; but adds, that applying his mind to the ſtudy of Phyſic, he took his degrees in this ſcience elſewhere, became famous therein, and was a member of the College of Phyſicians at London. Thus much, with the titles of his books, is all the perſonal hiſtory which that author has recorded of him, excepting, what is erroneous, that he flouriſhed, or was alive, above ten years after his death (*d*). But this ſhort and unſatisfactory account might have been much enlarged and improved by the inſpection only of our author's works. For therein it appears, that he had been a traveller over ſeveral parts of Germany, Scotland, and eſpecially England; throughout which he was well acquainted with the natures of the people, and the products of the ſoil, eſpecially vegetables; which qualified him to deſcribe their virtues ſo well, and to employ them ſo ſucceſsfully as he did, in the reſtoration of health. In or before Queen Mary's reign, he ſeems to have been much converſant about the city of Norwich, where he made ſome remarks upon ſeveral natural productions of that place. He appears, likewiſe, to have reſided a longer time at Blaxhall in Suffolk, where he alſo made ſeveral of the like obſervations. But he removed afterwards into the North: and where he is ſpeaking of the ſalt that is made in England, he mentions, among other places, the Shiles by Tinmouth-caſtle; where he had a property in the ſalt-pans which were upon that water; as, at Blith in Northumberland, alſo had Sir John Delaval; a patron whom he deſcribes to have been of great worſhip and hoſpitality there, for many years; a patron, who was far from making any ill uſe of his ſalt; who never powdered his neighbours, tenants, or others dependent upon him, with extortion, or oppreſſion; but, on the contrary, ſo extenſively ſprinkled his generous virtues among them, that the kindly ſeaſoning would preſerve his good name freſh and ſweet in remembrance, as

(*a*) Dr. Bulleyn's Book of Simples, fol. 21. b.

(*b*) His Government of Health, 8*vo*, p. 126.

(*c*) Fuller's Worthies, in Norfolk, &c.

(*d*) Ath. Oxon. edit. 1721, vol. i. col. 235.

our author promiſes, when his book, by which even it is preſerved, or tranſmitted to poſterity, would, as he fancied, though too humbly, of it, be rotten (*e*). But afterwards, he appears to have been more permanently ſettled at Durham; and here he made alſo other obſervations, as he had done in the counties before mentioned; upon ſome of the products he treats of, which were either remarkable for their plenty, excellency, or other qualities; a few whereof may not be unacceptable in a note apart [*A*], as

(*e*) See his Book of Simples, fol. 75. b.

[*A*] *A few whereof may not be unacceptable in a note apart.*] Among thoſe natural products, whereon Dr. Bulleyn made ſuch obſervations in the counties aforeſaid, it may not be unuſeful to repeat what he has noted in his chapter of Milk; where after having diſtinguiſhed, in what caſes and diſtempers, that ſoft and nutritious liquor, ſo natural to the conſtitutions of man and beaſt, may be improperly and with evil effects uſed; he adds, that nevertheleſs we ſee what a goodly ſupport milk is in a commonwealth, and the feeders thereon, to be people of a good temperament and complexion; as in Wales, Suffolk, Eſſex, and eſpecially about Alſten Moor, among the mountains in the Biſhopric, where there is little tillage, and ſo much bringing up of cattle, that in this country, ſome time belonging to Sir Thomas, the Baron of Hilton, the people are all chiefly nouriſhed with milk, and uſe little of any other drink (1). In the ſame work, our author makes an obſervation out of other counties, upon the preſervation of their flocks, by the virtues of the herb Tormentile, where he aſſerts, that the ſheep which feed thereon, ſhall never die of the rot; that he has ſeen it proved in ſundry places in Norfolk; and at Blaxhall in Suffolk, upon a ſheep-walk in the ſaid town, where they lived many years without rotting, through the virtues of this herb; and ſays, that the ſhepherds alſo had obſerved the ſame (2). There are, likewiſe, diſperſed up and down his works, ſome little remarks on the plenty and perfection of ſome native fruits, and other vegetable products of our country in his time, which, being before planting and gardening lent their more artful hands to the improvement of them, might contribute to illuſtrate the natural fertility of our ſoil and climate, and be very materially inſtanced, not only to remove ſome diſparaging reflections which have been made upon them, but excite our gratitude for the ſame, and alſo our induſtry to multiply and meliorate this national bleſſing. It is not unlikely, indeed, that commerce may have increaſed the variety of thoſe vegetables, which are of great convenience to us; as it has alſo introduced a variety of ſuperfluities, and even things we might be contented with of our own growth. But for a late ingenious author to ſay, that, *Without the benefit of commerce, what a barren, uncomfortable ſpot of earth falls to our ſhare!* looks more like the ſophiſtry of ſome French merchant, or other mercenary ſtranger; at leaſt as if it proceeded more from the dictates of a private domeſtic intereſt in foreign importations, than the public ſpirit of an ingenuous countryman, who was any thing of an hortulan antiquary, and well read in our Natural Hiſtorians, Herbaliſts, and Writers of huſbandry and gardening, or in common experience itſelf. The circulation of money, the profits of exchange; the conſumption of our own manufactures, and, indeed, the gratification of our luxury and extravagance, with our thirſt after variety and novelty, and to adopt or naturalize things in faſhion or requeſt in other countries, might yield juſter motives for the ſupport of commerce, than the defects of *our ſun and ſoil* (3). But this author found it alſo neceſſary to imply, that by the aſſiſtance of art and the planter, our fruits (all truly of foreign extraction) may be kept from degenerating into the *traſh of our country*. And yet, when very little art in that planting was uſed among us, at leaſt that is deſcended to our knowledge, we had ſurely better fruits of our own growth, than *hips* and *haws*, *acorns* and *pignuts*, at all times; or Julius Cæſar would never have ſaid of our iſland, apparently with regard to our vegetable varieties, and the perfection they were in, that excepting the beech and the fir tree; in other things, that is, in its natural furniture or productions, it was like France (4). And this is again well ſupported by the frequent mention in William of Malmſbury and others of our moſt ancient Hiſtorians, of the many vineyards we had in greater number and excellence, ſo many hundred years ſince, than we have now over many parts of the kingdom; in ſome whereof, the tythe of wine was a very conſiderable article, as Camden has collected out of thoſe writers; and it is affirmed, we have ſtill upon record, ſome treaty of peace between France and England, in which it is ſtipulated, that we ſhould root up our vineyards, and be their cuſtomers for all our wine. If ſuch extirpation of the Engliſh vineyards was not owing to this, it might be to the falling of Gaſcony into the hands of the Engliſh, whence wine was imported cheaper and better than we could make it. So might the improvement of our vintages be diſcouraged, for the employment of our navigation; and the name of vineyards remain in many places, which produce none of their fruit: yet were there very good grapes kept growing in many parts, as Dr. Bullein has particularly noted in Suffolk (5); though indeed our great neglect of planting and gardening, at ſeveral times and places in general; and of early publiſhing our experiments, obſervations, and improvements therein, are to be cenſured more than any inclemencies of our climate, which is ſo willing to maintain what our ſoil produces, that it has in ſome places worn the ſame youthful face of fertility for ages together, without any other art than that of nature herſelf: and the camomile, that has flouriſhed for two hundred years upon Brentford-Green (†), without any planter's care, may ſufficiently evidence how little the vigour of vegetation degenerates, or that of our ſun and ſoil decays. But after all, the confeſſed want of induſtry aforeſaid, will appear to have, among other cauſes, as foreign wars, civil wars, &c. been greatly promoted, even by commerce itſelf; which, for its own intereſt, has taken the advantage to ſupply us, with what we needed not, for the ſake of our money; and to diſcourage us, by ſuch arguments, from ſupplying ourſelves with what we wanted, only at the expence of our labour. Hence came our own vegetables to be ſo much neglected; hence ſo many ſhip-loads of fruits from abroad; and Billings-gate our beſt orchard for even thoſe fruits, which then grew in our gardens, fields, and hedges; as the caſe is, in ſome meaſure, to this day: and hence, that we had no *Engliſh Herbal* publiſhed, till near the middle of King Henry VIIIth's reign, and that but a tranſlation, full of faults and miſtakes (‡). Nay, the firſt publiſher of an original Herbal, in our tongue, Dr. William Turner, informs us, that Botany, or the knowledge of ſimpling, was fallen into ſuch neglect, that about the ſame time in that King's reign, or but few years after, he found not a phyſician in the Univerſity of Cambridge, who could inform him of the Greek, Latin, or Engliſh names of any plants he produced (*), as he gathered them to compile his firſt Latin ſkeleton of the ſaid Engliſh Herbal; and yet this was not owing to the ſcarcity of our plants and fruits, but rather to the variety of them, and the little regard that was paid to them. Foreigners might well take advantage of ſuch neglect, and conſequently ſuch ignorance; though this indolence of ours, and their ſeductions to it, were never ſo univerſally prevalent, but that we have had ſpirits, which in many parts of the kingdom for ages paſt, have, by their ſkill and expence in the enrichment of their country, demonſtrated the generous fertility of their lands, in the returns they made them for their labour. It might be excuſable enough in a Frenchman to diſſuade our countrymen from planting of hops, with an air of friendly concern, that our country would not produce them; but thoſe who have read in our author, Dr. Bulleyn, and others, in what perfection they flouriſhed here before that Frenchman was born, will look upon his concern as a kind of farcical friendſhip; and it might have juſtified the title of his book (6), if he could thereby have abridged our planters and our revenue of the great benefit they receive from them. It was above fifty years ſince affirmed by a Staffordſhire Phyſician, that they have advanced land to the profit of ſometimes an hundred pounds an acre (7). It has alſo

(1) Dr. Bulleyn's Book of Simples, fol. 84.

(2) *Ibid.* fol. 36. b.

(3) See The *Spectator*, edit. 8vo, 1747. No. 69.

(4) Comment. lib. v.

(5) His Government of Health, p. 162.

(†) As may be computed from Dr. Turner's New Herbal, fol. 1551, where he ſays, this herb then alſo grew on Richmond Green, and in greateſt plenty on Hounſlow Heath.

(‡) The Great Herbal, &c. fol. 1525.

(*) See Dr. Turner's Herbal, the laſt edit. printed fol. at Collen, 1568, in Pref.

(6) Le Treſore Politique, &c.

(7) W. Weſtmacott's Scripture Herbal, 12mo, 1694.

as what may contribute to illuſtrate, in ſome particulars, the Natural Hiſtories of thoſe places. In that city, he practiſed with great reputation, and among others of the moſt eminent

alſo been of late publickly ſet forth, that but four years laſt paſt, the produce of the duty on hops, was no leſs than ſixty-five thouſand two hundred eighteen pounds, twelve ſhillings and five pence: and that the laſt year, in which the Duke of Cumberland ſhone like another ſun in Great Britain, our hop-countries produced no leſs than 120,000 bags: yet we muſt have foreign commerce for their hops too, though the importation of the great quantities that have been damaged, rotten, dried to, and mingled with duſt, ſand, and other ſoil, which made two parts in three of foreign hops formerly imported, has been long ſince complained of (8): and ſeeing alſo, we ſo often want not ſufficient of our own growth; which, as Dr. Bulleyn obſerves, was in his time as good as any in the world (9). It might be for that reaſon of ſuch damaged importations, perhaps, that there was a petition preſented in Parliament againſt them, as a wicked weed, ſo long ago as in the reign of King Henry VI. (10); or if it was for any pernicious property conceived in them, or the injudicious uſe of them, they have ſince been ſo ſucceſsfully propagated and uſed, and we have had ſo much better improvement of their culture from the ingenious author, who firſt wrote thereof among us (11), and from the Botaniſts, who have diſtinguiſhed their virtues, that they have out-grown all their accuſations, and been adjudged wholeſome. That petition will ſhew, that the uſe of them came in long before the Reformation, let that comical author, Dr. William King, ſay what he will about hops not being to be put into an Engliſhman's drink before hereſy came in (12): wherein he might be miſled by an erroneous, or miſquoted rhyme in the addition made to Stow's Chronicle by his Editor, Edmond Howes, where he ſays,

> Turkies, carps, hops, pick'rel, and beer,
> Came into England all in a year (13).

Every one of theſe particulars, even not excepting perhaps that of hops and beer, might be confuted, if it were here expedient to enlarge upon thoſe topics. The like conceit ſeems to have been too ſtrictly entertained of our cherries; that we had none tolerable among us, till Richard Harris, fruiterer to King Henry VIII. brought over from Flanders, about that part of his Majeſty's reign before mentioned, the ſhoots or grafts of a better kind, and planted them here alſo at Tenham in Kent; from which plantation they are called Kentiſh cherries (14): but we may compute from our author, Dr. Bulleyn, again, that there grew great plenty of good cherries at Ketreinham, near Norwich, about the ſame time theſe Flemiſh cherries came to ſuch perfection in Kent. The ſame fruiterer brought over ſome different ſpecies of other fruits, as alſo did Mr. Maſcall of Plumſted, in Suſſex, as we are informed by a name-ſake of his (15): whence came our firſt Kentiſh pippins, and other plantations of thoſe pippins elſewhere, as alſo ſome pears perhaps; but we ought not to infer from thence, that we had no good apples and pears till that time, ſince we have it again from Dr. Bulleyn, that we had a pear of our own growth, in and about the city of Norwich, called the Black-Friars pear, that was very delicious, pleaſant, and profitable to hot ſtomachs; and he produces the judgment of a right worſhipful Phyſician of the ſame city, Dr. Manfield, that thoſe pears, without all compariſon, were the beſt that grew in any place of England (16). But as a proof of the great propenſity there is in the moſt barren, ſtony, and unpromiſing parts of our ſoil, to the vegetation of plants, and their bringing forth fruit in great plenty and perfection, even without care or culture, there is an extraordinary inſtance in the Orford peaſe; and Dr. Bulleyn ſeems to have been the firſt author who obſerved and recorded it, at leaſt who deſcribed this remarkable example of fertility, from his own ſight and knowledge of it. He ſays, that in the year 1555, at that town in Suffolk, between the haven and the main ſea, where never plough came, nor natural earth was, but ſtones only, infinite thouſands of ſhip-loads; there did peaſe grow, whoſe roots were more than two fathom long; and the peſcods grew in cluſters, like the chats or keys of aſh trees; bigger than fitches, and leſs than field peaſe; very ſweet to eat of, and ſatisfied many of the poor dwelling thereabouts, who would otherwiſe have periſhed for hunger; the ſcarcity of bread being that year ſo great, that many were driven to make much of acorns; and they laboured under the ſickneſs of a ſtranger fever beſides, than was ever heard of there. Now, ſays the Doctor, whether theſe peaſe and providence of God, came through ſhipwreck, with much miſery, or elſe by much miracle, I am not able to determine; but ſown they were not by man's hands, nor like other peaſe (17). This ſtrange event is repeated in ſeveral authors; and among the writers of our chronicles, John Stowe confirms the ſame. He ſays, it happened in Auguſt that year, and that the place by the ſea-ſide, all of hard ſtones and pebbles, was called a ſhelf, lying between Orford and Alborough, where never graſs grew, nor any earth was ſeen. He computes the crop that was gathered, to have been above an hundred quarters, and yet there remained, ſome ripe, and ſome bloſſoming, as many more. He ſays farther, that the Biſhop of Norwich, the Lord Willoughby, and great numbers beſide, went to behold this fruitful harveſt of the hard rocky ſtones, which lay for the ſpace of three yards under their roots; which were alſo ſweet (18), as, we read before, their fruit was. Dr. Bulleyn, in another part of the treatiſe aforeſaid, ſpeaks again of peaſe at Orford, that *grow* on the ſtones without ſowing (19), as if they grew oftener than once, or every year in ſuch manner; and indeed ſo it has been explained to me, by ſome inhabitants of that neighbourhood, that ſome remains of that great crop are ſtill produced there annually in their ſeaſon; however true the tradition may be, of ſome rigorous Lord, who endeavoured to deſtroy, and thereby deprive the poor of them. In this caſe they might ſow themſelves, as many fruits do; and ſo the peaſe on the Shelf at Orford, may almoſt contend for antiquity with the camomile on the Green at Brentford. But as for their firſt appearance there, in the year aforeſaid, if we are to look no higher than reaſon for the cauſe, that which it might moſt probably ſpring from, as Dr. Bulleyn has hinted, may be a ſhipwreck. Their being unlike other peaſe, ſtrengthens this ſuggeſtion; as that they might be of ſome foreign kind, unſeen in theſe parts before: but then this might have been remembered by the neighbours, and the Doctor might have told us more expreſsly, there lately had been ſuch a wreck upon that ſhore. As for the length of the ſtalks, *that* might be owing to the diſtance of the owzy bottom, or other lodging and rooting-places, down between the pebbles and cliffs of the ragged ſhelves, through which ſome ſand and ſoil, that had been thrown up by the tides, were waſhed and ſunk; which ſtones, beſides other benefits, ſupplying the chief uſe of earth, ſupported the ſtems for that length, up through the ſpaces and cavities between them, into the air; to which they muſt aſpire, as well by their own diſpoſition to germinate and fructify, as by the attractive power of the ſun, whoſe kindly and natural warmth thoſe looſe ſtones were more aptly diſpoſed to receive and communicate, than ſtove-walls may be to forward and fertilize, by their artificial heat, the more chilly and tender plants that are raiſed againſt them: as in ſeveral parts of France, and other foreign countries, the vines will grow ſo fruitfully out of ſuch ſloping banks of ſtones as ſhall appear more conducive to their fertility, than the ſhallow and hungry ſoil they are rooted in. Not only the more hardy and common vegetables of our own growth, have thus ſometimes flouriſhed in the moſt rude and uncultivated places, without any human labour of ſowing or planting; but, it is certain, that in our ſoil, however our weather may ſometimes be inconſtant and unfavourable, many more profitable exotics might, with ordinary care, be naturalized, than have been, and to better purpoſe; to the enrichment as well as ornament of our country, and as well in greater plenty as variety, if the ſpirit of importing and propagating them had been continued with the ſame vigour as it was begun. For when, after its long ſleep in the bed of ignorance, Botany began to revive, ſhoot forth its flouriſhing leaves, and diſplay its fruitful products in the works of the learned; when it came to inſtruct us in the vegetable

(8) See Statute primo Jacobi, cap. xviii.

(9) Government of Health, p. 210.

(10) Fuller's Worthies in Eſſex.

(11) Reginalde Scot's Perfect Platform of a Hoppe-Garden, and neceſſarie Inſtructions for the making and Mayntenaunce thereof, *&c.* Lond. 4*to*, 1578.

(12) The Art of Cookery, in imitation of Horace's Art of Poetry, *&c.* 8*vo*, no date, p. 17.

(13) Stowe's Chron. edit. fol. 1615, p. 948.

(14) The Kentiſh Cherry Garden, or Natural Hiſtory of the Cherry Tree, *&c.* 4*to*, MS. p. 11.

(15) See a Book of Fiſhing with Hook and Line, *&c.* by L. M. *i. e.* Leonard Maſcall, printed in 4*to* by J. Wolfe, about 1590, p. 7.

(16) His Government of Health, p. 156.

(17) His Book of Simples, fol. 30.

(18) Stowe's Chron. fol. 627.

(19) Book of Simples, fol. 8. b.

eminent inhabitants, was in great favour with Sir Thomas Hilton, Knight, Baron of Hilton, who was Captain of Tinmouth-caſtle under King Philip and Queen Mary. We gather farther from his printed works, that he performed ſome notable cures in that family, particularly on the Baron's Lady, whom he recovered of a dangerous tympany, with a bread which he directed to be made of anniſeeds and ſome other herbs (*f*). He alſo proved the virtues of dittany in curing the ſame diſeaſe at Tinmouth-caſtle, where plenty of it grew on the rocks (*g*): probably upon the ſame Lady, at leaſt ſome other perſon in her family; and many other medicines he mentions, which, by his own knowledge and experience, proved ſucceſsful in the relief of human maladies [*B*]. To that

(*f*) His Book of Simples, fol. 2. b.

(*g*) *Idem*, fol. 62. b.

treaſures of foreign nations as well as our own; when navigation invited our adventurous *Argonauts* to make diſcoveries in the New World, and eſtabliſh a communication between it and the Old, to the enlargement of the Britiſh glory as well as its dominions; and when our great men at home began to delight in more elegant buildings, and to adorn them around with the neweſt improvements of planting and gardening, which is recorded to have been in the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign; then were the ſaid diſcoverers of remote regions, as alſo our embaſſadors in foreign courts, beſides phyſicians, botaniſts, and other ingenious men ſkilled in this branch of Natural Philoſophy, induced, for the emolument of their country, as well as merchants and others, for their own, to import ſuch ſeeds, roots, fruits, and plants, as would furniſh thoſe curious perſons who encouraged them thereto, with various opportunities and occaſions of enlarging their experience in the fertility of this land: among whom, none of thoſe who ſolicited the ſaid importations, were more laudably aſſiduous, or more happily gratified, than the great Lord Burghley; though many others, our worthy navigators, travellers, and learned men, ſhould alſo be remembered, for their own honour, and that of this kingdom, who firſt embelliſhed the ſame with ſuch vegetable improvements; as well as thoſe patriots who excited them to the ſame; if it were proper in this place to carry the argument to its deſerved extent. By this means, and the arts of huſbandry and gardening, our vegetable productions were multiplied; many rare plants became natives of our ſoil, which are of ſovereign virtue in phyſic; many roots, greens, and pulſe, increaſed the variety of our food; and many trees no leſs diverſified our groves and gardens: Some, beneficial for the celerity of their growth; ſome, for the value of their timber; ſome, for the beauty of their flowers; ſome, for the magnificence of their ſhade; and others, for the excellence of their fruit; inſomuch that we had then, in that Queen's time, of our indigenous ſtores and importations together, beſides apricots, peaches, and others of the more elegant flavour, as we have elſewhere obſerved, no leſs than fourteen or fifteen different kinds of cherries; no leſs than threeſcore different kinds of plums, as many ſorts of pears, exceeding good; and apples of ſuch various kinds, as it was then thought impoſſible to deſcribe them all. So favourable was *our ſun and ſoil* in thoſe days, how indifferently ſoever they have been thought of in ours, when all thoſe, and many other fruits, with their different ſpecies, flouriſh in much greater variety. Mr. John Gerard, the famous botaniſt, whoſe indefatigable labour is no leſs to be commended, for increaſing the vegetable riches of this iſland, by rearing and naturalizing whatever plants were wanting in it, and he could procure from abroad, that would be beneficial to his countrymen, than for deſcribing them and their virtues ſo excellently as he has done in his Herbal (20), under the patronage and encouragement of the Lord Burghley aforeſaid. This man, moſt famous in his time for the knowledge and love of plants, had a large phyſic-garden near his houſe in Holbourn, wherein he raiſed near eleven hundred different herbs, ſhrubs, and trees, of foreign as well as domeſtic growth; as may be ſeen in the catalogue he publiſhed of them two years after the Herbal aforeſaid, which he dedicated in Latin to another of his patrons, Sir Walter Raleigh (21). Therein it may appear, that our ground would produce other fruits beſides *hips and haws, acorns and pignuts*. Yet commerce was ſtill ſo very obliging, that it condeſcended, at that time, to carry on a traffic even of pot-herbs, for the ſupply of our anceſtors tables, and would bring them home to their markets and doors, rather than give them the trouble of raiſing them in their gardens. For we are told, by a perſon of good knowledge in huſbandry, that in Queen Elizabeth's reign we had not only our garden wares from Holland (ſuch as cabbages, cauliflowers, &c.), but alſo cherries from Flanders, apples from France, ſaffron and licorice from Spain, and hops from the Low Countries; whereas now, ſays he, it is known, that licorice, ſaffron, cherries, apples, pears, hops, and cabbages of England, are the beſt in the world (22): And he imputes it to our ill huſbandry, that we have quinces from Flanders, ſmall nuts from Spain, prunes and walnuts from France, almonds from Italy, and cheſnuts from Portugal (23). Nay, we may gather from the ſame author, that, but twenty years before his writing theſe particulars, a famous town, which he names in the margin Graveſend, had not ſo much as a meſs of peaſe but what they were forced to ſend twenty miles for, even to London; though perhaps they ought to have been at the pains, ſince they would uſe none at home in raiſing them, to have gone as far as Orford for them.

(22) Robert Child's Letter on the Defects and Remedies of Engliſh Huſbandry, edit. 1651, in Samuel Hartlib's Legacy of Huſbandry, 4*to*, 1655, p. 9.

(23) *Idem*, p. 18.

[*B*] *Which, by his own knowledge and experience, proved ſucceſsful in the relief of human maladies.*] Beſides thoſe medicines he uſed to cure the Lady Hilton, and probably others, of a tympany, as before mentioned, our Doctor has ingenuouſly communicated ſeveral others, with which he no leſs effectually reſtored many patients; among which, we ſhall briefly point at ſome of the moſt remarkable. And theſe are, his clyſter to ſtop the bloody-flux; with which, he ſays, under the perſon or character of Health, 'Aſſure yourſelf I have helped many, and hin-'dered none that have uſed it; for I myſelf have 'oftentimes proved it, even ſo do you.' The particulars of the herbs, and other ingredients uſed in it, being too long to recite here, we muſt refer to, as alſo Dr. Manfield's clyſter for the cholic, mentioned in the ſame leaf (24). In his diſcourſe of eye-waters, he recommends ſome, which, in the ſame character, he ſays alſo, he had proved himſelf to have helped many; eſpecially one, which he tranſcribes from Euonimus; who, he ſays, was equal to any that ever practiſed diſtillation (25). In his treatiſe of the French diſeaſe, he fairly diſcloſes his own regimen, wherewith he cured many of it by his guaiacum-drink, and the diet here preſcribed; for the knowledge and management of which, he ſays, few men were to be compared to Thomas Glandfield, a ſkilful ſurgeon of London (26). With this diſcourſe ſhould be read, what he has ſaid in another of his books, as well upon the miſuſage, as the beſt manner of uſing the wood or raſpings of *Guaiacum*, in that diſeaſe (27), which, in thoſe days, was more common than is generally apprehended, as the antiquity of the ſaid diſeaſe has ſince been found more remote than the learned in our author's days ſuppoſed (28); and it never was more riſe among the Indians or Neapolitans, nor in France or Spain, than it was in the Doctor's time, or ſoon after, in England. An eminent ſurgeon publiſhed a tract not long after our author's death, wherein he affirms, that in the Hoſpital of St. Bartholomew in London, alone, there had been cured of this diſeaſe by himſelf, and three others, within five years, to the number at leaſt of one thouſand or more; and a little farther he ſays, 'It ſel-'dom happened, in that ſingle hoſpital, while I 'ſerved there, for the ſpace of nine or ten years, 'but that among every twenty diſeaſed perſons who 'were taken in, ten of them had the pocks (29).' But to return to our author; who, deſcribing a *tabes*, or corruption of humours, which begins with a continual rhume, and apoſthumates or putrifies the lungs, till it deſtroys the patient by a conſumption, he preſcribes a pill, made of the ſeeds and juice of ſage, with ſpicknard, ginger, long pepper, and old aſter, taking

(24) His Book of Compounds, fol. 38.

(25) *Ib.* fol. 42.

(26) *Idem*, fol. 47.

(27) His Book of Simples, fol. 60, &c.

(28) Monardus, Montanus, and Johannis de Vigo, &c. affirm, it firſt appeared in 1494, when the French King went to recover Naples; but a late Surgeon of our own, Mr. W. Beckett, has traced it up among us ſome centuries higher; and a French Phyſician, Monſieur Pattin, in his Letters, as high as it could go, even to Adam and Eve.

(29) W. Clowes De Morbo Gallico, 4*to*, 1585, ad fin.

(20) Printed in folio, 1597.

(21) 'Tis intituled, Catalogus Arborum, Fruticum, ac Plantarum, tam Indigenarum quam Exoticarum, in Horto Johannis Gerardi, Civis ac Chirurgi Londinenſis naſcentium. Fol. Lond. Impenſ. Joan. Norton, 1599.

that Knight aforesaid, he, in the Epistle prefixed, dedicates his book above made use of, intitled, *The Government of Health*, in the last year of Queen Mary's reign. In this Epistle he ingenuously sets forth the honour of physicians, and the praise of health; and in the book he refers to another of his writing, upon *Healthful Medicines* (*b*), which he finished the year after the former; but the manuscript copy of it, with many others of his books, *&c.* which made a good part of his library, perished unfortunately by shipwreck. The author upon this came patiently to London, with intention to have recompiled the said work, but was very injuriously, for a considerable time, obstructed in it: for it was not long after he arrived at that city, in the year 1560, before he found himself, to his great surprise and affliction, most falsely and wrongfully charged, by Mr. William Hilton of Bidick, with having murdered his brother, our author's worthy patron, the Baron aforesaid; who really died, among his own friends, of a malignant fever. Yet the innocent Doctor was publicly arraigned for the same before the Duke of Norfolk; and the most diligent injustice was used to bring him to a shameful death, that his adversary might, with the covetous Ahab, through false witness and perjury, obtain, by the counsel of Jezabel, a vineyard with the price of blood. But all the shame and scandal fell upon the prosecutor's own head. His malice and cruelty were by justice exposed and rejected; and the Doctor was, though not without much vexation and expence, very honourably acquitted. Yet did not that wicked enemy of his give over his bloody persecution; but basely hired some ruffians to assassinate him, with whom also others were drawn in as accomplices, who were of genteel extraction. One R. Bellises of Yarrow, in particular, in the aforesaid bishopric, did most ungratefully attempt the life of this learned man, to whose skill he had, not long before, been indebted for his own life. But this also proving ineffectual, the said William Hilton arrested Dr. Bulleyn in an action for debt, and confined him in prison for a long time (*i*), where he wrote a great part of those *Medicinal Treatises*, which are to this day extant. Herein he frequently complains, that the vigilant molestations of his implacable enemies both hindered him from publishing more of his writings, and from completing those he had already published for the good of his country. But these indignities grieved him the less, coming from him who was a stranger to him, seeing he had persecuted the Lady Hilton, his own brother's wife, whose shame, loss, and blood, he had also sought, though she had redeemed much of his lands from loss, by the great sums of money she had lent him; 'and when this man, says the Doctor, should have thankfully repaid 'that Lady her money, then he gratified her as he did me (*k*).' Here the Doctor exclaims against the most odious and deforming vice of ingratitude, as he has elsewhere more copiously done, in other parts of his work (*l*); shewing how, in spite of great titles, long pedigrees, and coats of arms, it degrades, defaces, and defiles all gentility with the blackest obloquy, scandal, and contempt. Thus, triumphant innocence having raised a monument of infamy over tyrannical guilt, he leaves his defeated and despised enemy, with the character of being profitable to few, and noisome to himself; a lover of few, and flatterer of many; a vessel of ignorance, full of ingratitude; and unnatural, even to his own children, by wasting that in law which should be reserved for their relief: and he concludes, with recommending this cataplasm to his mortified conscience. Notwithstanding these cruel interruptions, he found means to set forth such of his compositions as gained him the character of a learned, experienced, and able physician. Throughout the same he also appears a man of piety and probity; and though he lived in the times of Popery, he was no way tainted with its principles. He was very intimate with the works of the ancient physicians and naturalists, both Greek, Roman, and Arabian; and, at the same time, was very fruitful in many modern examples of his own experience, of which we have given a little taste in the last note: and he was, above all, commendable, not only for the generous disposition, very exemplary in our age, of commemorating so candidly several persons of distinction, who had done good among their friends and neighbours with their private or family receipts, but also for celebrating many of those contemporaries who were eminent in his own profession;

(*b*) The Government of Health, 12*mo*, edit. 1595, p. 23.

(*i*) Dr. Bulleyn's Preface to his Bulwark of Defence, *&c.*

(*k*) His Book of Simples, fol. 84, b.

(*l*) His Book of the Use of Sick Men and Medicines, fol. 75, *&c.*

taking every morning and evening an ounce; drinking sage water after it: and adds, 'This is the best 'pill that ever I did know, and it helped me in a 'great sickness (of that kind) in Suffolk, where some 'time I dwelled (30).' In another place he says, he has often proved that the roots of *calamus aromaticus* sodden in wine, and drank, has cured the white morphew (31). And somewhat farther, speaking of the dazie, and its virtues, called in Latin *bellis*, he more particularly informs us how he cured R. Bellisis, before spoken of, with it, among other medicines, of a palsey and a quartern, who yet sought afterwards divers ways to murder him, most ungratefully joining with ruffians for that bloody purpose (32). In the next leaf he relates how he recovered Sir Richard Alie, a Knight famous for his skill in military architecture, and especially for constructing the impregnable walls of Berwick, and other eminent buildings; to whom the Doctor administered relief, when other purgations would not work, and eased him of that choler adust, or melancholy humour, which annoyed him, with a decoction of sena, white ginger, and flowers of bugloss, in the whey of goats milk (33). Farther: where he is treating of the quality of cresses, he informs us of a Suffolk gentleman, who was an officer in the army, that was cured of a weakness in the seminal vessels, or involuntary wasting of nature, by an infusion of that herb in wine (34). Under his chapter of spurge, we have an account how the Lord Wharton was near being poisoned by *quid pro quo*, an ignorant servant, in the absence of the cook, procuring mercury sublimated at the apothecary's shop, instead of the herb mercury, and put it into the broth which his Lordship eat, and would have lost his life by it, if the poison had not been speedily discharged by proper emetics (35). And in his chapter of gums, &c. he says, that with a tent of bacon dipped in tar, he had oftentimes healed the fistula (36).

(30) His Book of Simples, fol. 5.

(31) *Idem*, fol. 18.

(32) *Ibid.* fol. 39, b.

(33) His Book of Simples, fol. 40.

(34) *Ib.* fol. 42, b.

(35) *Id.* fol. 48.

(36) *Ibid.* fol. 63.

of both which, for their gratification who may be curious in hiſtorical enquiries after the promoters and practitioners of medicinal ſcience in thoſe times, a ſhort recital is here annexed [*C*]. Thus we have drawn together what Dr. Bulleyn has written of others and of himſelf, as far as he thought fit to acquaint us with his own perſonal hiſtory. His farther character as an author, beyond what we have already obſerved upon it, might, if it were needful, be drawn from a more deliberate examination of his *Writings*; which, becauſe ſome account may be expected of them, we ſhall here remit to another note [*D*]; all but one tract, the laſt we have met with of our author's publiſhing; which,

[*C*] *Of both which, &c. a ſhort recital is here annexed.*] Of the firſt, or thoſe gentlemen and ladies who thus humanely relieved the infirmities of their neighbours, Dr. Bulleyn has theſe words: 'Many 'good men and women within this realm have divers 'medicines for the cancre, and help their neighbours 'who are in peril, and are not only poor and needy, 'having no money to ſpend in chirurgery, but ſome 'dwell where no chirurgeons be near at hand: In 'ſuch caſes, many good gentlemen and ladies have 'done no ſmall pleaſure to poor people; as that ex-'cellent Knight, and worthy learned man, Sir Tho-'mas Eliot, whoſe works be immortal; Sir Philip 'Parris of Cambridge, whoſe cures deſerve praiſe; 'Sir William Gaſcogne of Yorkſhire, that helped 'many ſore eyes: and the Lady Tailor of Hunting-'donſhire, and the Lady Dorrel of Kent, had many 'precious medicines to comfort the ſight, and to heal 'wounds withal, and were well ſeen in herbs. The 'Commonwealth hath great want of them, and of 'their medicines; which, if they had come to my 'hands, they ſhould not have been written on the 'backſide of my book. Among all other, there was 'a Knight, a man of great worſhip, a godly, hurt-'leſs gentleman, who is departed this life, his name 'was Sir Anthony Hevenyngham (37). This gen-'tleman learned a water to kill a cancre, of his own 'mother, which he uſed all his life, to the great help 'of many men, women, and children. He had alſo 'a ſalve for ſundry green wounds, but becauſe I have 'not the copy thereof, I will make report but only 'of that water which I am ſure he uſed; and it is 'not much unlike a water for the cancre which An-'dreas Furnerius, the Frenchman, did make, of 'great virtue, &c. (38)' And of the modern phy-ſicians, ſuch eſpecially who had advanced the worthy art of chirurgery, among the worthy fraternity of chi-rurgeons in London, by their lectures in anatomy, he commends 'the learned Dr. John Kaius, his reveal-'ing to the ſaid fraternity the hidden jewels and pre-'cious treaſures of Galen; ſhewing himſelf to be the 'ſecond Linacre, whoſe ſteps he followeth. Who 'ſhall forget, adds he, the moſt worthy Dr. William 'Turner? whoſe learned acts I leave to the witty 'commendations, and immortal praiſe, of Conradus 'Geſnerus: yet his book of herbs will always grow 'green, and never wither, as long as Dioſcorides is 'had in mind among us mortal wights (*). In the 'noble ſtate of Knights among the Engliſh or Britiſh 'nation, which of them did ever in race give a trip, 'out-run, or win the victory of Sir Thomas Eliot, 'Knight? who hath planted ſuch fruitful trees, &c. 'that his grafts do grow in each place in this our 'commonwealth; and his *Caſtle of Health* cannot de-'cay. Thomas Faire (or Phayer), Doctor of Phyſic, 'is not dead, but is transformed and changed into a 'new nature, immortal. He hath left a piece of 'dark earth behind him, and is gone over Lethe's 'flood, forgetting this world; and with pleaſure 'ſpendeth his time among the heavenly Muſes, under 'the two-topped Hill of Parnaſſus. Full well he 'knew Pliny, who taught the goodneſs of clean 'creatures, and alſo the peſtiferous venom of deadly 'melancholy ſerpents, and their preſent remedy by 'the virtue of herbs of ſundry kinds. Dr. Andrew 'Borde wrote alſo well of phyſic to profit the com-'monwealth withal. This man declared, how that 'he was in a great city where he did ſee three helliſh 'tragedies; the one was *Nullus Ordo*, the ſecond was '*Stridor Dentium*, the third was *Horror Inhabitans*; 'and yet this Borde was a bird of this neſt or cage, 'called Rome, whereof he maketh this report (39). 'I will not forget Maſter Thomas Paguinellus, or 'Paynel, who hath played the good ſervant to the 'commonwealth, in tranſlating good books of phy-'ſic. Dr. William Kunningham hath well travailed, 'like a good ſoldier, againſt the ignorant enemy; 'ſetting forth the commendation, praiſe, and profit 'of aſtronomy, coſmography, and geography, &c. '(40). How well was he ſeen in tongues, learned 'in arts and ſciences, natural and moral; a father 'in phyſic; whoſe learning gave liberty to the igno-'rant, with his *Whetſtone of Wit*, and *Caſtle of 'Knowledge?* and, finally, giving place to ſliding 'nature, died himſelf in bondage or priſon; by 'which death he was delivered and made free, and 'yet liveth in the happy land, among the laureat 'learned: his name was Dr. Record; with many 'others, which I muſt give place to time: for their 'virtues be not unknown in phyſic and chirurgery, 'although I name them not. Yet if you do further 'delight, without diſdain, to know the names of 'them who have been excellent in the worthy arts of 'chirurgery, phyſic, &c. I will declare their names 'in order as I have noted and known.' He then gives us a liſt of above an hundred and twenty anci-ents and moderns, foreigners as well as natives, who profeſſed the ſaid arts; among which, there are about thirty Engliſhmen; the chief of whom, not already named, are, Bartholmæus, who wrote *De Proprieta-tibus Rerum*; Dr. Barclay; Dr. Butts; Dr. Cle-mens; Dr. Chambers; Dr. Caldwell, of Oxford; Dr. Edwards, of Cambridge; Mr. Edmunds, ſur-geon, of York; and Mr. Gale, of London; Dr. Hector, of Cambridge; Dr. Robert Huyck, the Queen's Phyſician; Dr. Freer, of Cambridge; John Porter, of Norwich; Dr. Langton, and Dr. Larkin, both of Cambridge; Dr. Maſters; Robert Balthrop, ſurgeon; Dr. Simon Ludford, of Oxford; Thomas Colfe, apothecary; Dr. Wendy, of Cambridge; and Vicars, or Vicary, the ſurgeon, of London (41).

(37) Of Heven-ingham in Suf-folk.

(38) His Book of Compounds, fol. 46, 47.

(*) See more of Dr. Turner's praiſe, in Bul-leyn's Book of Simples, fol. 67, under the chap-ter of Tameriſk.

(39) See Dr. Boorde's ſecond Booke of the Breviary of Health, named The Extrava-gantes, 4*to* edit. 1587, fol. 5, b.

(40) See more of this Dr. Cunningham and his ſaid Work, in the Britiſh Librari-an, 8*vo*, 1738.

(41) Dr. Bul-leyn's Dialogue be-tween Sore-neſs and Chi-rurgery, fol. 4.

[*D*] *His writings —— we ſhall here remit to another note.*] Our author's book of *Healthful Medicines*, we have before ſpoken of, and obſerved, by what acci-dent the public was deprived of it. Whether it was written in the form of a dialogue, as the reſt of his pieces are, which we have ſeen, is not now to be re-ſolved. To what has been above ſaid of his book, intitled *The Government of Health*, we may add, that it was firſt printed in 8*vo*, 1548, according to An-thony Wood, with a wooden cut of the author pre-fixed, repreſenting his face in profile, with a long beard. An imperfect copy of one edition, had been the property of Mr. William Beckett, formerly a ſur-geon of note in London, who, to qualify himſelf for the laudable labour he had undertaken, of reviving our old phyſicians, a work long neglected, and which he, to the regret of the curious, left unfiniſhed, had made himſelf eminently acquainted with their lives and writings. By the dates written, by Mr. Beckett, at the end of this book, it appears that the ſaid edi-tion was printed in 1559. There was a later edition ſtill, after the author's death, part of which was bound up with this book, to complete it; in which, the title runs thus:—*The Government of Health; a Treatiſe written by William Bullein, for the eſpeciall good and healthful Preſervation of Man's Bodie from all noyſome Diſeaſes, proceeding from the Exceſs of evill Diet, and other Infirmities of Nature: Full of excellent Medicenes and wiſe Counſels, for Conſervation of Health in Men, Women, and Children: both pleaſant and pro-fitable to the induſtrious Reader. London: Printed by Valentine Sims, in Adling-ſtreet, at the White Swan, near Bainard's Caſtle*, 8*vo*, 1595. After the dedi-cation to Baron Hilton, as before obſerved, there are ſome Engliſh verſes of the author's, in praiſe of tem-perance and ſobriety, and on the ill conſequences of gluttony and drunkenneſs. At the end of them are two rhiming lines in Latin, to the ſame purpoſe, as follow:

Eſſe cupis ſanus? ſit tibi parca manus;
Pone gulæ metas, ut ſit tibi longa etas.

Which

which, to do juſtice to its contents, might ſwell that note too much, if it were involved in the catalogue of his other writings: for, as it contains many remarkable particulars, which,

Which may be rendered thus:

If for health you are thinking, be not often drinking;
If you'd live long quiet, be ſparing in diet.

The work contains an account of the nature and properties of all ſimples uſed in food, and how to prevent or deſtroy thoſe diſtempers to which the body of man is incident. In the 43d page of the former, and the 17th leaf of the laſt edition, there is an anatomical figure of a man with the twelve cœleſtial ſigns, and ſeven planets about him, directed to the ſeveral parts of the body over which they are conceived to preſide; which is copied from Jerom of Brunſwick's Anatomy, as Mr. Beckett has in a note at bottom obſerved. The work is interſperſed here and there with ſome other ſpecimens of our author's poetry, and ſome wholſome reflections or admonitions for the conduct of life. Among which, thoſe that would perſuade mankind to a regard of that ſagacity and forecaſt, they are commonly moſt apt to neglect, and which many parts of the brute creation have more prudence to practiſe, cannot be too much inculcated; nor any exhortations be more ſeaſonably enforced at all times, than thoſe he makes to all men, while they are in the health and vigor of their younger days, to provide againſt the infirmities of age; where ſpeaking of that luſty ſtate and flower of our lives, from the twenty-fifth to the thirty-fifth thereof, he ſays, 'It is the beſt time for mankind to travel in, 'with godly exerciſe in ſcience, art, and profitable 'travels in his vocation; putting in practice the vir-'tues which he hath learned in youth; for this is 'the ſummer part of life, wherein all goodly fruits 'did flouriſh in every good occupation: this is the 'very harveſt, to gather precious corn, and fruit of 'their labours, againſt the cold ſtorms and cloudy 'days of their aged winter, wherein the body ſhall 'be weak, and the eyes ſight decay, and the hands 'tremble; and therefore it is not comely to ſee the 'ſtate of age without reſt, which, in the time of 'youth, did honeſtly travel; for there is a grace 'given to many creatures, unreaſonable, both beaſts 'and fowls, to make proviſion before-hand: What 'is then to be required of men, reaſonable?' as he farther inſtances, in certain verſes there added (42). But ſome former reader of them perceiving the good ſenſe in thoſe lines, and regretting the infirmities of old age in them, which they admoniſh us to provide againſt, has endeavoured to re-inveſt them in a more modern dreſs; and theſe are the words as they are written in the margin of the ſaid copy.

(42) The Government of Health, p. 30.

The *bird*, in ſpring, her artful neſt will build;
The *ant*, with grain, in autumn ſtore her cell;
The *ſquirrel's dray*, with nuts, 'gainſt winter's fill'd;
Theſe, tho' *irrational*, their wants foretel!
Then ſhou'd not *man*, with *reaſon* on his ſide,
E'er he grows old, for age infirm provide?

C. S.

No leſs regard has our author had to youth than old age: and as his admonitions could not be more ſeaſonable in his days than they are in ours, ſo of no leſs general importance are his judicious enforcements of that indiſpenſable duty in all parents, of reſtraining their children in time, by education, from all indirect or diſcreditable courſes, and training them in thoſe that will make them ſerviceable members of a commonwealth; to the neglect of which is owing all the greateſt evils of a kingdom: for, ſays he, very emphatically, 'Parents have no ſmall charge com-'mitted unto them, that muſt give account to God 'how they have brought up their children; and they 'who in theſe years do ſpare correction, truly be 'grievous enemies unto their children, and at laſt 'ſhall be recompenſed with ſhame, when they ſhall 'ſee misfortune and wretchedneſs fall upon the fruits 'of their own ſeed. For men have ſmall profit of 'their corn, that is choked and overcome with thiſtles, 'bryars, and brakes, which were not weeded in 'time; much leſs of their children, who have re-'ceived neither correction nor honeſt learning in due 'ſeaſon. If the keepers of gardens be careful over 'their late ſown ſeeds and tender herbs, which are 'in danger to be deſtroyed of every froſt; what ſhould 'good fathers and mothers do for their children, 'whoſe tender and youthful years be carried away 'and overcome of every foo'iſh fantaſy (43)?' There is another treatiſe aſcribed to Dr. Bulleyn, in the firſt printed catalogue of our old books (44), and out of that, by Anthony Wood, intitled, *A Regimen againſt the Pleuriſy*, 8vo, London, 1562 (45); but this, not having ſeen, we cannot ſay any thing more of it. It is much that it was not involved, as *The Government of Health* in ſome part is, in the collection of his works which was publiſhed the ſame year. This is intitled, *Bulleyn's Bulwarke of Defence againſt all Sickneſs, Sorenes, and Woundes, that dooe daily aſſaulte Mankinde: which Bulwarke is kept with* Hillarius *the Gardiner*, Health *the Phiſician, with their* Chyrurgian, *to help the wounded Soldiors. Gathered and practiſed from the moſte worthie Learned, bothe old and newe, to the great Comforte of Mankinde. Doen by* Willyam Bulleyn, *and ended this Marche*, Anno Salutis, 1562, folio. *Imprinted at London by* John Kyngſton. On the back of the title-page are the arms of Henry Cary, Baron of Hunſdon, Knight of the Garter, printed from a wooden cut; to which Lord our author dedicates the volume, and calls it his Bulwark, or little Fort, againſt the bodily Evils of Soreneſs and Sickneſs; 'and though there may be many, *ſays he*, ma-'licious enough and cankered of mind, who with 'ſlander and diſdain may lay their batteries againſt 'this fort, I ſhall be ever able to repulſe them, 'through your Lordſhip's aid; for it neither wants 'ſtrength of ordnance, proviſion of victuals, nor po-'licy of the moſt worthy Captains and good Soldiers, 'as Hypocrates, Galen, Dioſcorides, &c. (46)' This volume conſiſts of, 1. *The Book of Compounds*, with a table of their names, and the apothecaries rules or terms. 2. *The Book of the Uſe of ſick Men and Medicines*; before which is prefixed a wooden print of an old man, in a fur gown, and a flat bonnet, his purſe or ſcrip by his ſide, ſupporting himſelf on his ſtaff, and a death's head at his feet, with four verſes at bottom. Theſe are both compoſed in dialogues, between Sickneſs and Health; with an Index at the end. Then follows, 3. *The Book of Simples*, being an herbal, in the form of a dialogue, between Marcellus and Hillarius; at the end of which are the wooden cuts of ſome plants, and of ſome limbecks or ſtills; and after theſe, an index to this part. The laſt treatiſe in the book is, 4. *A Dialogue between Soreneſs and Surgery*; concerning apoſthumations and wounds, with their cauſes and cures. This tract has three wooden cuts in it; one repreſenting a man's body on the fore part, full of ſores and ſwellings; the other, in like manner, behind: the third is alſo a human figure, in which the veins are ſeen, directed to, and named, which are to be opened in phlebotomy; and at the end is an index alſo, as to the reſt. Seventeen years after theſe pieces were thus publiſhed, or three years after the author's death, there was a ſecond impreſſion of them, with ſome few corrections and improvements (47); but there is no addition of the author's tracts before mentioned, or that treatiſe of his, which is the ſubject of the next note, and was publiſhed, in two or three editions, between the firſt publication and the laſt, of that collection. But there is prefixed to the ſaid laſt edition, a copy of commendatory verſes, by Thomas Newton, an eminent phyſician, and author of *Cheſter*; in which it plainly appears that Dr. Bulleyn was then dead, and therefore confirms us in what we before obſerved, as a miſtake in Anthony Wood. In the library of a phyſician, ſome years ago deceaſed, there was a copy of this volume, in a blank leaf of which were ſome other commendatory verſes upon it, written with a pen; which, becauſe they ſeem not to have been publiſhed, we ſhall here, as the greater rarity, preſent to our reader.

(43) Dr. Bulleyn's Government of Health, p. 28.
(44) A Catalogue of Engliſh printed Books, &c. compiled by Andrew Maunſell, Bookſeller, fol. 1595.
(45) Ath. Oxon. the firſt edit.
(46) Dr. Bulleyn's Epiſt. Dedic. to the Lord Hunſdon.
(47) Lond. folio, 1579.

So old a writer, and withal ſo good!
Believe me, Bulleyn, thou had'ſt ne'er withſtood
The teeth of Time, with ſuch a youthful look,
Had not good med'cines thus preſerv'd thy book.

Here we have cypreſs wood, and cedar oil,
To chaſe the worms and moths that might it ſpoil:
Then learning of each ſimple, compound makes,
To purge the Critics, and confound the Quacks.

Thus

which, by reaſon of its great ſcarcity, have been long buried and forgotten, we have been perſuaded to revive a particular extract of them: and as they comprehend a variety of intelligence, that may be uſeful or agreeable to the curious, theſe are the reaſons this tract is reſerved to appear laſt by itſelf [*E*]. All that we have met with farther of Dr.

Thus *Bulleyn*'s BULWARK well deſerves the name,
Both for the reader's health, and writer's fame.

All we have here more to obſerve is, that the Doctor's brother, Richard Bulleyn the Divine, above in the text mentioned, who died on the 16th of October 1563, was alſo well ſkilled in ſome branches of phyſic; having left behind him a treatiſe called *The whole Regimen of the Stone*, as the Doctor informs us, where he has given a ſpecimen of his brother's practice in that diſeaſe (*), with the ſyrup, electuary, pills, plaiſter, and clyſter, he preſcribed in the ſame; and alſo promiſed to oblige the public with the work complete: but that he did ſo, is not as yet come to our knowledge.

(*) Dr Bulleyn's Dialogue between Soreneſs and Chirurgery, fol. 48.

[*E*] *To appear laſt by itſelf.*] This long neglected and unknown treatiſe, is intitled, *A Dialogue both pleaſaunte and pietifull; wherein is a goodlie Regiment againſt the Fever Peſtilence; with a Conſolation and Comfort againſt Death. By William Bulleyn.* Printed octavo, 1564. It was again newly corrected by the author, and imprinted at London, by John Kyngſton, 8*vo*, 1569 (48). This dialogue is dedicated by the author, to his friend Edward Barret, of Belhouſe in Eſſex, Eſq; at whoſe ſaid ſeat part of it was written, and the Epiſtle Dedicatory to him is dated the twelfth of March 1564. There are twelve interlocutors in the whole diſcourſe, which conſiſts of much variety. Their names ſpecified in Latin, according to their characters, are, the Poor Beggar; the Citizen and his Wife; the Rich Man Antonio, and his Servant; the Phyſician and Apothecary; the Miſer, Double Dealer, Lying Traveller, Death, and the Divine. From theſe we learn, in general, the diſpoſitions and demeanour of various conditions in life, when any adverſity draws near a city, eſpecially that of the peſtilence. The author has briefly deſcribed, in the perſon of the beggar, our needy brother's poverty, calling upon the mercileſs rich, who are wholly entrenched in the thorny embraces of their treaſures, and entangled in ſweet-briers of the world: ſhewing with all, how the ſickneſs of the wealthy is the health of the poor; how the loſs of the one is the luck of the other; who, when they themſelves become naked, are clothed againſt their wills; death only being able to render thoſe poſſeſſions of the covetous beneficial by diſperſion, which monopoly had made a nuiſance; like the muckhills that are a burthen to the land, and offenſive to the inhabitants thereof, till their heaps are caſt abroad to the profit of many: which is a compariſon, by the way, that, with a little variation of words, has been admired in ſucceeding authors, though Dr. Bulleyn has never been quoted for it. Thus, by neglecting our old writers, we are led to the injuſtice of conferring that reſpect which is due to their ſentiments, upon thoſe who are more modern (49). As the drift of this dialogue is to run out of one remarkable character, deſcription, or ſtory, into another, they cannot all be ſo equally intereſting at this diſtance of time, as to require a coherent and proportionable epitome. We ſhall therefore only point at the moſt capital or conſiderable of them, and ſuch as are moſt entertaining in themſelves, or moſt applicable and likely to illuſtrate others; above all, ſuch as will beſt diſplay the knowledge and genius of the author. Among theſe, one of the moſt conſpicuous objects is that fine column, which one of the correſpondents takes notice of, in the delightful garden of Antonio the rich nobleman, which was eighteen feet high, and eight ſquare, adorned with compartments of curious maſonry; in which, the Muſes were repreſented ſitting under Parnaſſus, and not only ſeveral of the ancient poets, under green trees, with laurel garlands beſet with roſes on their heads, and golden pens in their hands; but, near them, the moſt famous alſo of our Engliſh poets; who were, to range them here more correſpondently with the order of time, than they were carved on theſe entablatures, firſt of all, 'witty CHAUCER, who ſat in a chair of gold, 'covered with roſes, writing proſe and rhyme, accom-'panied with the ſpirits of many kings, knights, 'and fair ladies, whom he pleaſantly beſprinkled 'with the ſweet water of the well, conſecrated to 'the Muſes, named Aganippe. And as his heavenly 'ſpirit commended his dear Brigham (50), for the 'worthy intombing of his bones in the long ſleeping 'chamber of moſt famous kings; ſo in tragedy he 'bewailed the ſudden reſurrection of many a noble-'man before their time, in the ſpoiling of epitaphs, 'whereby many have loſt their inheritance, *&c.*' To this deſcription are annexed ſome verſes of that poet's, lamenting the ſame. 'Near alſo ſat old moral 'GOWER, with pleaſant pen in hand, commending 'honeſt love, without luſt; and pleaſure, without 'pride; holineſs in the Clergy, without hypocriſy; 'no tyranny in rulers, no falſhood in lawyers, no 'uſury in merchants, no rebellion in the commons; 'and unity among kingdoms, *&c.* There appeared 'alſo, lamenting LIDGATE, lurking among the 'lillies, with his bald ſconce, and a garland of wil-'lows about it. Booted he was, after St. Bennet's 'guiſe; and a black ſtammel robe, with a monſtrous 'hood hanging backward; his body ſtooping for-'ward, bewailing every ſtate, with the ſpirit of pro-'vidence; foreſeeing the falls of wicked men, and 'the ſlippery ſeats of Princes; the ebbing and flow-'ing, the riſing and falling of men in authority; 'how virtue advances the ſimple, and vice over-'throws the moſt noble of the world. SKELTON ſat 'in the corner of a pillar, with a froſty bitten face, 'frowning; and ſcarcely yet cooled of the hot burn-'ing choler, kindled againſt the cankred Cardinal 'Wolſey; writing many a ſharp diſticon, with 'bloody pen, againſt him; which he ſent, through 'the infernal rivers Styx, Phlegeton, and Acheron, 'by the ferryman of hell, called Charon, to the ſaid 'Cardinal. Then BARCLAY, in a hooping ruſſet 'long coat, with a pretty hood in his neck, and fine 'knots upon his girdle, after *Francis*'s tricks. He 'was *born beyond the cold river of Tweed.* He lodged 'upon a ſweet bed of camomile, under the cinnamon 'tree: about him, many ſhepherds and ſheep, with 'pleaſant pipes, greatly abhorring the life of cour-'tiers, citizens, uſurers, and bankrupts, *&c.* whoſe 'old days are miſerable; and the ſtate of ſhepherds 'and country people, he accounted moſt happy and 'ſure (51).' There are verſes ſuitable to theſe characters, cited at the end of every one, as of the firſt; which for their good ſenſe deſerve to be recited, and therefore are not omitted here, ſo much for any little roughneſs in their cadence, which might appear to mere modern readers, or a few antiquated words in them, as that our account of Dr. Bulleyn's work may not be thought too much amplified with digreſſion. But before we proceed to ſome few other obſervable paſſages in this book of his, we muſt here obſerve, of the laſt mentioned poet, Alexander Barclay, that there is an expreſſion in this character of him, which very luckily reconciles the diſpute in many hiſtorians about his birth-place; who muſt no longer entitle Devonſhire (52) or Somerſetſhire (53) to the ſame, ſeeing our author, a contemporary, who lived in, and long upon, the borders of Scotland, ſays, as above, he was born in that kingdom: and as much indeed might have been, in a great meaſure, gathered from an attentive peruſal of this poet himſelf: among other places, where he makes a digreſſion in praiſe of James the Fourth of that kingdom, and a preference of him, before all other Chriſtian Princes, to be the leader of an holy war; not doubting of peace to Chriſtianity, and conqueſt of the Turk's dominions, if the Engliſh lion would come to a firm and faithful union of his wiſdom and riches, with the Scotch unicorne's might and hardineſs (54). Before we leave this poet, we ſhall only admoniſh our reader, that he is not to be taken for either of the Alexander Barclays, grandfather or grandſon, of Mathers in Scotland, who both lived near enough in time to be miſtaken by an unwary reader, or one ſuperficially verſed in the chronology of his ſtory, for him; and the rather in that the former of them was a man of a poetical genius, as may appear in a ſcarce tract, which, commemorating that line of the Barclays, was written by a deſcendant thereof, though but few copies were printed of it, for the

(48) A. Wood mentions alſo an edition in 1578.

(49) See Bacon's Eſſays, in the chapter of Riches.

(50) Nicholas Brigham, Eſq; at whoſe expence Chaucer's Monument in Weſtminſter Abbey was built, *anno* 1555.

(51) Bulleyn's Dialogue, *&c.* fol. 10—12.

(52) Vide Pits, p. 745; alſo The Antiquities of the Engliſh Franciſcans, 4*to*, 1726, p. 248.

(53) Wood's Ath. Vol. i. col. 86.

(54) Alex. Barclay's Proem to his Tranſlation of The Ship of Fools, fol. 1509.

Dr. Bulleyn, is, that he died on the ſeventh day of January 1576 (*m*), and that he was buried in the ſame grave, and under the ſame tomb, with his brother Richard the Divine,

(*m*) John Stow's Survey of London, fol. edit. 1633, p. 314, where, in the foregoing page, on the ſame leaf, the death of W. Bolene is dated 1575, and in the next line W. Bolene, Phyſician, 1587, which laſt muſt be falſe, for the reaſon given in the note [*D*]: however, it might be the ground of A. Wood's error, as we obſerved in the beginning.

the private ſatisfaction of the ſaid family, and none ever publiſhed (55). But to go on with the contents of our book, and that part more expreſsly promiſed in the title, *A Regimen in the Plague*; which we are led to by the conference of Antonius the Rich Man, and his Phyſician; and here we have the cauſes and ſigns thereof, with directions as to air, diet, phyſic, &c. in many preſcriptions from the moſt learned authors, for about ſixteen leaves; which yet is not above a ſeventh part of the whole book. Throughout the ſame, though that regimen does not appear to have been written upon any particular occaſion, in other parts of the dialogue it does; and there is a letter at the end, written by the author to Mr. Francis Barlow, who then lay expiring under this ſickneſs, paſt all hopes of recovery. Therefore he preſcribes to him, and to another of his acquaintance, Mr. Ambroſe Barnes, rather like a Divine than a Phyſician; recommending a contented reſignation of this frail being to that perfect and omnipotent Being who did but lend it; who offers no wrong in reſuming his own, nor any new hardſhip in that change of life to which all our forefathers have before paſſed; and to which, in this pilgrimage, though our plagues may be great, they are not ſo great as our deſerts of them; all our ſorrows, and all our ſufferings, not ſo great as our ſins: concluding in theſe words, 'If the time 'had not been ſo much ſpent, and the venom ſo 'dangerous, and the parts ſo weak and feeble, I 'would have cauſed you to have been let blood, and 'given you pills *contra peſtem*, with cordials accordingly, by God's grace, if that would have done 'you any good; but take this cordial in good part, '&c. (56)' Hence, being directed to the hiſtory of thoſe times, we may conclude that this inſtance of thoſe patients, and indeed our author's book itſelf, were the effect of that great plague which was brought into this realm by the Engliſh army, who were called home from Newhaven in France, of which they had been in poſſeſſion near a twelvemonth, under Ambroſe Dudley, Earl of Warwick; having been more unmercifully beſieged there by this diſeaſe, than by the enemy; and with this contagious peſtilence, at their return in 1563, but a year before our author firſt publiſhed this book above, they ſo infected their own country, that, as our beſt hiſtorians have recorded, above twenty-one thouſand five hundred perſons died thereof in London only (57). And ſo epidemically that infection raged in this city, that there was but one ſtreet in it which eſcaped it; the name of which, with the reaſon of its ſaid happy exemption, having been tranſmitted to us by another phyſician, who lived at that time, and being worthy of obſervation, we ſhall give it in his own words, as follows: 'Here 'a great queſtion ariſeth, Whether ſweet ſmells correct the peſtilent air, or rather be as a guide to 'bring it the ſooner into our hearts? to determine 'which queſtion, I call all the dwellers in Bucklerſbury in London to give their ſentence; which only 'ſtreet, by reaſon that it is wholly repleniſhed with 'phyſic, drugs, and ſpicery, and was daily perfumed in the time of the plague, with pounding of 'ſpices, melting of gums, and making perfumes for 'others, eſcaped that great plague brought from 'Newhaven, whereof there died ſo many, that 'ſcarce any houſe was left unviſited (58).' But now to purſue our dialogue, there follows a long confabulation between the citizen and his wife; who with Roger their ſervant, like multitudes of others, are all flying the city upon the melancholy and dreadful proſpects of that deſtructive viſitation every where about it; and as they travel along, they entertain one another with a great diverſity of topics. When they come to Barnet, which was Roger's birth-place, the Heath reminds him of a ſtory he had received from his parents, concerning his grandfather, who was a leader of a band of tall men, under the Earl of Warwick, againſt King Edward IV., in that bloody battle which was fought there, on Palm-Sunday 1471; when many thouſands were ſlain on that ſpot of ground (59), and the ſaid Earl among them. But conſcience or fear prevailing upon the grandfather of this Roger (60), the night before the battle, he ſtole from the Earl's camp, and hid himſelf in a great hollow oak: where he lived for a month upon the acorns and nuts which had been laid up in ſtore there by the ſquirrels; and in his ſallet, or head-piece, preſerved the rain water for his drink, till at length he eſcaped without danger; in memory whereof, or his more martial atchievements, his harneſs was worn upon St. George's back, in their church, many a cold winter after: and it is here noted, that this piece of ſecret hiſtory was not to be found in the Chronicles (61). A little farther, on occaſion of ſome diſcourſe they have upon the ungenerous and ungrateful treatment which the open-hearted and needy ſo often meet with in the world, from the crafty and more covetous part thereof, Roger relates them a fable in a very humorous and diverting manner. It is called *Jack Drake's Medicine*, being a cure for treacherous ingratitude. It is too long to repeat here with all its circumſtances, and would loſe much of its beauty without them. The ſubject of it ſets forth the peril which the water fowls led the land fowls into, by decoying them to a voyage, and the revenge of the land fowls upon their aquatic deceivers (62). The title ſeems not to be derived ſo much from the name of thoſe birds which are partly concerned in the action, as from ſome man, who was famous for ſetting the ſtory forth in all its agreeable colours: if ſo, it might be denominated from that very John Drake, the ſhoemaker of Norwich in the time of King Henry VIII., and in Dr. Bulleyn's time, whoſe humour to be of the gentleman's cut in his clothes, was well purged by Sir Philip Calthrop, as Camden has pleaſantly rehearſed (63). Our author, a little farther, puts a ſtory into Roger's mouth, which one would believe he muſt have lived in our age to have ſo much as dreamed of. But as it has been always a well-known practice of the Papiſts, to raiſe themſelves profit by forging of miracles, and they never fail of finding objects fit for their purpoſe; ſo they then procured one that anſwered their ends, in the perſon of a bold girl, born at Harborough, the daughter of one Booker, who was a butcher in that town; and this woman, to the great alarm or aſtoniſhment of the world at the ſudden inconſtancy or inconſiſtency of human nature, was delivered of a cat; not of a kitten, as other cats are; but without any ſpace of time which it muſt need in the world to grow ſuch, a full grown, old cat, at this its firſt pretended birth, that had bacon found in the belly of it (64). Might we not here be apt to fancy, that the tutors of Mary Toft, of Godalmin in Surry, had been reading this ſtory, and made improvements of it upon her; who, at that town, was, in the year 1726, brought-to-bed of ſeventeen rabbits, with great fame and ſucceſs. But ſhe muſt needs keep kindling on, for the continuance of that livelihood ſhe was thereby promiſed, without any other labour; and we know not what a fruitful warren ſhe might have proved, through the careful aſſiſtance of her ſurgeon, Mr. Howard of Guilford, and Monſ. St. Andre, the King's anatomiſt, with the reſt of the body learned in the profound art of midwifery, Sir Richard Manningham, Dr. Douglaſs, Dr. Mowbray, Mr. Limborch, &c. if ſhe had not, by ſecretly purchaſing a rabbit at London, when ſhe was removed to Lacy's bagnio in Leiceſterfields, and obſtinately denying it before the Juſtice, procured herſelf ſuch cloſer commitment to cuſtody there, and more vigilant attendance, as quite ſmothered the project. That Juſtice of the Peace, Sir Thomas Clarges, by his ſeaſonable ſeverity, proved the beſt doctor of them all, as one of them confeſſed; for he delivered her even of the impoſture, drove away her unnatural births, and reſtored the woman to a due conſiſtence with, or conſideration of, herſelf: ſo that after her confeſſions, Mary Toft was a rabbit-breeder no more; but the renown of her anomalous productions will remain, as long as the works (65) of her hiſtorians, poets, and engravers, ſhall endure. As for the remainder of our dialogue, there is ſtill much variety in it; among which we ſhall only obſerve, that the entertainment which our author found for his travellers aforeſaid, when they got to their inn at *Barnet*, while their dinner was dreſſing, was, in all

(55) Intitu'ed, *A Genealogical Account of the Barclays of Urie*, formerly of *Matthers*: extracted from ancient Regiſters, and authentic Documents: together with Memoirs of the late Colonel David Barclay of Urie, and of his eldeſt ſon the late Robert Barclay of Urie. Collected for the information and uſe of their poſterity. Printed, Aberdeen, by James Chalmers, 8vo, 1740.

(56) Dr. Bulleyn's Letter to Fra. Barlow, at the end of his Dialogue aforeſaid, p. 112.

(57) Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, *anno* 1563.

(58) Dr. Thomas Muffet's Health's Improvement, or Rules of Food, &c. 4to, 1655, p. 26. Reprinted 12mo, 1746.

(59) There was, almoſt forty years ſince, an Obeliſk erected by Sir Jeremy Vanacker Sambroke, Bart. near where this battle was fought; as by the inſcription thereon appears. It ſtands in the high road, between *Hadley* Windmill and *Kitts End*; at the end of that road which turns off to *Hatfield*; giving directions to each road, with the diſtance to each place, and is twelve miles northward from London.

(60) His ſirname is not here mentioned, but ten leaves further, this Roger calls James Penington the Apothecary in Wood-ſtreet, his brother.

(61) Dr. Bulleyn's Dialogue, fol. 44.

(62) *Idem*, fol. 48.

(63) Camden's Remains, edit. 4to, 1614. p. 236.

(64) Dr. Bulleyn's Dialogue, fol. 54.

(65) See Brathwait's Remarks on M. St. Andre, &c. 8vo, 1726. L. Gulliver's Conduct of M. St. Andre, &c. 8vo, 1726. Sir Richard Manningham's Diary of his cloſe attendance upon Mary Toft, &c. 8vo, 1726. Mr. John Howard's Narrative of the Delivery of Rabbets, &c. 8vo, 1727. Dr. Ahler's Obſervations on the Woman of Godalmin, 8vo. 1727, &c. &c.

vine, who died thirteen years before, and wherein John Fox, the Martyrologiſt, was alſo interred eleven years after him, in the pariſh church of St. Giles, Cripplegate. There is an inſcription on the ſaid tomb, with ſome Latin verſes in praiſe of them, in

all probability, more elegant than that which was ſerved up at their table. For there they were diverted in the parlour with ſome curious and ſignificant mottos or inſcriptions; not ſuch as are uſually written upon the windows and walls of publick-houſes in our times, but, as the mode then was in great men's houſes, conſiſting of noble maxims, and inſtructive precepts or admonitions, for the amendment of the heart, and the prudent conduct of life; ſuch as might be called golden ſentences, as well for the luſtre of their ingenuity, and weight of their ſenſe, as that they were here written in letters of gold. Among them, the citizen explains to his wife, for they are written in Latin, one which alludes with great propriety not only to any particular inn, but to all the paſſengers and pilgrims through this univerſal inn; on which account it may not be improperly here remembered: *Melius eſt claudus in via, quam curſor præter viam* (66). Which may be engliſhed thus:

(66) Dr. Bulleyn's Dialogue, fol. 60.

> Better a cripple, halting the right way,
> Than a ſwift courier be, that runs aſtray.

But the pictures with which not only the pannels of that room, but the very borders of them, were, by our author's ingenuity, adorned, being more numerous, attracted a greater ſhare of their attention. And here again there is great ſcope to admire the delicacy and fertility of his fancy in the choice of them. For they were not ſuch as ſome of our modern connoiſſeurs have thought the moſt ornamental; and in the purchaſe of which, to manifeſt the fullneſs of their purſes, they have expoſed the emptineſs of their heads, by ſurrounding themſelves with the moſt booriſh, butcherly, and barbarous objects, even the moſt vulgar and obſcene, yet ſuch as have no invention to atone for the time and money miſ-ſpent upon them; no deſign deeper than the deſignations, no meaning beyond the bare figures. His pictures improve the art, and extend the uſe of painting: they are rhetorical in their very ſilence; have ſome ſoul, as well as body, in them: They all contain ſome ſcheme, ſome moral or political concluſion: They are emblematical pictures, alluſive to ſomething more important than what is outwardly repreſented; and are paintings to direct the underſtanding, as well as divert the eyes, ſetting before them devices of perpetual precaution. Thus, in his covetous Shepherd, who is ſheering his ſheep till he wounds them, and cannot be content with their fleeces, but muſt have their fleſh and blood, he has ſignificantly painted forth the griping landlord, that ruins his tenants, and, in effect, himſelf. Thus, in his attendance upon another wounded body, from which he bruſhes off, with his branch of roſemary, the full-fed flies, and only thereby makes room for a ſwarm of freſh hungry ones, he diſplays in a no leſs lively manner, what kind of œconomy it often is, in a government, to be ſhifting and changing of officers in places of profit: And thus in his figure of the fool mounted up in a tree, who is lopping off the very arm of it which ſupports him, is judiciouſly decyphered the condition of all traitors againſt their country, children againſt their parents and relations, ſervants againſt their maſters, poor againſt the rich, tenants againſt their lords, and all others againſt thoſe on whom they have their dependance in this world, and will yet ſeek their detriment, though at the price of their own deſtruction. There are but two pictures, in the whole number, that are particularly perſonal: One is, the firſt among them, of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Eſſex, whom our author compares to a wood-cutter, who, had he not been prevented by death, would have utterly eradicated Popery in the Foreſt of Antichriſt: And the laſt is a repreſentation of many perſons walking, as it were, in one path and one pace, two by two, in portraiture, who were divided, and at variance, in life; expreſſing the great power that is in painting, like death itſelf, to level high and low, good and bad, without diſtinction, in that amicable contraſt; being able, by its art, to reconcile antipathies, and couple in peace together perſons, as well as things, which nature had made disjunctives. For here, in this workmanly and well-handled piece, as our author calls it, of which he names even the artiſt, William Boſwell, living in Pater-noſter-row, were very oppoſitely paired Chriſt and Satan; St. Peter, and Simon Magus; Paul, and Alexander the copperſmith; Becket, and Tracy; Martin Luther, and the Pope; Œcolampadius, and Biſhop Fiſher; Sir Thomas More, and John Frith; Biſhop Cranmer, and Gardiner; Bonner, and Bartlet Green; Galen, and Gregory Wiſdom; Avicen, and George Salthouſe; Solomon, and Will. Somers; the Cock, and the Lion; the Wolf, and the Lamb (67); and ſo he makes an end. After this entertainment, the citizen and his wife are diverted at dinner with the ſurpriſing adventures and rodomontades of a correſpondent mentioned in this dialogue, named Mendax, or the Lying Traveller; ſatirically expoſing the impoſitions with which men of that character are wont to deceive their countrymen; a vice then in faſhion, when ſo many voyagers returned from the new diſcoveries in America. But his encomiums on many parts of the government, both eccleſiaſtical and civil, of this great city of London, which he diſguiſes by the metonomy of ſpelling the word only backwards, as ſome other words muſt be read in this book, with his reflections on the vices and vanities, manners and faſhions of the nation in general, are, from beginning to end, totally ironical, and highly conſiſtent with the character that diſplays them (68). After they parted from this companion, the citizen and his wife proceed on their journey, ſtill farther from the infection in the ſaid metropolis, as they think; but they approached nearer to it. For, after a terrible tempeſt of thunder, lightning, and rain, Death appears armed with his three fatal darts, famine, war, and peſtilence; and, after a ſerious parley with the citizen, who could by no means avert him with bribery, ſtruck him mortally with the laſt of theſe weapons. Upon this, he bewails his condition with great lamentation, and makes his beſt way to the houſe of *Theologus* the Divine, from whom having received the beſt ſpiritual adminiſtrations, he parts with his life in peace, and the parſon ends with a prayer ſuitable to the occaſion. O.

(67) Dr. Bulleyn's Dialogue, fol. 73. b.

(68) *Ibidem*, from fol. 83—87, &c.

*** [It is obſerved by the learned Writer of the 'Anecdotes of Britiſh Topography,' that the Authors of the Biographia Britannica have almoſt reſcued Dr. Bulleyn from oblivion (69). The merit of the article is, indeed, very conſiderable in this reſpect; as well as on account of the curious view which it affords of the fruits that were known amongſt us, and the ancient ſtate of horticulture in England. But though Mr. Oldys is entitled to no ſmall degree of praiſe for bringing ſo much knowledge to light, the manner in which he drew up the life of Dr. Bulleyn, ſo far as relates to ſtyle and compoſition, was remarkably uncouth, and ſcarcely grammatical. We have endeavoured, therefore, to correct the moſt glaring improprieties in our induſtrious predeceſſor's language.

(69) Anecdotes of Britiſh Topography, p. 60. firſt edition.

Some of the medicinal preſcriptions, mentioned in note [*B*], are, we apprehend, very little, if at all, in uſe at preſent.

The great improvements which have been made in the knowledge of botany, the cultivation of fruit-trees, and the general practice of gardening, ſince Dr. Bulleyn's time, and eſpecially of late years, will be conſidered in ſome future articles.

It is the ingenious Mr. Aikin's opinion, that the writings of our phyſician deſerve notice, rather on account of the information they contain relative to the ſtate of medicine in general in this country, than from any original obſervations or improvements ſuggeſted by their author; who appears to have been a man of more reading, than judgment or genius (70).

(70) Biographical Memoirs of Medicine in Great Britain, p. 142.

The ſame gentleman obſerves, that the general idea of the work, deſcribed in note [*E*], in which the dialogue ariſes from a number of perſons retiring from the danger of the plague, is obviouſly imitated from the Decameron of Boccace; but that Dr. Bulleyn, with much more propriety, hath made their diſcourſe chiefly turn upon moral and religious ſubjects (71).] K.

(71) *Ibid.* p. 150, 151.

which they are expreſſed to be men famous for their learning and piety: and it is particularly ſaid of Dr. Bulleyn, that he was always ready to accommodate the poor, as well as the rich, with medicines for the relief of their diſtempers.

BUNYAN (JOHN), the celebrated author of the *Pilgrim's Progreſs* (*a*), was born at Elſtow, within a mile of Bedford, in the year 1628. His extraction was very mean, his father being a tinker. His parents gave him an education ſuitable to their condition, bringing him up to write and read: but his natural diſpoſition led him to all manner of wickedneſs, particularly curſing and ſwearing; in which courſe of iniquity he continued, not without ſome extraordinary checks [*A*], till, through a gradual progreſs in the reformation of his life [*B*], he arrived at an high degree of that piety, which prevailed in thoſe times (*b*). He became a ſoldier in the Parliament's army, and, in 1645, was preſent at the ſiege of Leiceſter; where being drawn out to ſtand centinel, and another ſoldier of his company deſiring to take his place, he conſented, and thereby probably eſcaped being ſhot through the head with a muſket ball, which took off his comrade. About the year 1655, he was admitted a member of a Baptiſt congregation at Bedford; and being, ſoon after the Reſtoration, convicted at the ſeſſions of holding unlawful aſſemblies and conventicles, he was ſentenced to perpetual baniſhment, and committed to priſon [*C*]; where, though the ſentence of baniſhment was never executed upon him, he was confined twelve years and a half (*c*). In the laſt year of his impriſonment, the Paſtor of the congregation at Bedford dying, he was unanimouſly choſen to ſupply his place, the twelfth of December 1671 (*d*). He was indebted to the compaſſion and intereſt of Dr. Barlow, Biſhop of Lincoln, for his enlargement (*e*); after which he travelled into ſeveral parts of England to viſit and confirm the brethren, which procured him the epithet of Biſhop Bunyan. In King James IId's reign, when that Prince's declaration for liberty of conſcience came abroad, Mr. Bunyan, by the voluntary contributions of his followers, built a public meeting-houſe at Bedford, and preached conſtantly to large congregations. He likewiſe frequently came to London, and viſited the congregations of Nonconformiſts there (*f*). He died in London of a fever [*D*], the thirty-firſt of Auguſt 1688, aged 60 (*g*), and was buried in the new burying-place, near the Artillery-ground. He had, by his wife Elizabeth, four children; one of whom, named Mary, was blind: his wife did not long ſurvive him, but died in 1692 (*h*). We ſhall give his character in the words of the Continuator of his Life [*E*]. His works are collected together in two volumes in folio, London 1736, 1737.

(*a*) See the remark [*L*].

(*b*) See an Account of the Life of Mr. J. Bunyan, prefixed to his Works in folio, Lond. 1736. p. 9—11. See alſo Bunyan's Account of his own Life, intituled, Grace abounding to the Chief of Sinners, &c. in the ſecond Volume of his Works, p. 3—10.

(*c*) Account, &c. *ubi ſupra*, p. 10—12. And Grace abounding, &c. *ubi ſupra*, p. 11, &c.

(*d*) Continuation of Mr. Bunyan's Life, &c. in his Works, Vol. ii. p. 44.

(*e*) Account, &c. *ibid.* And Grace abounding, &c. *ibid.*

(*f*) Continuation, &c. *ib.* p. 44, 45.

(*g*) See his Print at the head of his Works.

(*h*) Continuation, &c. *ib.* p. 47.

[*A*] *He met with ſome extraordinary checks in the courſe of his iniquity.*] Particularly, one day he was at play with his companions, we are told (1), he heard a ſudden voice from Heaven, ſaying, *Wilt thou leave thy ſins, and go to Heaven; or have thy ſins, and go to hell?* which put him into ſuch a conſternation, that he immediately left his ſport, and looking up to Heaven, he thought he ſaw the Lord Jeſus looking down upon him, and threatening him with ſome grievous puniſhment for his ungodly practices. Another time, as he was in a vehement fit of curſing and ſwearing, a woman, who was herſelf a notorious ſinner, reproved him ſeverely, telling him, he was able to ſpoil all the youth in the town, if they came but into his company. This reproof, from ſuch a perſon, filled him with a ſecret ſhame, and made him reſolve to refrain from that abominable practice (2).

(1) Account of the Life of Mr. J. Bunyan, prefixed to his Works in folio, Lond. 1736, p. 9. See alſo Bunyan's Account of his own Life, intituled, Grace abounding to the Chief of Sinners, &c. in the ſecond Volume of his Works, p. 5.

(2) Account, &c. *ib.* p. 10. And Grace abounding, &c. *ib.* p. 6.

[*B*] *A gradual progreſs in the reformation of his life.*] He was induced to ſet about reading the Scriptures by the accidental converſation of a poor man, with whom he diſcourſed about religion. But, it ſeems, he was yet unacquainted with the corruption and depravity of his own nature, and the neceſſity of the merits of Chriſt to ſave him, till, by chance, he met with four poor women at Bedford, who were diſcourſing about the *things of God*, particularly the *New Birth*. Bunyan was ſo mightily affected with the diſcourſe of theſe good women, that he took all opportunities of converſing with them, till at length he became as knowing in thoſe matters as his inſtructors. But the devil, not willing ſo eaſily to quit his hold, ſtrove, by divers temptations, to extinguiſh the grace of God in his heart, ſuggeſting to him particularly, that he wanted faith, and never could have any, as not being of the Elect. This put him upon conſidering how to make trial of this matter; and he reſolved to attempt the working a miracle, as the ſureſt teſt of his faith. Accordingly, as he was one day going between Elſtow and Bedford, he was about to ſay to ſome puddles that were in the horſe-path, *Be dry:* but juſt as he was going to ſpeak, ſome ſecret impulſe prevailed with him not to put his faith upon that trial. After much perplexity, all his doubts were at laſt ſatisfied by that paſſage of St. Luke, chap. xiv. ver. 22, 23. *Compel them to come in, that my houſe may be full* — AND YET THERE IS ROOM (3).

(3) Account, &c. *ib.* p. 10, 11. And Grace abounding, &c. p. 6—10.

[*C*] *He was committed to priſon.*] There were, beſides, in the priſon, above ſixty diſſenters, taken at a religious Meeting at Kaiſtoe in Bedfordſhire; among whom were two eminent teachers, Mr. Wheeler and Mr. Dun. Mr. Bunyan employed part of his time in preaching to, and praying with, his fellow-priſoners; and part in making tagged laces (a trade he had learned ſince his confinement), for the ſupport of himſelf and his family (4).

(4) Account, &c. *ib.* p. 12. And Grace abounding, &c. p. 40.

[*D*] *He died in London of a fever.*] He was ſent for, from thence, by a young gentleman, a neighbour of his in the country, to be the inſtrument of making up a breach between him and his father. Mr. Bunyan, having happily effected that charitable work, on his return to London was overtaken by exceſſive rains; and coming to his lodgings on Snow-hill, very wet, he fell ſick of a fever, which put a period to his life (5).

(5) Account, &c. *ibid.*

[*E*] *His character in the words of the* Continuator *of his* Life.] 'He appeared in countenance to be of 'a ſtern and rough temper; but in his converſation 'mild and affable; not given to loquacity, or much 'diſcourſe in company, unleſs ſome urgent occaſion 'required it; obſerving never to boaſt of himſelf or 'his parts, but rather ſeem low in his own eyes, and 'ſubmit himſelf to the judgment of others; abhorring lying and ſwearing; being juſt in all that lay 'in his power to his word; not ſeeming to revenge 'injuries, loving to reconcile differences, and making friendſhip with all: he had a ſharp quick eye; 'accompliſhed with an excellent diſcerning of perſons, being of good judgment, and quick wit. As 'for his perſon, he was tall of ſtature; ſtrong-boned, 'though not corpulent; ſomewhat of a ruddy face, 'with ſparkling eyes; wearing his hair on his upper 'lip, after the old Britiſh faſhion; his hair reddiſh, 'but in his latter days time had ſprinkled it with 'grey; his noſe well-ſet, but not declining or bending, and his mouth moderately large; his forehead 'ſomething high, and his habit always plain and 'modeſt (6).

(6) Continuation of Mr. Bunyan's Life, in his Works, Vol. ii. p. 47.

B.

*** [It

*** [It appears that Bunyan, though very vicious at an early period of life, yet had even then very ſtrong impreſſions of religion; and perhaps his theological ſyſtem, which led him to conſider all mankind as naturally prone to wickedneſs, has occaſioned him to ſpeak even of his own criminal conduct in terms of exaggeration. His father brought him up to his own occupation, which he ſeems to have exerciſed for ſome years, travelling about the country for that purpoſe, particularly in the neighbourhood of Bedford (*b*). At the time of his marriage, he was in a ſtate of extreme poverty [*F*]. He was much under the influence of enthuſiaſm [*G*]; but his piety was ſincere; and, during the greater part of his life, his moral character ſeems to have been unexceptionable: notwithſtanding which, many calumnies were thrown out againſt him [*H*], of which he complains in very ſtrong terms (*i*). It muſt, indeed, be acknowledged, that he was extremely bigotted, and very cenſorious againſt thoſe who oppoſed the Calviniſtical doctrines, to which he was vehemently attached. The long and ſevere impriſonment which he underwent [*I*], merely for endeavouring to propagate his religious tenets, was a flagrant violation of juſtice and humanity. He ſeems in general, as a preacher, to have ſpoken with much fluency, though on ſome occaſions not without conſiderable heſitation [*K*]. It is ſaid, that the learned Dr. John Owen attended his ſermons, and countenanced his miniſterial labours (*k*). He was certainly a man of genius, and might have made a great figure in the literary world, if he had received the advantages of a liberal education. We are told, that, during his confinement, his library conſiſted only

(*b*) Granger's Biog. Hiſt. of England, Vol. iii. p. 347. edit. 8*vo*, 1775. New and Gen. Biog. Dict. 8*vo*, Vol. i. p. 427. Grace abounding to the Chief of Sinners, publiſhed in his Works, edit. Edinb. 1769, Vol. i. p. 22. 24, 25.

(*i*) Grace abounding, &c. *ubi ſupra*, p. 83, 84, 85.

(*k*) Whitfield's Recommendatory Preface to his Works, p. 4.

*** [[*F*] *At the time of his marriage, he was in a ſtate of extreme poverty.*] He ſays, 'I changed my 'condition into a married ſtate; and my mercy was, 'to light upon a wife whoſe father was counted godly. 'This woman and I, though we came together as 'poor as poor might be (not having ſo much houſe-'hold ſtuff as a diſh or ſpoon betwixt us both), yet 'this ſhe had for her part, *The Plain Man's Path-way 'to Heaven*, and *The Practice of Piety*, which her father 'had left her when he died. In theſe two books I 'would ſometimes read with her, wherein I alſo 'found ſome things that were ſomewhat pleaſing to 'me (7).'

(7) Grace abounding, &c. *ubi ſupra*, p. 17.

[*G*] *He was much under the influence of enthuſiaſm.*] He ſometimes imagined that he ſaw viſions, and that voices were addreſſed to him from heaven (8). At certain ſeaſons, he ſays, the devil 'would not let him 'eat his food at quiet (9);' and at other times he was taken with great tremblings and agitations for whole days together (10).

(8) *Ibid.* p. 26. 34, 35. 56.

(9) *Ibid.* p. 44.

(10) *Ibid.* p. 49.

[*H*] *Many calumnies were thrown out againſt him.*] He ſays, 'What the devil could deviſe, and his in-'ſtruments invent, was whirled up and down the 'country againſt me, thinking, that by that means 'they ſhould make my miniſtry to be abandoned. It 'began therefore to be rumoured up and down among 'the people, that I was a witch, a jeſuit, a high-'wayman, and the like. To all which, I ſhall only 'ſay, God knows that I am innocent.'—'But that 'which was reported with the boldeſt confidence, 'was, that I had my miſſes, my whores, my baſtards, 'yea, two wives at once, and the like. Now, theſe 'ſlanders, with the other, I glory in, becauſe but 'ſlanders, fooliſh or knaviſh lies, and falſehoods caſt 'upon me by the devil and his ſeed. And ſhould I 'not be dealt with thus wickedly by the world, I 'ſhould want one ſign of a ſaint, and a child of God, 'Matt. v. 10, 11.'—'My foes have miſſed their 'mark in this their ſhooting at me. I am not the 'man. I wiſh that they themſelves be guiltleſs. If 'all the fornicators and adulterers in England were 'hanged up by the neck till they be dead, John Bun-'yan, the object of their envy, would be ſtill alive, 'and well. I know not whether there be ſuch a 'thing as a woman breathing under the copes of hea-'ven, but by their apparel, their children, or by 'common fame, except my wife. And in this I ad-'mire the wiſdom of God, that he made me ſhy of 'women from my firſt converſion until now. Thoſe 'know, and can alſo bear me witneſs, with whom I 'have been moſt intimately concerned, that it is a 'rare thing to ſee me carry it pleaſant towards a 'woman: the common ſalutation of women I abhor; 'it is odious to me in whomſoever I ſee it. Their 'company alone I cannot away with. I ſeldom ſo 'much as touch a woman's hand: for I think theſe 'things are not ſo becoming me. When I have ſeen 'good men ſalute thoſe women that they have viſited, 'or that have viſited them, I have at times made my 'objection againſt it; and when they have anſwered, 'that it was but a piece of civility, I have told them 'it is not a comely ſight. Some indeed have urged 'the holy kiſs. But then I have aſked, why they 'made baulks? why they did ſalute the moſt hand-'ſome, and let the ill-favoured go? Thus, how lau-'dable ſoever ſuch things may have been in the eyes 'of others, they have been unſeemly in my ſight '(11).'

(11) Grace abounding, &c. *ubi ſupra*, p. 83, 84, 85.

[*I*] *The long and ſevere impriſonment which he underwent.*] A relation of this impriſonment, written by himſelf, was firſt publiſhed in 1765, from whence it appears, that the proceedings againſt him were extremely ſcandalous; and he would probably have obtained relief, if a proper application had been made to the ſuperior courts. His wife addreſſed herſelf to the judges on his behalf at the aſſizes; but the juſtices did all they could to prejudice the judges againſt him. Sir Matthew Hale was one of the judges preſent. He appears to have known nothing of Bunyan, but ſeemed deſirous of affording him ſome relief, if the matter had come judicially before him. He adviſed his wife to procure a writ of error: but Bunyan, and his friends, were either too poor, or too little acquainted with ſuch matters, to take the neceſſary ſteps to procure his enlargement.

It was at Bedford quarter-ſeſſions, in 1660, that he was tried; and the indictment ſtated, that 'John 'Bunyan, of the town of Bedford, labourer, had '*deviliſhly* and *perniciouſly* abſtained from coming to 'church to hear divine ſervice, and was a common 'upholder of ſeveral unlawful meetings and conven-'ticles, to the great *diſturbance* and *diſtraction* of the 'good ſubjects of this kingdom, contrary to the laws 'of our Sovereign Lord the King, &c. (12)' All that John Bunyan had been guilty of, though it was alleged to be thus *deviliſh* and *pernicious*, and ſo wickedly calculated to *diſturb* and *diſtract* the good people of England, was merely worſhipping God according to the dictates of his own conſcience, and endeavouring to propagate his own religious opinions. But even the facts ſtated in this ridiculous indictment were not proved: no witneſſes were produced againſt him; but ſome words which came from him, in the courſe of a converſation with the juſtices, were taken for a conviction, and recorded (13).

(12) Relation of the Impriſonment of Mr. John Bunyan, p. 19.

(13) *Ibid.* p. 27.

He endured his impriſonment with great patience, and was perfectly reſigned to his ſituation. It appears, that when he was committed, he had been married almoſt two years to a ſecond wife (14).

(14) *Ibid.* p. 45.

[*K*] *On ſome occaſions not without conſiderable heſitation.*] This we learn from himſelf. 'Sometimes,' ſays he, 'when I have been preaching, I have been 'violently aſſaulted with thoughts of blaſphemy, and 'ſtrongly tempted to ſpeak the words with my mouth 'before the congregation. I have alſo, at ſome 'times, even when I have begun to ſpeak the word 'with much clearneſs, evidence, and liberty of 'ſpeech, yet been, before the end of that opportu-'nity, ſo blinded, and ſo eſtranged from the things 'I have been ſpeaking, and have been alſo ſo ſtrait-'ened in my ſpeech, as to utterance before the people, 'that I have been as if I had not known or remem-'bered what I have been about; or as if my head 'had been in a bag all the time of my exerciſe (15).'

(15) *Ibid.* p. 81.

of the Bible, and the Book of Martyrs (*l*). Mr. Granger ſays, that 'when he arrived 'at the ſixtieth year of his age, which was the period of his life, he had written books 'equal to the number of his years: but as many of theſe are on ſimilar ſubjects, they 'are very much alike. His maſter-piece is his Pilgrim's Progreſs [*L*], one of the 'moſt popular, and, I may add, one of the moſt ingenious books in the Engliſh lan-'guage (*m*).' The ſame author alſo obſerves, that 'Bunyan, who has been mentioned 'among the leaſt and loweſt of our writers, and even ridiculed as a driveller by thoſe 'who have never read him, deſerves a much higher rank than is commonly imagined. 'His Pilgrim's Progreſs gives us a clear and diſtinct idea of Calviniſtical divinity. The 'allegory is admirably carried on, and the characters juſtly drawn, and uniformly ſup-'ported (*n*). The author's original and poetic genius ſhines through the coarſeneſs and 'vulgarity of his language, and intimates, that if he had been a maſter of numbers, he 'might have compoſed a poem worthy of Spenſer himſelf. As this opinion may be 'deemed paradoxical, I ſhall venture to name two perſons of eminence of the ſame ſen-'timents; one, the late Mr. Merrick, of Reading (*o*); the other Dr. Roberts, now 'Fellow of Eton-college (*p*). A new edition of Bunyan's works [*M*], more complete than any of the preceding, with copper-plates, and a recommendatory preface by Mr. George Whitefield, was publiſhed in two volumes, folio, in 1767.] T.

(*l*) Granger, *ubi ſupra*, p. 348. Robinſon's Tranſlation of Claude's Eſſay on the Compoſition of a Sermon, Notes, Vol. i. p. 39.

(*m*) *Id. ibid.*

(*n*) Mr. Granger ſays, that 'this obſerva-'tion is not to 'be extended to 'the ſecond 'part.'

(*o*) Mr. Granger obſerves in a note, that 'Mr. 'Merrick has 'been heard to 'ſay, in con-'verſation, that 'Bunyan's in-'vention was 'like that of 'Homer.'

(*p*) Granger, *ut ſupra*.

[*L*] *His maſter-piece is his Pilgrim's Progreſs.*] This work has paſſed through upwards of fifty editions, and been tranſlated into various languages. It is obſerved in Mr. Oldys's MSS. that the Pilgrim's Progreſs was 'ſo acceptable to the common people, by reaſon of 'the amuſing and parabolical manner of its compoſure, by way of viſion: a method he was thought 'to have ſuch an extraordinary knack in, that ſome 'thought there were communications made to him 'in *dreams*, and that he firſt really dreamt over the 'matter contained in ſuch of his writings. This no-'tion was not a little propagated by his picture before 'ſome of thoſe books, which is repreſented in a ſleep-'ing poſture.' Mr. Oldys alſo gives it as the obſervation of the anonymous author of a diſcourſe concerning Ridicule and Irony in Writing, printed in 8vo. in 1729, that 'Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progreſs had 'infinitely outdone the *Tale of a Tub*; which, per-'haps, had not made one convert to *infidelity*: where-'as the Pilgrim's Progreſs had converted many ſin-'ners to Chriſt.'

[*M*] *Edition of Bunyan's Works.*] We ſhall here give the titles of the moſt conſiderable pieces of our author contained in this collection.

I. Grace abounding to the Chief of Sinners, in a faithful Account of the Life of Mr. John Bunyan.

II. The Doctrine of the Law and Grace unfolded; or, a Diſcourſe touching the Law and Grace.

III. The Pilgrim's Progreſs, in two parts.

IV. The Jeruſalem Sinner ſaved.

V. The Heavenly Footman; or, a Deſcription of the Man that gets to Heaven. Together with the Way he runs in, the Marks he goes by: alſo ſome Directions how to run ſo as to obtain. From this piece we ſhall ſelect the following paſſage: 'They 'that will have heaven, they muſt run for it, becauſe 'the devil, the law, ſin, death, and hell followeth 'them. There is never a poor ſoul that is going to 'heaven, but the devil, the law, ſin, death, and 'hell, makes after that ſoul. *The devil, your adver-'ſary, as a roaring lion, goeth about, ſeeking whom he 'may devour.* And I will aſſure you the devil is 'nimble, he can run apace, he is light of foot, he 'hath overtaken many, he hath turned up their heels, 'and hath given them an everlaſting fall. Alſo the 'law, that can ſhoot a great way: have a care thou 'keep out of the reach of thoſe great guns, the ten 'commandments (16).'

(16) Bunyan's Works, Vol. i. p. 367. edit. 1767.

VI. Solomon's Temple ſpiritualized.

VII. A Diſcourſe upon the Phariſee and Publican.

VIII. The Life and Death of Mr. Badman. This is in the form of a dialogue, and contains the different ſtages of a wicked man's life, and an account of his miſerable death.

IX. The barren Fig-tree; or, the Doom and Downfall of the fruitleſs Profeſſor.

X. One Thing is needful: or, ſerious Meditations upon the four laſt Things, Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell.

XI. The Holy War, made by Shaddai upon Diabolus, for the regaining the metropolis of the world; or, the loſing and taking again of the town of Manſoul.

XII. A Diſcourſe of the Houſe of the Foreſt of Lebanon.

XIII. Chriſtian Behaviour, being the Fruits of true Chriſtianity.

XIV. A Diſcourſe touching Prayer.

XV. The Strait-gate, or great Difficulty of going to Heaven.

XVI. The Holy City, or the New Jeruſalem.

XVII. Divine Emblems.] T.

*** ['The Pilgrim's Progreſs, and Robinſon 'Cruſoe, great favourites of the vulgar, are com-'poſed, ſays Lord Kaims, in a ſtyle enlivened, like 'that of Homer, by a proper mixture of the drama-'tic and narrative; and upon that account chiefly 'have been tranſlated into ſeveral European lan-'guages (17).' The obſervation is juſt. A mixture of the dramatic and narrative is admirably adapted to give vivacity to compoſition, and is extremely ſuitable to men who have not learned to abſtract and generalize their ideas. It is a mode of writing that naturally and particularly prevails in the early periods of ſociety; to which circumſtance it is owing that we have ſo much of it in Homer, and that it abounds ſo greatly in the ſacred writings. Bunyan, who had read but few books, excepting thoſe of the Old and New Teſtament, would hence eaſily fall into it; and Defoe might adopt it from his knowledge of human nature and from judgment, as well as from his intimate acquaintance with the Scriptures.

(17) Sketches of the Hiſtory of Man, Vol. i. p. 250, 251. Note. 2d edition.

Though we entirely agree with Mr. Granger, in condemning the ridicule which has been caſt upon John Bunyan, and in thinking that he deſerves a much higher rank, as a writer, than is commonly imagined; we have, nevertheleſs, ſome doubt whether the encomium beſtowed upon his genius by that worthy Biographer, and which is authoriſed by the reſpectable names of Mr. Merrick and Dr. Roberts, be not carried rather too far. Bunyan had certainly a fine invention; and both the allegory of his Pilgrim's Progreſs, and the characters introduced in it, are, according to his own theological ideas, excellently ſupported. But ſtill, whether he would ever have been capable of riſing to a production worthy of Spenſer, may reaſonably be queſtioned. There is ſuch a poverty in the ſpecimens he hath given of verſification, not only with regard to numbers but to fancy, that, with the beſt advantages of education, he would ſcarcely have attained to complete poetical compoſition. He had the invention, but not the other natural qualifications which are neceſſary to conſtitute a great poet. If his genius had intended him to be any thing more than a poet in proſe, it would probably, like Shakſpeare's, have broken through every difficulty of birth and ſtation. We advance, however, theſe ſentiments with due deference to the opinions of ſuch able judges as Mr. Merrick and Dr. Roberts.] K.

*** [BURGH (JAMES)*, a worthy and ingenious moral and political writer, in the preſent century, was born at Madderty, in Perthſhire, North Britain, in the latter

* The materials of this article are derived from Mr. Burgh's widow, and from perſonal knowledge.

latter end of the year 1714*. His grammatical education he received at the ſchool of the place which gave him birth, where he diſcovered ſuch a quickneſs and facility in imbibing literary inſtruction, that his maſter uſed to ſay, that his ſcholar would ſoon acquire all the knowledge which it was in *his* power to communicate. In due time young Burgh was removed to the Univerſity of St. Andrews, with a view of becoming a Clergyman in the church of Scotland; but he did not continue long at the College, being obliged to leave it on account of a bad ſtate of health (*a*). This circumſtance inducing him to lay aſide the thoughts of the clerical profeſſion, he was adviſed by his friends to enter into trade, in the linen way; which he was enabled to do with the greater proſpect of advantage, as he had lately obtained a handſome fortune, by the death of his eldeſt brother. In buſineſs, however, he was not at all ſucceſsful; for, by giving injudicious credit, he was ſoon deprived of his property. Not long after this misfortune, he came to England, where his firſt employment was to correct the preſs for an eminent printer in London; and at his leiſure hours he made indexes. After being engaged about a year in this way, which could not be very agreeable to a man of Mr. Burgh's abilities and ſpirit, he removed to Great Marlow, in Buckinghamſhire, as an aſſiſtant at the free Grammar ſchool of that town; and whilſt he continued in this ſituation, the ſchool is ſaid to have been conſiderably increaſed. During his reſidence at Marlow, he met with only one gentleman who was ſuited to his own turn of mind. With that gentleman, who was a man of piety, and of extenſive reading in divinity, though no claſſical ſcholar, he contracted a particular friendſhip (*b*). At Marlow it was that Mr. Burgh firſt commenced author, by writing a pamphlet, intitled, 'Britain's Remembrancer,' and which was publiſhed, if we miſtake not, a little after the beginning of the rebellion, in 1745. This tract contained an enumeration of the national bleſſings and deliverances which Great Britain had received; with pathetic exhortations to a right improvement of them, by a ſuitable courſe of piety and virtue. It appeared without Mr. Burgh's name, as was the caſe with his works in general, and was ſo much read and applauded by perſons of a religious temper, that it went through five editions in little more than two years. Mr. Barker, at that time one of the moſt eminent Miniſters among the Proteſtant Diſſenters in London, ſpoke highly of it, in a ſermon preached at Salter's Hall; and publicly thanked the unknown author, for ſo ſeaſonable and uſeful a performance.

Mr. Burgh being of a ſociable diſpoſition, and not meeting, at Marlow, with company which was ſuited to his liberal taſte, he quitted that place, and engaged himſelf as an aſſiſtant to Mr. Kenroſs at Enfield. Here he remained only one year; for, at the end of that term, Mr. Kenroſs very generouſly told him, that he ought no longer to loſe his time, by continuing in the capacity of an aſſiſtant; that it would be adviſeable for him to open a boarding-ſchool for himſelf; and that, if he ſtood in need of it, he would aſſiſt him with money for that purpoſe. Accordingly, in 1747, Mr. Burgh commenced maſter of an academy, at Stoke Newington, in Middleſex; and in that year he wrote 'Thoughts on Education;' a tract which we remember to have read with pleaſure when it was publiſhed, though we do not at preſent recollect the particular train of ſentiments by which it is diſcriminated from other performances on the ſame ſubject. The next production of his pen was 'An Hymn to the Creator of the World;' to which was added, in proſe, an Idea of the Creator, from his works. A ſecond edition, in octavo, was printed in 1750. After Mr. Burgh had continued at Stoke Newington three years, his houſe not being large enough to contain the number of ſcholars that were offered to him, he removed to a more commodious one at Newington Green (*c*). Here, for nineteen years, he carried on his ſchool with great reputation and ſucceſs, many young perſons having been trained up by him to knowledge and virtue. Few maſters, we believe, ever exiſted, who have been animated with a more ardent ſolicitude for forming the morals as well as the underſtandings of their ſcholars. In 1751, Mr. Burgh married Mrs. Harding, a widow Lady, and a woman of excellent ſenſe and character, who zealouſly concurred with him in promoting all his laudable and uſeful undertakings. In the ſame year, at the requeſt of Dr. Stephen Hales, and Dr. Hayter, Biſhop of Norwich, he publiſhed a ſmall piece, in 12mo, intitled, 'A Warning to Dram Drinkers.' Our Author's next publication was his great work, intitled, 'The Dignity of human 'Nature; or, a brief Account of the certain and eſtabliſhed Means for attaining the 'true End of our Exiſtence.' This treatiſe appeared in 1754, in one volume quarto, and hath ſince been reprinted in two volumes octavo. It is divided into four books, in which the Author treats diſtinctly concerning prudence, knowledge, virtue, and revealed religion; and makes a great number of important obſervations under each of theſe heads. In 1762, Mr. Burgh publiſhed, in octavo, 'The Art of Speaking;' conſiſting, firſt, of an Eſſay, in which are given rules for expreſſing properly the principal paſſions and humours, that occur in reading, or in public elocution; and ſecondly, of leſſons taken from the ancients and moderns, exhibiting a variety of matter for practice. The Eſſay is chiefly compiled from Cicero, Quintilian, and other rhetorical writers. In the leſſons, the emphatical words are printed in Italics, and marginal notes are added, to ſhew the various paſſions, in the ſeveral examples, as they change from one to another. It is evident, from an inſpection of this work, that it muſt have coſt our Author no ſmall degree of labour. It hath gone through three editions, and has been uſed as a ſchool-book; but we apprehend that it is now conſiderably ſuperſeded by Dr. Enfield's Speaker.

* His father was Miniſter of that pariſh, and his mother was aunt to the celebrated hiſtorian, Dr. Robertſon.

(*a*) From a letter, written to Mrs. Burgh, by Mr. Burgh's ſiſter.

(*b*) From Mrs. Burgh's information.

(*c*) *Ibid.*

Speaker. The late Sir Francis Blake Delaval, who had ſtudied the ſubject of elocution, and who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the private acting of ſeveral plays, in conjunction with ſome other perſons of faſhion, had ſo high an opinion of Mr. Burgh's performance, that he ſolicited, on that account, an interview with him. Our Author's next appearance in the literary world was in 1766, in the publication of the firſt volume, in 12mo, of 'Crito, or Eſſays on various Subjects.' To this volume is prefixed a dedication, not deſtitute of humour, 'To the Right Rev. Father (of three years old) his Royal 'Highneſs Frederic Biſhop of Oſnaburgh.' The Eſſays are three in number: the firſt is of a political nature; the ſecond is on the difficulty and importance of education, and contains many pertinent remarks, tending to ſhew, that Monſ. Rouſſeau's propoſals on this head are improper, ineffectual, or impracticable; and the third is upon the origin of evil. In this Eſſay, Mr. Burgh has collected together, and arranged, though with but little regard to order, the ſentiments of many writers, both ancient and modern, on the ſubject, and endeavoured to ſhew the inconſiſtency of their reaſonings. His own opinion is, that the natural and moral evil which prevails in the world, is the effect of the hoſtility of powerful, malignant, ſpiritual beings; and that chriſtianity is the deliverance of the human ſpecies from this peculiar and adventitious diſtreſs, as an enſlaved nation is, by a patriotic hero, delivered from tyranny *(d)*. In 1767 came out the ſecond volume of Crito, with a long dedication (which is replete with ſhrewd and ſatirical obſervations, chiefly of a political kind) to the good people of Britain of the twentieth century. The reſt of the volume contains another Eſſay on the origin of evil, and the rationale of chriſtianity, and a poſtſcript, conſiſting of farther explanations of the ſubjects before conſidered, and of detached remarks on various matters. If our Author hath not ſucceeded in removing the difficulties which relate to the introduction of evil into the world, and to the œconomy of the goſpel (and that he hath not ſucceeded in the ſolution of theſe queſtions, we are clearly of opinion), it may be urged in his favour, that he is in the ſame caſe with many other ingenious philoſophers and divines. We cannot, however, help adding, that his ſcheme appears to us to be peculiarly fanciful and groundleſs.

(d) Crito, Vol. i. p. 279, 280.

Mr. Burgh having, for many years, led a very laborious life, and having acquired, alſo, a competent, though not a large fortune (for his mind was always far raiſed above pecuniary views), he determined to retire from buſineſs. In embracing this reſolution, it was by no means his intention to be unemployed. What he had particularly in contemplation, was, to complete his Political Diſquiſitions, for which he had, during ten years, been collecting ſuitable materials. Upon quitting his ſchool at Newington Green, which was in 1771, he ſettled in a houſe at Colebrooke Row, Iſlington, where he continued till his deceaſe. He had not been long in his new ſituation, before he became convinced (of what was only ſuſpected before) that he had a ſtone in his bladder. With this dreadful malady he was deeply afflicted the four latter years of his life; and for the two laſt of theſe years his pain was exquiſite. Nevertheleſs, to the aſtoniſhment of all who were witneſſes of the miſery he endured, he went on with his Political Diſquiſitions. The two firſt volumes were publiſhed in 1774, and the third volume in 1775. Their title is, 'Political Diſquiſitions: or, an Enquiry into public Errors, Defects, and Abuſes. Illuſtrated by, and eſtabliſhed upon, Facts and Remarks extracted 'from a Variety of Authors ancient and modern. Calculated to draw the timely Attention of Government and People to a due Conſideration of the Neceſſity, and the 'Means, of reforming thoſe Errors, Defects, and Abuſes; of reſtoring the Conſtitution, and ſaving the State.' The firſt volume relates to government in general, and to parliament in particular; the ſecond treats of places and penſions, the taxation of the Colonies, and the army; and the third conſiders manners. It was our Author's intention to have extended his Diſquiſitions to ſome other ſubjects, if he had not been prevented by the violence of his diſeaſe, the tortures of which he bore with uncommon patience and reſignation, and from which he was happily releaſed, on the twenty-ſixth of Auguſt, 1775, in the ſixty-firſt year of his age. Beſides the publications already mentioned, and a variety of manuſcripts which he left behind him, he wrote, in 1753 and 1754, ſome letters in the General Evening Poſt, called 'The Free Enquirer;' and in 1770, a number of papers, intitled, 'The Conſtitutionaliſt,' in the Gazetteer; which were intended to recommend Annual Parliaments, Adequate Repreſentation, and a Place Bill. About the ſame time, he alſo publiſhed another periodical paper in the Gazetteer, under the title of 'The Coloniſt's Advocate;' which was written againſt the meaſures of Government with reſpect to the Colonies. He printed, likewiſe, for the ſole uſe of his pupils, 'Directions, prudential, moral, religious, and ſcientific;' which were pirated by a bookſeller, and ſold under the title of 'Youth's friendly Monitor.'

With regard to Mr. Burgh's character, we ſpeak from a long perſonal knowledge of him, when we ſay, that he was a man of great piety, integrity, and benevolence. He had a warmth of heart which engaged him to enter ardently into the proſecution of any valuable deſign; and his temper was communicative and chearful. Whilſt his health permitted it, he had great pleaſure in attending a weekly ſociety of ſome friends to knowledge, virtue, and liberty, among whom were ſeveral perſons of no ſmall note in the philoſophical and literary world. He had once the honour of being introduced to his preſent Majeſty, when Prince of Wales, and to the late Princeſs Dowager of Wales, from whom

whom he met with a moſt gracious reception, and with whom he had much diſcourſe on the ſubject of education, and other important topics [*A*]. In his compoſitions, our Author paid greater regard to ſtrength than elegance; and he deſpiſed, perhaps unjuſtly, that nice attention to arrangement of language, which ſome writers think deſirable; and which is indeed deſirable, when thereby the force and vigour of ſtyle are not obſtructed. Of Mr. Burgh's works, his two capital ones, 'The Dignity of human Nature,' and 'The Political Diſquiſitions,' promiſe the moſt laſting utility. The former will ever deſerve to be put into the hands of young people, as being excellently calculated to inſtil into their minds the principles of knowledge, prudence, virtue and piety; and the latter will convey much political information even to thoſe who may not be animated by the ſame enthuſiaſm of public ſpirit, and the ſame ardour for reformation of abuſes with which the worthy author was inſpired.] K.

[*A*] *On the ſubject of education and other important topics.*] The following paſſage, in the ſecond volume of Crito, will ſerve, perhaps, to illuſtrate, in ſome degree, the nature of Mr. Burgh's interview with the Princeſs Dowager of Wales; and will, at the ſame time, ſhew the ardour of his mind in forming ſchemes for the public advantage.

'About twelve or fourteen years ago, when the 'works of Lord Bolingbroke were publiſhed, ſome 'gentlemen of the *deiſtical* communion became, on 'a ſudden, ſo elated with the ſucceſs they expected 'to their cauſe from the bold attacks made by that 'nobleman on the authority of *Scripture* (in demo-'liſhing which he ſeemed diſpoſed to overthrow the 'whole credit of hiſtory), that they began publicly to 'exult over all thoſe, who were leſs ſtruck with his 'lordſhip's arguments, than themſelves; crying out, "Where is your Bible now?" I was not, for my 'part, much more moved by this victoryleſs triumph, 'than the admirers of Shakeſpeare were, when the 'Scotch critic bawled out in the pit, after the repre-'ſentation of the tragedy of *Douglaſs*, "Whare's aw "yeer Shaukſpeers noo, lauds?"

'I had occaſion, about the ſame time, to write to 'Dr. Hales; and, mentioning the then late publi-'cation, I propoſed to his conſideration, whether it 'might not be uſeful to have ſome public enquiry 'made by able writers into the points his lordſhip 'had chiefly dwelt on: For that *ſilence* on the ſide of 'thoſe whoſe belief of Scripture was not ſhaken, 'would look ſuſpicious of a conſciouſneſs, that their 'cauſe was *indefenſible*. The good doctor entered 'warmly into this view. Many circular letters were 'written; printed plans handed about; and meet-'ings held, at which biſhops, and eminent perſons 'of the laity aſſiſted; and printers and bookſellers 'attended. My hope was, to have got a *Grand Aſ-'ſociation* formed, conſiſting of perſons conſpicuous 'for their *characters* and *ſtations*, who could eaſily 'have procured the aſſiſtance of all the *able pens* in 'the three kingdoms for carrying on a periodical 'publication in ſupport of *virtue* and *truth*; and had 'it in their power to give a general *turn* to the *ſenti-'ments* and *manners* of twenty millions of people. 'The perſons of rank, who ſeemed to me moſt *ſin-'cerely* deſirous of promoting this deſign, were an 'illuſtrious female character, and a noble lord, who 'at that time preſided over the education of a young 'family of ſupreme dignity. Theſe two eminent 'perſons have, ſince, been treated by ſome among 'us in a manner particularly *genteel*. I cannot ſay, 'however, that I have eſteemed them the leſs for 'their ſeeming deſirous of promoting a ſcheme, 'which, in my humble opinion, might have an-'ſwered ends as *valuable*, as thoſe, which were the 'objects of the famous *Minority*-aſſociation.

'I had likewiſe conceived the idea of another *work* 'to be carried on under the ſame umbrage, viz. a 'complete *Syſtem* of *political knowledge*, drawn from 'hiſtory and biography, ancient and modern, from 'the beſt political writings of all ages and countries, 'with whatever could be obtained by ſearching re-'cords, memoirs, ſtate-papers, negotiations, law-'books, codes, ancient and modern, obſervations of 'travellers, treatiſes on government, commerce, and 'all manner of ſubjects connected with them, &c. 'the whole to be digeſted in the brieſeſt manner 'under heads, and printed, or, if not, at leaſt 'written out fair into volumes, for the uſe of the 'then H—r appar—t (whom God preſerve!) that, 'in all caſes of difficulty, he might have ſomewhat 'more *certain* to depend on, than the precarious and 'contradictory counſels of men, who might be them-'ſelves *miſtaken*, or might be intereſted to *deceive* 'him (1).'

(1) Crito, Vol. ii. p 207—209.

BURNET (THOMAS), in Latin *Burnetius*, Doctor of Laws, an eminent Divine, and very learned writer at the latter end of the laſt century, was by birth a Scotchman (*a*), and was admitted of Clare-Hall in Cambridge in June 1651, under the tuition of Mr. John Tillotſon, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury. In 1654, upon the removal of the learned Dr. Cudworth from the Maſterſhip of Clare-Hall to that of Chriſt-College, Mr. Burnet tranſplanted himſelf to the ſame college, and in 1657 was choſen Fellow of that houſe. The year following he took the degree of Maſter of Arts, and, in 1661, was choſen Senior Proctor of the Univerſity (*b*). In 1685, he was elected into the Maſterſhip of the Charter-Houſe in London (*c*), and ſoon after entered into Holy Orders (*d*). In this ſtation he boldly withſtood an attempt of King James II. to impoſe one Andrew Popham, a Papiſt, as a penſioner upon the foundation of that houſe. In 1680, he firſt publiſhed his *Telluris Theoria Sacra* [*A*]. After the Revolution,

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon, Vol. ii. col. 868.

(*b*) The Life of Dr. Thomas Burnet, prefixed to the tranſlation of his Archæologiæ, Lond. 1736, 8*vo*.

(*c*) In the room of Mr. Creſſet, and not of William Erſkyne, Eſq; as Wood pretends.

(*d*) Wood, *ubi ſupra*.

[*A*] *His* Telluris Theoria Sacra.] The whole title is; *Telluris Theoria Sacra, Orbis Noſtri Originem et Mutationes Generales, quas aut jam ſubiit, aut olim ſubiturus eſt, complectens.* It was publiſhed in *quarto*, and conſiſted at firſt of but two books, viz. *Lib.* I. *De Diluvio et Diſſolutione Terræ.* *Lib.* II. *De Tellure Primigenia et De Paradiſo.* In 1689, the author publiſhed the two remaining books in 4*to*, viz. *Lib.* III. *De Conflagratione Mundi.* *Lib.* IV. *De Novis Cœlis et Nova Terra, ac De Beato Seculo, ſive De Mundo Renovato, et Rerum omnium Conſummatione.* And at the ſame time a ſecond edition was publiſhed of the two firſt books. The firſt volume of the *Theoria* is dedicated to the Earl of Wiltſhire; and we learn from the dedication, that a conſiderable part of it was written by our author, during his travels abroad, in company with that nobleman. *Cum hujus Tractatus partem non exiguam peregrè agens conſcripſerim, tibi comes et ſocius itineris, Vir nobiliſſime,* &c. (1) The two laſt books are dedicated to his Grace James Duke of Ormond. In the preface to the firſt volume, the author briefly unfolds his deſign; which is, he tells us, 'To draw up a ſacred theory of the 'earth, in which, beginning from the primæval 'chaos and origin of all things, he will follow na-'ture in all her motions and changes, to the con-'ſummation of all things.' *Telluris Theoriam Sacram inſtruere decrevimus, in quâ à primævo Chao, teneriſque rerum principiis ſumpto exordio, omnes Naturæ motus et renovationes ad earundem rerum ſupremum exitum proſequemur.* 'This theory, *the author adds*, 'may be called *ſacred*, becauſe it does not reſpect 'the

(1) This circumſtance is omitted in the accounts of Dr. Burnet's Life.

tion, he was appointed Chaplain in Ordinary to King William, and, through the intereſt of Archbiſhop Tillotſon, Clerk of the Cloſet to that Prince. In 1692, he publiſhed

' the common phyſiology of the earth, but the greater ' changes, and the revolutions of our natural world ; ' ſuch as are taken notice of in the Sacred Writings, ' and are truly the hinges upon which the diſpenſa- ' tions of providence, with reſpect to this earth, ' turn.' *Hanc Theoriam* Sacram *appello, cum Telluris Phyſiologiam communem non reſpiciat ; ſed majores mundi noſtri viciſſitudines, quarum meminit Sacra Scriptura, et quæ Providentiæ Divinæ circa Terram ſunt veluti cardines.* This performance was ſo univerſally admired, that, upon its great ſucceſs in *Latin*, and the encouragement of King Charles II., the author publiſhed an edition in *Engliſh*, intitled, *The Sacred Theory of the Earth, containing an Account of the Original of the Earth, and of all the general Changes which it hath already undergone, or is to undergo, till the Conſummation of all Things. In two Volumes. The two firſt Books concerning the Deluge, and concerning Paradiſe : the two laſt Books concerning the burning of the World, and concerning the New Heavens and New Earth. With a Review of the Theory, and of its Proofs ; eſpecially in reference to Scripture.* The ſixth edition is of the year 1726 : To which is added, *The Author's Defence of the Work, from the Exceptions of Mr. Warren, and the Examination of Mr. Keil.* Dr. Burnet dedicated the firſt volume of the *Engliſh Theory* to King Charles II. and the ſecond to Queen Mary. As to this Engliſh edition, he tells us, in the preface to the firſt volume, ' it is the ſame in ſubſtance with the Latin,' though he confeſſes, ' it is not ſo properly a tranſlation, as a ' new compoſition upon the ſame ground, there being ' ſeveral additional chapters in it, and ſeveral new- ' moulded.' The author of *The Spectator*, No. 146, ſpeaks in raptures of Dr. Burnet's *Theory*, and quotes a very ſhining paſſage out of it. I will tranſcribe what he ſays, together with the citation, and will ſubjoin to it the *Latin*, that the reader may have at once a ſpecimen of the ſublimity of our author's genius, and of his ſtyle in both languages. ' Oh, how ' glorious, *ſays Mr. Spectator*, is the old age of that ' great man, who has ſpent his time in ſuch contem- ' plations, as have made this Being, what only it ' ſhould be, an education for Heaven ! He has, according to the lights of reaſon and revelation, which ' ſeemed to him cleareſt, traced the ſteps of Omnipotence : He has, with a celeſtial ambition, as far ' as is conſiſtent with humility and devotion, examined the ways of Providence, from the Creation ' to the diſſolution of the world. How pleaſing muſt ' have been the ſpeculation, to obſerve nature and ' providence move together ; the phyſical and moral ' world, march the ſame pace ; to obſerve Paradiſe ' and eternal ſpring, the ſeat of innocence ; troubled ' ſeaſons and angry ſkies, the portion of wickedneſs ' and vice. When this admirable author has reviewed all that is paſſed, or is to come, which relates to the habitable world, and run through the ' whole fate of it, How could a guardian angel, that ' had attended it through all its courſes or changes, ' ſpeak more emphatically at the end of his charge, ' than does our author, when he makes, as it were, ' a funeral oration over this globe, looking to the ' point where it ſtood ?'

" Let us, if you pleaſe, to take leave of this ſub- " ject, reflect, upon this occaſion, on the vanity and " tranſient glory of this habitable world ; how, by the " force of one element breaking looſe upon the reſt, " all the varieties of nature, all the works of art, all " the labours of men, are reduced to nothing ; all " that we admired and adored before, as great and " magnificent, is obliterated and vaniſhed ; and an- " other form and face of things, plain, ſimple, and " every where the ſame, overſpreads the whole earth. " Where are now the great empires of the earth, and " their great imperial cities ? Their pillars, trophies, " and monuments of glory ? Shew me where they " ſtood ; read the inſcription ; tell me the victor's " name. What remains, what impreſſions, what " difference or diſtinction do you ſee in this maſs of " fire ? *Rome* itſelf, eternal *Rome*, the great city, the " empreſs of the world, whoſe domination and ſuper- " ſtition, ancient and modern, make a great part of " the hiſtory of this earth ; What is become of her " now ? She laid her foundations deep, and her pa- " laces were ſtrong and ſumptuous : *She glorified her- " ſelf, and lived deliciouſly, and ſaid in her heart, I ſit " a Queen, and ſhall ſee no ſorrow.* But her hour is " come ; ſhe is wiped away from the face of the " earth, and buried in perpetual oblivion. But it is " not cities only, and the works of men's hands ; but " the everlaſting hills, the mountains, and rocks of " the earth, are melted as wax before the ſun, and " *their place is no where to be found.* Here ſtood the " *Alps*, a prodigious range of ſtone, the load of the " earth, that covered many countries, and reached " their arms from the *Ocean* to the *Black Sea* ; this " huge maſs of ſtone is ſoftened and diſſolved, as a " tender cloud into rain. Here ſtood the *African* " mountains, and *Atlas* with his top above the " clouds. There was frozen *Caucaſus* and *Taurus*, " and *Imaus*, and the mountains of *Aſia :* and yon- " der, towards the north, ſtood the *Riphæan* hills, " cloathed in ice and ſnow. All theſe are vaniſhed, " dropt away as the ſnow upon their heads, and " ſwallowed up in a red ſea of fire. *Great and mar- " vellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty ; juſt and " true are thy ways, thou King of Saints.* Hallelujah. " *Rev.* xv. 3 (2)."

(2) Burnet's Theory, edit. 1726, Vol. ii. p. 159, 160.

The Latin.

Hic Rerum Status, cum ſimpliciſſimus ſit, nulla indiget ulteriori deſcriptione. Omnia ſibi ſubegit Ignis, omnia abſumpſit ; Saxum, Ferrum, Montes, Mare : Orbemque habitabilem non devaſtavit modo, ſed in ſeipſum hauſit, et ad unum omnia Elementa reduxit. Nec tantum Elementa, ſed tota Naturæ Varietas, omneſque Formæ, ad indiſcretam unitatem rediguntur. Quocunque reſpicis, eadem eſt ubique rerum facies. Hîc non ita pridem ſteterunt *Alpes*, et porrexerunt brachia ab Oceano ad Pontum : Hîc maximus *Atlas*, et Africani Montes : Hìc denique *Taurus*, et *Caucaſus*, et *Riphæa* Juga. Sed tantorum corporum quæ vides nunc veſtigia ? Quas reliquias, quæ fruſta monſtras ? Quò abierunt immania Saxa ? Inſtar teneræ Nivis, quæ ſæpe obtexit eorum cacumina, liquata ſunt *ante faciem Domini* (*). Si *Inſulas* quæramus, aufugerunt inſulæ unà cum montibus, neque *alterutrius inventus eſt locus.* Vis quæramus *Urbes* Terræ ; Sanctas *Hieroſolymas*, aut veterum Imperiorum capita : ſed quo duce, quibus indiciis ? Dic ſaltem, ubi ſteterit *Roma* ; multis nominibus memoranda *Roma :* Sicubi rubere videas hoc mare ignitum, quaſi cruore tinctum, aut vehementius, quam in cæteris locis, efferveſcere, illic ſepultam quære *Romam.* Denique temperare mihi non poſſum, cum hunc rerum vultum intueor, hanc ultimam incendii faciem, quo minus credam, hoc eſſe illud *Mare vitreum, igni mixtum,* in *Apocalypſi Johannis* (†) ; ad quod ſteterunt Sancti, Canticum *Moſis* et *Agni* cantantes, et de *Beſtia* et *Beſtianis* triumphantes. *Magna et mirabilia ſunt Opera tua, Domine Deus Omnipotens : Juſtæ et veræ ſunt viæ tuæ, Rex Sanctorum. Halleluia.* Amen (3).

(*) Apoc. xvi. 20.

(†) Apoc. xv. 2, 3.

(3) Ejuſd. Telluris Theoria Sacra, Vol. ii. edit. 1689, 4*to*, p. 121, 122.

Mr. Addiſon addreſſed the following beautiful Latin Ode to Dr. Burnet, on occaſion of his *Theory* (4).

(4) See his Miſcellaneous Works, Lond. 1726, 12*mo*, Vol. ii. p. 165.

Ad Inſigniſſimum Virum D. THO. BURNETTUM, Sacræ Theoriæ Telluris *Autorem.*

Non uſitatum carminis alitem,
BURNETTE, poſcis, nòn humiles modos :
Vulgare Plectrum, languidæque
Reſpuis Officium Camænæ.
Tu mixta rerum ſemina conſcius,
Molemque cernis diſſociabilem,
Terramque concretam, et latentem
Oceanum gremio capaci :
Dum veritatem quærere pertinax
Ignota pandis, ſolicitus parum
Utcunque ſtet commune vulgi
Arbitrium et popularis error.
Auditur ingens continuò fragor,
Illapſa Tellus lubrica deſerit

liſhed his *Archæologiæ Philoſophicæ* [B]; which giving offence to the Clergy, it is ſaid, he was removed from being Clerk of the Cloſet upon that account (*e*). If a late writer is to be believed, Dr. Burnet was talked of to ſucceed Dr. Tillotſon in the See of Canterbury: but, upon a repreſentation from ſome of the Biſhops, that his writings were too ſceptical, the deſign of his promotion was laid aſide (*f*). He died September 27, 1715, and was buried, the 3d of October following, in the Charter-houſe Chapel (*g*). After his death came out two poſthumous pieces of his, intitled, *De Fide et Officiis Chriſtianorum* [C], and *De Statu Mortuorum et Reſurgentium* [D]; both publiſhed (*b*) by his friend, and ſuperviſor of his will, Francis Wilkinſon, of Lincoln's-Inn, Eſq.

(*e*) Life, &c.

(*f*) Mr. Oldmixon's Hiſt. of England during the reigns of King William and Queen Mary, Queen Anne, and King George I. p. 95.

(*g*) Life, &c.

(*b*) The firſt in June, the other in October, 1727.

Fundamina, et compage fracta
Suppoſitas gravis urget undas.
Impulſus erumpit medius liquor,
Terras aquarum effuſa licentia
Claudit viciſſim; has inter orbis
Reliquiæ fluitant prioris.
Nunc et recluſo carcere lucidam
Balæna ſpectat ſolis imaginem,
Stellaſque miratur natantes,
Et tremulæ ſimulacra Lunæ.
Quæ pompa vocum non imitabilis!
Qualis caleſcit Spiritus ingenî!
Ut tollis undas! ut frementem
Diluvii reprimis tumultum!
Quis tam valenti pectore ferreus,
Ut non tremiſcens et timido pede
Incedat, orbis dum doloſi
Detegis inſtabiles ruinas?
Quin hæc cadentûm fragmina montium
Natura vultum ſumere ſimplicem
Coget refingens, in priorem
Mox iterum reditura formam.
Nimbis rubentem Sulphureis Jovem
Cernas; ut udis ſævit atrox hyems
Incendiis, commune mundo
Et populis meditata buſtum!
Nudus liquentes plorat Athos nives,
Et mox liqueſcens ipſe adamantinum
Fundit cacumen, dum per imas
Saxa fluunt reſoluta valles.
Jamque alta cœli mœnia corruunt,
Et veſtra tandem Pagina (proh nefas!),
BURNETTE, veſtra augebit ignes,
Heu ſocio peritura mundo.
Mox æqua Tellus, mox ſubitus viror
Ubique rident: En teretem Globum!
En læta vernantis Favonî
Flamina, perpetuoſque flores!
O pectus ingens! O animum gravem,
Mundi capacem! Si bonus auguror,
Te, noſtra quo tellus ſuperbit,
Accipiet renovata civem.

Coll. Magd. Oxon. 1699.

But Dr. Burnet's Theory, ingenious as it is, was attacked by ſome writers as *unphiloſophical*; among whom the principal were, Mr. Eraſmus Warren, Rector of Worlington in Suffolk; and Mr. John Keil, of Baliol College in Oxford. The former of theſe publiſhed at London, in 1690, *Geologia, or a Diſcourſe concerning the Earth before the Deluge; wherein the Form and Properties aſcribed to it, in a book intitled* The Theory of the Earth, *are excepted againſt, and it is made appear, that the Diſſolution of the Earth was not the Cauſe of the univerſal Flood. Alſo a new Explication of that Flood is attempted.* Dr. Burnet wrote a reply to this, intitled, *An Anſwer to the Exceptions made by Mr. Eraſmus Warren, againſt The Sacred Theory of the Earth. London*, 1690, in folio, in which he follows the *Excepter* chapter by chapter. Mr. Warren rejoined, and Dr. Burnet replied, in *A Short Conſideration of Mr. Eraſmus Warren's Defence of his Exceptions againſt the Theory of the Earth. In a Letter to a Friend.* Mr. Keil publiſhed, in 1698, *An Examination of Dr. Burnet's Theory of the Earth*, dedicated to Dr. Mander, Maſter of Baliol College. To this Dr. Burnet replied, in ſome *Reflexions upon the Theory of the Earth, occaſioned by a late Examination of it. In a Letter to a Friend* (5). There were ſome other pieces written againſt the *Theory*; particularly, *Some Animadverſions upon a Book, intitled*, The Theory of the Earth, *by Herbert* (Crofts) *Lord Biſhop of Hereford.* London, 1685, 8*vo*. Dr. Burnet reflects with great ſeverity upon this piece, in the concluſion of his *Anſwer to the Exceptions*, &c. (6), where he ſays, 'Some inconſiderate minds make every departure from the *Letter*, let the matter or cauſe be what it will, to be an affront to *Scripture*: and there, where we have the greateſt liberty, I mean in things that relate to the *natural* world, they have no more indulgence or moderation, than if it was an intrenchment upon the Articles of *Faith*. In this particular, I cannot excuſe the preſent Animadverter: yet I muſt needs ſay, he is a very *Saint* in compariſon of *another Animadverter* who hath wrote upon the ſame ſubject, but neither like a gentleman, nor like a Chriſtian. And ſuch writings anſwer themſelves.' *Conſiderations on the Theory of the Earth, by* John Beaumont, jun. a pamphlet in 4*to*. *London*, 1693. *A. Lovell's Summary of Heads, in Anſwer to Dr. Burnet.* London, 1696, in 4to. *The Abyſſinian Philoſophy confuted; or*, Telluris Theoria, *neither ſacred nor agreeable to Reaſon, by* Robert St. Clair. London, 1697, in 12*mo*. In this the author pretends, that Dr. Burnet's hypotheſis is not a new one, but was formerly received among the Abyſſinian Philoſophers. The late Mr. Flamſtead, the King's Aſtronomer, ſpeaking to our author with great warmth on the ſubject of his *Theory*, ſaid he would prove, and make him know, that *there went more to the making the world than a fine turned period* (7). And the ſame Aſtronomer declared, that he was able to overthrow Dr. Burnet's *Theory* in one ſheet of paper (8).

(5) Theſe Defences of the Theory are printed at the end of the ſixth edition.

(6) Theory, &c. Vol. ii. p. 480.

(7) Sir Hans Sloane's Voyage to the Iſlands of Madeira, &c. Vol. ii. Lond. 1725, in fol.

(8) New Memoirs of Literature for Feb. 1726, art. 4.

[B] *His Archæologiæ Philoſophicæ.*] The title is, *Archæologiæ Philoſophicæ; ſive Doctrina Antiqua de Rerum Originibus*; i. e. 'An Enquiry into the Doctrine of the ancient Philoſophers concerning the Original of the World.' In two books. The ſecond edition is in 8*vo*, London 1733. It is dedicated to King William. In the Preface, the author tells us, 'His deſign is to enquire into the opinions of the ancients concerning the nature of things, in order to vindicate and give antiquity its due praiſe, and to ſhew, that neither were our anceſtors dunces, nor was wiſdom or true philoſophy born with us.' *Sententias veterum de rerum natura potiſſimum inquirimus: idque in laudem et vindicias Antiquitatis; ut neque fungos fuiſſe majores noſtros, neque nobiſcum natam eſſe ſapientiam, oſtendamus.* At the end of the Preface, Dr. Burnet acquaints us, he had deſigned to draw up a *Theory of the viſible Creation*, both animate and inanimate, celeſtial and terreſtrial, but was diverted from his purpoſe by the conſideration of his advanced age, and the approach of death. To the ſecond edition are added two letters, intitled, *Ad virum clariſſimum, A. B. circa nuper editum de Archæologiis Philoſophicis Libellum, Authoris Epiſtolæ Duæ.* Mr. Keil, in his *Examination of Dr. Burnet's Reflections upon the Theory of the Earth*, and Frederic Spanheim, in his *Controverſiarum de Religione*, &c. *Elenchus Hiſtorico-Theologicus*, have animadverted upon the *Archæologiæ*.

[C] His *De Fide et Officiis Chriſtianorum.*] The ſecond edition is in 8*vo*, London 1733. In the Preface, the Editor gives us a little hiſtory of this, and the other poſthumous tract (9). It ſeems it was uſual with Dr. Burnet, before he publiſhed any thing in Latin, to have two or three copies, and no more, printed off; which he kept by him for ſome time, in order to reviſe at leiſure what he had written *currente calamo*, and ſometimes, when he thought proper, to be communicated to his particular friends for their opinions. Theſe copies were always interleaved, for the convenience of writing any obſervations or improvements in the oppoſite page. One of theſe *proof-copies* (as they may be called) of the tract *De Fide et Officiis*, &c. having been clandeſtinely obtained during the author's lifetime, there appeared a ſurreptitious edition; in which the Editor had thrown the Doctor's manuſcript remarks into the text, very injudiciouſly, and ſometimes in very improper places; which Dr. Burnet hearing, he ordered his bookſeller

(9) De Statu, &c.

to buy up the whole impreſſion at any price. Much the ſame fate attended the tract *De Statu Mortuorum*, &c. a *proof-copy* of which, having privately got into other hands, was, after the author's death, publicly ſold, among other books, at an auction. The purchaſer, a very learned gentleman (the Editor does not ſay who), having peruſed it, was ſo highly pleaſed with it, that he procured a few copies of it to be printed at his own expence: but the greateſt care was taken to prevent the publication of it, and thoſe who had the liberty of perufing the book were obliged, in honour, not to ſuffer it to be tranſcribed, or committed to the preſs. But, notwithſtanding all this caution, a ſurreptitious edition of this book was printed in Holland: and thus the public being in poſſeſſion of both treatiſes, Mr. Wilkinſon, in whoſe hands the original manuſcripts were, was perſuaded to publiſh correct editions of both. As to the tract *De Fide et Officiis Chriſtianorum*, it is but a part of a larger deſign; for the whole work was by the author intitled, *Tractatus de claris et obſcuris in Doctrina Chriſtiana:* then follows, *Pars Prior, in qua agitur de iis quæ ſpectant ad vitam hodiernam, ſive, De Fide et Officiis Chriſtianorum*; i. e. 'A Treatiſe of what 'is plain, and what is obſcure, in the Chriſtian 'Doctrine: Part the firſt, treating of thoſe things 'which reſpect this life, or, of the Faith and Practice 'of Chriſtians.' There was found among our author's manuſcripts a Preface, intended probably for this work, conſiſting of no leſs than twenty-nine *folio* pages; an extract of which the Editor has given us. There were likewiſe found three additional chapters, numbered thus, X^mum, XI^mum, and XII^mum; with the following titles: 10. *De Religione Romano Pontificia; imprimis, De dogmate Tranſubſtantiationis*; i. e. 'Of the Roman Catholic Religion, and, firſt, of the 'Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation.' 11. *De Inquiſitione Romana*; i. e. 'Of the Romiſh Inquiſition. 12. *De aliis dogmatibus Eccleſiæ Romano Pontificiæ, et de celebrata Infallibilitate*; i. e. 'Of other Doctrines of 'the Romiſh Church, and of its boaſted Infallibi-'lity.' To all which are added, *Duo Dialegi de Rebus Judaicis*; i. e. 'Two Dialogues concerning the 'Jewiſh Affairs.' But though, in the opinion of the Editor, theſe pieces are by no means unworthy of Dr. Burnet's pen, yet, the preſent book having received its FINIS from the author's own hand, he thought it beſt to proceed no farther.

[*D*] His *De Statu Mortuorum et Reſurgentium.*] That is, *Of the State and Condition of departed Souls before, at, and after the Reſurrection.* The hiſtory of the publication of this piece is already given. The ſecond edition is in 8*vo*, London 1733. There is added to it an Appendix, *De futura Judæorum Reſtauratione*; i. e. 'Of the future Reſtauration of the 'Jews.' It had been ſeparately printed by the author himſelf, and thence eſcaped piratical hands. But it being evident, from the beginning of this little tract, that it was deſigned by the author as a part of, or rather Appendix to, this book, the Editor thought fit to publiſh it, from the author's own manuſcript, together with this book. B.

*** [Dr. Thomas Burnet was ſo ingenious a man, ſo diſtinguiſhed a ſcholar, and ſo polite a writer, that it is matter of regret that Biographers have not been able to collect a more circumſtantial account of his life. It has commonly been ſuppoſed, upon the authority only of an expreſſion of Anthony a Wood, which was evidently thrown out at random, that the Doctor was a Scotſman by birth; but we learn, from better information, that he was born at Croft, in Yorkſhire (10). His firſt education was at the free-ſchool of North-Alverton in that county; and his grammatical maſter, Mr. Thomas Smelt, uſed to propoſe him as an example to the reſt of his ſcholars (11). Beſides travelling with the Earl of Wiltſhire, our author was governor to Charles Duke of Bolton, and to James Earl of Oſſory, afterwards Duke of Ormond, and grandſon of James, firſt Duke of Ormond. It was by the intereſt of the Duke laſt mentioned that he was choſen maſter of the Charter-houſe; and when it was objected to Dr. Burnet, by ſome of the biſhops, who were electors, that he wore a lay-habit, it was urged by the Duke in his behalf, that he poſſeſſed thoſe more eſſential qualifications of manners and converſation, which were in all reſpects ſuitable to the clerical character. In his oppoſition to the admiſſion of Andrew Popham, he was ſo vigorouſly ſupported by the other governors, excepting the Lord Chancellor Jefferys, that King James deſiſted from purſuing the affair (12). Our author, in the dedication of his *Archæologiæ Philoſophicæ*, hath drawn King William's character with great ſtrength and elegance; and, from the favour of that prince, united with the patronage of Archbiſhop Tillotſon, he would probably have riſen high in the church, had not the ſin of heterodoxy lain ſo heavy upon him, that it produced againſt him a combination of the ſuperior clergy, too powerful to be reſiſted. He had not only called in queſtion the literal hiſtory of the fall, but had written an imaginary Dialogue between Eve and the Serpent, which gave peculiar offence. Of the imprudence of this Dialogue he himſelf became afterwards ſenſible; for, in a letter to a Dutch bookſeller, he deſired that it might be ſuppreſſed, in a new edition of the *Archæologiæ*, which was printing in Holland (13). It is omitted, likewiſe, in the edition of that work which appeared in 1733; ſo that, from the ſcarceneſs of the original book, it hath been read by few perſons who are now living.

With reſpect to Dr. Burnet's grand performance, 'The ſacred Theory of the Earth,' it hath long been conſidered as founded on erroneous and falſe principles. It may, and it deſerves to be admired as a beautiful philoſophical romance; but it can never be juſtly regarded as exhibiting a true ſyſtem of nature. However, on its firſt appearance, many perſons were ſeduced by the invention and ingenuity diſplayed in it, and by the elegance of its compoſition. Bayle, who was, indeed, no great adept in natural philoſophy, entertained a very high opinion of the *Telluris Theoria Sacra*. In a letter to Mr. L'Enfant (Let. 109, p. 415), he ſpeaks of it as a work which was peculiarly to his taſte, and of the author as a profound genius. He thinks, that, by adopting its principles and materials, a perſon might make as agreeable a book as Monſ. Fontenelle's Plurality of Worlds, and earneſtly recommends the undertaking to Mr. L'Enfant. But that learned gentleman knew better how to employ his time. An account of the deluge and the conflagration would not have been a ſubject ſo entertaining as the Plurality of Worlds (14). Dr. Blackwell, having ſhewn how ingeniouſly Dr. Burnet hath turned Heſiod's Genealogy of the Gods into a regular hiſtory of the creation, expreſſes himſelf in the following terms: 'I find it impoſſible for 'me to keep pace with this great genius, while he 'profeſſes *his full and firm belief* of the theory of the 'creation, as he has deſcribed it. His memory I 'highly honour, and admire the ſtrength of his 'fancy, and compaſs of his manly, well-digeſted 'learning; but cannot accompany him throughout 'his amuſing plan, for reaſons that imply too many 'premiſes, and would require too ſevere a diſcuſſion. '——But if theſe beautiful ſketches awake your curioſity to ſtudy the Sacred Theory of the Earth, 'and you ſhould then wiſh to know its weak ſides, 'you will find objections againſt its orthodoxy in a 'Dutch divine, Leidecker's Commentary on the 'Moſaic Account of the Creation; and the inconſiſtency of ſo fine a ſcheme plainly demonſtrated by 'no leſs a mathematician than the learned Mr. 'Keil (15).'

Dr. Wallace, the ingenious author of 'Various 'Proſpects of Mankind, Nature, and Providence (16),' hath made ſome obſervations, both on Burnet's Theory, and on Keil's Examination of it, which deſerve to be tranſcribed. 'Though,' ſays he, 'by the help 'of reaſon and experience, we are able to ſee many 'pregnant proofs of wiſdom and goodneſs in the 'frame of nature, from which we moſt juſtly conclude, that good is greatly predominant; yet the 'relations and uſes of many of its parts, and the 'ends of the great Creator in many of its operations, 'are not fully underſtood. In general, our knowledge of theſe operations is ſo imperfect, that in 'none of them can it be ſaid, without the height of 'raſhneſs, that nature has erred. Such knowledge '(undoubtedly) is too wonderful for us; it is too 'high; we cannot attain unto it. Numbers of examples may be brought, of the errors of philoſophers in ſubjects of this intricate nature. But what 'happened to the pious and learned author of "The "Sacred Theory of the Earth," ſeems moſt directly 'to our purpoſe. From what philoſopher could 'more have been expected? This worthy gentleman 'had united the character of the philoſopher to that 'of

(10) Birch's Life of Tillotſon, p. 254.

(11) *Ibid.* Kettlewell's Life, p. 13.

(12) Birch, *ubi ſupra*, p. 255.

(13) *Ibid.*

(14) From a correſpondent, to whom we have often been obliged.

(15) Letters concerning Mythology, p. 117, 118.

(16) Printed in 1761, in *octavo*.

'of the divine. He had carefully examined both 'nature and ſacred writ, with an uncommon free-'dom; he ranſacked the ſtores of ancient learning: 'yet all this could not prevent him from falling into 'palpable miſtakes concerning the preſent ſtructure 'of our globe; and from fancying, without reaſon, 'that he had found out many defects in its preſent 'conſtitution.

'In this light did he conſider the miſ-ſhapen rocks 'and mountains, the irregular courſes of the rivers, 'the large extent of the ſurface of the ſeas, the 'change of ſeaſons, and the inequality of the days 'and nights, occaſioned by the oblique inclination 'of the axis of the earth to the ecliptic. Imagining 'theſe to be blemiſhes, he conceived that the earth 'could not have been framed originally by God, in 'its preſent form. He diſcarded both the ſcorching 'heats of ſummer, and chilling colds of winter, as 'pernicious; and, with the poets, imagined a per-'petual ſpring. He repreſented a ſmooth and re-'gular ſurface, ſtretching every way over the whole 'earth, without any ſeas, or any inequalities what-'ſoever, to form the moſt beautiful and convenient 'figure. This he fancied to have been the original 'and paradiſaical form; but that the primitive earth 'periſhing at the deluge, out of this mighty maſs of 'waters, emerged the preſent earth like a wreck, 'with the obliquity of its axis to the ecliptic, and 'with all the irregularities and inequalities of its 'miſ-ſhapen ſurface. All this he ſet off in a moſt in-'genious manner, and with ſuch appearances of rea-'ſon, as might ſeem plauſible, even to readers who 'could not be called inattentive.

'But his beautiful theory is nothing but an agree-'able romance: the preſent form and ſtructure of 'the earth is preferable, in all reſpects, to what this 'ingenious author imagined to have been the origi-'nal and paradiſaical. This is made abundantly 'evident by Dr. Keil (though ſomewhat too roughly), 'in his Examination of this Theory. This cele-'brated mathematician has clearly proved, that the 'inequalities on the ſurface of the earth, ariſing 'from the vaſt ranges of the mountains; that the 'largeneſs of the ſurface of the ſeas; that the obli-'quity of the axis of the earth to the plane of the 'ecliptic, are mighty advantages to mankind: that 'what Dr. Burnet calls a paradiſaical ſtate of the 'globe, would have been extremely uncomfortable, 'and muſt have rendered the greateſt part of the 'earth barren: that the large ſurface of the ſea, and 'the huge tracts of the mountains, are neceſſary for 'forming the rivers, and producing a ſufficient quan-'tity of rain; and that if the axis of the earth were 'perpendicular to the plane of the ecliptic, we 'could not have thoſe proper degrees of heat and 'cold which are neceſſary to raiſe up vegetables, and 'to bring them to perfection; and particularly, that 'all thoſe tracts of the earth which lie within 45 'degrees of latitude, would have more heat than 'they have at preſent; which would be hurtful, in-'ſtead of being an advantage; while all the tracts 'beyond 45 degrees of latitude would have been 'deprived of ſeveral degrees of heat, which they 'enjoy at preſent. All this is finely illuſtrated by 'that acute mathematician. So different are the 'conjectures, even of the moſt ingenious men, from 'the real truth of things, when by a proper method 'we are able to unfold the wiſe deſigns of nature.

'Dr. Burnet's intentions were pious and generous, 'his ſyſtem was ingenious, his book was written in 'an animated and eloquent ſtyle, his deſcriptions of 'nature were ſublime, his opinions were illuſtrated 'by many entertaining quotations from antiquity. 'Yet all this was not ſufficient to prevent bitter cen-'ſures. Even Dr. Keil himſelf, in his Examina-'tion, treats him with too much ſeverity, and aſ-'ſumes an air of too great ſuperiority; neither ſhew-'ing the moderation of a philoſopher accuſtomed to 'indulge himſelf and others in uncommon ſpecula-'tions, nor that mercy and gentleneſs which are ſo 'graceful when one has a good cauſe, and is far ſu-'perior to his antagoniſt in the knowledge of his 'ſubject (17).'

(17) Various Proſpects, p. 282—286.

A ſhort abſtract of 'The Sacred Theory of the 'Earth' may be ſeen in the ſeventh volume, p. 73—77, of Dr. Towers's Britiſh Biography.

Dr. Burnet's treatiſe *De Fide et Officiis*, is a valuable compend of Chriſtian doctrine and duty. It is written with great liberality of ſpirit, and the Doctor lays the principal ſtreſs, not upon matters of doubtful diſputation, but upon ſubjects of real and eſſential importance. In this encomium, we do not mean to expreſs our approbation of every ſentiment which may have been advanced by the ingenious writer. An Engliſh tranſlation of this work has been publiſhed; and a French tranſlation of it was printed at Amſterdam, in 12*mo*, in 1729. Our author, in his treatiſe *De Statu Mortuorum et Reſurgentium*, hath given greater ſcope to his fancy. With a boldneſs which would be more offenſive at the time in which he lived, than perhaps it would be in the preſent age, he hath attacked the doctrine of the eternity of hell torments, and contended for the final ſalvation of the whole human race. There is ſomething ſo humane in this laſt idea, and it is ſo conſonant to our natural apprehenſions of the merciful Parent of the Univerſe, that we have no right to be diſpleaſed with thoſe divines who have been willing to embrace it. However, unleſs, upon a ſtrict and impartial inquiry, it ſhould be found agreeable to truth, it ought not to be admitted. There is a middle ſcheme, that has been adopted by ſeveral eminent writers, as more agreeable to Scripture; which is, that the incorrigibly wicked ſhall, at length, be wholly deſtroyed. Mr. Hobbes, to whom many authors have been more indebted than has commonly been known, hath advanced this opinion (18); and the ſame opinion, if we miſtake not, hath been entertained by ſuch great ſcriptural critics as Mr. Locke, Biſhop Law, and Dr. John Taylor. It hath, likewiſe, been ſtrenuouſly and ingeniouſly maintained by the Rev. Mr. Samuel Bourn, of Norwich (19). Dr. Burnet was ſo apprehenſive leſt his notions concerning the temporary duration of future puniſhments ſhould be made an ill uſe of by the bulk of mankind, that, in a note to his work, *De Statu Mortuorum et Reſurgentium*, he earneſtly proteſted againſt its being tranſlated. Dennis, however, contrary to the proteſtation of the author, not only ventured to publiſh a tranſlation of the treatiſe, but, with great fidelity, not to ſay effrontery, rendered the note into Engliſh, and inſerted it at the bottom of the page.

(18) Hobbes's Moral and Political Works, edit. 1750, p. 301, 302.

(19) In the firſt volume of the firſt ſet of ſermons publiſhed by him.

Beſides the publications already mentioned, Dr. Burnet wrote, without his name, three ſmall tracts in oppoſition to Mr. Locke. The firſt was intitled, 'Remarks upon an Eſſay concerning Human Un-'derſtanding, in a Letter addreſſed to the Author,' London, 1697, in *quarto*. Mr. Locke having animadverted upon this piece, with ſome ſeverity, at the end of his Reply to Biſhop Stillingfleet, it was followed, in the ſame year, by 'Second Remarks, &c. 'being a Vindication of the Firſt Remarks, againſt 'the Anſwer of Mr. Locke, &c.' 'Third Re-'marks, &c.' came out in 1699 *. Theſe three tracts were all of them anſwered by Mrs. Catherine Trotter, afterwards Mrs. Cockburn, in her 'Defence 'of Mr. Locke's Eſſay concerning Human Under-'ſtanding,' publiſhed in 1702, and ſince reprinted in Dr. Birch's edition of that admirable lady's works (20).

* It was not known who was the writer of theſe pieces till after Dr. Burnet's deceaſe.

(20) Life of Tillotſon, *ubi ſupra*, p. 256. Mrs. Cockburn's Life, prefixed to her Works, p. xiv.—xvi. Works, Vol. i. p. 43—111.

Dr. Thomas Burnet's Latin, as well as his Engliſh ſtyle, is remarkably perſpicuous, elegant, and beautiful. K.]

BURNET (GILBERT), Biſhop of Saliſbury, and an eminent writer in the reigns of King William, Queen Anne, and the beginning of King George I., was born at Edinburgh, the 18th of September, 1643 (*a*). He received the firſt rudiments of his education from his father [*A*]; under whoſe care he made ſo quick a progreſs, that, at

(*a*) Life of the Author, by his ſon Thomas Burnet, Eſq; ſubjoined to the Biſhop's Hiſt. of his own Times, in two volumes, fol. Lond. 1724 and 1734, Vol. ii. p. 672.

[*A*] *His father.*] He was the younger brother of a family very conſiderable for its antiquity as well as intereſt, in the ſhire of Aberdeen; and was bred to the Civil Law, which he ſtudied for ſeven years in France. His exceſſive modeſty ſo far depreſſed his abilities, that he never made a ſhining figure at the bar,

at ten years of age, he perfectly underſtood the Latin tongue; at which time he was ſent to the college of Aberdeen, where he acquired the Greek, and went through the uſual courſe of Ariſtotelian Logic and Philoſophy, with uncommon applauſe. He was ſcarcely fourteen when he commenced Maſter of Arts, and then applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Civil Law; but, after a year's diligent application to that ſcience, he changed his reſolution, and turned his thoughts wholly to the ſtudy of Divinity (*b*) [*B*]. At eighteen years of age, he was put upon his trial as a Probationer or Expectant Preacher [*C*]; and, at the ſame time, was offered the preſentation to a very good benefice, by his couſin-german Sir Alexander Burnet: but, thinking himſelf too young for the cure of ſouls (*), he modeſtly declined that offer (*c*). His education, thus happily begun, was finiſhed by the converſation and advice of the moſt eminent Scotch Divines (*d*) [*D*]. In 1663, about two years after his father's death, he came into England, where he firſt viſited the two Univerſities [*E*]; and, after a ſhort ſtay of about ſix months, he returned to Scotland, where he declined accepting the living of Saltoun, offered him by Sir Robert Fletcher of that place, reſolving to travel for ſome months beyond ſea (*e*). In 1664, our author went over into Holland; where, after he had ſeen what was remarkable in the Seven Provinces, he reſided for ſome time at Amſterdam; from whence paſſing through the Netherlands into France, he made ſome ſtay at Paris [*F*]. Towards the end of the year, he returned into Scotland, taking London in

(*b*) Life, &c. ib. p. 673.

(*) There is no law in Scotland which limits the age a miniſter muſt be of.

(*c*) *Ib.* p. 674.

(*d*) *Ib.* p. 675.

(*e*) *Ib.* p. 676.

bar, though he was univerſally eſteemed to be a man of judgment and knowledge in his profeſſion. He was remarkably generous in his practice, never taking a fee from the poor, nor from a clergyman, when he ſued in the right of his church; and beſtowing great part of his profits in acts of charity and friendſhip. In the year 1637, when the troubles in Scotland were breaking out, he was ſo diſguſted at the conduct of the governing Biſhops there, whom he cenſured with great freedom, and was, at the ſame time, ſo remarkable for his ſtrict and exemplary life, that he was generally called a Puritan. But when he ſaw, that, inſtead of reforming abuſes in the Epiſcopal Order, the order itſelf was ſtruck at, he adhered to it with great zeal and conſtancy; as he did to the rights of the Crown, not once complying with that party which afterwards prevailed in both nations. For though he agreed with Barclay and Grotius (with the latter of whom he had been intimately acquainted) as to their notions of reſiſtance where the laws are broken through by a limited Sovereign, yet he did not think that was then the caſe in Scotland. He married the ſiſter of the famous Sir Archibald Johnſtoun, called Lord Warriſtoun; who, during the Civil Wars, was at the head of the Preſbyterian party, and ſo zealouſly attached to that intereſt, that neither friendſhip nor alliance could diſpoſe him to ſhew favour to thoſe who refuſed the Solemn League and Covenant. Our author's father, perſiſting in this refuſal, was obliged, at three ſeveral times, to quit the kingdom; and, when his return was afterwards connived at, as his principles would not permit him to renew the practice of the law, much leſs to accept the preferments in it offered him by Oliver Cromwell, he retired to his own eſtate in the country, where he lived till the Reſtoration, when he was made one of the Lords of the Seſſion. His wife, our author's mother, was very eminent for her piety and virtue, and a warm zealot for the Preſbyterian diſcipline, in which way ſhe had been very ſtrictly educated (1).

(1) Life of the Author, by his ſon Thomas Burnet, Eſq; ſubjoined to the ſecond volume of the Biſhop's Hiſt. of his own Times, Lond. 1734, p. 672, 673.

[*B*] *He turned his thoughts wholly to the ſtudy of Divinity.*] He went through the Old and New Teſtament, with the beſt commentators on both: he read the moſt noted controverſial writers in Divinity, particularly Bellarmine and Chamier, in oppoſition to each other; and he peruſed ſome of the moſt received ſyſtems of School Divinity, but was ſoon diſguſted at the ſubtlety and jargon of thoſe writers. In his hours of amuſement, he ran through many volumes of hiſtory; and his application to theſe ſtudies ſeldom fell ſhort of fourteen hours in a day (2).

(2) *Ib.* p. 673.

[*C*] *He was put upon his trial as a Probationer, or Expectant Preacher.*] A Probationer, we are told (3), is one who, after having paſſed examination, is at liberty to preach whereſoever he is deſired, but has no particular church to which he is attendant. This is the firſt ſtep, in Scotland, towards admiſſion into orders, and was practiſed both under the Preſbyterian and Epiſcopal Government. The Probationers are firſt appointed to preach practically on a text aſſigned them; next, critically upon another, the ſenſe of which is controverted; and then a mixed ſermon, of criticiſm upon the text, and practical inferences from it. After this, the examiners allot to each a head of Divinity, on which they are to make a Latin oration, and give out theſes upon it, which they undertake to defend in public. Then an Hebrew pſalm, and a portion of the Greek Teſtament, are given them, to render into Engliſh *extempore*. Laſt of all comes the queſtionary trial, in which every miniſter of the diſtrict is at liberty to put ſuch queſtions to the perſon under examination, as occur to him, out of the Scripture, or body of Divinity. Before any one can be admitted to this, he muſt produce a teſtimonial of his good life from the miniſter of the pariſh where he lives; and if, during his trial, which laſts three months, any ſcandal can be proved upon him, he is laid aſide as unfit for the Church.

(3) *Ib.* p. 674.

[*D*] *His education was finiſhed by the converſation and advice of the moſt eminent Scotch Divines.*] Among theſe was Mr. Nairn, miniſter of the Abbey-church at Edinburgh; an admired Preacher of that country, remarkable for accuracy of ſtyle, as well as ſtrength of reaſoning, and ſublimity of thought. This gentleman led our author into a new courſe of reading, by recommending to his peruſal *Smith's Select Diſcourſes*, *Dr. More's Works*, and the writings of *Plato* and his followers; but eſpecially *Hooker's Eccleſiaſtical Polity*. Another of his intimates was Biſhop Leightoun, one of thoſe who, in 1662, had been conſecrated at Weſtminſter; by whoſe advice he became converſant with all the primitive writers, going through the *Apologies*, and other treatiſes of the Fathers of the three firſt centuries; and Binnius's *Collection of Councils*, down to the ſecond Council of Nice. A third eminent Divine, with whom our author contracted an intimacy, was Mr. Charteris, a man of great learning, not only in his own profeſſion, but in Hiſtory, Geography, and the Mathematical Sciences (4).

(4) *Ib.* p. 675, 676.

[*E*] *He came into England, where he firſt viſited the two Univerſities.*] At Cambridge, he had an opportunity of ſeeing, and converſing with, men of the greateſt abilities, and particularly Dr. Cudworth, Dr. Pearſon, Dr. Burnet, author of the *Sacred Theory*, and Dr. Henry More, one of whoſe ſayings, in relation to rites and ceremonies, then made a great impreſſion on him: *None of theſe*, ſaid he, *are bad enough to make men bad, and I am ſure none of them are good enough to make men good.* At Oxford our author was much careſſed, on account of his ready knowledge of the Councils and Fathers, eſpecially by Dr. Fell, and Dr. Pocock, that great maſter of Oriental learning. He was much improved there, in his Mathematics and Natural Philoſophy, by the inſtructions of Dr. Wallis, who likewiſe gave him a letter of recommendation to the learned and pious Mr. Boyle at London. Upon his arrival there, he was introduced to all the moſt noted Divines, as Tillotſon, Stillingfleet, Patrick, Lloyd, Whitchcot, and Wilkins; and, among others of the laity, to Sir Robert Murray (5).

(5) *Ib.* p. 676.

[*F*] *He reſided at Amſterdam, and afterwards at Paris.*] At the former of theſe places, by the help of a learned Rabbi, he perfected himſelf in the Hebrew language. He likewiſe became acquainted with

in the way; where he was introduced, by the Preſident Sir Robert Murray, to be a Member of the Royal Society (*f*). In 1665, he was ordained a Prieſt by the Biſhop of Edinburgh, and preſented by Sir Robert Fletcher to the living of Saltoun, which had been kept vacant during his abſence. He ſoon gained the affections of his whole pariſh [*G*], not excepting the Preſbyterians, though he was the only clergyman in Scotland that made uſe of the prayers in the Liturgy of the Church of England (*g*). The ſame year, he drew up a memorial of the abuſes of the Scotch Biſhops [*H*]; which expoſed him to the reſentments of that order: whereupon, reſolving to confine himſelf to ſtudy, and the duties of his function, he fell into ſuch a retired and abſtemious courſe of life, as greatly impaired his health (*h*). About 1668, the government of Scotland being in the hands of moderate men, of whom the principal was Sir Robert Murray, our author was frequently ſent for and conſulted by them (*i*); and it was through his advice that ſome of the more moderate Preſbyterians were put into the vacant churches; a ſtep which he himſelf has ſince condemned as indiſcreet (*k*). In 1669, our author was made Profeſſor of Divinity at Glaſgow [*I*]; in which ſtation he continued

(*f*) Life, &c. p. 675. 677.

(*g*) *Ib.* p. 678.

(*h*) *Ib.* & p. 679. See alſo the Biſhop's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. i. p. 217.

(*i*) Life, &c. *ib.*

(*k*) Hiſtory, &c. *ib.* p. 280, 281.

with the leading men of the different perſuaſions tolerated in that country; as the Arminians, the Lutherans, the Unitarians, the Browniſts, the Anabaptiſts, and the Papiſts: amongſt each of whom he uſed frequently to declare, he had met with men of ſuch real piety and virtue, that there he became fixed in a ſtrong principle of univerſal charity, and an invincible abhorrence of all ſeverities on account of religious diſſenſions. At Paris he converſed with the two famous miniſters of Charenton, Daillé and Morus; the former renowned for his learning and judgment, the other for his bright parts and eloquence. His ſtay in France was the longer, on account of the great freedom and kindneſs with which he was treated by the Lord Holles, then Ambaſſador at the French court (6).

(6) *Ib.* p. 677.

[*G*] *He ſoon gained the affections of the whole pariſh.*] During the five years he remained at Saltoun, he preached twice every Sunday, and once more on one of the week-days: he catechized three times a-week, ſo as to examine every pariſhioner, old or young, three times in the compaſs of a year: he went round the pariſh from houſe to houſe, inſtructing, reproving, or comforting them, as occaſion required: the ſick he viſited twice a-day: he adminiſtered the Sacrament four times a-year, and perſonally inſtructed all ſuch as gave notice of their intention to receive it. All that remained above his own neceſſary ſubſiſtence (in which he was very frugal) he gave away in charity. A particular inſtance of his generoſity that way, a perſon * (who then lived with him, and afterwards was in his ſervice at Saliſbury) uſed to recount: one of his pariſhioners had been in execution for debt, and applied to our author for ſome ſmall relief; who inquired of him, how much would again ſet him up in his trade: the man named the ſum, and he as readily called to his ſervant to pay it him: 'Sir,' ſaid he, 'it is all we have in the houſe.' 'Well, 'well,' ſaid our author, 'pay it this poor man; 'you do not know the pleaſure there is in making a 'man glad (7).' This may be a proper place to mention our author's practice of preaching *extempore*, which he learned from the celebrated Mr. Nairn, miniſter of the Abbey-church at Edinburgh. He attained to an eaſe in it chiefly by allotting many hours of the day to meditation upon all ſorts of ſubjects, and by accuſtoming himſelf, at thoſe times, to ſpeak his thoughts aloud, ſtudying always to render his expreſſions correct. The life-writer gives us here two remarkable inſtances, in relation to his preaching without book. In 1691, when the Sees, vacant by the deprivation of the Nonjuring Biſhops, were filled up, Biſhop Williams was appointed to preach one of the Conſecration-ſermons at Bow-church; but being detained by ſome accident, the Clerk had twice ſet the pſalm, and ſtill the preacher did not appear; whereupon the Archbiſhop of Canterbury deſired our author, then Biſhop of Sarum, to ſupply his place; which he readily did, to the general ſatisfaction of all preſent. In 1705, he was appointed to preach the Thankſgiving-ſermon before the Queen at St. Paul's; and as it was the only diſcourſe he had ever written before-hand, it was the only time that he was ever at a pauſe in preaching, which on that occaſion laſted above a minute (8).

* This was a ſtory commonly well known at Saliſbury, and which the life-writer learned from one Mr. Waſtefield, of that place.

(7) *Ib.* p. 678.

(8) *Ib.* p. 675, 676.

[*H*] *He drew up a memorial of the abuſes of the Scotch Biſhops.*] We ſhall give the reader the hiſtory of this affair in Biſhop Burnet's own words. 'I obſerved, *ſays he* (9), the deportment of our Biſhops 'was in all points ſo different from what became 'their function, that I had a more than ordinary 'zeal kindled within me upon it. They were not 'only furious againſt all that ſtood out againſt them, 'but were very remiſs in all the parts of their function. 'Some did not live within their dioceſe; and thoſe 'who did, ſeemed to take no care of them. They 'ſhewed no zeal againſt vice: the moſt eminently 'wicked in the country were their particular confi-'dents. They took no pains to keep their clergy 'ſtrictly to rules, and to their duty. On the con-'trary, there was a levity, and a carnal way of living, 'about them, that very much ſcandalized me.— 'Upon all this, I took up a reſolution of drawing up 'a memorial of the grievances we lay under by the 'ill conduct of our Biſhops. I reſolved, that no other 'perſon beſides myſelf ſhould have a ſhare in any 'trouble it might bring on me: ſo I communicated 'it to none. This made it not to be in all the parts 'of it ſo well digeſted, as it otherwiſe might have 'been; and I was then but three-and-twenty. I 'laid my foundation in the conſtitution of the Pri-'mitive Church; and ſhewed how they had departed 'from it, by their neglecting their dioceſe, meddling 'ſo much in ſecular affairs, raiſing their families out 'of the revenues of the Church, and, above all, by 'their violent proſecuting of thoſe who differed from 'them. Of this I writ out ſome copies, and ſigned 'them, and ſent them to all the Biſhops of my ac-'quaintance. Sharp (*) was much alarmed at it, 'and fancied I was ſet on to it by ſome of the Lord 'Lauderdale's friends. I was called before the 'Biſhops, and treated with great ſeverity. Sharp 'called it a libel. I ſaid, I had ſet my name to it, 'ſo it could not be a libel. He charged me with the 'preſumption of offering to teach my ſuperiors. I 'ſaid, ſuch things had been not only done, but juſti-'fied in all ages. He charged me for reflecting on 'the King's putting them on his counſels. I ſaid, 'I found no fault with the King for calling them to 'his counſels; but with them for going out of that 'which was their proper province, and for giving ill 'counſel. Then he charged me for reflecting on 'ſome ſeverities, which, he ſaid, was a reproaching 'public courts, and a cenſuring the laws. I ſaid, 'laws might be made *in terrorem*, not always fit to 'be executed; but I only complained of clergymen's 'preſſing the rigorous execution of them, and going 'often beyond what the law dictated. He broke 'out into a great vehemence; and propoſed to the 'Biſhops, that I ſhould be ſummarily deprived, 'and excommunicated: but none of them would 'agree to that. By this management of his, the 'thing grew public. What I had ventured on was 'variouſly cenſured; but the greater part approved 'of it. Lord Lauderdale and all his friends were 'delighted with it; and he gave the King an ac-'count of it, who was not ill pleaſed at it. Great 'pains was taken to make me aſk pardon, but to no 'purpoſe. So Sharp let the thing fall.'

(9) See the Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. i. p. 216.

(*) Archbiſhop of St. Andrews.

[*I*] *He was made Profeſſor of Divinity at Glaſgow.*] This was owing to a caſual acquaintance with the Regent of that Univerſity, at Hamilton, the ſeat of the Ducheſs of Hamilton, who had invited our author thither. He was, at firſt, in ſuſpenſe what reſolution

continued four years and a half, expoſed, through his principles of moderation, to the ill-will both of the Epiſcopal and Preſbyterian parties (*l*). The ſame year, he publiſhed his *Modeſt and Free Conference between a Conformiſt and a Nonconformiſt* [*K*]. About this time he was entruſted, by the Ducheſs of Hamilton, with the peruſal of, and putting in order, all the papers relating to her father's and uncle's miniſtry; which put him upon compiling *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton* (*m*), and occaſioned his being invited to London, to receive farther information, concerning the tranſactions of thoſe times, by the Earl of Lauderdale; between whom and Duke Hamilton he managed and concluded a reconciliation (*n*). During his ſtay in London, he was offered a Scotch Biſhopric, which he refuſed (*o*). Soon after his return to Glaſgow, he married the Lady Margaret Kennedy [*L*], daughter of the Earl of Caſſilis. In 1672, he publiſhed his *Vindication of the Authority, Conſtitution, and Laws, of the Church and State of Scotland* [*M*]; which was thought, at that juncture, ſuch a public ſervice, that he was again courted to accept of a biſhopric, with a promiſe of the next vacant archbiſhopric; but he perſiſted in his refuſal of that dignity (*p*). In 1673, he took another journey to London [*N*]; where, at the expreſs nomination of the King, after hearing him preach, he was ſworn one of his Majeſty's Chaplains in Ordinary. He became likewiſe in high favour with his Majeſty and the Duke of York (*q*) [*O*]. At his return to Edinburgh, finding

(*l*) Life, &c. *ubi ſupra*; and Hiſtory, &c. *ib.* p. 287.

(*m*) See the reference (*w*).

(*n*) Hiſtory, &c. *ib.* p. 299.

(*o*) Life, &c. p. 681, 682; and Hiſtory, &c. *ibid.*

(*p*) Life, &c. *ib.* and p. 682. See alſo Hiſtory, &c. *ib.* p 339.

(*q*) Life, &c. *ib.* and Hiſt. *ib.* p. 354, 355.

ſolution to take: his friends earneſtly perſuaded him to accept the offer, and his pariſhioners at Saltoun, for whom he had a moſt tender regard, being no leſs anxious to retain him. At length the authority of Archbiſhop Leighton prevailed, and he accepted the Divinity Chair. As his principal care, in this new ſtation, was to form juſt and true notions in the Students of Divinity, he laid down a plan for that purpoſe. On Mondays, he made each of the Students, in their turn, explain a head of Divinity in Latin, and propound ſuch theſes from it as he was to defend againſt the reſt of the Scholars; and this exerciſe concluded with our Profeſſor's deciſion of the point in a Latin Oration. On Tueſdays, he gave them a *Prelection* in the ſame language, wherein he propoſed, in the courſe of eight years, to have gone through a complete Syſtem of Divinity. On Wedneſdays, he read them a Lecture, for above an hour, by way of a Critical Commentary on St. Matthew's Goſpel; which he finiſhed before he quitted the chair. On Thurſdays, the exerciſe was alternate: one Thurſday, he expounded a Hebrew Pſalm, comparing it with the Septuagint, the Vulgar, and the Engliſh verſion; and the next Thurſday, he explained ſome portion of the Ritual and Conſtitution of the Primitive Church, making the Apoſtolical Canons his text, and reducing every article of practice under the head of one or other of thoſe Canons. On Fridays, he made each of his Scholars, in courſe, preach a ſhort Sermon upon ſome text he aſſigned; and, when it was ended, he obſerved upon any thing that was defective or amiſs in the handling of the ſubject. This was the labour of the mornings: in the evenings, after prayer, he every day read them ſome parcel of Scripture, on which he made a ſhort diſcourſe; and, when that was over, he examined into the progreſs of their ſeveral ſtudies. All this he performed during the whole time the ſchools were open; and, in order to acquit himſelf with credit, he was obliged to ſtudy hard from four till ten in the morning; the reſt of the day being of neceſſity allotted, either to the care of his pupils, or to hearing the complaints of the Clergy, who, finding he had an intereſt with men in power, were not ſparing in their applications to him (10).

(10) Life, &c. p. 679, 680.

[*K*] His *Modeſt and Free Conference between a Conformiſt and a Nonconformiſt.*] It conſiſts of ſeven Dialogues; and was generally applauded by all but the zealots of either party, who were very angry with the performance. It met with no anſwer in Scotland: but one from abroad was ſent over, which our author's enemies received with great acclamations; though it was judiciouſly obſerved, that *no more pains were needful for refuting the Anſwer, but the reading over the Dialogues* (11).

(11) See the Preface to Dr. Burnet's Vindication of the Authority, &c. of the Church and State of Scotland, Glaſgow, 1673, 8vo.

[*L*] *He married the Lady Margaret Kennedy.*] She was a lady of diſtinguiſhed piety and knowledge: her own ſentiments indeed inclined ſtrongly towards the Preſbyterians, with whom ſhe was in high credit and eſteem; yet was ſhe far from entering into the rigid and narrow zeal of ſome of their leaders. As there was ſome diſparity in their ages, that it might remain paſt diſpute that this match was wholly owing to inclination, not to avarice or ambition, the day before their marriage, our author delivered the Lady a deed, whereby he renounced all pretenſion to her fortune, which was very conſiderable, and muſt otherwiſe have fallen into his hands, ſhe herſelf having no intention to ſecure it (12).

(12) Life, &c. p. 681.

[*M*] His *Vindication of the Authority, Conſtitution, and Laws of the Church and State of Scotland.*] This piece is a defence of the royal prerogatives of the crown of Scotland, and the eſtabliſhment of Epiſcopacy in that kingdom, againſt the principles of Buchanan and his followers. It is dedicated to the Duke of Lauderdale. The author being afterwards reproached for repreſenting the character of Duke Lauderdale very differently from what he had done in that dedication (13), replied (14), 'that the book 'was wrote when the Duke was the King's Commiſ'ſioner in Scotland, and dedicated to him at his own 'requeſt; and that if what happened a year and a 'half after that, had given him other thoughts of 'that Miniſter of State, it was no proof that he 'wrote diſingenuouſly at that time.'

(13) See Dr. Hickes's Diſcourſes upon Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotſon, &c. p. 18, 19.

(14) Reflections on Some Diſcourſes, &c. p. 66, 67.

[*N*] *He took another journey to London.*] The avowed deſign of this journey was, in order to procure a licence for publiſhing his *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*: but, it ſeems, he had farther views; for, we are told (15), he went with a full reſolution of withdrawing himſelf from farther meddling in matters of State. He ſaw that Popery was, at bottom, the prevailing intereſt at Court, and that the Sacramental Teſt, whereby the Duke of York, the Lord Clifford, and other Papiſts in employment, had been excluded, was a mere artifice of King Charles to obtain money for carrying on the war that ſummer with Holland. He ſuſpected that the deſigns of the Court were both corrupt and deſperate. He therefore uſed all the freedom he decently could with the Duke and Ducheſs of Lauderdale: he pointed out to them the errors of their management in Scotland, and the ill effects it would have, both upon themſelves and the whole nation: but he found no diſpoſition in them to rectify their meaſures.

(15) Life, &c. p. 682; and Hiſtory, &c. *ib.* p. 354, 355, 356.

[*O*] *He was in high favour with the King and the Duke of York.*] Duke Lauderdale introduced him to the King, and propoſed the licenſing his *Memoirs*, &c. The King read ſome parts of them himſelf, and expreſſed his approbation of them; and ordered that they ſhould be licenſed by the Secretary Coventry. He had, afterwards, a long private audience of the King, in which he took all the freedom with him, that he thought became his profeſſion. 'He run me 'into a long diſcourſe, *ſays he* (16), about the au'thority of the Church, which he thought we made 'much of in our diſputes with the Diſſenters, and 'then took it all away when we dealt with the Pa'piſts. I ſaw plainly what he aimed at in this; and 'I quickly convinced him, that there was a great 'difference between an authority of government in 'things indifferent, and a pretence to infallibility. 'He complained heavily of the Biſhops, for neglect'ing the true concerns of the Church, and following 'Courts ſo much, and being engaged in parties. I 'went through ſome other things with relation to 'his courſe of life, and entered into many particu'lars with much freedom. He bore all very well, 'and

(16) Hiſtory, &c. *ib.* p. 356, 357.

finding the animoſities between the Dukes of Hamilton and Lauderdale revived, he retired to his ſtation at Glaſgow; but was obliged the next year to return to Court, to juſtify himſelf againſt the accuſations of Duke Lauderdale, who had repreſented him as the cauſe and inſtrument of all the oppoſition the meaſures of the Court had met with in the Scotch Parliament. Thus he loſt the favour of the Court [*P*]; and, to avoid putting himſelf into the hands of his enemies, he reſigned the Profeſſor's chair at Glaſgow, and reſolved to ſettle in London, being now about thirty years of age (*r*). Soon after, he was offered the living of St. Giles's Cripplegate, which he declined accepting [*Q*]. In 1675, our author, at the recommendation of Lord Holles, and notwithſtanding the interpoſition of the Court againſt him, was appointed Preacher at the Rolls Chapel by Sir Harbottle Grimſtone, Maſter of the Rolls (*s*). The ſame year, he was examined before the Houſe of Commons in relation to Duke Lauderdale [*R*], whoſe conduct the Parliament was then inquiring into (*t*). He was ſoon after choſen Lecturer of St. Clement's, and became a very popular preacher (*u*). In 1676, he publiſhed his *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton* (*w*); and the ſame year, *An Account of a Conference between himſelf, Dr. Stillingfleet, and Coleman* [*S*]. About this time, the apprehenſions

(*r*) Life, &c. p. 683, 684.

(*s*) *Ibid.*

(*t*) Hiſtory, &c. *ib.* P. 379, 380.

(*u*) Life, &c. *ubi ſupra.*

(*w*) In folio.

and thanked me for it: ſome things he freely condemned, ſuch as living with another man's wife: other things he excuſed, and thought God would not damn a man for a little irregular pleaſure. He ſeemed to take all I had ſaid very kindly; and during my ſtay at Court, he uſed me in ſo particular a manner, that I was conſidered as a man growing into a high degree of favour.' Our author was introduced to the Duke of York by the Earl of Ancram, who had a mind to engage him to give his Highneſs an account of the affairs of Scotland. 'But I avoided that, *ſays he* (17), and very bluntly entered into much diſcourſe with him about matters of religion. He ſaid ſome of the common things, of the neceſſity of having but one Church; otherwiſe we ſaw what ſwarms of ſects did riſe up on our revolt from Rome, and theſe had raiſed many rebellions, and the ſhedding much blood: and he named both his father's death, and his great-grandmother's, Mary Queen of Scots. He alſo turned to ſome paſſages in Heylyn's Hiſtory of the Reformation, which he had lying by him: and the paſſages were marked, to ſhew upon what motives and principles men were led into the changes that were then made. I enlarged upon all theſe particulars, and ſhewed him the progreſs that ignorance and ſuperſtition had made in many dark ages, and how much bloodſhed was occaſioned by the Papal pretenſions, for all which, the opinion of infallibility was a ſource never to be exhauſted.——The Duke, upon this converſation, expreſſed ſuch a liking to me, that he ordered me to come often to him.' Afterwards our author ſays (18), 'I told him *(the Duke)* it was a thing he could never anſwer to God nor the world, that, being born and baptized in our Church, and having his father's laſt orders to continue ſtedfaſt in it, he had ſuffered himſelf to be ſeduced, and, as it were, ſtolen out of it; hearing only one ſide, without offering his ſcruples to our Divines, or hearing what they had to ſay in anſwer to them.' Our author made no other uſe of the high favour ſhewn him by the Duke, than the introducing to him Dr. Stillingfleet, and afterwards propoſing a conference, to be held in his Royal Highneſs's preſence, between them two, and the chief of the Romiſh Prieſts: to which the Duke of York would not conſent (19).

(17) Hiſtory, &c. *ib.* p. 356, 357.

(18) *Ib.* p. 358.

(19) *Ibid.* and Life, &c. *ubi ſupra.*

[*P*] *He loſt the favour of the Court.*] On his arrival at London, the King received him very coldly, and ordered his name to be ſtruck out of the liſt of Chaplains: yet, at the Duke of York's entreaty, his Majeſty admitted him to offer what he thought proper in his juſtification. He thereupon gave his Majeſty ſuch a clear and ſatisfactory account of his conduct, appealing for the truth of all his aſſertions to Duke Hamilton, that in the end the King ſeemed convinced of his innocence, and ordered him home to Glaſgow. But the Duke of York diſſuaded him from returning thither, till his peace ſhould be entirely made; aſſuring him, that otherwiſe he would be clapped up in priſon, and perhaps detained there as long as the ſame intereſt laſted at Court. His Royal Highneſs likewiſe uſed his utmoſt endeavours to have reconciled him with Duke Lauderdale; but found it impracticable, the latter inſiſting that our author ſhould abandon his beſt friends, and diſcover all the ſecrets he had hitherto been in; and the other as firmly perſiſting in his adherence to thoſe who had ſhewn him friendſhip, or repoſed a confidence in him (20).

(20) Life, &c. p. 683; and Hiſtory, &c. *ib.* p. 371, 372.

[*Q*] *He declined accepting the living of St. Giles's Cripplegate.*] It was in the gift of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, who had expreſſed ſome inclination to beſtow it upon Dr. Fowler, afterwards Biſhop of Glouceſter; but being made acquainted with the circumſtances of our author, and the hardſhips he had undergone, they ſent him an offer of the benefice: he thanked them for the favour, but ſaid, that, as he had been informed of their intention of conferring it upon ſo worthy a Divine, he did not think himſelf at liberty to take it (21).

(21) Life, &c. p. 684.

[*R*] *He was examined before the Houſe of Commons, in relation to Duke Lauderdale.*] Let us hear his own account of this affair. 'The Houſe of Commons, *ſays he* (22), fell upon Duke Lauderdale; and thoſe who knew what had paſſed between him and me, moved that I ſhould be examined before a committee. I was brought before them.——I was examined concerning his deſign of arming the Iriſh Papiſts. I ſaid, I, as well as others, had heard him ſay, he wiſhed the Preſbyterians in Scotland would rebel, that he might bring over the Iriſh Papiſts to cut their throats. I was next examined concerning the deſign of bringing a Scottiſh army into England. I deſired to be excuſed as to what had paſſed in private diſcourſe, to which I thought I was not bound to anſwer, unleſs it were high-treaſon. They preſſed me long, and I would give them no other anſwer. So they all concluded that I knew great matters, and reported this ſpecially to the Houſe. Upon that, I was ſent for, and brought before the Houſe. I ſtood upon it, as I had done at the committee, that I was not bound to anſwer; that nothing had paſſed that was high-treaſon; and as to all other things, I did not think myſelf bound to diſcover them. I ſaid farther, I knew Duke Lauderdale was apt to ſay things in a heat, which he did not intend to do.——I was brought four times to the bar. At laſt I was told, the Houſe thought they had a right to examine into every thing that concerned the ſafety of the nation, as well as into matters of treaſon, and they looked on me as bound to ſatisfy them; otherwiſe they would make me feel the weight of their heavy diſpleaſure, as one that concealed what they thought was neceſſary to be known. Upon this I yielded, and gave an account of the diſcourſe formerly mentioned,' &c. 'I was much blamed, *adds the Biſhop* (23), for what I had done. Some, to make it look the worſe, added, that I had been his Chaplain, which was falſe; and that I had been much obliged to him, though I had never received any real obligation from him, but had done him great ſervices, for which I had been very unworthily requited. Yet the thing had an ill appearance, as the diſcloſing of what had paſſed in confidence; though I make it a great queſtion, how far even that ought to bind a man, when the deſigns are very wicked, and the perſon continued ſtill in the ſame poſt, and capacity of executing them.'

(22) Hiſt. &c. *ib.* p. 379.

(23) *Ib.* p. 382.

[*S*] His *Account of a Conference between himſelf, Dr. Stillingfleet, and Coleman.*] This Coleman had been

prehenſions of Popery increaſing daily, our author undertook to write *The Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of England* [T]; which he executed with great ſucceſs and univerſal applauſe. In 1680, he publiſhed *An Account of the Life and Death of the Earl of Rocheſter* [U], with whom he became accidentally acquainted (x). During the affair of the Popiſh plot, Dr. Burnet was often ſent for by King Charles, and conſulted upon the ſtate of the nation; and, about the ſame time, refuſed the vacant biſhopric of Chicheſter, which his Majeſty offered him, *provided he would entirely come into his intereſt* (y). But, though his free acceſs to that monarch did not procure him prefer-

(x) Life, &c. p. 685.

(y) *Ibid.*

been bred among the Jeſuits, was Secretary to the Ducheſs of York, and very active in making proſelytes to the Church of Rome (24). Sir Philip Terwhit, a Papiſt, had married a zealous Proteſtant, who, ſuſpecting his religion, charged him with it: but he denied it before marriage, and carried the matter ſo far, that he received the Sacrament with her in her own church. After they were married, ſhe found that he had deceived her; and they lived untowardly together. Some time [illegible] had ſcruples ſuggeſted to her; with which ſhe acquainted our author, and ſeemed fully ſatisfied with the anſwers he gave her. She afterwards came to him, and deſired he would come to her houſe, and talk of thoſe matters with ſome perſons that her huſband would bring to meet him. He told her, he would not decline the thing, if deſired, though he ſeldom knew any good come of ſuch conferences. She made the ſame propoſition to Dr. Stillingfleet, and he gave the ſame anſwer. So a day was ſet, and they went thither, where they found Coleman, who took the whole debate upon him. Our author wrote down a particular account of all that paſſed, and printed it. Soon after that, the Lady, who continued firm upon the conference, was poſſeſſed with new ſcruples about the validity of the Engliſh ordinations. Our author got from her a paper that had been put into her hand, and anſwered it; and with that ſhe ſeemed likewiſe ſatisfied. But, afterwards, the uneaſineſs of her life prevailed more with her than her ſcruples; and ſhe changed her religion (25).

(24) Hiſt. &c. *ib.* p. 368.

(25) *Ib.* p. 395.

[T] His *Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of England.*] His own account of the riſe and progreſs of this work is as follows: 'Some time after I had 'printed the *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, which 'were favourably received, the reading of theſe got 'me the acquaintance and friendſhip of Sir William 'Jones, then Attorney-General.—My way of writ-'ing hiſtory pleaſed him; and ſo he preſſed me to 'undertake the Hiſtory of England. But Sanders's 'book, that was then tranſlated into French, and 'cried up much in France, made all my friends preſs 'me to anſwer it, by writing the Hiſtory of the Re-'formation. So now all my thoughts were turned 'that way. I laid out for manuſcripts, and ſearched 'into all offices. I got for ſome days into the Cot-'ton Library. But Duke Lauderdale hearing of my 'deſign, and apprehending it might ſucceed in my 'hands, got Dolben, Biſhop of Rocheſter, to di-'vert Sir John Cotton from ſuffering me to ſearch 'into his library. He told him, I was a great ene-'my to the Prerogative, to which Cotton was de-'voted, even to ſlavery. So he ſaid, I would cer-'tainly make an ill uſe of all I had found. This 'wrought ſo much on him, that I was no more ad-'mitted, till my firſt volume was publiſhed. And 'then, when he ſaw how I had compoſed it, he gave 'me free acceſs to it (26).' The firſt volume of this work lay near a year after it was finiſhed, for the peruſal and correction of friends; ſo that it was not publiſhed till the year 1679, when the affair of the Popiſh plot was in agitation. This book procured our author an honour never before or ſince paid to any writer: he had the thanks of both Houſes of Parliament, with a deſire that he would proſecute the undertaking, and complete that valuable work. Accordingly, in leſs than two years after (*), he printed the ſecond volume, which met with the ſame general approbation as the firſt: and ſuch was his readineſs in compoſing, that he wrote the hiſtorical part in the compaſs of ſix weeks, after all his materials were laid in order (27). The third volume, containing a *Supplement* to the two former, was publiſhed in 1714. 'The defects of Peter Heylyn's *Hiſtory of the Reformation*,' as Biſhop Nicholſon obſerves (28), 'are 'abundantly ſupplied in our author's more complete 'hiſtory. He gives a punctual account of all the 'affairs of the Reformation, from its beginning in 'the reign of Henry VIII. to its final eſtabliſhment 'under Queen Elizabeth, *A. D.* 1559. And the 'whole is penned in a maſculine ſtyle, ſuch as be-'comes an hiſtorian, and is the property of this au-'thor in all his writings. The collection of *records*, 'which he gives at the end of each volume, are good 'vouchers of the truth of what he delivers in the 'body of the hiſtory, and are much more perfect 'than could reaſonably be expected, after the pains 'taken, in Queen Mary's days, to ſuppreſs every 'thing that carried the marks of the Reformation 'upon it.' Our author's performance met with a very favourable reception abroad, and was tranſlated into moſt of the European languages; inſomuch that the keeneſt of his enemies (29) allows it to have *a reputation firmly and deſervedly eſtabliſhed.* Indeed, ſome of the French writers have cavilled at it; the moſt eminent of whom, M. Varillas and M. Le Grand, have received due correction from the author himſelf (30). Nor did it entirely eſcape cenſure at home. For, firſt, it was attacked by Mr. S. Lowth (31), who pretended only to oppoſe the *Eraſtian* tenets in Mr. Hobbes's *Leviathan*; but took occaſion, in the concluſion of his book, to cenſure the account Dr. Burnet had given of ſome of Archbiſhop Cranmer's ſingular opinions. This author had the confidence to aſſert, that both our Hiſtorian and Dr. Stillingfleet had impoſed upon the world in that particular, and had *unfaithfully joined together* in their endeavours to leſſen Epiſcopal Ordination. Our author replied to Mr. Lowth, in ſome *letters in anſwer to* his book. The next aſſailant was a gentleman, who, under the name of Anthony Harmer, publiſhed *A Specimen of ſome Errors and Defects in the Hiſtory of the Reformation* (32). It is a virulent and uncharitable performance; to which, however, our Hiſtorian vouchſafed a ſhort anſwer, in a *Letter to the Biſhop of Litchfield* (33). A third attack on this Hiſtory was made by the author of ſome *Diſcourſes on Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotſon* (34); in which the whole charge amounts to no more than this, that, *in a matter of no great conſequence, there was too little care had in copying or examining a letter writ in a very bad hand*, and that there was ſome probability that Dr. Burnet *was miſtaken in one of his conjectures.* Our author anſwered this piece, in a *Vindication* of his Hiſtory (35). The two firſt parts were tranſlated into French by M. de Roſemond, and into Latin by Melchior Mittelhorzer. There is likewiſe an High-Dutch tranſlation of it. In 1682, our author publiſhed an *Abridgment of* his *Hiſtory of the Reformation* (36), in which he tells us, he had wholly waved every thing that belonged to the *records*, and the proof of what he relates, or to the confutation of the falſehoods that run through the Popiſh Hiſtorians; all which is to be found in the Hiſtory at large. And therefore, in this *Abridgment*, he ſays, every thing is to be taken upon truſt; and thoſe who deſire a fuller ſatisfaction, are referred to the volumes he had before publiſhed.

(29) Ant. Harmer, in Præfat. *ubi ſupra.*

(30) See his Reflections on Varillas, Amſt. 1686, 12*mo.* Defence of thoſe Reflections, *ibid.* 1687. Continuation of the ſame Reflections, *ibid.* 1687. And Anſwer to J. Le Grand's Defence of Sanders, &c. 4*to*, *ibid.* 1688.

(31) Of the Subject of Church Power, 8*vo*, 1685.

(32) 8*vo*, 1693, the author Mr. Henry Wharton.

(33) 4*to*, 1694.

(34) 4*to*, 1695, the author Dr. Hickes.

(35) 8*vo*, 1696.

(36) In 8*vo*.

[U] His *Account of the Life and Death of the Earl of Rocheſter.*] As our author, though he had at this time no parochial cure, refuſed not his attendance to any ſick perſon who deſired it, he was ſent for, amongſt others, to one who had been engaged in a criminal amour with Wilmot, Earl of Rocheſter. The manner he treated her in, during her illneſs, gave that Lord a great curioſity of being acquainted with him. Whereupon, for a whole winter, in a converſation of at leaſt one evening in a week, he went over all thoſe topics with him, upon which Sceptics, and men of looſe morals, are wont to attack the Chriſtian Religion (37). The effect of theſe conferences, in convincing the Earl's judgment, and leading him to a ſincere repentance, is the ſubject of this narrative.

(37) Life, &c. p. 685.

(26) *Ib.* p. 395, 396.

(*) In 1681.

(27) Life, &c. p. 685.

(28) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, fol. Lond. 1736, p. 119.

ment, it gave him an opportunity of ſending his Majeſty a moſt remarkable letter [*W*]; in which, with great freedom, he reprehends the vices and errors both of his private life and his government (*z*). The unprejudiced part he acted during the time the nation was inflamed with the diſcovery of the Popiſh plot; his candid endeavours to ſave the lives of Staley and the Lord Stafford, both zealous Papiſts; his temperate conduct in regard to the excluſion of the Duke of York; and the ſcheme of a Prince Regent, propoſed by him, in lieu of that excluſion; are ſufficiently related in his *Hiſtory of his own Time* (*a*). In 1682, when the adminiſtration was wholly changed in favour of the Duke of York, he continued ſteady in his adherence to his friends, and choſe to ſacrifice all his views at Court, particularly a promiſe of the Maſterſhip of the Temple, rather than break off his correſpondence with them (*b*). This year our author publiſhed his *Life of Sir Matthew Hale* (*c*), and his *Hiſtory of the Rights of Princes, in diſpoſing of Eccleſiaſtical Benefices and Church-Lands*; which being attacked by an anonymous writer, Dr. Burnet publiſhed, the ſame year, *An Anſwer to the Animadverſions on the Hiſtory of the Rights of Princes.* As he was, about this time, much reſorted to by perſons of all ranks and parties, in order for a pretence to avoid the returning of ſo many viſits, he built a laboratory, and, for above a year, went through a courſe of chemical experiments (*d*). Upon the execution of the Lord Ruſſel, with whom he was familiarly acquainted, he was examined before the Houſe of Commons, in relation to that Lord's ſpeech upon the ſcaffold, in the penning of which he was ſuſpected to have had a hand (*e*). Not long after, he refuſed the offer of a living of three hundred pounds a-year, in the gift of the Earl of Halifax, who would have preſented him, on condition of his reſiding ſtill in London (*f*). In 1683, he went over to Paris, where he was well received by the Court, and became acquainted with the moſt eminent perſons, both Popiſh and Proteſtant (*g*). This year came out his *Tranſlation and Examination of a Letter, writ by the laſt General Aſſembly of the Clergy of France to the Proteſtants, inviting them to return to their Communion*, &c.; alſo his *Tranſlation of Sir Thomas More's Utopia*, with a *Preface concerning the Nature of Tranſlations.* The year following, the reſentment of the Court againſt our author was ſo great, that he was diſcharged from his lecture at St. Clement's, by virtue of the King's mandate to Dr. Haſcard, Rector of that pariſh; and, in December the ſame year, by an order from the Lord-Keeper North to Sir Harbottle Grimſtone, he was forbidden preaching any more at the Rolls Chapel (*b*) [*X*]. In 1685 came out our author's *Life of Dr. William Bedell, Biſhop of Kilmore*

(*z*) Life, &c. p. 686, and Hiſt. *ib.* p. 507.

(*a*) Vol. i. p. 427—496.

(*b*) Life, &c. p. 689.

(*c*) Tranſlated into French, and publiſhed at Amſterdam in 1688.

(*d*) Life, &c. p. 690.

(*e*) Hiſt. *ib.* p. 561, 562.

(*f*) Life, &c. p. 691.

(*g*) Hiſt. *ib.* p. 564—567.

(*b*) Life, &c. p. 692; and Hiſt. *ib.* p. 596.

[*W*] *He ſent King Charles* II. *a moſt remarkable letter.*] The original was in the hands of the life-writer, written by the Biſhop, with a memorandum how it was delivered, and when; and how it was received. It is printed at length in the *Life* (38); to which the reader is referred. Let us hear what the Biſhop himſelf ſays of it. 'Mrs. Robers, whom he (the King) 'had kept for ſome time, ſent for me when ſhe was 'dying: I ſaw her often for ſome weeks, and, 'among other things, I deſired her to write a letter 'to the King, expreſſing the ſenſe ſhe had of her paſt 'life; and, at her deſire, I drew ſuch a letter as 'might be fit for her to write. But ſhe never had 'ſtrength enough to write it: ſo upon that I reſolved 'to write a very plain letter to the King. I ſet 'before him his paſt life, and the effects it had upon 'the nation, with the judgments of God that lay on 'him, which was but a ſmall part of the puniſhment 'that he might look for. I preſſed him upon that 'earneſtly to change the whole courſe of his life. I 'carried this letter to Chiffinch's, on the twenty-'ninth of January; and told the King in the letter, 'that I hoped the reflections on what had befallen 'his father on the thirtieth of January, might move 'him to conſider theſe things more carefully. Lord 'Arran happened to be then in waiting; and he 'came to me next day, and told me, he was ſure 'the King had a long letter from me; for he held 'the candle to him while he read it: he knew at that 'diſtance that it was my hand. The King read it 'twice over, and then threw it into the fire: and not 'long after, Lord Arran took occaſion to name me; 'and the King ſpoke of me with great ſharpneſs: ſo 'he perceived he was not pleaſed with my letter (39).' This part of our author's conduct may perhaps offend the delicacy of ſome, and be cenſured as too great a liberty for any ſubject, eſpecially in Burnet's then ſtation, to take with his Sovereign. But, however that be, it conveys to the reader a much ſtronger idea of his character, than any deſcription can give; and it will ſcarcely be thought a ſtep which any Clergyman would have taken, who aimed more at preferment than the ſtrict diſcharge of his duty.

(38) *Ib.* p. 686.

(39) Hiſt. *ib.* p. 507.

[*X*] *He was forbidden preaching any more at the Rolls Chapel.*] 'I continued, *ſays the Biſhop* (40), at the 'Rolls, avoiding very cautiouſly every thing that re-'lated to the public: for I abhorred the making the 'pulpit a ſtage for venting of paſſion, or for the 'ſerving of intereſts. There was a pariſh in London 'vacant, where the election lay in the inhabitants; 'and it was probable it would have fallen on me; 'though London was in ſo divided a ſtate, that every 'thing was managed by the ſtrength of parties. Yet 'the King, apprehending the choice might have 'fallen on me, ſent a meſſage to them, to let them 'know he would take it amiſs if they choſe me. 'Old Sir Harbottle Grimſtone lived ſtill, to the 'great indignation of the Court. When the fifth of 'November, being gun-powder-treaſon day, came, 'in which we had always ſermons at the Chapel of 'the Rolls, I begged the Maſter of the Rolls to ex-'cuſe me then from preaching; for that day led one 'to preach againſt Popery, and it was indecent not 'to do it. He ſaid, he would end his life as he had 'led it all along, in an open deteſtation of Popery. 'So, ſince I ſaw this could not be avoided, though 'I had not meddled with any point of Popery for 'above a year together, I reſolved, ſince I did it ſo 'ſeldom, to do it to purpoſe. I choſe for my text 'theſe words, *Save me from the lion's mouth; thou 'haſt heard me from the horns of the unicorns.* I made 'no reflection in my thoughts on the lion and uni-'corn, as being the two ſupporters of the King's 'ſcutcheon (for I ever hated all points of that ſort, 'as a profanation of ſcriptures); but I ſhewed how 'well Popery might be compared to the lion's mouth, 'then open to devour us; and I compared our for-'mer deliverance from the extremities of danger to 'the being on the horn of a rhinoceros. And this 'leading me to the ſubject of the day, I mentioned 'that wiſh of King James I. againſt any of his poſte-'rity that ſhould endeavour to bring that religion 'in among us. This was immediately carried to the 'Court. But it only raiſed more anger againſt me; 'for nothing could be made of it. They talked moſt 'of the choice of the text, as levelled againſt the 'King's coat of arms. That had never been once in 'my thoughts. Lord Keeper North diverted the 'King from doing any thing on the account of my 'ſermon. And ſo the matter ſlept till the end of the 'term;

(40) *Ib.* p. 596.

(i) In 8vo.

more in Ireland (*i*). Upon the death of King Charles, and acceſſion of King James; having obtained leave to go out of the kingdom, he went firſt to Paris [*Y*]; where he lived in great retirement, to avoid being involved in the conſpiracies then forming in favour of the Duke of Monmouth. But, having contracted an acquaintance with Brigadier Stouppe, a Proteſtant officer in the French ſervice, he was prevailed upon to take a journey with him into Italy, and met with an agreeable reception at Rome [*Z*], and Geneva (*k*) [*AA*]. After a tour through the ſouthern parts of France, Italy, Switzerland, and many places of Germany, of which he has given an account, with reflections on their ſeveral governments, *&c.* in his *Travels*, publiſhed in 1687, he came to Utrecht, and intended to have ſettled in ſome quiet retreat within the Seven Provinces; but, being invited to the Hague by the Prince and Princeſs of Orange, he repaired thither, and had a great ſhare in the councils then carrying on, in relation to the affairs of England (*l*) [*BB*]. In 1687, our author publiſhed a *Tranſlation of Lactantius, concerning the Death of the Perſecutors.* The high favour ſhewn him at the Hague diſguſting the Engliſh Court, King James wrote two ſevere letters againſt him to the Princeſs of Orange, and inſiſted, by his Ambaſſador, on his being forbidden the Court; which, at the King's importunity, was done; though our author continued to be employed and truſted as before. Soon after, a proſecution for high-treaſon was ſet on foot againſt him, both in Scotland and England; but the States refuſing, at the demand of the Engliſh Court, to deliver him up [*CC*], deſigns were laid of ſeizing his perſon, and even

(k) Life, *&c* ib. and Hiſt. ib. p. 860.

(l) Life, *&c.* p. 693; and Hiſt. ib. p. 688—692.

' term; and then North writ to the Maſter of the ' Rolls, that the King conſidered the Chapel of the ' Rolls as one of his own chapels; and, ſince he ' looked on me as a perſon diſaffected to his govern- ' ment, and had for that reaſon diſmiſſed me from ' his own ſervice, he therefore required him not to ' ſuffer me to ſerve any longer in that chapel.'

[*Y*] *He went to Paris.*] Before he left England, he inquired of the French Ambaſſador, whether he might be ſafe in France; and being aſſured he might, he came to Paris; where there being many whom he had reaſon to look on as ſpies, he took a little houſe, and lived as privately as he could (41).

(41) Hiſt. ib. p. 655.

[*Z*] *He met with an agreeable reception at Rome.*] Pope Innocent XI. hearing of our author's arrival, ſent the Captain of the Swiſs guards to acquaint him, he would give him a private audience in bed, to avoid the ceremony of kiſſing his Holineſs's ſlipper. But our author excuſed himſelf as well as he could. He was treated with great familiarity by the Cardinals Howard and D'Eſtrees: the former ſhewed him all his letters from England, expreſſing the high expectations of the Popiſh party. One evening, upon viſiting Cardinal Howard, he found him diſtributing ſome relics to two French gentlemen: upon which he whiſpered to him in Engliſh, that it was ſomewhat odd that a Prieſt of the Church of England ſhould be at Rome helping them off with the ware of Babylon. The Cardinal ſmiled at the remark, and, repeating it in French to the gentlemen, bid them tell their countrymen, how bold the Heretics, and how mild the Cardinals, were at Rome. Some diſputes, which our author had at Rome, concerning religion, beginning to be taken notice of, made it proper for him to quit that city; which he accordingly did, upon an intimation given him by Prince Borgheſe (42).

(42) *Ib.* p. 661—663.

[*AA*] —— *and at Geneva.*] Here, perceiving how ſtrongly they inſiſted upon their *conſent of doctrine* (43), which they required all thoſe to ſubſcribe who were admitted into orders, he employed all the eloquence he was maſter of, and all the credit he had acquired among them, to obtain an alteration in this practice. He repreſented to them the folly and ill conſequence of ſuch ſubſcriptions; whereby the honeſteſt and worthieſt men were frequently reduced to the neceſſity of quitting their native country, and ſeeking a ſubſiſtence elſewhere; whilſt others of leſs virtue were induced to ſubmit and comply againſt their conſcience, and even begin their miniſtry with mental equivocations. The warmth with which he expreſſed himſelf on this head was ſuch, and ſuch the opinion they had of him, that the clergy of Geneva were afterwards releaſed from theſe ſubſcriptions, and only left ſubject to puniſhment or cenſure, in caſe of writing or preaching againſt the eſtabliſhed doctrine (44).

(43) A Formulary, commonly known by the name of the *Conſenſus.*

(44) Life, *&c.* p. 692, 693.

[*BB*] *He had a great ſhare in the counſels carrying on in relation to the affairs of England.*] He adviſed the putting the fleet of Holland immediately into ſuch order, as might give courage to their friends in Great Britain, in caſe matters there ſhould come to extremities: he prevailed upon the Prince and Princeſs of Orange to write a letter to King James, in favour of the Biſhop of London, who was then under ſuſpenſion: he ventured to propoſe to the Princeſs the explaining herſelf upon that nice, but neceſſary point, of the ſhare the Prince was to expect in the government, in caſe the Britiſh crown ſhould devolve on her; and when it was determined to ſend over Mr. Dyckvelt as Ambaſſador to England, our author was employed to draw his ſecret inſtructions (45).

(45) *Ibid.* and Hiſt. ib. p. 691, 692.

[*CC*] *A proſecution for high-treaſon was ſet on foot againſt him —— but the States refuſed to deliver him up.*] Take an account of this affair in the Biſhop's own words (46): ' After I had ſtayed a year in Hol- ' land, I heard from many hands, that the King ' ſeemed to forget his own greatneſs when he ſpoke ' of me, which he took occaſion to do very often. ' I had publiſhed ſome account of the tour I had made, ' in ſeveral letters; in which my chief deſign was to ' expoſe both Popery and tyranny. The book was ' well received, and was much read; and it raiſed ' the King's diſpleaſure very high. My continuing ' at the Hague made him conclude, that I was ma- ' naging deſigns againſt him. And ſome papers in ' ſingle ſheets came out, reflecting on the proceed- ' ings of England, which ſeemed to have a conſi- ' derable effect on thoſe who read them. Theſe were ' printed in Holland; and many copies of them were ' ſent into all the parts of England: all which in- ' flamed the King the more againſt me; for he be- ' lieved they were writ by me, as indeed moſt of ' them were. But that which gave the criſis to the ' King's anger was, that he heard I was to be mar- ' ried to a conſiderable fortune at the Hague. So a ' project was formed to break this, by charging me ' with high-treaſon, for correſponding with Lord ' Argyle, and for converſing with ſome that were ' outlawed for high-treaſon. The King ordered a ' letter to be writ in his name to his Advocate in ' Scotland, to proſecute me for ſome probable thing ' or other; which was intended only to make a noiſe, ' not doubting but this would break the intended ' marriage. A ſhip coming from Scotland the day ' in which this proſecution was ordered, that had a ' quick paſſage, brought me the firſt news of it, ' long before it was ſent to D'Albeville. So I peti- ' tioned the States, who were then ſitting, to be na- ' turalized, in order to my intended marriage. And ' this paſt in courſe, without the leaſt difficulty; ' which perhaps might have been made, if this pro- ' ſecution, now begun in Scotland, had been known. ' Now I was legally under the protection of the States ' of Holland. Yet I writ a full juſtification of my- ' ſelf, as to all particulars laid to my charge, in ' ſome letters that I ſent to the Earl of Middleton. ' But in one of theſe I ſaid, that, being now natu- ' ralized in Holland, my allegiance was, during my ' ſtay in theſe parts, transferred from his Majeſty to ' the States. I alſo ſaid in another letter, that if, ' upon my non-appearance, a ſentence ſhould paſs ' againſt

(46) Hiſt. ib. p. 726, 727.

even deſtroying him, if he could be taken (*m*) [*DD*]. About this time Dr. Burnet married Mrs. Mary Scott [*EE*], a Dutch Lady of large fortune, and noble extraction (*n*). He had a very important ſhare in the whole conduct of the Revolution in 1688; the project of which he gave early notice of to the Court of Hanover, intimating, that the ſucceſs of this enterpriſe muſt naturally end in an entail of the Britiſh crown upon that illuſtrious Houſe (*o*). He wrote alſo ſeveral pamphlets (*p*) in ſupport of the Prince of Orange's deſigns; and, when his Highneſs undertook the expedition to England, our author accompanied him as his Chaplain, notwithſtanding the particular circumſtances of danger to which he was thereby expoſed (*q*). At Exeter, after the Prince's landing, he drew up the Aſſociation for purſuing the ends of his Highneſs's Declaration (*r*). During theſe tranſactions, Dr. Crew, Biſhop of Durham, who had rendered himſelf obnoxious by the part he had acted in the High-Commiſſion Court, having propoſed to the Prince of Orange to reſign his biſhopric in favour of Dr. Burnet, on condition of an allowance of 1000 l. *per annum* out of the revenue, our author refuſed to accept it on thoſe terms (*s*). But King William had not been many days on the throne before Dr. Burnet found the due recompence of this ſelf-denial, being advanced to the See of Saliſbury [*FF*], in the room of Dr. Seth Ward, deceaſed (*t*); and conſecrated March 31, 1689. Our Prelate had ſcarcely taken his ſeat in the Houſe of Lords, when he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by declaring for moderate meaſures with regard to the clergy who ſcrupled to take the oaths, and for a toleration of the Proteſtant Diſſenters from the Church of England (*u*); and, when the bill for de-

(*m*) Life, &c. p. 694; and Hiſt. *ib.* p. 726, &c.

(*n*) Life, &c. p. 695.

(*o*) Hiſt. *ib.* p. 757.

(*p*) They were reprinted at London in 1689, in 8vo, under the title of *A Collection of eighteen Papers relating to the Affairs of Church and State during the Reign of King James II.* &c.

(*q*) *Ib.* p. 776.

(*r*) *Ib.* p. 793.

(*s*) Life, &c. p. 696.

(*t*) *Ib.* and Hiſt. Vol. ii. p. 8.

(*u*) *Ib.* and p. 9, 10.

'againſt me, I might be perhaps forced to juſtify 'myſelf, and to give an account of the ſhare that I 'had in affairs theſe twenty years paſt; in which I 'might be led to mention ſome things, that I was 'afraid would diſpleaſe the King; and therefore I 'ſhould be ſorry if I were driven to it. Now the 'Court thought they had ſomewhat againſt me; 'for they knew they had nothing before. So the 'firſt citation was let fall, and a new one was or-'dered, on theſe two accounts: It was pretended to 'be high-treaſon to ſay, my allegiance was now 'transferred: and it was ſet forth as a high indig-'nity to the King, to threaten him with writing a 'hiſtory of the tranſactions paſt theſe laſt twenty 'years. The firſt of theſe ſtruck at a great point, 'which was a part of the law of nations. Every 'man that was naturalized took an oath of allegiance 'to the Prince or State that naturalized him. And 'ſince no man can ſerve two maſters, or be under a 'double allegiance, it is certain that there muſt be 'a transfer of allegiance, at leaſt, during the ſtay in 'the country where one is ſo naturalized. This 'matter was kept up againſt me for ſome time, the 'Court delaying proceeding to ſentence for ſeveral 'months. At laſt a ſentence of outlawry was given: 'and upon that Albeville ſaid, that, if the States 'would not deliver me up, he would find ſuch in-'ſtruments as ſhould ſeize on me, and carry me 'away forcibly. The methods he named of doing 'this were very ridiculous; and he ſpoke of it to 'ſo many perſons, that I believe his deſign was ra-'ther to frighten me, than that he could think to 'effect them. Many overtures were made to ſome of 'my friends in London, not only to let this proſe-'cution fall, but to promote me, if I would make 'myſelf capable of it. I entertained none of theſe. 'I had many ſtories brought me of the diſcourſes 'among ſome of the brutal Iriſh, then in the Dutch 'ſervice. But, I thank God, I was not moved with 'them. I reſolved to go on, and to do my duty, 'and to do what ſervice I could to the public, and 'to my country; and reſigned myſelf up entirely to 'that Providence, that had watched over me at that 'time with an indulgent care, and had made all the 'deſigns of my enemies againſt me turn to my great 'advantage.' The Biſhop goes on (47) to inform us, that Albeville preſented a memorial to the States, complaining of his (Dr. Burnet's) conduct, and inſiſting upon his being baniſhed the Provinces: upon which he was called before Deputies of the States, who were ſo ſatisfied with his anſwers to the Ambaſſador's memorial, that they ordered a memorial to be drawn up agreeable thereto; and inſtructed their Ambaſſador in England to repreſent to the King, how ſacred a thing naturalization was; and, if his Majeſty had any thing to lay to Dr. Burnet's charge, juſtice ſhould be done in their courts. This produced another memorial againſt our author, but with no better ſucceſs than the former.

(47) Hiſt. *ib.* p. 728, 729.

[*DD*] *Deſigns were laid of ſeizing his perſon, and even deſtroying him, if he could be taken.*] Somebody, it ſeems, had ſuggeſted to King James, that, ſince a ſentence had paſſed againſt Dr. Burnet for non-appearance, and the States refuſed to deliver him up, he (the King) might order private perſons to execute the ſentence as they could. Our author received poſitive aſſurances, that five thouſand pounds would be given to any one that ſhould murder him: and a gentleman of an unblemiſhed reputation, he tells us, wrote him word, that he himſelf by accident ſaw an order, drawn in the Secretary's Office, but not yet ſigned, for three thouſand pounds to a blank perſon, who was to ſeize and deſtroy him (48).

(48) *Ib.* p. 730; and Life, &c. p. 694, 695.

[*EE*] *He married Mrs. Mary Scott.*] This Lady's anceſtor, on the father's ſide, was a younger brother of the family of Buccleugh, who, upon a quarrel in Scotland, went over to Holland: his ſon was a Brigadier-general at the ſiege of Middleburgh, in the year 1574, and afterwards Deputy for the province of Zealand, in the Aſſembly of the States-General: his grandſon, Apollonius Scott, who was the Lady's grandfather, was Preſident of the High Court of Juſtice at the Hague, and by marriage allied to the nobleſt houſes in Zealand. On the mother's ſide, who was a *De Ruyter*, ſhe was related to the principal families in Guelderland. With theſe advantages of birth, ſhe had thoſe of a fine perſon; was well ſkilled in Muſic, Drawing, and Painting; and ſpoke Dutch, Engliſh, and French, equally well. Her knowledge in matters of Divinity was ſuch, as might rather be expected from a Student, than from a Lady. She had a fine underſtanding, and ſweetneſs of temper; and excelled in all the qualifications of a dutiful wife, a prudent miſtreſs of a family, and a tender mother of children (49).

(49) Life, &c. *ibid.*

[*FF*] *He was advanced to the See of Saliſbury.*] The writer of his life tells us (50), 'he was ſo little 'anxious after his own preferment, that, when the 'Biſhopric of Saliſbury became void, as it did ſoon 'after King William and Queen Mary were eſta-'bliſhed on the throne, he ſolicited for it in favour 'of his old friend Dr. Lloyd, then Biſhop of St. 'Aſaph;' and that 'the King anſwered him in a 'cold way, *That he had another perſon in view*; and 'the next day he himſelf was nominated to that See.' The Biſhop himſelf tells us (51), the King named him to that See in terms more obliging than uſually fell from him; and that, when he waited on the Queen, ſhe ſaid, ſhe hoped he would now put in practice thoſe notions with which he had taken the liberty often to entertain her. The Biſhop informs us farther, that Archbiſhop Sancroft refuſed to conſecrate him, and for ſome days ſeemed determined to venture incurring a *præmunire*, rather than obey the Mandate for Conſecration: but at laſt he granted a commiſſion to all the Biſhops of his province, or to any three of them, in conjunction with the Biſhop of London, to exerciſe his metropolitical authority during pleaſure.

(50) *Ib.* p. 696.

(51) Hiſt. &c. Vol. ii. p. 8.

claring the rights and privileges of the ſubject, and ſettling the ſucceſſion of the crown, was brought into parliament, he was the perſon appointed by King William to propoſe naming the Ducheſs (afterwards Electreſs) of Brunſwick, next in ſucceſſion after the Princeſs of Denmark and her iſſue (*w*); and, when this ſucceſſion afterwards (*x*) took place, he had the honour of being Chairman of the Committee to whom the bill was referred (*y*). This made him conſidered by the Houſe of Hanover as one firmly attached to their intereſts, and engaged him in an epiſtolary correſpondence with the Princeſs Sophia (*z*), which laſted to her death (*a*). This year Biſhop Burnet addreſſed a *Paſtoral Letter* to the clergy of his dioceſe, concerning the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to King William and Queen Mary; in which having grounded their Majeſties title to the crown upon the right *of Conqueſt* [*GG*], ſome Members of both Houſes took ſuch offence at it, that they procured an order for burning the book by the hands of the common executioner (*b*). After the ſeſſion of parliament was over, the Biſhop went down to his dioceſe, where, by his pious, prudent, and vigilant diſcharge of the epiſcopal functions [*HH*], he gained an univerſal love and eſteem (*c*). In 1692, he publiſhed a treatiſe, intitled, *The Paſtoral Care* (*d*), in which the duties of the Clergy are laid down with great ſtrictneſs, and enforced with no leſs zeal and warmth. The next year came out his *Four Diſcourſes to the Clergy of his Dioceſe* [*II*]. In 1694, our author preached the *Funeral Sermon* of Archbiſhop Tillotſon, with whom he had long kept up an intimate acquaintance and friendſhip (*e*), and whoſe memory he vindicated (*f*) againſt the virulent attacks made upon it. The death of Queen Mary, which happened the year following, drew from our author's pen that *Eſſay on* her *character* (*g*), which her uncommon talents, and ſhining qualities, merited at the hands of a perſon who enjoyed ſo high a degree of her favour and confidence (*h*). After the deceaſe of that Princeſs, through whoſe hands the affairs and promotions of the Church had wholly paſſed, our Prelate was one of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion appointed by the King to

(*w*) Hiſt. p. 15. and Life, &c. p. 687.
(*y*) Life, &c. *ib.*
(*x*) In 1701.
(*z*) Above fifty of that Princeſs's letters to Dr. Burnet were extant in the hands of the life-writer; two of which he has given us.
(*a*) Life, &c. p. 697.
(*b*) Kennet's Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. iii. p. 587. 650.
(*c*) Life, &c. p. 705—710.
(*d*) In 4*to*. It was reprinted in 1713, with a Preface and an additional Chapter.
(*e*) Hiſt *ib.* p. 135.
(*f*) In a piece intitled, *A Vindication of Archbiſhop Tillotſon*, Lond. 1696.
(*g*) It was tranſlated into French by D. Mezel, and publiſhed at the Hague in 1695; and into High-Dutch by J. G. Pritius, and printed at Leipſick.
(*h*) Life, &c. p. 715.

[*GG*] *He grounded their Majeſties title to the crown upon the right of Conqueſt.*] Having ſet forth the motives upon which the Prince of Orange acted, in making war upon King James, and ſhewed them to be juſtifiable, he goes on: 'So then here was a war 'begun upon juſt and lawful grounds; and a war 'being ſo begun, it is the uncontroverted opinion of 'all Lawyers, that *the ſucceſs of a juſt war gives a 'lawful title to that which is acquired in the progreſs 'of it*. Therefore, King James having ſo far ſunk 'in the war, that he both abandoned his people, and 'deſerted the government, all his right and title did 'accrue to the King, in right of a Conqueſt over 'him; ſo that, if he had then aſſumed the crown, 'the opinion of all Lawyers muſt have been on his 'ſide. But he choſe rather to leave the matter to 'the determination of the Peers and People of Eng-'land,' &c. (52) It was not till about three years after that this piece of the Biſhop's was publicly burnt, together with another on the ſame argument, written by Charles Blount, Eſq; and intitled, *King William and Queen Mary Conquerors* (53).

(52) Paſtoral Letter, &c. p. 19, 20, 21.
(53) Kennet's Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. iii. p. 587. 650.

[*HH*] *His pious, prudent, and vigilant diſcharge of the epiſcopal functions.*] We ſhall juſt touch upon the principal parts of his conduct as a Biſhop, which are deſcribed at large by the author of his Life (54). As he had always looked upon Confirmation as the likelieſt means of reviving a ſpirit of Chriſtianity, if men could be brought to entertain juſt notions concerning it, he wrote a ſhort *Directory*, containing proper rules for preparing the youth upon ſuch occaſions: this he printed, and ſent copies of it, ſome months beforehand, to the miniſter of every pariſh where he intended to confirm. Every ſummer, he made a tour, for ſix weeks or two months, through ſome diſtrict of his biſhopric, daily preaching and confirming from church to church, ſo as, in the compaſs of three years (beſides his triennial viſitation), to go through all the principal livings of his dioceſe. In theſe circuits he entertained all the clergy that attended upon him, at his own expence, and held conferences with them upon the chief heads of Divinity (55). During his reſidence at Saliſbury, he conſtantly preached a Thurſday's lecture, founded at St. Thomas's church: he likewiſe preached and confirmed, every Sunday morning, in ſome church of that city, or of the neighbourhood round about it; and, in the evening, he had a lecture in his own chapel, wherein he explained ſome portion of Scripture. Every week, during the ſeaſon of Lent, he catechiſed the youth of the two great ſchools in the Cathedral Church, and inſtructed them in order for Confirmation. He endeavoured, as much as in him lay, to reform the abuſes of the Biſhop's Conſiſtorial Court. No part of the epiſcopal office was more ſtrictly attended to by him, than the examination of candidates for holy orders. He examined them himſelf, as to the proofs of the Chriſtian Religion, the authority of the Scriptures, and the nature of the Goſpel Covenant; and, a day or two before Ordination, he ſubmitted all thoſe whom he had accepted to the examination of the Dean and Prebendaries. As the qualification of clergymen for the paſtoral care was always uppermoſt in his thoughts, he inſtituted at Saliſbury a little nurſery of ſtudents in Divinity, being ten in number, to each of whom he allowed a ſalary of thirty pounds a-year. Once every day he examined their progreſs in learning, and gave them a lecture on ſome ſpeculative or practical point of Divinity, or ſome part of the paſtoral function. But this foundation being exclaimed at, as a deſigned affront upon the method of education at the Univerſities, he was prevailed upon, after ſome years, to lay it wholly aſide. He was a warm and conſtant enemy to Pluralities, where non-reſidence was the conſequence of them, and in ſome caſes hazarded a ſuſpenſion, rather than give inſtitution. In the point of Reſidence, he was ſo ſtrict, that he immediately diſmiſſed his own Chaplains, upon their preferment to a cure of ſouls. He exerted the principle of Toleration, which was deeply rooted in him, in favour of a Nonjuring Meeting-houſe at Saliſbury, which he obtained the Royal permiſſion to connive at; and this ſpirit of moderation brought over ſeveral Diſſenting families of his dioceſe to the Communion of the Church.

(54) *Ubi ſupra*, p 705—712.

[*II*] His *Four Diſcourſes to the Clergy of his Dioceſe.*] The firſt is, on *The Truth of the Chriſtian Religion*; the ſecond, on *The Divinity and Death of Chriſt*; the third, on *The Infallibility and Authority of the Church*; and the fourth, on *The Obligation to continue in the Communion of the Church*. Theſe diſcourſes are the ſubſtance of ſo many conferences held by the Biſhop with his clergy at his annual viſitations (56). The ſecond of theſe diſcourſes was animadverted upon by an anonymous Unitarian writer, in a pamphlet printed in 1694, in 4*to*, intitled, *Conſiderations on the Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity*, &c. *In a Letter to H. H.* Our author made ſome remarks on this piece, in a letter to Dr. John Williams, afterwards Biſhop of Chicheſter, dated Feb. 2, 1694-5, and ſubjoined to Dr. Williams's *Vindication of the Sermons of his Grace John, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, concerning the Divinity and Incarnation of our bleſſed Saviour* (57).

(55) See the next remark.
(56) See the preceding remark.
(57) Lond. 1695, 4*to*.

recommend to all biſhoprics, deanries, and other vacant benefices in his Majeſty's gift. In 1698, the Biſhop loſt his wife by the ſmall-pox; but the conſideration of the tender age of his children, and his own avocations, ſoon induced him to ſupply that loſs by a marriage with Mrs. Berkley [*KK*]. This year he was appointed Preceptor to his Highneſs the Duke of Glouceſter [*LL*], and employed great care in the education of that young Prince [*MM*]. In 1699, our author publiſhed his *Expoſition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England* [*NN*]. In 1704, the ſcheme for the augmentation of poor livings, firſt projected by Biſhop Burnet [*OO*], took place, and paſſed into an Act of

[*KK*] *He married Mrs. Berkley.*] This Lady was the eldeſt daughter of Sir Richard Blake, Knight, the fifth ſon of Thomas Blake, of Earantoun, in the county of Southampton, Eſq; of an eminent family; and of Elizabeth, the daughter of Dr. Bathurſt, an eminent Phyſician in London. She was born the 8th of November, 1661. At a little more than ſeventeen years of age, ſhe was married to Robert Berkley of Spetchly, in the county of Worceſter, Eſq; grandſon of Sir Robert Berkley, who was a Judge in King Charles the Firſt's time. Mr. Berkley's mother was a Papiſt, but Mr. Berkley himſelf a Proteſtant; which put Mrs. Berkley upon ſtudying her own religion more fully, and obliged her to a more than ordinary ſtrictneſs in her whole conduct. In King James's time, when the fears of Popery began greatly to increaſe, ſhe prevailed with her huſband to go to Holland, and travelled with him over the ſeventeen provinces; after which, they ſettled at the Hague till the Revolution, when they returned to England, and their country-ſeat at Spetchly. In 1693, ſhe loſt her huſband Mr. Berkley, who was buried with his anceſtors at Spetchly. After his death, ſhe perfected the hoſpital at Worceſter, for the erecting of which he had bequeathed a large ſum of money. During her widowhood, ſhe made the firſt draught of that pious treatiſe, which ſhe afterwards finiſhed and publiſhed, intitled, *A Method of Devotion: or, Rules for holy and devout Living; with Prayers on ſeveral Occaſions, and Advices and Devotions for the holy Sacrament*, in octavo. This piece has been ſo well received, as to run through three editions. After continuing a widow near ſeven years, ſhe was married to the Biſhop of Saliſbury, who was ſo ſenſible of her worth and goodneſs, that he committed the care of his children entirely to her, and left her abſolute miſtreſs of her own fortune. In 1707, ſhe took a journey to Spa for her health, and, after her return, ſeemed to be much recovered: but, the winter following, upon the breaking of the froſt in January, ſhe was taken with a pleuritic fever, of which ſhe died in a few days, and was buried at Spetchly, by her former huſband, according to a promiſe ſhe had made him, as appears by a clauſe in her will. She was a Lady, in every reſpect, of moſt exemplary life and converſation (58).

(58) See an Account of Mrs. Burnet's Life and Character, prefixed to her Method of Devotion, &c. Lond. 1713, by Dr. T. Goodwyn, Archdeacon of Oxford, afterwards Archbiſhop of Caſhel.

[*LL*] *He was appointed Preceptor to his Highneſs the Duke of Glouceſter.*] The Biſhop was, at this time, retired to his dioceſe, upon the death of his Lady; and took that opportunity to wave the offer of this important charge, though he was aſſured the Princeſs of Denmark had teſtified her approbation of the King's choice. He wrote to the Earl of Sunderland, to uſe his intereſt that he might be excuſed; and to his friend Archbiſhop Teniſon, deſiring him to wait on the King in his name, and entreat his Majeſty to allow him to decline this employment. But all his friends concurring to preſs him earneſtly not to refuſe a ſtation in which he might do his country ſuch ſignal ſervice, as in the right education of the Duke of Glouceſter, he thought it might be conſtrued obſtinacy not to ſubmit. He therefore ſignified his compliance in a letter to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury; and waited on the King at Windſor, where he aſſured his Majeſty, it was no longer his intention to decline ſo honourable an employment, as the educating of a Prince ſo nearly related to the crown, ſince his Royal Maſter thought him worthy of that truſt: but, as the diſcharge of his duty in this ſtation muſt confine him conſtantly to Court, which was inconſiſtent with his epiſcopal function, he deſired leave to reſign his Biſhopric. The King was much ſurpriſed at the propoſal, to which he would by no means conſent. However, he was at length prevailed on to agree that the Duke ſhould reſide all the ſummer at Windſor (which is in the dioceſe of Saliſbury), and that the Biſhop ſhould have ten weeks allowed him every year to viſit the other parts of his dioceſe (59). An attempt was made in parliament, the year following, to turn the Biſhop of Saliſbury out from the truſt of educating the Duke of Glouceſter; ſome objecting to his being a Scotchman, and others alleging the book * which had been ordered to be burnt. But when an addreſs to the King for that purpoſe was moved for, it was rejected by a great majority (60).

(59) Life, &c. p. 716—718; and Hiſt. *ib.* p. 210, 211.

* His Paſtoral Letter. See the remark [*GG*].

(60) Hiſt. *ib.* p. 237.

[*MM*] *He employed great care in the education of that young Prince.*] 'I took to my own province, 'ſays the *Biſhop* (61), the reading and explaining the 'Scriptures to him, the inſtructing him in the prin'ciples of religion and the rules of virtue, and the 'giving him a view of Hiſtory, Geography, Politics, 'and Government. I reſolved alſo to look very 'exactly to all the maſters that were appointed to 'teach him other things.' In another place, ſpeaking of the Duke of Glouceſter's death, he ſays (62), 'I had been truſted with his education now for two 'years, and he had made an amazing progreſs: I 'had read over the *Pſalms*, *Proverbs*, and *Goſpels*, 'with him, and had explained things that fell in my 'way very copiouſly.——I went through *Geography* 'ſo often with him, that he knew all the maps very 'particularly: I explained to him the forms of *Go'vernment* in every country, with the intereſts and 'trade of that country, and what was both good and 'bad in it: I acquainted him with all the great re'volutions that had been in the world, and gave him 'a copious account of the *Greek* and *Roman* Hiſtories, 'and of *Plutarch's Lives:* the laſt thing I explained 'to him was the *Gothic* Conſtitution, and the Bene'ficiary and Feudal Laws: I talked of theſe things, 'at different times, near three hours a-day.'

(61) *Ib.* p. 211.

(62) *Ib.* p. 245, 246.

[*NN*] His *Expoſition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England.*] This excellent performance was cenſured by the Lower Houſe of Convocation, in 1701, firſt, as allowing a diverſity of opinions, which the Articles were framed to prevent; 2dly, as containing many paſſages contrary to the true meaning of the Articles, and to other received doctrines of our Church; and, 3dly, as containing ſome things of pernicious conſequence to the Church, and derogatory from the honour of the Reformation: but that Houſe refuſing to enter into particulars, unleſs they might, at the ſame time, offer ſome other matters to the Upper Houſe, which the Biſhops would not admit of, the affair was dropped (63). The *Expoſition* was attacked in a piece (64), intitled, *A Prefatory Diſcourſe to an Examination of a late Book, intitled*, An Expoſition, &c. London, 1702, in 4*to*. An anſwer to this diſcourſe (65) came out the year following. Dr. Jonathan Edwards likewiſe attacked our author in a piece, intitled, *The Expoſition given by my Lord Biſhop of Sarum of the ſecond Article of our Religion, examined.* London, 1702, in 4*to*. In anſwer to which, there appeared *Remarks on the Examiniſt of the Expoſition*, &c London, 1702. At the ſame time, Mr. Robert Burſcough publiſhed *A Vindication of the twenty-third Article of Religion, from a late Expoſition, aſcribed to my Lord Biſhop of Sarum.* Mr. Edmund Elys likewiſe publiſhed, in 1704, *Reflections on a late Expoſition of the Thirty-nine Articles*, &c. in 4*to*. There were two editions of the *Expoſition*, in *folio*, the ſame year.

(63) *Ib.* p. 285, 286.

(64) Suppoſed to be written by Dr. William Binckes.

(65) Suppoſed to be written by Dr. John Hoadly, Primate of Ireland.

[*OO*] *He projected the ſcheme for the augmentation of poor livings.*] The reader will be pleaſed to find here a particular account of this affair, as it is given us by the Biſhop himſelf (66). On the 6th of February, 1704, Queen Anne ſent a meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, ſignifying her purpoſe to apply that branch of the revenue which was raiſed out of the firſt-fruits and tenths, paid by the Clergy, to the increaſe of all the ſmall benefices in the nation. This branch was an impoſition, begun by the Popes, in the time of the

(66) Hiſt. *ib.* p. 369—371.

of Parliament (*i*). In 1706, he publiſhed a collection of *Sermons* and *Pamphlets*, in three volumes, 4*to*; in 1710, an *Expoſition of the Church Catechiſm*; and in 1713, *Sermons on ſeveral Occaſions*, with an *Eſſay towards a new Book of Homilies*. We ſhall mention ſome other pieces of Biſhop Burnet's in the remark [*PP*]. This learned and eminent Prelate died [*QQ*] the ſeventeenth of March, 1714-15, in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age (*k*), and was interred in the pariſh-church of St. James's Clerkenwell, in London. Since his death, his *Hiſtory of his own Time* [*RR*], with an *Account of his Life* annexed,

(*i*) Life, &c. p. 712—715; and Hiſt. *ib.* p. 370.

(*k*) Life, &c. p 724, 725.

the Holy Wars, and raiſed as a fund to ſupport thoſe expeditions. But when taxes are once raiſed by ſuch an arbitrary power as the Popes then aſſumed, and after there has been a ſubmiſſion, and payments have been ſettled into a cuſtom, they are generally continued, even after the pretence, upon which they were at firſt raiſed, ſubſiſts no more. So this became a ſtanding branch of the Papal revenue, till Henry VIII. ſeemed reſolved to take it away. It was firſt aboliſhed for a year, probably to draw in the Clergy to conſent the more willingly to a change that delivered them from ſuch heavy impoſitions. But, in the ſucceeding ſeſſion of Parliament, this revenue was again ſettled as part of the income of the Crown for ever. The whole amounted to between ſixteen and ſeventeen thouſand pounds a-year. This was not brought into the Treaſury, as the other branches of the revenue; but the Biſhops, who had been the Pope's collectors, were now the King's: ſo perſons in favour obtained aſſignations on it for life, or a term of years. In Charles II.'s time, it went chiefly among his women and his natural children. 'When 'I wrote the Hiſtory of the Reformation, *ſays the 'Biſhop*, I conſidered this matter ſo particularly, that 'I ſaw here was a proper fund for providing better 'ſubſiſtence to the poor Clergy; we having among 'us ſome hundreds of cures, that have not of certain 'proviſion twenty pounds a-year; and ſome thou-'ſands, that have not fifty.——I had poſſeſſed the 'late Queen (*) with this; ſo that ſhe was fully re-'ſolved, if ever ſhe had lived to ſee peace and ſet-'tlement, to have cleared this branch of the revenue 'of all the aſſignations that were upon it, and to 'have applied it to the augmentation of ſmall bene-'fices. I laid the matter before the late King (‖), 'when there was a proſpect of peace, as a proper ex-'preſſion, both of his thankfulneſs to Almighty God, 'and of his care of the Church (67).—He entertained 'this ſo well, that he ordered me to ſpeak to his Mi-'niſters about it. They all approved it: the Lord 'Somers did it in a moſt particular manner. But 'the Earl of Sunderland obtained an aſſignation 'upon two dioceſes for two thouſand pounds a-year, 'for two lives: ſo nothing was to be hoped for after 'that. I laid this matter very fully before the pre-'ſent Queen (†), in the King's time, and had ſpoken 'often of it to the Lord Godolphin.'—Upon the Queen's meſſage, a bill was brought in, enabling her to alienate this branch of the revenue, and to create a corporation by a charter, for applying it to the uſe for which ſhe now gave it. They added to this, a repeal of the ſtatute of *Mortmain*, ſo far as that it might be free to all men, either by deed or by their laſt wills, to give what they thought fit towards the augmenting of benefices. Thus are the Clergy, in a great meaſure, indebted to Biſhop Burnet for the advantage they derive from this eſtabliſhment of the firſt-fruits and tenths.

(*) Queen Mary.

(‖) King William.

(67) See the Biſhop's two Memorials on this ſubject, preſented to the King in January 1696, and in December 1697. Life, &c. p. 713, 714.

(†) Queen Anne.

[*PP*] *Some other pieces of Biſhop Burnet's.*] I. *Dr. Gilbert Burnet's Reſolution of two important Caſes of Conſcience:* the firſt, *Is a Woman's Barrenneſs a juſt Ground for Divorce, or for Polygamy?* the ſecond, *Is Polygamy in any Caſe lawful under the Goſpel?* The author reſolves both theſe caſes in the affirmative (68). The occaſion of his writing this paper, as he himſelf informs us (69), was this: About the year 1670, or 1671, Duke Lauderdale, having diſcovered to our author the ſecret of the Duke of York's religion, and perceiving him ſtruck with great apprehenſions thereupon, hinted to him a project of King Charles's divorce, in order, by an heir to the crown, to ſet aſide the Duke of York. Our author was then but ſeven and twenty years of age; and, being pretty full of the Civil Law, which had been his firſt ſtudy, he mentioned to the Earl ſeveral paſſages out of the Digeſts, Code, and Novels, upon that head. The Earl thereupon deſired the Doctor to ſtate that matter in writing; which the latter did; telling the Earl at the ſame time, that he ſpoke of the ſudden, but that, when he went home among his books, he would conſider the matter more ſeverely. Accordingly, the winter following, he wrote to the Earl, retracting the whole paper, and anſwering all the material things in it. II. *Myſtery of Iniquity unveiled.* London, 1673, 8*vo*. III. *An Account given by T. K. a Jeſuit, of the Truth of Religion, examined.* London, 1674, 8*vo*. IV. *A Rational Method for proving the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion, as it is profeſſed in the Church of England.* London, 1675, 8*vo*. V. *A Modeſt Survey of the moſt conſiderable Things, in a Diſcourſe lately publiſhed, intitled,* The Naked Truth. London, 1676, 4*to*. We ſet down this piece on the authority of Anthony Wood, who aſcribes it (70) to the Biſhop, becauſe he had ſeen it reckoned as his, in a catalogue of the Biſhop's works, at the end of ſome other book. VI. *A Vindication of the Ordinations of the Church of England, in Anſwer to a Paper written by one of the Church of Rome, to prove the Nullity of our Orders.* London, 1677, 8*vo*. VII. *Preface to a Book, intitled,* The Life of God in the Soul of Man, &c. London, 1691, 8*vo*.

(68) See Dr. Hickes's Diſcourſes upon Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotſon, p. 20. Bevil Higgons's Hiſtorical and Critical Remarks, &c. 2d edit. p. 159, &c.; and Memoirs of the Secret Services of John Macky, Eſq; &c. Lond. 1733, in Appendix.

(69) Reflections on Dr. Hickes's Diſcourſes, &c. p. 76.

(70) Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 866.

[*QQ*] *His death.*] He was taken ill of a violent cold, which turned to a pleuritic fever: he was attended in it by his friend and relation, Dr. Cheyne, who, finding the diſtemper grow to an height, called in the aſſiſtance of Sir Hans Sloane and Dr. Mead. He bore the notice of his danger with calmneſs and reſignation; and, as he preſerved his ſenſes to the laſt, he employed the ſhort remainder of his life in continual acts of devotion, and giving the beſt advice to his family, of whom he took leave with the utmoſt tenderneſs, and firmeſt conſtancy of mind (71).

(71) Life, &c. p. 724, 725.

[*RR*] *His Hiſtory of his own Time.*] The Biſhop, by his laſt will and teſtament, ordered, that this Hiſtory ſhould not be printed till ſix years after his death, and then faithfully, without adding, ſuppreſſing, or altering it in any particular. Accordingly the firſt volume was printed at London in 1723, and the ſecond in 1734, in folio. To the firſt volume is prefixed an advertiſement, acquainting the reader, that 'the Editors intended, for the ſatisfaction of 'the public, to depoſit the copy, from which this 'Hiſtory is printed (corrected, and interlined in many 'places with the author's own hand), in ſome public 'library, as ſoon as the ſecond volume ſhould be 'publiſhed.' The firſt part of this Hiſtory was written ſome time before the year 1705, but how long, is uncertain: only it appears it was then finiſhed, becauſe, in the beginning of the reign of King William and Queen Mary, the author dates the continuation of it on the firſt day of May 1705. What led him at firſt to look into the ſecret conduct of public affairs, as he himſelf tells us (72), was the manner of his education, which being ſolely in the hands of his father, who had been engaged in great friendſhips with all parties, and took a pleaſure in relating to him the ſeries of public tranſactions, he had, while very young, a greater knowledge of thoſe matters than is uſual at that age. Beſides which, he himſelf fell into great acquaintance and friendſhips with ſeveral perſons, who either were, or had been, Miniſters of State, from whom, when the ſecret of affairs was over, he ſtudied to know as many particulars as he could draw from them. He ſaw, likewiſe, a great deal more among the papers of the Dukes of Hamilton, than was properly a part of their *Memoirs*, or fit to be told at that time. Add to this, his intimacy, for above thirty years, with all who had the chief conduct of affairs, and his own ſhare in many of them, which enabled him to penetrate far into the true ſecret of counſels and deſigns. 'This, *our author goes 'on* (73), made me, twenty years ago, write down a 'relation of all that I had known to that time. 'Where I was in the dark, I paſſed over all, and 'only

(72) Preface, p. 42.

(73) *Ibid.*

annexed, has been publiſhed, in two volumes in folio, by his ſon Thomas Burnet, Eſq; (*l*). Our author's public character, and conduct as a Biſhop, have been already ſet forth: it remains only to take a ſhort view of him in his domeſtic life [*SS*]; to which we ſhall ſubjoin his general character, as drawn by the Marquis of Halifax [*TT*].

(*l*) One of the Judges of the Common Pleas.

'only opened thoſe tranſactions that I had particular 'occaſions to know. My chief deſign in writing, 'was to give a true view of men and of counſels, 'leaving public tranſactions to Gazettes, and the 'public Hiſtorians of the times. I writ with a de'ſign to make both myſelf and my readers wiſer and 'better, and to lay open the good and bad of all 'ſides and parties, as clearly and impartially as I 'myſelf underſtood it; concealing nothing that I 'thought fit to be known, and repreſenting things 'in their natural colours, without art or diſguiſe, 'without any regard to kindred or friends, to parties 'or intereſts: for I do ſolemnly ſay this to the world, 'and make my humble appeal upon it to the great 'God of truth, that I tell the truth on all occaſions, 'as fully and freely, as, upon my beſt enquiry, I 'have been able to find it out. Where things ap'pear doubtful, I deliver them with the ſame incer'tainty to the world (74).' Our author then apologizes for the ſeverity with which he has treated thoſe of his own profeſſion, his dwelling ſo long on the affairs of Scotland, and his inclination to think generally the worſt both of men and of parties. Laſtly, as to the ſtyle of the Hiſtory, he tells us (75), he purpoſely avoided all laboured periods and artificial ſtrains, and that he wrote it in as clear and plain a ſtyle as was poſſible, chooſing rather a copious enlargement than a dark conciſeneſs. He concludes the preface with a ſolemn dedication of his work to God. There are two French tranſlations of the firſt volume of this Hiſtory; the one by M. de la Pilloniere, the other by an anonymous tranſlator: the firſt was printed at the Hague, in three volumes 12*mo*, 1725; the other, with cuts, at the ſame place, in the ſame year, in two volumes 4*to*. This laſt verſion was reprinted at Trevoux, in four volumes 12*mo*. Biſhop Burnet's *Hiſtory of his own Time* has been ſeverely attacked by ſeveral writers; particularly, I. By John Cockburn, D. D. in a piece, in 8*vo*, intitled, *A Specimen of ſome free and impartial Remarks on public Affairs and particular Perſons, eſpecially relating to Scotland, occaſioned by Dr. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times*. A *Vindication* of our author againſt this writer was publiſhed in 1724; to which a reply was made under the title of *A Defence of Dr. Cockburn, againſt the Vindication of Biſhop Burnet*. A IId antagoniſt was an anonymous writer, in a piece, intitled, *A Review of Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, particularly his Characters and ſecret Memoirs; with critical Remarks, ſhewing the Partiality, Inconſiſtency, and Defects of that Political Hiſtory*, 8vo. III. In 1725, appeared a book, intitled, *Biſhop Burnet's late Hiſtory charged with great Partiality and Miſrepreſentation, to make the preſent and future Ages believe, that Arthur, Earl of Eſſex, in* 1683, *murdered himſelf*, &c. *By Mr. Braddon*, 8vo. IV. The ſame year, Mr. Bevil Higgins publiſhed, in 8vo, *Hiſtorical and Critical Remarks on Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Time*. This author writes with a peculiar vehemence and ſharpneſs of ſtyle. He tells us, in his preface, 'It 'is very evident, that revenge has abſolutely guided 'him *(the Biſhop)* through this Hiſtory, and ſo 'darkened his underſtanding, as ſometimes to make 'him fall into the groſſeſt abſurdities.' The ſecond edition of this book is of the year 1727, with *Additional Remarks*, and a *Poſtſcript, in Anſwer to the London Journal of January 30th and February 6th*, 1725. V. The late Lord Landſdowne attacked our author's Hiſtory, in a *Letter to the Author* (Mr. Oldmixon) *of the Reflections, Hiſtorical and Political*, &c. to which the Biſhop's ſon, Thomas Burnet, Eſq; replied, in ſome *Remarks* upon that *Letter*, London, 1732, 4*to*. Biſhop Burnet's *Hiſtory of his own Time* concludes with a warm and affectionate addreſs to all ranks and degrees of perſons; the Clergy, the Commonalty, the Gentry, the Traders, the Nobility, the Houſes of Parliament, and our Monarchs themſelves; cenſuring the faults and errors of their conduct, giving them ſuitable advice, and earneſtly exhorting them to the practice of virtue and religion.

(74) Preface, p. 2, 3.

(75) *Ibid.* p. 4.

[*SS*] *A ſhort view of him in his domeſtic life.*] His time was employed in one regular and uniform manner. He was a very early riſer, ſeldom in bed later than five or ſix o'clock in the morning. Private meditation took up the two firſt hours, and the laſt half hour of the day. His firſt and laſt appearance to his family was at the morning and evening prayers, which he always read himſelf, though his Chaplains were preſent. He took the opportunity of the tea-table to inſtruct his children in religion, and in giving them his own comment upon ſome portion of Scripture. He ſeldom ſpent leſs than ſix, often eight, hours a day in his ſtudy. He kept an open table, in which there was plenty without luxury: his equipage was decent and plain; and all his expences generous, but not profuſe. He was a moſt affectionate huſband to his wives; and his love to his children expreſſed itſelf, not ſo much in hoarding up wealth for them, as in giving them the beſt education. After his ſons had perfected themſelves in the learned languages, under private tutors, he ſent them to the Univerſity, and afterwards abroad, to finiſh their ſtudies at Leyden. In his friendſhips, he was warm, open-hearted, and conſtant; and though his ſtation and principles raiſed him many enemies, he always endeavoured, by the kindeſt good offices, to repay all their injuries, and overcome them by returning good for evil. He was a kind and bountiful maſter to his ſervants, and obliging to all in employment under him. His charities were a principal article of his expence. He gave an hundred pounds at a time for the augmentation of ſmall livings: he beſtowed conſtant penſions on poor clergymen and their widows, on ſtudents for their education at the univerſities, and on induſtrious, but unfortunate families: he contributed frequent ſums towards the repairs or building of churches and parſonage-houſes, to all public collections, to the ſupport of charity-ſchools (one of which, for fifty children at Saliſbury, was wholly maintained by him), and to the putting out apprentices to trades. Nor were his alms confined to one nation, ſect, or party; but want, and merit, in the object, were the only meaſures of his liberality. He looked upon himſelf, with regard to his epiſcopal revenue, as a mere truſtee for the Church, bound to expend the whole in a decent maintenance of his ſtation, and in acts of hoſpitality and charity; and he had ſo faithfully balanced this account, that, at his death, no more of the income of his biſhopric remained to his family, than was barely ſufficient to pay his debts (76).

(76) Life, &c. p. 721—724.

[*TT*] *His character, as drawn by the Marquis of Halifax.*] 'Dr. Burnet is like all men, who are 'above the ordinary level, ſeldom ſpoken of in a 'mean; he muſt either be railed at, or admired. He 'has a ſwiftneſs of imagination, that no other comes 'up to; and as our nature hardly allows us to have 'enough of any thing, without having too much, he 'cannot at all times ſo hold in his thoughts, but that 'at ſome time they may run away with him; as it is 'hard for a veſſel, that is brim-full, when in motion, 'not to run over; and therefore the variety of mat'ter, that he ever carries about him, may throw out 'more than an unkind critic would allow of. His 'firſt thoughts may ſometimes require more digeſtion, 'not from a defect in his judgment, but from the 'abundance of his fancy, which furniſhes too faſt for 'him. His friends love him too well, to ſee ſmall 'faults; or if they do, think that his greater talents 'give him a privilege of ſtraying from the ſtrict rules 'of caution, and exempt him from the ordinary rules 'of cenſure. He produces ſo faſt, that what is well 'in his writings calls for admiration, and what is 'incorrect deſerves an excuſe; he may in ſome things 'require grains of allowance, which thoſe only can 'deny him who are unknown or unjuſt to him. He 'is not quicker in diſcerning other men's faults, than 'he is in forgiving them; ſo ready, or rather glad, 'to acknowledge his own, that from blemiſhes they 'become ornaments. All the repeated provocations 'of his indecent adverſaries, have had no other effect 'than the ſetting his good-nature in ſo much a better 'light, ſince his anger never yet went farther than 'to pity them. That heat, which in moſt other 'men raiſes ſharpneſs and ſatire, in him glows into 'warmth for his friends, and compaſſion for thoſe in 'want and miſery. As dull men have quick eyes in 'diſcerning

'discerning the ſmaller faults of thoſe that nature 'has made ſuperior to them, they do not miſs one 'blot he makes; and being beholden only to their 'barrenneſs for their diſcretion, they fall upon the 'errors which ariſe out of his abundance; and, by 'a miſtake, into which their malice betrays them, 'they think, that, by finding a mote in his eye, they 'hide the beams that are in their own. His quick-'neſs makes writing ſo eaſy a thing to him, that his 'ſpirits are neither waſted nor ſowered by it: The 'ſoil is not forced; every thing grows, and brings 'forth, without pangs; which diſtinguiſhes as much 'what he does, from that which ſmells of the lamp, 'as a good palate will diſcern between fruit which 'comes from a rich mould, and that which taſtes of 'the uncleanly pains that have been beſtowed upon 'it. He makes many enemies, by ſetting an ill-na-'tured example of living, which they are not inclined 'to follow. His indifference for preferment; his 'contempt, not only of ſplendor, but of all unne-'ceſſary plenty; his degrading himſelf into the loweſt 'and moſt painful duties of his calling; are ſuch un-'prelatical qualities, that, let him be never ſo or-'thodox in other things, in theſe he muſt be a Diſ-'ſenter. Virtues of ſuch a ſtamp are ſo many here-'ſies, in the opinion of thoſe Divines, who have 'ſoftened the primitive injunctions, ſo as to make 'them ſuit better with the preſent frailty of man-'kind. No wonder, then, if they are angry, ſince it 'is in their own defence; or that, from a principle 'of ſelf-preſervation, they ſhould endeavour to ſup-'preſs a man, whoſe parts are a ſhame, and whoſe 'life is a ſcandal to them.' The copy, from which this is printed, in the Biſhop's *Life* (77), was taken from one given to the Biſhop, in the Marquis of Halifax's own hand-writing. B.

(77) Life, &c. p. 725, 726.

Farther perſonal circumſtances concerning Biſhop Burnet.

*** [Biſhop Burnet hath been ſo greatly celebrated, both as a man and a writer, and his works and character have been the objects of ſo much diſcuſſion, that it will not appear ſurpriſing that his article ſhould admit of very conſiderable additions. There are not, however, many new circumſtances to be mentioned with regard to his perſonal hiſtory. A ſtriking inſtance of his mother's bigoted attachment to the Preſbyterian diſcipline, hath been communicated to us by a valuable correſpondent. Whilſt Doctor Burnet reſided at Salton, he was ſeized with a fever, and having imagined, during the ravings of his diſtemper, that Archbiſhop Sharp was to ſleep at his houſe, he teſtified great anxiouſneſs about a proper place for his reception. Upon this his mother deſired him not to give himſelf any trouble on that account; for that a place ſhould be provided for the Archbiſhop,—in the hotteſt corner of hell. From the ſame correſpondent we learn, that the time which Doctor Burnet particularly allotted for preparing himſelf to ſpeak in public, was that which he employed in combing his hair. Macky, in his Characters, and Groſley, upon Macky's authority, have greatly miſrepreſented our author's marriage with the Lady Margaret Kennedy. According to them, he was obliged, on account of this affair, to run away to England; and Macky adds, that he married the lady in England (78). The laſt circumſtance is certainly falſe, and the whole ſtory appears to be groundleſs. The reaſons of Doctor Burnet's making a journey to London in 1673, and which was ſome time after his marriage, are given in note [*N*]; and it is evident from the cloſe intimacy he then had with the Hamilton family, that they were by no means offended with him. Indeed, it was not uncommon in the laſt century, for clergymen of eminent characters in Scotland, to marry women of high birth in that country; nor were ſuch connections eſteemed diſgraceful to the ladies' noble relations. Lady Margaret, though an excellent woman, was not, it ſeems, diſtinguiſhed for her political diſcretion. One day, during the time of the Commonwealth, as ſhe was ſtanding at a window, ſhe reviled ſome of Cromwell's ſoldiers, as murderers of their king. The ſoldiers threatened her, that, unleſs ſhe would be quiet, they would fire up at her. Nevertheleſs ſhe continued in the ſame ſtrain; ſo that the ſoldiers fired, and a bullet paſſed between her and another lady of the Crawford family (79). Biſhop Burnet himſelf, not from deſign, but from inadvertence, was very often remarkably imprudent in converſation. The Counteſs of Soiſſons, Prince Eugene's mother, was one, of ſeveral ladies, who, about the year 1680, had been impriſoned at Paris, on ſuſpicion of poiſoning. When the Prince, in the latter end of Queen Anne's reign, came over to England, our prelate requeſted of the Duke of Marlborough, that he might have the ſatisfaction of being in company with a perſon whoſe fame reſounded through all Europe. To this the Duke agreed, upon condition that the Biſhop would be on his guard againſt ſaying any thing that might give diſguſt. Being, accordingly, invited to dine at Marlborough Houſe, with Prince Eugene and other company, he reſolved to ſit ſilent and incognito during the whole entertainment. The Prince, however, ſeeing a dignified clergyman at table, inquired who he was; and underſtanding that he was Biſhop Burnet, of whom he had often heard, he addreſſed his diſcourſe to him, and aſked him, in particular, when he was laſt at Paris. To this queſtion our Prelate anſwered with precipitation, that he could not recollect the year, but that it was at the time when the Counteſs of Soiſſons was impriſoned. Scarcely had he pronounced theſe words, when, his eyes meeting thoſe of the Duke of Marlborough, he inſtantly recogniſed his blunder, and was ſo totally deprived of all remaining diſcretion, that he redoubled his error by aſking pardon of his Highneſs. The concluſion was, that ſeeing the whole company embarraſſed, and out of countenance, he retired in the utmoſt confuſion (80). When Mr. James Lindſay, the laſt Earl of Balcarras, in his early youth, was introduced to Biſhop Burnet by Lady Stair, the Biſhop, after the common compliments, aſked her, in the preſence of a large number of people, 'Pray what is be-'come of that wicked wretch, Lady Wigton?' Now the Counteſs of Wigton was the young gentleman's ſiſter. Doctor Burnet was himſelf ſo far ſenſible of his weakneſs, that he ſometimes avoided the perſons whom he might offend by it. After Lady Frances Pierpoint was married to the Earl of Marr, the Biſhop never went to viſit her, and gave Lady Stair this reaſon for his ſeeming neglect, that he did not like Lord Marr, and could not anſwer for his not babbling out ſomething with regard to him which might give offence (81).

(80) Annual Regiſter, Vol. iv. p. 29.

(81) From information of the ſame correſpondent.

The following anecdote, concerning our Prelate, hath been communicated to us by the Rev. Mr. Hall, of Child-Okeford, Dorſetſhire. 'My grandfather, 'ſays Mr. Hall, who was eminent for piety and 'learning, was much eſteemed by the Biſhop, and 'frequently viſited him at his palace at Saliſbury. 'He paid his Lordſhip a viſit on purpoſe to congra-'tulate him that he had juſt paſſed his grand climac-'terical year. A faithful ſervant, who had lived 'with his Lordſhip many years, and was in the room, 'turned and ſaid, "Permit me, my Lord, to con-"gratulate you on the ſame occaſion, that you have "gone through your grand *hypocritical* year." The 'Tories often told the ſtory, to the deriſion of the 'good Prelate.' Mr. Hall hath frequently heard his grandfather ſay, that it was uſual for a ſervant to read the newſpapers aloud in the room, at the time the Biſhop and his company were at breakfaſt.

If we are to credit ſome verſes written by Dr. Parnell, our right reverend Author was once in danger of being burnt in his cloſet. The verſes are as follows:

'From that dire æra, bane to Sarum's pride,
'Which broke his ſchemes, and laid his friends aſide;
'He talks and writes that popery will return,
'And we, and he, and all his works, will burn.
'What touch'd himſelf was almoſt fairly proved,
'(Oh, far from Britain be the reſt removed!)
'For, as of late he meant to bleſs the age
'With flagrant prefaces of party rage,
'O'erwrought with paſſion, and the ſubjects' weight,
'Lolling he nodded in his elbow ſeat,
'Down fell the candle; greaſe and zeal conſpire,
'Heat meets with heat, and pamphlets burn their
'fire.
'Here crawls a preface on its half-burn'd maggots,
'And there, an introduction brings its faggots:
'Then roars the prophet of the Northern nation,
'Scorch'd by a flaming ſpeech on moderation:
'Unwarn'd by this, go on the realm to fright,
'Thou Briton, vaunting in thy ſecond ſight;
'In ſuch a miniſtry you ſafely tell,
'How much you'd ſuffer if religion fell (82).'

(82) Swift's Works, Vol. xvii. 24*mo* edit.

Dr. Parnell is, in general, a very pleaſing poet; but our readers will be ſenſible that theſe lines are not in his beſt manner. Indeed, it cannot juſtly be denied,

(76) Life, &c. p. 721—724.

(78) Groſley's Tour to London, Vol. i. p. 291. Macky's Characters, p. 138,

(79) From the correſpondent before mentioned.

nied, that the malignity of them is ſuperior to their poetry.

Additional account of his writings.

Though Biſhop Burnet was, on the whole, a very eminent writer, and his works are many of them extremely valuable, there have been few authors of whoſe productions more different judgments have been formed, or which have been expoſed to greater variety of criticiſm and cenſure. Out of the number of remarks that might be collected from various quarters, we ſhall take notice of ſome things which have been ſaid concerning them, both in the way of diſapprobation and applauſe. Dr. Swift hath thrown a reproach upon the Biſhop, on account of his Vindication of the Church and State of Scotland. 'That early love of 'liberty he boaſts of, ſays this ſatirical writer, is ab-'ſolutely falſe; for the firſt book that I believe he 'ever publiſhed, is an entire Treatiſe in favour of 'paſſive obedience and abſolute power; ſo that his 'reflections on the clergy, for aſſerting and then 'changing thoſe principles, come very improperly 'from him (83).' Not to mention, that the Vindication of the Church and State of Scotland was not Dr. Burnet's firſt publication, it would ſurely have been no diſhonour to him that he altered his ſentiments on any diſputed ſubject. But the fact ſeems to have been, that he never materially changed his ideas concerning the doctrine of paſſive obedience. What he contended for in the book for which Swift hath reproached him, was, the illegality of reſiſtance, merely on account of religion; in oppoſition, we ſuppoſe, to the violent Scotch covenanters. It appears, likewiſe, to have been always his opinion, that reſiſtance could not be juſtified by ſingle acts of oppreſſion, and that it was not lawful till the very baſis of the conſtitution was attempted to be overturned (84). The inconſiſtency charged upon him by Dr. Swift is not a new accuſation. It was alleged againſt him by the writer of the Hiſtory of Paſſive Obedience, and afterwards repeated by Dr. Hickes. But it was amply confuted by Biſhop Burnet himſelf, in his anſwer to the calumnies of that bigoted Divine. A full account of the matter may likewiſe be ſeen in the General Dictionary (*). Indeed, we ſhould not at all have taken notice of Dr. Swift's cenſure, had we not been ſenſible that his works will be read long after Hickes's Diſcourſes and Burnet's Defence have been forgotten.

(83) Swift's Works, Vol. xv. p. 179.

(84) Life of Biſhop Burnet, prefixed to his Hiſtory of his own Time, p. xxxii. octavo edition of 1766.

(*) General Dict. Vol. iii. p. 705. article Burnet, note *O*.

Our Author's Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of England, is one of his works which was not only highly applauded at its firſt appearance, but which ſtill continues juſtly to be held in the greateſt eſteem. Dr. Birch hath obſerved, that it is one of the moſt valuable hiſtories in our own, or any other language, and that the publication of it was a moſt ſeaſonable ſervice to the nation, amidſt the alarms of popery (85). Dr. Apthorpe ſays, that 'Biſhop Bur-'net, in his immortal Hiſtory of the Reformation, 'has fixed the Proteſtant religion in this country, as 'long as any religion remains among us (86);' and the ſame learned writer calls him the Engliſh Euſebius. In 1713, which was the year before the third volume of this great work was given to the world, the Biſhop publiſhed ſeparately the Introduction to that volume; wherein he ſtrongly expreſſes his apprehenſions concerning the return of popery into England. This circumſtance gave much offence to the miniſtry of that period, and occaſioned Dr. Swift to write a Tract, intitled, 'A Preface to the Biſhop of 'Sarum's Introduction,' in which our Prelate is treated with uncommon ſeverity, and ſeveral accuſations are brought againſt him, that are evidently the reſult of party-ſpirit (87). The verſes of Parnell, before cited, were undoubtedly compoſed about the ſame time, and on the ſame occaſion. There is one circumſtance which ſets the correctneſs and value of the Hiſtory of the Reformation in a very ſtriking light. Mr. Strype deſcended to a full and minute reviſion both of the Hiſtory and the copies of records, omitting nothing how ſmall and inconſiderable ſoever, that was liable to correction; and yet, though he had then been employed above thirty years in examining all the tranſactions of that age, and had made great diſcoveries of his own, he did not touch upon any thing which was of any moment in the whole work. This fact is juſtly ſpoken of with particular pleaſure by the Biſhop, in the preface to his third volume; at the end of which volume Mr. Strype's remarks are ſubjoined.

(85) Life of Tillotſon, p. 59.

(86) Letters on the Prevalence of Chriſtianity.

(87) Swift's Works, Vol. ix. p. 207—252.

Dr. Burnet's account of ſome paſſages in the Life and Death of John Earl of Rocheſter, hath lately received a diſtinguiſhed encomium from no leſs an eminent writer than Dr. Samuel Johnſon; who, from his known political ſentiments, might be thought not to be highly prejudiced in our Author's favour. It is a book, which, in the opinion of the poetical Biographer, 'the Critic ought to read for its ele-'gance, the Philoſopher for its arguments, and the 'Saint for its piety. It were an injury to the reader 'to offer him an abridgment (88).' Upon a re-peruſal of this work, we agree in the character here given of it, though with ſome ſmall abatement. The compoſition is undoubtedly far more accurate and finiſhed than is uſual with Dr. Burnet. Many of the ſentences are extremely beautiful, and form happy inſtances of that *circuitus et ambitus verborum*, that period which the ancients ſo well underſtood, and which ſeveral of our own authors, of the laſt century, aimed at, and frequently with ſucceſs; though ſometimes their language was ſo involved as to become obſcure, if not ungrammatical. Dr. Burnet informs us, in the preface, that he took great pains in drawing up the work; and, conſidering the notice it was likely to excite, and that it would be expoſed to all the criticiſm, and, if poſſible, to all the ridicule, of the enemies of religion, it was right that it ſhould be compoſed with peculiar attention. It is probable, likewiſe, that improvements in the language were ſuggeſted by thoſe able friends of the author who were conſulted with regard to the publication. The ſtyle, however, is not ſo uniformly elegant, but that ſome inaccuracies might be pointed out. Dr. Burnet occaſionally falls into his cuſtomary negligence of compoſition: for, with relation to his writings in general, it muſt be allowed that the language of them, though, upon the whole, perſpicuous and manly, is far from being pure and correct. Dr. Swift is very ſevere upon him in this reſpect. That author, ſpeaking of the Biſhop's Hiſtory of his own Time, ſays, that his ſtyle is rough, full of improprieties, in expreſſions often *Scotch*, and often ſuch as are uſed by the meaneſt people; and that he diſcovers a great ſcarcity of words and phraſes, by repeating the ſame ſeveral hundred times, for want of capacity to vary them (89). Dr. Swift, ſome years before this, had condemned our Prelate's language in the following terms: 'I 'would adviſe him, if it be not too late in his life, 'to endeavour a little at mending his ſtyle, which is 'mighty defective in *circumſtances* of grammar, pro-'priety, politeneſs, and ſmoothneſs.—Whoever has 'heard his ſermons, or read his other tracts, will find 'him very unhappy in the choice and diſpoſition of 'his words, and, for want of variety, repeating them, 'eſpecially the particles, in a manner very grating to 'an Engliſh ear (90).' Though it may, perhaps, juſtly be thought that party prejudice hath carried theſe cenſures too far, we are, nevertheleſs, of opinion, that there is in them a conſiderable degree of truth. It ought, however, to be remembered, that any deficiencies in Dr. Burnet's ſtyle are uſually compenſated for by the excellency of his matter. To return to his account of the Life and Death of the Earl of Rocheſter, we may add, that the reaſoning part of it is not in every place equally ſtrong, though its arguments are, in general, very ſolid and convincing.

(88) Johnſon's Prefaces, biographical and critical, to the Works of the Engliſh Poets, Vol. iv. article Rocheſter, p. 6, 7.

(89) Swift's Works, Vol. xi. p. 178.

(90) *Ibid.* Vol. ix. p. 249.

Biſhop Burnet's 'Expoſition of the Thirty-nine 'Articles of the Church of England,' is another of his capital works, which hath received much applauſe. Dr. Flexman calls it a learned, judicious, and inſtructive performance. the reſult of great abilities and indefatigable induſtry (91). It was undertaken at the requeſt of Queen Mary, ſeconded by Archbiſhop Tillotſon. It was reviſed and corrected likewiſe by that excellent man, and peruſed and approved, before publication, by the Archbiſhops Teniſon and Sharp, and the Biſhops Stillingfleet, Patrick, Lloyd, Williams, and More (92). The laſt mentioned Biſhop, whilſt the manuſcript was with him, committed it to the peruſal of his chaplain, Mr. Whiſton; and when Mr. Whiſton returned it, aſked him, Whom he took to be the author? To this Whiſton replied, that nobody could write it but Biſhop Burnet (93). A late ingenious and learned writer hath alleged ſome reaſons to ſhew, that our Prelate undertook the work with reluctance; and the ſame writer, with his uſual acuteneſs, hath examined at large, and pointed out the weak parts of the Biſhop's introduction, relative to ſubſcription (94).

(91) Hiſtory of his own Time, Vol. iv. p. 47, note.

(92) *Ibid.* Life of Tillotſon, p. 314. Life of Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. lxxii—lxxiv.

(93) Whiſton's Life, p. 36.

(94) Confeſſional, p. 82—151.

With regard to the caſes of conſcience, mentioned in note [*PP*], it might farther be added, to what is there

there ſaid, that there is a paſſage, in the Life of the Earl of Rocheſter, which clearly ſhews that Dr Burnet had diſcarded the doctrine which ſeemed to be favoured in the reſolution of theſe caſes (95). But though he had retracted the whole paper within a year after it was firſt written, he hath lately been calumniated on account of it by Groſley, who has indeed been miſled by Macky (96).

(95) Life of Rocheſter, p. 52, 53.

(96) Groſley's Tour, Vol. i. p. 291.

Eſtimate of the Biſhop's Hiſtory of his own Time.

But the work which hath given riſe to the largeſt number of ſtrictures, and hath cauſed the greateſt variety of ſentiments, is the Biſhop's Hiſtory of his own Time. From its firſt appearance, a general clamour was excited againſt it among the Tories and High Churchmen; and many perſons beſides were offended with it, on account of the freedom with which particular characters were drawn, and particular facts repreſented. The wits, too, combined againſt it, to expoſe it to ridicule. Hence it was that Mr. Pope wrote the Memoirs of a Pariſh Clerk, the pleaſantry and humour of which muſt be admired, even by thoſe who may not approve of that great poet's deſign. 'The Notes and Memorandums of the ſix Days preceding the Death of the late Right Rev. ————,' which are inſerted in Dr. Arbuthnot's Miſcellanies, have likewiſe the ſame object. Dr. Swift hath made a more ſerious attack upon the work, in what he calls, 'Short Remarks on Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory (97);' with regard to which remarks it is no injuſtice to obſerve, that they contain more of ſeverity than truth. In Ralph's Review of the Reigns of Charles the Second and James the Second, a variety of obſervations may be met with concerning our Prelate's accounts of things; and they are frequently noticed by others of our hiſtorical writers. John Duke of Argyle, in one of the parliamentary debates of 1740, took occaſion to ſpeak of the Biſhop and his Hiſtory in very ſevere terms. Lord Cholmondeley having quoted our author, in confirmation of a fact relative to Sir George Rook, his Grace anſwered that part of the Earl's ſpeech in the following manner: 'As for 'what has been mentioned in relation to Admiral 'Rook, we know, my Lords, the hiſtory from which 'it was taken. It is a ſtory of Biſhop Burnet's, in 'his Hiſtory of his own Times; and thoſe who have 'ſat in this houſe with that Prelate, muſt know he 'was a very credulous, weak man. I remember him, 'my Lords, in this houſe; and likewiſe remember, 'that my Lord Halifax, my Lord Somers, and his 'other friends in the houſe, were always in a terror 'when he roſe up to ſpeak, leſt he ſhould injure their 'cauſe by ſome blunder. With regard to what he ſays 'againſt Admiral Rook, I know I have heard it from 'thoſe that were preſent, that the greateſt part of it 'is a downright lie. The Biſhop, it is well known, 'was no friend to that admiral; and therefore he 'eaſily gave credit, as he generally did in like caſes, 'to every malicious ſtory he heard againſt him (98).' Perhaps it may be thought probable, that the heat of parliamentary debate carried the Duke of Argyle farther than he would have permitted himſelf to have gone in calm and ſober converſation. Sir John Dalrymple, however, hath lately delivered an opinion, of a more deliberate kind, which is equally to the diſadvantage of Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory. 'It may appear ungenerous in the living,' ſays Sir John, 'to 'throw reflections on the dead. But it is a piece of 'juſtice I owe to hiſtorical truth, to ſay, that I have 'never tried Burnet's facts by the teſts of dates, and 'of original papers, without finding them wrong; 'for which reaſon I have made little uſe of them in 'theſe Memoirs, unleſs when I found them ſupported by other authorities. His book is the more 'reprehenſible, becauſe it is full of characters, and 'moſt of them are tinged with the colours of his own 'weakneſſes and paſſions (*).' Lively writers are not always conſiſtent. Sir John Dalrymple *never* tried Burnet's facts—without finding them *wrong*; and yet he ſometimes made uſe of them, when he found them ſupported by other authorities. In the caſes, therefore, wherein he made uſe of them, becauſe, upon trial, he found them ſupported by other authorities, they could not be wrong. But though Sir John Dalrymple's cenſure is extravagantly and injudiciouſly expreſſed, it is not entirely groundleſs. It is certain that Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Time is often very inaccurate in point of dates, and in many of the ſmaller circumſtances of the facts related by him. This the writer of the preſent note can ſay from his own knowledge; having had occaſion to inquire, with particular attention, into ſome of our Prelate's accounts of things. It may be aſked, then, what is the real merit of his Hiſtory; and as the queſtion is well worthy of a ſerious and impartial determination, we ſhall endeavour to give the beſt anſwer to it that is in our power.

(97) Swift's Works, Vol. xv. p. 178—180.

(98) Hiſt. and Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, Vol. vii. p. 575.

(*) Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 34, note.

In the firſt place, it may be obſerved, that ſeveral of the errors which are diſcoverable in the work, are of ſuch a kind as are common to the hiſtorians in general of that period, when it was not cuſtomary to examine and ſettle the ſlighter circumſtances of events with the accuracy and ſcrupuloſity which have lately been faſhionable; and when, indeed, there was not the ſame opportunity for doing it that hath ſince been afforded by the ſtudy of the Lords' and Commons' Journals, the printing of State Papers, and the publication of various other hiſtorical materials, collections, and criticiſms. Clarendon, Kennet, Eachard, and Rapin, would all of them be found, upon examination, to have fallen into the like inadvertencies which are chargeable upon Burnet.

Secondly, the Biſhop was a man who always aimed at truth, and always told it to the very beſt of his knowledge. Of this, which we might be aſſured of, from his general character for integrity, he hath himſelf given us the moſt poſitive declaration. After having recited the ſources of his information, he adds; 'For I do ſolemnly ſay this to the world, and 'make my humble appeal upon it to the great God 'of truth, that I tell the truth, on all occaſions, as 'fully and freely as upon my beſt inquiry I have been 'able to find it out:' And he farther acquaints us, that he reckons 'a lie in hiſtory to be as much a 'greater ſin than a lie in common diſcourſe, as the 'one is like to be more laſting, and more generally 'known than the other (99).' When, therefore, we reflect upon the Biſhop's integrity, in conjunction with his extenſive opportunities for intelligence, we may conclude, that, whatever miſtakes he has been led into from inadvertence or miſinformation, he is abſolutely to be depended upon with regard to the grand facts which he hath tranſmitted to poſterity.

(99) Preface to the Hiſtory of his own Time, *ubi ſupra*, Vol. i. p. 3, 4.

Thirdly, when he relates things not upon his own knowledge, but from the teſtimony of others, he faithfully informs us from whom his accounts are derived; and conſequently we have it in our power to determine, from the character, connections, and ſituations of the perſons mentioned, what degree of credit is due to their reſpective narrations. It hath, indeed, been aſſerted, that Dr. Burnet being a credulous man, people took a pleaſure in impoſing upon him, by falſe ſtories. Perhaps there is not much truth in this aſſertion; but be that as it may, ſince the Biſhop always gives his authorities, we can ſtill judge for ourſelves concerning their validity. He himſelf hath told us, that where things appear doubtful, he hath delivered them with the ſame uncertainty to the world (100).

(100) *Ibid.*

Fourthly, Several of the facts in our Prelate's Hiſtory of his own Time, which at firſt were diſcredited, or at leaſt conſidered as dubious, have ſince been proved to be true. His aſſertion that Charles the Second, during his exile, was converted to popery, and that he died in the belief and exerciſe of that religion, though long rejected by many perſons, muſt now be conſidered as ſupported by inconteſtible evidence. His account of that Monarch's faith in necromancy, and conſulting an aſtrologer at Paris, by means of his embaſſador, Ralph Montague, and of that embaſſador's entering into an intrigue with the Ducheſs of Cleveland, to convert the King's folly to their own purpoſes, are matters of the ſame kind. We only here touch on a point which might admit of greater enlargement.

Fifthly, Though Biſhop Burnet's Characters have been particularly objected to, and he may poſſibly have been miſtaken in ſome circumſtances relating to them, yet, in general, they will be found, we apprehend, to be juſt. The chief fault imputed to them is, that they are drawn up with too much ſeverity; and it muſt be allowed that our Author's Hiſtory of his own Time does not abound with very flattering pictures of public men. But the queſtion is, whether ſuch pictures could have been given in conſiſtency with truth. It is to be feared that a real knowledge of the world will not preſent us with many characters which can bear to be repreſented in a view that is in every reſpect favourable; and leaſt of all is this to be expected among courtiers and ſtateſ-

men. Clarendon's Continuation, which deſcribes ſeveral of the perſons delineated by Burnet, is ſo far from always appearing more full in their praiſes, that it ſometimes treats them with greater ſeverity. We do not mean, however, entirely to exculpate our worthy Prelate. Beſides his being occaſionally liable to miſtakes and wrong information, he ſeems to have been diſpoſed to look too much to the dark ſide of a character; and of this diſpoſition he was himſelf ſenſible. 'I find,' ſays he, 'that the long experience 'I have had of the baſeneſs, the malice, and the 'falſehood of mankind, has inclined me to be apt to 'think generally the worſt of men and of parties.' He warns therefore his readers to take what he advances with ſome grains of allowance; though he adds at the ſame time, that he hath watched over himſelf and his pen ſo carefully, that he hoped there was no great occaſion for an apology (101).

(101) Preface to the Hiſtory of his own Time, *ubi ſupra*, Vol. i. p. 3, 4.

Sixthly, When all the ſubtractions are made from the merit of the Biſhop's Hiſtory, which can be made, a vaſt deal will ſtill remain. It will be found to contain, on the whole, a faithful and intereſting repreſentation of times and manners. It lets us more fully into the real temper and character of the age, than many productions which may boaſt a ſuperior accuracy in ſmaller matters, and a higher finiſhing with reſpect to leſſer ornaments. In ſhort, it is written with a ſpirit of integrity and liberty that cannot fail of recommending it to a judicious reader; and there are few hiſtories in our language which will be found to convey more ſolid and uſeful information. Accordingly, notwithſtanding the various attacks to which it hath been expoſed, it ſeems to be riſing in its reputation; and, in our opinion, it clearly deſerves the encomium which hath lately been beſtowed upon it by a very elegant poet.

'Yet Burnet's page may laſting glory hope,
'Howe'er inſulted by the ſpleen of POPE.
'Tho' his rough language haſte and warmth denote,
'With ardent honeſty of ſoul he wrote.
'Tho' critic cenſures on his work may ſhower,
'Like faith, his freedom has a ſaving power (102).'

(102) Hayley's Eſſay on Hiſtory, p. 51.

Account of his writings continued.

Beſides thoſe works of Biſhop Burnet, that are mentioned in our learned predeceſſor's article, he wrote a number of others which are there omitted. This is apparent from the accurate chronological account of his publications that hath been drawn up by Dr. Flexman, and is annexed to the later editions of our Prelate's Hiſtory of his own Time. Dr. Flexman's catalogue is ranged under five heads; which are, Sermons; Diſcourſes and Tracts in Divinity; Tracts againſt Popery; Tracts polemical, political and miſcellaneous; Hiſtory and hiſtorical Tracts. The Sermons publiſhed by Dr. Burnet were fifty-eight in number. Forty-four of theſe, moſt of which had been ſeparately printed, may be met with in the collection of the Biſhop's Tracts and Diſcourſes that appeared in 1704, and in the volume of Sermons which came out in 1713. The preface to this volume contains a judicious and laboured defence of the Revolution; in which the lawfulneſs and neceſſity of that important tranſaction are fully juſtified againſt the reproaches and miſrepreſentations of the Non-jurors, and others, who were diſaffected to our happy conſtitution of government. The Sermons which were not collected together, in the publications above ſpecified, were as follows:

1. 'Subjection for Conſcience Sake aſſerted;' at Covent-garden, 6 Decem. 1674, on Rom. xiii. 5. 1675, 4*to*. 2. 'The royal Martyr lamented;' at the Savoy, 30 Jan. 1674-5, 2 Sam. i. 12. 1675, 4*to*. Theſe two diſcourſes were reprinted in 1710, 8*vo*. 3. At Saliſbury, at the triennial viſitation, Oct. 17[illegible]4, Phil. ii. 1, 2. 4. At St. James's, 10 March, 1705-6, the fifth Sunday in Lent, Pſalm xlix. 20. 1706, 4*to*. 5. Before the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, &c. at St. Sepulchre's, on Eaſter Monday, 25 March, 1706, Matt. xxiv. 12. 4*to*. 6. On the Day of Thankſgiving, 27 June, 1706, Deut. iv. 6, 7, 8. 8*vo*. 7. Before the Queen, and the two Houſes of Parliament, at St. Paul's, 31 Dec. 1706, the day of thankſgiving for the wonderful ſucceſſes of that year, Pſalm lxxii. 4. 8*vo*. 8. At Saliſbury, 29 May, 1710, Matt. xxii. 21. 8*vo*. 9 and 1[illegible]. At Saliſbury, 5 Nov. 1710, and 7 Nov. 1710, the day of thankſgiving, Pſalm cxliv. 15. 8*vo*. 11. Before the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, &c. at St. Bride's, on Eaſter Monday, 2 April, 1711, Pſalm cxxii. 6, 7, 8, 9, 4*to*. 12. Before the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, &c. at St. Bride's, on Eaſter Monday, 29 March, 1714, Daniel iv. 27. 8*vo*. 13. At Saliſbury, at the triennial viſitation, 1714, Acts xx. 28. 4*to*. 14. Before the King at St. James's, 31 Oct. 1714, Pſalm ii. 10, 11. 8*vo*. There is, we are informed, in the poſſeſſion of George Baillie of Yerrefwood, Eſq; a manuſcript ſermon, by the Biſhop, preached before his Majeſty on the fifth of November, 1714, which is a ſpirited performance, and well deſerving of publication. We ſhall here ſubjoin an account of the other pieces publiſhed by Dr. Burnet, which are not taken notice of in our predeceſſor's article. 'Rome's Glory, or a Collection 'of divers Miracles wrought by Popiſh Saints, col-'lected out of their own Authors, with a prefatory 'Diſcourſe, declaring the Impoſſibility and Folly of 'ſuch vain Impoſtures,' 1673, 8*vo*. 'Obſervations 'on the firſt and ſecond of the CANONS, commonly 'aſcribed to the holy Apoſtles; wherein an Account 'of the primitive Conſtitution and Government of 'Churches is contained. Drawn from ancient and 'acknowledged Writings.' Glaſgow, 1673, 12*mo*. 'A Relation of the barbarous and bloody Maſſacre of 'about an hundred thouſand Proteſtants, begun at 'Paris, and carried on all over France, by the Papiſts 'in the Year 1572 Collected out of Mezeray, Thuanus, and other approved Authors.' 1678, 4*to*. 'A Letter written upon the Diſcovery of the late 'Plot.' 1678, 4*to*. 'The Unreaſonableneſs and 'Impiety of Popery, in a ſecond Letter written upon 'the Diſcovery of the late Plot.' 1678, 4*to*. 'A 'Decree made at Rome, 2 March, 1679, condemning ſome Opinions of the Jeſuits and other Caſuiſts.' 1679, 4*to*. 'The Infallibility of the Romiſh Church 'examined and confuted.' 1680, 4*to*. 'The laſt 'Words of Dr. Lewis du Moulin; or his Retraction 'of all the perſonal Reflections he had made on the 'Divines of the Church of England.' 1680, 4*to*. 'The Converſion and Perſecution of Eve Cohan, 'now called Elizabeth Verboon; a Perſon of Quality of the Jewiſh Religion.' 1680, 4*to*. 'The Policy of Rome, as delivered by Cardinal Palavicini, 'in his Hiſtory of the Council of Trent; with a Preface by G. Burnet, D. D.' 1681, 8*vo*. 'An Account of the Confeſſions of Lieutenant John Stern, 'and George Boroſky, executed for the Murder of 'Thomas Thynn, Eſq; 10 March, 1681-2.' 1682, folio. 'News from France: in a Letter giving a 'Relation of the preſent State of the Difference between the French King and the Court of Rome; to 'which is added, the Pope's Brief to the Aſſembly of 'the Clergy, and the Proteſtation made by them in 'Latin, together with an Engliſh Tranſlation of 'them.' 1682, 4*to*. 'A Letter written to Dr. Burnet, giving ſome Account of Cardinal Pole's ſecret 'Powers; from which it appears that it was never intended to confirm the Alienation that was made of 'the Abbey Lands. To which are added, two BREVES 'that Cardinal Pole brought over, and ſome other 'of his Letters, that were never before printed.' 1685, 4*to*. This Tract hath been aſcribed to Sir William Coventry. 'A Letter containing Remarks 'on the two Papers, writ by his late Majeſty King 'Charles the Second, concerning Religion.' 1688, 4*to*. (103) 'An Enquiry into the Reaſons for abrogating the Teſt impoſed on all Members of Parliament, offered by Dr. Samuel Parker, Biſhop of 'Oxford.' 1688, 4*to*. 'A ſecond Part of the Enquiry into the Reaſons offered by Dr. Samuel Parker, Biſhop of Oxford, for abrogating the Teſt: 'or an Anſwer to his Plea for Tranſubſtantiation, and 'for acquitting the Church of Rome of Idolatry.' 1688, 4*to*. 'A Continuation of the ſecond Part of 'the Enquiry into the Reaſons offered by Dr. Samuel Parker, Biſhop of Oxford, for abrogating the 'Teſt: relating to the Idolatry of the Church of 'Rome.' 1688, 4*to*. The ſecond Part, and the Continuation, were ſome months after publiſhed in one Tract, intitled, 'A Diſcourſe concerning Tranſubſtantiation and Idolatry, being an Anſwer to the 'Biſhop of Oxford's Plea relating to thoſe two 'Points.' 1688, 4*to*. 'Reflections on "the Relation of the Engliſh Reformation, and the THESES "relating to it," lately printed at Oxford, by Obadiah Walker, Maſter of Univerſity College.' In two Parts. Amſterdam, 1688. London, 1689, 4*to*. In theſe Reflections, not only the general grounds of the reformation of the Church of England are conſidered, but the matters of fact concerning that important

(103) This letter had been written in 1685, but not then publiſhed.

portant affair are briefly and judiciouſly ſet forth and illuſtrated. 'A Letter to Mr. Thevenot, containing 'a Cenſure of Mr. Le Grand's Hiſtory of King 'Henry the Eighth's Divorce. To which is added, a 'Cenſure of Mr. de Meaux's Hiſtory of the Varia-'tions of the Proteſtant Churches; together with 'ſome further Reflections on Mr. Le Grand.' 1689, 4*to*. 'Inſtructions for the Archdeacons of the Dio-'ceſe of Saliſbury, to be delivered by them to the 'Clergy in their Eaſter Viſitations;' together with a Letter from their Dioceſan, 1690, 4*to*. 'Reflec-'tions on a Book, intitled, "The Rights, Power, "and Privileges of an Engliſh Convocation ſtated "and vindicated," by Francis Atterbury, M. A.' 1700, 4*to*. 'A Speech in the Houſe of Lords, De-'cember 1703, upon the Bill intitled "An Act for "preventing occaſional Conformity." 1703, 4*to*. 'A Charge given at the triennial Viſitation of the 'Dioceſe of Saliſbury, in Oct. 1704;' prefixed to a Sermon preached at the ſame Viſitation. 1704, 4*to*. 'A Speech in the Houſe of Lords, 16 March 1709-'10, upon the firſt Article of the Impeachment of Dr. 'Henry Sacheverell.' 1710, 8*vo*. 'Four Letters 'between Gilbert Lord Biſhop of Saliſbury and Mr. 'Henry Dodwell, on occaſion of Mr. Dodwell's Re-'ſolution to leave the Nonjurors, and return to the 'Communion of the Church of England.' 1713, 8*vo*. 'A Charge given at the triennial Viſitation of the 'Dioceſe of Saliſbury, 1714;' publiſhed together with a Sermon preached at the ſame Viſitation. 1714, 4*to*. Several of theſe pieces, as well as of the others mentioned in the article above, are in the Collection of Tracts and Diſcourſes. With regard to the pamphlets and papers written by Dr. Burnet to promote the Prince of Orange's deſigns, and which were reprinted in 1689, the diſtinct titles of them may be ſeen in the Catalogue drawn up by Dr. Flexman.

That worthy and learned friend hath informed us, that the Biſhop was the author of a few publications not ſpecified in the Catalogue. One or two pieces were written by him concerning the treaty of Ryſwick, and another on the conferences at Gertrudenburg. He wrote, likewiſe, a preface to Mrs. Cockburn's two Letters concerning a Guide in Controverſies (104). In the Annual Regiſter for 1760, we find 'An hum-'ble Repreſentation to thoſe who are to ſit on the 'Throne,' ſaid to be left by our Prelate to be printed after his death (105). It is certain that a book which he had finiſhed and prepared for the preſs, intitled, 'Eſſays and Meditations on Morality and Religion,' was directed by him, in his laſt will, to be publiſhed; but it doth not appear that this order was ever put into execution (106). Mr. Whiſton mentions a Vindication which Biſhop Burnet wrote of himſelf from the reflections that Dr. Stillingfleet caſt upon him, for requiring *bonds of reſignation* from thoſe whom he made Prebendaries of Sarum, in caſe they left that dioceſe. The publication of this paper, of which Mr. Whiſton ſpeaks very highly, was ſuppreſſed, at the time of its being written, out of reſpect to Biſhop Stillingfleet; nor did Mr. Thomas Burnet, after his father's deceaſe, chooſe to give it to the world (107).

In 1761, was printed at London, from an original manuſcript, in the poſſeſſion of Sir Alexander Dick, of Preſtonfield, Baronet, 'Thoughts on Education,' drawn up by Dr. Burnet when he was not quite twenty five years of age. The manuſcript (the authenticity of which is undoubted) was found by Sir Alexander Dick among the papers of his grandfather, Sir John Cunningham of Caprington, Baronet, a very learned and eminent Scotch lawyer in the reign of King Charles the Second. Though the language of this Tract is much inferior to that of the Biſhop's later works, it is an extraordinary compoſition for ſo young a man, who had then never been out of Scotland. He ſhews in it much knowledge and reflection; and he hath hit upon ſeveral things which have ſince been advanced by the moſt capital writers on the ſubject of education. It is worthy of obſervation, that he wiſhes the offices of Governor and Preceptor to be in diſtinct hands; and he thinks it a deplorable error, that youths lately come from college, who cannot govern themſelves, and that pedants, whoſe arrogance, ignorance, indiſcretion, rudeneſs, and miſbehaviour ruin young perſons, ſhould be entruſted with the breeding of Gentlemen and Noblemen. It is ſomewhat ſtrange that he propoſes the rewarding of children, when they behave well, not only with pretty knacks, and gilded books, but with fine clothes, pieces of money, and gratifications of the palate. He very judiciouſly concludes, that it is not a good and ſafe courſe to ripen young minds too faſt; 'for,' ſays he, 'ſince diſcretion doth not ripen but 'with years, to fill a child's ſails with too much wind 'of knowledge, before he can have the ballaſt of ſet-'tled wiſdom, ſeems an error in breeding.' Speaking of Virgil, whom he particularly recommends for the purity and nobleneſs of his ſtyle, he adds, that for his fancy he deſerves not the name of a poet, but of an eloquent verſifier. This deciſion will probably, in the opinion of ſome of our claſſical readers, reflect but little honour on our Author's taſte. As for the learning of Latin, he wiſhes a boy to be much diſcourſed with in that language, and would have him always talk in it with his maſter and governor. He is for granting large portions of time to the recreations of young gentlemen, and believes that the whole afternoon, excepting one hour before ſupper, may well be allowed them for this purpoſe, without any obſtruction to their neceſſary improvements. It is obſervable, that he decries the ſtudy of logic, which might ariſe from the abſurd ſyſtems of it that had long prevailed in the world. The leſs a pupil converſes with women, Dr. Burnet thinks it the better; but he acknowledges, that to be ſometimes with the wiſe and excellent of that ſex, is one of the greateſt helps for breeding. It is remarkable, that, very differently from the ideas then entertained by many of his countrymen, he conſiders the being a ſoldier of fortune as an unvirtuous and ungentleman-like courſe of life. With reſpect to travelling, he allows it to be neceſſary, when a youth is bred for a court, and may probably be appointed an ambaſſador, or to negociate foreign affairs; but otherwiſe he cannot ſee why any ſhould travel to France and Italy, in order to learn to live in Scotland. He admits, however, that if a perſon hath a mature ſpirit and ripe judgment, is confirmed in his religion, poſſeſſes a true ſenſe of piety and virtue, and is not of a light or gadding mind, but knows what to obſerve and ſearch after, he may, if he be well recommended, and is paſt twenty-one years of age, ſpend a year or two abroad with much advantage (108) *.

As to Biſhop Burnet's general character as a writer, little needs to be ſaid of it, after the view we have taken of ſeveral of his principal productions. We have ſeen that ſome of his works are of great conſequence, which continue to be read, and to be held in high eſtimation. Others of them, though now leſs noticed, would well reward a peruſal, as they uſually contain very valuable matter on the reſpective ſubjects concerning which they treat. It ought not to be forgotten, that he has conſiderable merit as a biographer; the lives written by him, beſides that of the Earl of Rocheſter, being both inſtructive and entertaining. Mr. Ralph, ſpeaking of our Prelate, ſays, 'I do not rank Burnet in the firſt claſs of authors, 'and yet it was not his divinity which made him 'biſhop of Saliſbury (109).' Without diſputing whether he ought to be reckoned in the firſt claſs of authors, it is certain that his merit as a writer is eminent; and without entering into the queſtion whether it was, or was not, his divinity which made him biſhop of Saliſbury, it is evident, from his various and excellent theological works, that he deſerved, on their account alone, to be raiſed to the prelacy. He was indeed poſſeſſed of abilities and talents which fitted him for diſtinguiſhed uſefulneſs in the ſtate as well as in the church. Now we are ſpeaking of his promotion to the ſee of Saliſbury, we may take occaſion to obſerve, that he hath been charged with having had a view to the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, and with being ſo diſappointed at his failure in that reſpect, as to form an incurable reſentment againſt King William. But that this is a calumny, is plain from the particular ſhare he had in obtaining the primacy for his friend Dr. Tillotſon (110). When Dr. Burnet became a biſhop, though no one could be more attentive to his eccleſiaſtical and epiſcopal duties, and though it is evident, from his ſubſequent writings, how much divinity was his ſtudy, yet his abilities enabled him to extend his uſefulneſs beyond the mere government of the Church. He was not an inactive or ſilent member of the Houſe of Lords, but ſometimes took a diſtinguiſhed part in the tranſactions and debates of parliament. We find him one of the managers of a conference with the Commons, relative to a bill concerning Dr. Titus Oates. Beſides the two

(104) Life of Mrs. Cockburn, p. xxx. Works, Vol. i. p. 3, 4.

(105) Annual Regiſter, Vol. iii. p. 181.

(106) Flexman's Catalogue, *ubi ſupra*.

(107) Whiſton's Life, p. 36, 37.

(108) Thoughts on Education, *paſſim*.

* There is in the Britiſh Muſeum a French letter of Dr. Burnet's, giving an account of the Prince of Orange's landing in England, and his reception.

(109) Caſe of Authors, p. 33.

Occaſional facts and remarks.

(110) Birch's Life of Tillotſon, p. 202. 206.

Speeches ſeparately publiſhed by him on the Occaſional Conformity Bill, and at the trial of Dr. Sacheverell, we meet with hints of others which were delivered by him on various occaſions (111). When it was apprehended that Queen Anne's Miniſters would move for an act, or at leaſt for an addreſs, approving of the peace of Utrecht, our Prelate prepared a Speech on the occaſion; and it was the only one which he ever prepared before-hand: but not being called to make uſe of it, he hath inſerted it in the Hiſtory of his own Time, to be handed down to poſterity as a teſtimony of his ſentiments concerning that famous treaty (112). Macky, though not friendly to Biſhop Burnet, deſcribes him as one of the greateſt orators of the age he lived in; and aſſerts that he was very uſeful in the Houſe of Peers, where he was a great pillar, both of the civil and eccleſiaſtical conſtitution (113). As he was a man of ſuch extenſive capacity, knowledge, and experience, he was conſulted on many particular occaſions, and eſpecially at the time of the Revolution, his concern in which he hath himſelf given a full account of in his Hiſtory. Dr. Swift charges him, on what foundation we know not, with having been the author of the deteſtable project of funding (114); but we have been able to meet with no other proof of this charge than what ariſes from his having been an advocate for eſtabliſhing the Bank of England (115). Though Biſhop Burnet hath been ſo much reproached as a party man, it is certain that he was very moderate in his conduct towards thoſe who differed from him in this reſpect; and that he exerciſed great kindneſs to ſome who had engaged in deſigns againſt the Government (116).

In eccleſiaſtical matters, notwithſtanding that he hath been accuſed of not having been ſufficiently zealous for the rights and privileges of the Church and of Church-men, we find that he oppoſed the mixing of laymen with clergymen, in the commiſſion for a comprehenſion with the Diſſenters, ſoon after the Revolution. The ſhare he had in the alterations then propoſed in the Liturgy, was the adding of farther force and ſpirit to the new Collects drawn up by Dr. Patrick. In the Convocation which met about the ſame time, the Biſhop was chief manager, for the Upper Houſe, in the conference with the Lower Houſe, relative to an addreſs to his Majeſty (117).

With reſpect to our eminent Prelate's general character, though he was held in diſlike by a number of perſons, the account of it given by his ſon ſeems to be undoubtedly juſt. Even Dr. Swift acknowledges that he was a man of generoſity and good-nature, and very communicative (118). The author of the Confeſſional aſſigns it as a reaſon why he was never a favourite with that part of the clergy who ſtile themſelves *orthodox*, that he was apt to ſpeak his mind freely concerning ſuch men and ſuch things in the Church, as he thought wanted reformation (119). Whiſton relates an agreeable circumſtance with regard to the liberality and candour of his mind. That learned man having written an Anſwer to Collins's Diſcourſe on Free-thinking, Biſhop Burnet liked it ſo well, that he ſaid, that for its ſake he forgave Mr. Whiſton all his hereſy (120). Dr. Towers, in his Britiſh Biography, hath largely inſiſted on the Biſhop's character; but we muſt only refer to what he hath ſaid upon it, as this note hath already been extended to ſo great a length (121).

The manner in which Dr. Burnet hath expreſſed himſelf concerning two of our poets, hath given offence to many men of taſte. He calls Dryden a monſter of immodeſty, and of impurity of all ſorts (122). If this was ſpoken of Mr. Dryden's perſonal character, it was very unjuſt; but if it referred, as probably it did, to that great poet's plays only, the cenſure was too well founded. The Biſhop, ſpeaking of Mr. Prior's being employed by Queen Anne's Miniſtry, in the negociations for a peace, ſtiles him, 'one Prior, 'who had been Jerſey's ſecretary (123).' This was undoubtedly very improper language to be uſed concerning a man who had long before diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his elegant poetical productions. Our right reverend Author's expreſſion hath given occaſion to the following lines, by the late Mr. Robert Dodſley.

'*One Prior!* and is this, this all the fame
'The poet from the hiſtorian can claim?
'No; Prior's verſe poſterity ſhall quote,
'When 'tis forgot *one Burnet* ever wrote (124).'

Biſhop Burnet's third wife, of whom ſome account is given in note [*KK*], hath had an article aſſigned to her in Mr. Ballard's 'Memoirs of Britiſh Ladies, who 'have been celebrated for their writings or ſkill in the 'learned languages, arts and ſciences;' where her character is drawn out at large, and to great advantage (125). She was indeed a moſt excellent woman, being equally diſtinguiſhed for her piety, prudence, and benevolence. At the Biſhop's requeſt, the management and diſpoſal of her eſtate were ſecured wholly to herſelf; and ſhe applied her income chiefly to charitable purpoſes, reſerving only the fifth part of it, and ſometimes not even that, to her own uſe. She particularly favoured the ſetting up of ſchools for the inſtruction and education of poor children, above an hundred of whom were taught at her expence in and about Worceſter and Saliſbury. Though ſhe had no ſkill in the learned languages, ſhe had a very enlarged and cultivated underſtanding, and Dr. Stillingfleet was often heard to ſay of her, that he knew not a more conſiderable woman in England than ſhe was. She was held in the ſame eſtimation by Dr. Talbot, afterwards biſhop of Durham, and by Dr. Lloyd, Stillingfleet's ſucceſſor in the ſee of Worceſter. She died on the 3d of February, 1708-9. The clauſe of her will, by which ſhe directed the place of her burial, was as follows: 'I will that my body 'be buried in the pariſh-church of Spetchley, in the 'county of Worceſter, in a vault made by me for my 'former huſband, Robert Berkeley, Eſq; and myſelf. I order this to fulfil a promiſe I made to him; 'not out of any want of reſpect or kindneſs to my 'preſent huſband, who has, by his great kindneſs and 'confidence, deſerved from me all the gratitude and 'acknowledgments of love and reſpects I can teſtify '(126).' Biſhop Burnet had by this lady two children, who died in their infancy (127). A letter which ſhe wrote to Mrs. Catharine Trotter (afterwards Mrs. Cockburn) is preſerved in Dr. Birch's Life of that extraordinary woman, and fully juſtifies the applauſes that have been beſtowed on the excellency of Mrs. Burnet's underſtanding and temper (128).

Our prelate, by his ſecond wife, Mrs. Mary Scott, had ſeven children, three ſons and four daughters. His three ſons ſurvived him, and ſo did two of his daughters, Mary and Elizabeth (129). What became of his daughters we know not; but his ſons were of ſuch conſideration as to deſerve that ſome account of them ſhould be added in this place.

William, the eldeſt of them, was entered, at ſeven years of age, into the Latin tongue, under a diſtinct tutor; and when he was perfected in the learned languages, was removed to the univerſity of Cambridge, where he was admitted a Gentleman Commoner of Trinity College. Here, beſides the College tutor, he had a private one, to aſſiſt him in the acquiſition of literature, and to ſuperintend his behaviour. In the year 1706, he was ſent, with his two younger brothers, abroad, to finiſh his ſtudies at Leyden; from whence he appears to have made a tour through Germany, Switzerland, and Italy. By his own choice he was bred to the law; but we cannot tell whether he ever practiſed at the bar (130). In 1720, he was one of the unhappy perſons who ſuffered greatly in the infatuation of the South-Sea ſcheme. He had, however, a place in the revenue, of twelve hundred pounds a year; but, being deſirous of retrieving his fortune, he quitted that poſt, and was appointed Governor of New York and the Jerſeys. In this ſtation, his conduct, in general, was very acceptable to thoſe colonies, and approved of in England. After the acceſſion of King George the Second, in order to provide for a gentleman who was underſtood to be in particular eſteem with his Majeſty, Mr. Burnet was removed from the governments of New York and the Jerſeys to thoſe of the Maſſachuſets and New Hampſhire. This change was highly diſagreeable to him. He conſidered it as a great hardſhip to be ſuperſeded in ſo ſhort a time; and to be obliged to part with poſts that were very profitable, for ſuch as would afford him, at beſt, only a decent ſupport; and to leave an eaſy adminiſtration for one which he foreſaw would be extremely troubleſome. He complained to his friends of the cruel treatment he had met with, and it had a viſible effect upon his ſpirits (131). On the 13th of July, 1728, he arrived at Boſton, and was received with unuſual pomp. Having been inſtructed, from England, to inſiſt on a fixed ſalary's being ſettled upon him as Governor, he adhered

Account of the Biſhop's family.

Of his third wife.

(125) P. 275—282.

(126) *Ibid.*

(127) General Hiſtorical Dict. Vol. iii. p. 709.

(128) Mrs. Cockburn's Life, p. xvii, xviii.

(129) The Biſhop's Epitaph. Hiſt. of his own Time, Vol. iv. p. 484.

Of his ſon William.

(130) Biſhop Burnet's Life, *ubi ſupra*, p. lxxvii.

(131) Hutchinſon's Hiſtory of the Province of Maſſachuſet's Bay, Vol. ii. p. 315, 2d edit.

(111) Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, Vol. i. p. 377. Vol. ii. p. 56. 156. 273. 421.

(112) Hiſtory of his own Time, Vol. iv. p. 397—403.

(113) Characters, p. 139.

(114) Swift's Works, Vol. ix. p. 73.

(115) Hiſtory of his own Time, Vol. iii. p. 171.

(116) Mr. Thomas Burnet's Life of his Father, *ubi ſupra*, p. xliv—liii.

(117) Birch's Life of Tillotſon, p. 162. 175. 189.

(118) Works, Vol. xv. p. 179.

(119) Confeſſional, p. 152, 3d edition.

(120) Whiſton's Life, p. 191.

(121) Britiſh Biography, Vol. vii. p. 183—187.

(122) Hiſtory of his own Time, Vol. i. p. 378.

(123) *Ibid.* Vol. iv. p. 336.

(124) Supplement to Swift, Vol. i. p. 53. note.

hered to his inſtructions with ſuch unabated vigour and perſeverance, as involved him in the warmeſt diſputes with the general Aſſembly of the province. A large detail of theſe conteſts may be ſeen in Mr. Hutchinſon's Hiſtory of Maſſachuſet's Bay, from which Mr. Burnet's abilities, firmneſs, and ſpirit will appear in a ſtriking light (132). Being deprived of his ſalary, by refuſing to receive it in the mode propoſed by the Aſſembly, and having by that means been driven to ſuch ſtraits as obliged him to apply to the aſſiſtance of his friends for the ſupport of his family, he thought he might be juſtified in eſtabliſhing a fee and perquiſite which had never been known in the province before. At New York, all veſſels took from the Governor a paſs, or permiſſion for ſailing out of the harbour, which, though it had no foundation in law, was ſubmitted to without complaint. The ſame diſpoſition did not prevail in the inhabitants of Boſton. The fee which Mr. Burnet impoſed on the ſhips, for their paſſes, being complained of to the King and Council, as illegal and oppreſſive, it was immediately diſapproved. In all other reſpects, unleſs we ſhould think that the warmth with which he purſued the affair of the ſalary was carried too far, his adminiſtration was unexceptionable (133). It was obſerved by his friends, that his controverſy with the general Aſſembly made a great impreſſion upon his mind. In the latter end of Auguſt, 1729, he was ſeized, at Boſton, with a fever, which carried him off on the ſeventh of September. The immediate cauſe of his illneſs was ſuppoſed to be a cold which he caught from falling into the water, in conſequence of his carriage being overſet upon the cauſeway at Cambridge, when the tide was high. Upon Governor Burnet's death, the reſentment which had been raiſed againſt him among the inhabitants of the province ceaſed; the amiable parts of his character were affectionately called to remembrance; and the Aſſembly ordered him a very honourable funeral, at the public expence. Though he had been ſteady and inflexible in his adherence to his inſtructions, he diſcovered nothing of a graſping avaricious temper. An immoral or unfair character was a bar to office with him, and, in one inſtance, he gave a negative to an election of a councellor upon that principle alone. His ſuperior talents, and free and eaſy manner of communicating his ſentiments, rendered him the delight of men of ſenſe and learning; and his right of precedence in all companies, facilitated his natural diſpoſition to take a great lead in converſation. His own account of his genius was, that it was late before it budded; and that, until he was nearly twenty years of age, his father deſpaired of his ever making any figure in life. This, perhaps, might proceed from the exact diſcipline of the Biſhop's family, not calculated alike for every temper. To long and frequent religious ſervices at home in his youth, Mr. Burnet would ſometimes pleaſantly attribute his indiſpoſition to a ſcrupulous attendance on public worſhip. Indeed, he had an abhorrence of oſtentation and formality in religion; to avoid which he was thought, in the opinion at leaſt of moſt of the ſerious people of the province, to approach too much towards the other extreme. His open undiſguiſed mind could not ſubmit to that caution, and conformity to the manners and prejudices of the perſons among whom he was placed, which good policy required. Being invited to dine with an old Charter Senator, who retained a cuſtom, formerly in uſe among ſome of the rigid Independents, of ſaying grace ſitting, the grave gentleman deſired to know which would be more agreeable to his Excellency, that grace ſhould be ſaid ſtanding or ſitting: To this the Governor replied, 'Standing or ſitting, any way 'or no way, juſt as you pleaſe.' By a clauſe in his laſt will, he ordered his body, if he died at New York, to be buried near his wife *; if in any other part of the world, in the neareſt church-yard or burying-ground, 'all places being alike to God's all-ſeeing 'eye (134).' Mr. Burnet's firſt lady was a daughter of Dr. George Stanhope, dean of Canterbury, and was a woman equally diſtinguiſhed for her beauty, wit, good-humour, ſinging, and various accompliſhments. When ſhe was dying, being worn out with a long and painful ſickneſs, as they rubbed her temples with Hungary water, in her laſt faintings, ſhe begged them not to do it, for 'that it would make her hair grey.' Though her marriage with Mr. Burnet was a very advantageous one, and he was a moſt agreeable and worthy man, yet, having had a prior attachment, which could by no means take place, ſhe pined in thought, and died (135). Mr. William Burnet was the author of a tract, intitled, 'A View of Scripture 'Prophecy.'

(132) Hutchinſon's Hiſtory of the Province of Maſſachuſet's Bay, Vol. ii. p. 332—364, 2d edition.

(133) *Ibid.* p. 357, 358.

* This muſt have been his ſecond wife; for Dean Stanhope's daughter was lately deceaſed in 1715.

(134) *Ibid.* p. 364—366.

(135) Richardſoniana, p. 289.

Gilbert Burnet, the Biſhop's ſecond ſon, had preciſely the ſame advantages of education with his elder brother, having a diſtinct tutor both at home and the Univerſity. He purſued his ſtudies, likewiſe, for two years, at Leyden. The Engliſh Univerſity at which he was brought up was that of Oxford, where he was admitted a Commoner of Merton-College (136); but how long he ſtudied there we are not informed, nor where he took his degree of Maſter of Arts. Having entered into holy orders, we find him a Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majeſty ſo early as in 1718, when he could not be thirty years of age. He is ſaid to have been a contributor to Hibernicus's Letters, a periodical paper carried on at Dublin in the years 1725, 1726, and 1727; and we believe there is no doubt of his having been one of the writers of another valuable paper, intitled, 'The Free-'thinker,' which was afterward collected into three volumes, 12*mo*, that are now become ſcarce. In the Hoadlian controverſy, he was an able aſſiſtant to the eminent prelate from whom that controverſy received its denomination. Three pieces were publiſhed by Mr. Burnet on this occaſion, the firſt of which was, 'A Letter to the Rev. Mr. Trapp, occaſioned by his 'Sermon on the *real* Nature of the Church and King-'dom of Chriſt;' the ſecond, 'An Anſwer to Mr. 'Law's Letter to the Lord Biſhop of Bangor;' and the third, 'A full and free Examination of ſeveral 'important Points relating to Church-Authority, the 'Chriſtian Prieſthood, the poſitive Inſtitutions of the 'Chriſtian Religion, and Church-Communion, in 'Anſwer to the Notions and Principles contained in 'Mr. Law's ſecond Letter to the Lord Biſhop of Ban-'gor.' Concerning this laſt treatiſe, which was printed in 8*vo*, in 1718, we can aſſert, from our own knowledge, that it is a very maſterly performance, diſplaying great liberality of mind, ſtrong powers of reaſoning, and an accurate acquaintance with Scripture. Dr. Hoadly conſidered our author as one of his beſt defenders. In 1719, Mr. Burnet publiſhed an Abridgment of the third volume of his father's Hiſtory of the Reformation. If he had not been cut off in early life, there is no doubt but that he would have made a diſtinguiſhed figure in the literary world; and it is probable that he would have riſen to a high rank in the church. The Gilbert Burnet who abridged the Boylean Lectures was another perſon (137) *.

(136) Biſhop Burnet's Life, *ubi ſupra*, p. lxxvii.

(137) From the information of Dr. Flexman.

* This Gilbert Burnet was vicar of Coggeſhall, Eſſex, and curate of St. John's Clerkenwell, and died Jan. 28, 1746.

Biſhop Burnet's third and youngeſt ſon, Thomas, had an education equally advantageous with that of his two elder brothers. When he had acquired a ſufficient preparation of grammatical learning, he was ſent to the Univerſity of Oxford, where he became a Commoner of Merton-College. After this, he ſtudied two years at Leyden; from whence he ſeems to have made a tour through Germany, Switzerland, and Italy (138). Having choſen the profeſſion of the law, he was entered at the Temple, where he appears to have contracted that wildneſs of diſpoſition, and irregularity of conduct, which too many young men, in our Inns of Court, have done. To this part of his character there are frequent alluſions in the ſatirical publications of the times; and particularly in Dr. Arbuthnot's notes and memorandums of the ſix days preceding the death of a Right Reverend Prelate. Mr. Thomas Burnet was even ſuſpected of being one of the Mohocks mentioned in the Spectator, whoſe extravagant and cruel exploits made much noiſe, and excited no ſmall degree of terror at that period. Swift, in one of his letters to Stella, has the following paſſage: 'Young Davenant was telling us, how 'he was ſet upon by the Mohocks, and how they ran 'his chair through with a ſword. It is not ſafe being 'in the ſtreets at night. The Biſhop of Saliſbury's 'ſon is ſaid to be of the gang. They are all 'Whigs. A great lady ſent to me, to ſpeak to her 'father, and to Lord Treaſurer, to have a care of 'them, and to be careful likewiſe of myſelf; for ſhe 'heard they had malicious intentions againſt the mi-'niſtry and their friends. I know not whether there 'be any thing in this, though others are of the ſame 'opinion (139).' The report concerning Mr. Burnet might be groundleſs: but however that may have been, it is certain that his time was not wholly ſpent in diſſipation; for, being warmly devoted to the cauſe of the Whigs, he commenced political writer againſt the

Of his ſon Gilbert.

Of his ſon Thomas.

(138) Life of Biſhop Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. lxxvii.

(139) Swift's Works, Vol. x x. p. 152, 153. ſmall edition of 1767.

the adminiſtration of the four laſt years of Queen Anne. No leſs than ſeven pamphlets of this kind, though without his name, were written by him, in 1712 and 1713. His firſt publication was intitled, 'A Letter to the People, to be left for them at the 'Bookſellers; with a Word or two of the Bandbox 'Plot.' This ſmall tract is drawn up in ſhort paragraphs, after the manner of Mr. Aſgill; but not in ridicule of that author, who is ſpoken of in terms of high commendation. Another piece of Mr. Burnet's was, 'Our Anceſtors as wiſe as we, or ancient Pre-'cedents for modern Facts, in Anſwer to a Letter 'from a noble Lord;' which was followed by 'The 'Hiſtory of Ingratitude, or a ſecond Part of ancient 'Precedents for modern Facts,' wherein many inſtances are related, chiefly from the Greek and Roman hiſtories, of the ungrateful treatment to which the moſt eminent public characters have been expoſed; and the whole is applied to the caſe of the Duke of Marlborough. A ſubſequent publication, that had likewiſe a reference to the conduct of the miniſtry towards the ſame great General, and which was dedicated to him, was intitled, 'The true Character of 'an honeſt Man, eſpecially with relation to public 'Affairs.' Another of Mr. Burnet's tracts, which was called, 'Truth, if you can find it; or a Cha-'racter of the preſent Miniſtry and Parliament,' was entirely of an ironical nature, and ſometimes the irony is well ſupported. But our author's principal political pamphlet, during the period we are ſpeaking of, was, 'A *certain* Information of a *certain* Diſ-'courſe, that happened at a *certain* Gentleman's 'Houſe, in a *certain* County; written by a *certain* 'Perſon then preſent, to a *certain* Friend now at 'London; from whence you may collect the great '*Certainty* of the Account.' This is a dialogue in defence of the principles and conduct of the Whigs; and it gave ſuch offence to Queen Anne's Tory miniſtry, that, on account of it, Mr. Burnet was taken into cuſtody in January 1712-13. He wrote, alſo, 'Some new Proofs by which it appears that the Pre-'tender is truly James the Third;' wherein, from the information, we ſuppoſe, of his father, he gives the ſame account, in ſubſtance, of the Pretender's birth, that was afterwards publiſhed in the Biſhop's Hiſtory of his own Time. What Mr. Burnet endeavours to make out is, that three ſuppoſititious children were introduced; and conſequently, that *the Pretender was James the Third*; or, to put it more plainly, *the third pretended James*. Whilſt our young author, notwithſtanding his literary application and engagements, ſtill continued his wild courſes, it is related, that his father one day ſeeing him uncommonly grave, aſked what he was meditating. 'A 'greater work,' replied the ſon, 'than your Lord-'ſhip's Hiſtory of the Reformation.' 'What is that, 'Tom?' 'My own *Reformation*, my Lord.' 'I ſhall 'be heartily glad to ſee it,' ſaid the Biſhop, 'but 'almoſt deſpair of it (140).' This, however, was happily accompliſhed, though, perhaps, not during the life of the good Prelate; and Mr. Burnet became not only one of the beſt lawyers of his time, but a very reſpectable character. After the acceſſion of King George the Firſt, he wrote a letter to the Earl of Halifax (141), on 'the Neceſſity of impeaching 'the late Miniſtry;' in which he urges the point with great zeal and warmth, and ſhews the utmoſt diſlike of treating with any degree of lenity, a ſet of men whoſe conduct, in his opinion, deſerved the ſevereſt puniſhment. He inſiſts upon it, that the makers of the treaty of Utrecht ought to anſwer for their treaſons with their heads, and add one example more to our Engliſh Hiſtory of Courtiers, who, while they were contriving the ruin of their country, periſhed themſelves before they could bring their projects to bear. The Letter to the Earl of Halifax, which appeared with Mr. Burnet's name, was followed by an anonymous treatiſe, intitled, 'A ſecond Tale of a 'Tub: or, The Hiſtory of Robert Powel the Puppet-'Showman (142).' This work, which is a ſatire on the Earl of Oxford and his miniſtry, and is far from being deſtitute of wit and humour, hath never had the good fortune (nor, indeed, did it deſerve it) of being read and admired like the original Tale of a Tub. The author himſelf, in the latter part of his life, wiſhed it to be forgotten; for we are well informed that he ſought much for it, and purchaſed ſuch copies as he could meet with, at a conſiderable price. Soon after his father's death, he publiſhed 'A Character of the Right Reverend Father in God, 'Gilbert Lord Biſhop of Sarum: with a true Copy 'of his laſt Will and Teſtament (143).' In ridicule of this publication, was printed, in Hudibraſtic verſe, and with a very ſmall portion of merit, 'A *certain* 'dutiful Son's Lamentation for the Death of a *certain* 'Right Reverend: with the *certain* Particulars of '*certain* Sums and Goods that are bequeathed him, 'which he will moſt *certainly* part with in a *certain* 'Time.' In 1715, Mr. Burnet, in conjunction with Mr. Ducket, wrote a traveſtie of the firſt book of the Iliad, under the title of 'Homerides;' which expoſed him to the laſh of Mr. Pope, and occaſioned that great poet to give him a place, though not with remarkable ſeverity, in the Dunciad. He was, likewiſe, concerned in a weekly paper, called 'The Grumbler.' He was, however, ſoon taken from theſe literary occupations, by being appointed his Majeſty's Conſul at Liſbon, where he continued ſeveral years. Whilſt he was in this ſituation, he had a diſpute with Lord Tyrawley, the Ambaſſador, in which the merchants ſided with Mr. Burnet. During the continuance of the diſpute, the Conſul took an odd method of affronting his antagoniſt. Employing the ſame taylor, and having learned what dreſs his Lordſhip intended to wear on a birth day, Mr. Burnet provided the ſame dreſs as liveries for his ſervants, and appeared himſelf in a plain ſuit. It is ſaid, that in conſequence of this quarrel (though how truly may, perhaps, be doubted), the Ambaſſador and Conſul were both recalled (144). Upon Mr. Burnet's return to his country, he reſumed the profeſſion of the law. In 1723, he publiſhed, with a few explanatory notes, the firſt volume of his father's Hiſtory of his own Time; and, in 1732, wrote ſome remarks in defence of that Hiſtory, in anſwer to Lord Landſdowne's Letter to the author of the Reflections hiſtorical and political. When Mr. Burnet gave to the public, in 1734, the ſecond volume of the Biſhop's Hiſtory, he added to it the life of that eminent Prelate, which is a valuable piece of Biography. In Eaſter Term, 1736, he was called to the degree of Serjeant at Law; and, in May 1740, was appointed King's Serjeant, in the room of Serjeant Eyre, deceaſed. When, in 1741, Judge Forteſcue was raiſed to the Maſterſhip of the Rolls, Mr. Burnet, in the month of October in that year, ſucceeded him as one of the Juſtices of the Court of Common Pleas. On the 23d of November, 1745, when the Lord Chancellor, the Judges, and the aſſociated gentlemen of the law, waited on the King, with their addreſs on occaſion of the rebellion, his Majeſty conferred upon him the honour of knighthood. He was alſo a Member of the Royal Society. Sir Thomas Burnet continued in the Court of Common Pleas, with great reputation, to his death, which happened on the fifth of January, 1753. He died of the gout in his ſtomach, and left behind him the character of an able and upright judge, a ſincere friend, a ſenſible and agreeable companion, and a munificent benefactor to the poor. Dr. Ferdinando Warner, in his dedication of Sir Thomas More's Life to the then Lord Keeper Henley, having mentioned that Mr. Juſtice Burnet recommended to him the tranſlation of the Utopia, adds, 'of whom I take this opportunity to ſay with 'pleaſure, and which your Lordſhip I am ſure will 'allow me to ſay with truth, that for his knowledge 'of the world, and his able judgment of things, he 'was equalled by few, and excelled by none of his 'contemporaries (145).' The following clauſe, in our learned Judge's will, was the ſubject of converſation after his deceaſe, and was inſerted in the monthly collections, as being ſomewhat extraordinary. 'I think it proper in this ſolemn act to declare, that 'as I have lived, ſo I truſt I ſhall die, in the true faith 'of Chriſt as taught in the Scriptures; but not as 'taught or practiſed in any one viſible church that I 'know of; though I think the Church of England 'is as little ſtuffed with the inventions of men as any 'of them; and the Church of Rome is ſo full of 'them as to have deſtroyed all that is lovely in the 'Chriſtian religion (146).' This clauſe gave occaſion to the publication of a ſerious and ſenſible pamphlet, intitled, 'The true Church of Chriſt, *which*, 'and *where to be found*; according to the Opinion of 'the late Judge Burnet: with an Introduction concerning divine Worſhip, and a Caution to Goſpel 'Preachers; in which are contained, the Reaſons for 'that Declaration in his laſt Will and Teſtament.' As to Sir Thomas Burnet's declaration, it only expreſſes

(140) Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. xlix. p. 256.

(141) The third edition was publiſhed in 1715.

(142) It appeared in 17 5.

(143) A ſecond edition came out in the ſame year in which it was firſt printed, 1715.

(144) Gent. Mag. *ubi ſupra.*

(145) P. xii.

(146) Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. xxiii. p. 98.

preſſes the ſentiments of a judicious and candid man, who underſtood the true nature of Chriſtianity; and who, whilſt he gave the preference to the Church of England, was perſuaded that no religious eſtabliſhment was entirely free from defects. A judgment may be formed of his abilities in his profeſſion, from his argument in the caſe of Ryal and Rowls. In 1777 were publiſhed, in quarto (147), 'Verſes 'written on ſeveral Occaſions, between the years '1712 and 1721.' Theſe were the poetical productions of Mr. Burnet in his youth, of whom it is ſaid, by the editor, that he was connected in friendſhip and intimacy with thoſe wits, which will for ever ſignaliſe the beginning of the preſent century; and that himſelf ſhone with no inconſiderable luſtre amidſt the conſtellation of geniuſes which then ſo illuſtriouſly adorned the Britiſh hemiſphere. The poems, we are told, were fairly tranſcribed by the author, and the following motto, from Buchanan, prefixed to them, intimating his having then relinquiſhed the enchanting purſuits of poeſy, in which he once delighted.

'Ite leves nugæ, ſterileſque valete camænæ,
'Grataque Phœbæo Caſtalis unda choro,
'Ite: ſat eſt, primos vobiſcum abſumpſimus annos.'

It is related of him, that he would himſelf have publiſhed his Verſes, if he had not thought that ſome of them were too light and ſportive for the gravity of the *judicial* character, and would derogate, in a certain degree, from the dignity of the *tribunal* to which he had aſcended. With regard to the poems themſelves, which are for the moſt part very ſhort, and chiefly upon amorous ſubjects, and among which are ſeveral ſongs, and tranſlations from the Odes of Horace, their characteriſtic excellence is an eaſy negligence and elegant ſimplicity. They are ſuch productions as might be expected from a young man of lively parts and claſſical taſte; but who, at the ſame time, was not endued with any extraordinary vigour of poetical imagination. A ſpecimen of them ſhall conclude our account of Sir Thomas Burnet.

'To a Lady who loved dancing.

'May I preſume in humble lays,
'My dancing Fair, thy ſteps to praiſe;
'While this grand maxim I advance,
'That all the world is but a dance?
'That human kind, both man and woman,
'Do dance, is evident and common:
'DAVID himſelf, that godlike King,
'We know could dance, as well as ſing.
'Folks who at court would keep their ground,
'Muſt dance the year attendance round.
'Whole nations dance: Gay friſking France
'Has led the Engliſh many a dance:
'And ſome believe both France and Spain
'Reſolve to take us out again.
'All nature is one ball, we find;
'The water dances to the wind.
'The ſea itſelf, at night and noon,
'Riſes and capers to the moon:
'The moon around the earth does tread
'A Cheſhire round, in buxom red.
'The earth and planets round the ſun
'Dance, nor will their dance be done,
'Till nature in one maſs is blended,
'Then one may ſay, the ball is ended (148)*.'

(148) Verſes, &c. p. 3—5.
* For many particulars in the preceding account, and for an opportunity of peruſing Sir Thomas Burnet's Political Tracts, we are indebted to our ingenious and obliging friend, Iſaac Reed, Eſq.

Beſides Sir Thomas Burnet, there lived in the preſent century another Thomas Burnet, who was an eminent Divine, and the author of ſeveral valuable publications. His four principal works are, an Anſwer to Tindal's Chriſtianity as old as the Creation, a Treatiſe on Scripture Politics, a Courſe of Sermons preached at Mr. Boyle's Lecture, and an Eſſay on the Trinity; in which laſt performance he endeavours, with great ingenuity and plauſibility, to unite the rationality claimed by the Unitarians, with the orthodox language of thoſe who admit the Athanaſian doctrine of the Trinity. It is ſurpriſing that this curious tract ſhould now be ſo little known as not to have been at all taken notice of in any of the late Trinitarian controverſies, excepting in a pamphlet intitled 'Orthodoxy and Charity united.' Our learned writer was educated in New College, Oxford, where he became Maſter of Arts; and, on the eighth of July, 1720, he accumulated, in the ſame Univerſity, the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Divinity, for which he went out grand Compounder (149). Dr. Thomas Burnet, who was Rector of Weſt Kingſton, Wilts, and Prebendary of Sarum, died in May, 1750 (150). Some farther particulars, which we expected concerning this gentleman, not having been communicated in time, we muſt refer them, if they ſhall be found to merit peculiar attention, to the Addenda that will be prefixed to the next volume.] K.

Another Thomas Burnet.

(149) Catalogue of Oxford Graduates.

(150) Gent. Mag. Vol. xx. p. 284.

BURTON (WILLIAM), a very ſkilful Topographer, and author of *The Deſcription of Leiceſterſhire*, was born Auguſt 24, 1575, being deſcended from a very ancient family [*A*], ſeated at Lindley in this county, and Falde in Staffordſhire (*a*). After having been educated in grammar-learning at Sutton-Colfield in Warwickſhire, he was admitted, in Michaelmas-term 1591, in Brazen-Noſe College in Oxford; where, by the benefit of a careful tutor, he got a tolerable ſtock of Logic and Philoſophy. On the twentieth of May 1593, he became a member of the Inner Temple, London (*b*); and, on the twenty-ſecond of June 1594, took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*c*). But, without completing it, he went and ſettled in the Temple; and, after having ſpent a due time in the ſtudy of the Law, was made a Barriſter (*d*). However, 'the weak 'conſtitution of his body not permitting him to practiſe in that laborious profeſſion,' he 'retyred to a private countrie life,' and gave himſelf up to the 'ſtudie of Antiquities, 'to which he was drawn by a natural genius (*e*).' Wanting neither leiſure nor opportunities of improvement (as he had a conſiderable fortune), he became, with due diligence and application, one of the moſt eminent perſons in the kingdom, for the knowledge of Heraldry, Genealogies, and Antiquities (*f*). Of this he gave an excellent ſpecimen in his *Deſcription of Leiceſterſhire* [*B*], and other works [*C*]. Having ſuffered much

(a) See the Deſcription of Leiceſterſhire, by our author. Lond. 1622, fol. 177—179. And Wood's Athen. edit. 1721, Vol. ii. col. 178.

(b) Deſcript. of Leiceſt. p. 68. And Wood, *ubi ſupra*

(c) Wood, Faſti.

(d) Wood, Ath. *ubi ſupra*.

(e) Preface to his Deſcription of Leiceſterſhire, p. 1, 2.

(f) Wood, Ath. *ibid.* And Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 222.

[*A*] *Deſcended from a very ancient family.*] It appears from the pedigree, inſerted by our author in his *Deſcription of Leiceſterſhire* (1), That *James de Burton* was Squire of the body to King Richard I, and attended him to the Holy Land. His great great-grandſon, *Nicolas de Burton*, who lived in the 14th of Edward II., married Agnes, ſiſter and heir of John Curzun of *Falde*, by whom that eſtate came into the Burton family. *William Burton*, Standard-bearer to King Henry VI., died in the 39th of that King. His grandſon, *James Burton*, married, in 1511, *Elizabeth*, daughter and co-heir of *John Herdwick*, of *Lindley* in Leiceſterſhire; which Elizabeth had, for her portion, the third part of the manor of Lindley, with the capital ſeat. Our author's father, grandſon of James laſt mentioned, was *Ralph Burton* of Lindley; born in 1547, who died the 17th of March 1619, and was buried at Higham. His wife was *Dorothy*, daughter of William Faunt, of Foſton in Leiceſterſhire, born in 1550, and married in 1571.

(1) Page 177, &c.

[*B*] *His* Deſcription of Leiceſterſhire.] This Deſcription was publiſhed in 1622 at London, in a ſmall folio. The author made afterwards very large additions to it (which were formerly in the hands of Walter Chetwynd, of Ingeſtre near Stafford, Eſq;), as appears by the following original letter of his.

'Good Sir,

'UPON the firſt edition of my booke, I was 'challenged by your Ladye for that I had nothing 'to ſaye for Thedingworth; and nowe being almoſt 'ready for the ſecond, having gotten ſome Roman,

much during the civil wars, he died at his ſeat of Falde in Staffordſhire, on the ſixth of April 1645, aged 70; and was buried in the pariſh church of Handbury (g). By his wife,

(g) Athen. ubi ſupra.

' Saxon, and other antiquities of good note, as will ' almoſt make the worke as bigg againe, to prevent ' that cenſure, I have made bould to intreate your ' helpe for the illuſtration of that towne, as alſo what ' other notes it ſhall (*) you to beſtowe upon me, or ' what, in the wholl, you ſhall obſerve worthy to be ' corrected, of which I ſhall be readye to make per- ' formance. At my laſt being with you, you ſhewed ' me an old Knighton, which (as I remember) you ' ſaid you had double: my deſire is, that if the ſame ' be with you ſtill, that it would pleaſe you to lett ' me, upon reaſonable termes, to have the ſame, not ' doubting but that it will aford me ſomething worthy ' the obſervance; I ſawe not long ſynce a genealogy, ' wherein was a match of one of your lineall auncef- ' tors (a Cotton) that married the daughter of Sir ' Willin de Fovile; which, for that I never did ſee ' in any before, I would intreate your aſcerteinment ' of the truth thereof; and if it ſhall pleaſe you, that ' your genealogy ſhall be inſerted in my booke, it ' ſhall be performed accordingly. I have moved my ' brother-in-lawe, Mr. Grey, dwelling at the Black ' Boye upon London Bridge, neere Southwerke, to ' be the bearer hereof, that, by your appointment, ' he may attend whenſoever it ſhall pleaſe you to ſend ' anſwere; intreating at this tyme pardon for this ' overbouldneſſe of him that reſteth

(*) The word *pleaſe* is omitted in the original.

' Ready

Lindley, 9: June: 1627:

' at your ſervice,

' William Burton.'

[C] *And other works.*] He left behind him, I. Several Collections of Arms and Monuments, of Genealogies, and other matters of Antiquity, which he had gathered from Churches and Gentlemen's houſes. II. He left likewiſe, A Common-place-book of Engliſh Antiquities, in manuſcript fol. collected chiefly from Leland's *Itinerary:* but it being written, not with his own hand, but by an illiterate perſon, there are innumerable faults in it (2). III. There is in the Cottonian Library, ' The Foundation of ſeveral ' religious Houſes in England,' collected by our author (3). M.

(2) Wood, Ath. *ubi ſupra.*

(3) Cotton. Libr. Julius C. vi. 19.

*** [The reputation of Mr. Burton's Deſcription of Leiceſterſhire ariſes from its having been written early, and only preceded by Lambard's Kent, in 1576, Carew's Cornwall, in 1602, and Norden's Surveys. It is in compariſon with theſe alone, and not of Dugdale's more copious work, that the praiſes ſo freely beſtowed upon Burton are to be underſtood. Were his volume to be diveſted of its unneceſſary digreſſions, and the pedigrees to be reduced into a leſs compaſs, it would ſhrink into a ſmall book. The topographical errors, eſpecially in the Latin, are ſo numerous, and the ſtyle, according to the manner of the time, ſo looſe, that the meaning is often doubtful. The Deſcription is in alphabetical order, and conſiſts chiefly of pedigrees and moot caſes. A good abſtract of the work may be ſeen in Oldys's Britiſh Librarian; and it is obſervable, that not above ſeven or eight families of note, mentioned by Burton, are now in being (4). As the author, ſenſible of the defects of his book, greatly enriched it with the addition of Roman, Saxon, and other antiquities (5), it is to be wiſhed that his additions, which are now in the poſſeſſion of Lord Chetwynd, were given to the public (6). A new edition of the Deſcription of Leiceſterſhire, corrected by William Whittingham, was publiſhed, in folio, at Lynne, in 1777. In this edition the arms are thrown into two plates, and there is a new map, engraved by Pyle (7). Mr. Burton was one of Sir Robert Cotton's particular friends, and had the honour of inſtructing Sir William Dugdale. He was acquainted with Somner, and with Drayton the poet, who was his near countryman (8). Among his manuſcripts are large collections for the Hiſtory of Staffordſhire, in the hands of Thomas Aſtle, Eſq; (9). Mr. Peck had collected materials for the Life of Mr. Burton, and his younger brother Robert; but where theſe materials are, is not at preſent known.

(4) Britiſh Topography, Vol. i. p. 509.

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) *Ibid.* Introduction, p. viii.

(7) *Ibid.* p. 519.

(8) *Ibid.* p. 12. Wood's Athenæ, Vol. ii. Faſti, col. 8.

(9) Brit. Topography, Vol. ii. p. 230.

Account of ſome other Burtons.

Robert Burton was born at Lindley, on the eighth of February, 1576, and had his grammatical education at Sutton-Colfield, after which, in 1593, he was admitted a Commoner of Brazen-Noſe College, and a ſtudent of Chriſt-Church, in 1599, under the tuition (though only for form's ſake) of Dr. John Bancroft, afterwards Biſhop of Oxford. In 1616, the Dean and Chapter of Chriſt-Church preſented him to the vicarage of St. Thomas in Oxford, in which pariſh he always gave the ſacrament in wafers; and George Lord Berkeley beſtowed upon him the rectory of Segrave in Leiceſterſhire. Both theſe preferments he held till his deceaſe, which happened at Chriſt-Church, on the 27th of January, 1639. He was ſuch a curious calculator of nativities, that the time of his death anſwering exactly to his own predictions, it was whiſpered in the College, that (to uſe Anthony Wood's language), rather than there ſhould be any miſtake in the calculation, he ſent up his ſoul to heaven through a ſlip about his neck. He was a general ſcholar and ſevere ſtudent, of a melancholy yet humourous diſpoſition, and figured in the pedantic learning of the times. In his moral character, he was a man of great integrity, plain dealing, and charity. Mr. Robert Burton was the author of a very celebrated and popular work, intitled, ' The Ana- ' tomy of Melancholy,' publiſhed firſt in quarto, and which afterwards went through ſeveral editions in folio, ſo that the bookſeller acquired an eſtate by it. This book was compiled by our learned writer with a view of relieving his own melancholy; but it increaſed to ſuch a degree, that nothing could divert him but going to the bridge foot, and hearing the ribaldry of the bargemen, which ſeldom failed to throw him into a violent fit of laughter. In the intervals of his vapours, he was one of the moſt facetious companions in the Univerſity. The Anatomy of Melancholy is for the greater part a cento, though a very ingenious one. The quotations, which abound in every page, are pertinent; but if the author had made freer uſe of his invention, and leſs of his Common-place book, his work, perhaps, would have been more valuable. However, he generally avoids the affected language, and ridiculous metaphors, which were common in that age. On Mr. Burton's monument in Chriſt-Church is his buſt, with his nativity, with this deſcription by himſelf, put up by his brother: ' Paucis ' notus, paucioribus ignotus, hic jacet Democritus ' junior, cui vitam dedit et mortem melancholia. ' Obiit viii. Id. Jan. A. C. MDCXXXIX.' He left behind him a choice collection of books, many of which he bequeathed to the Bodleian Library. He left, alſo, a hundred pounds, for a fund to purchaſe five pounds worth of books, every year, for the library of Chriſt-Church (10).

(10) Brit. Topography, Vol. i. p. 513. Wood's Athenæ, Vol. i. col. 627, 628. Granger's Biog. Hiſt. Vol. i. p. 367, 368.

Beſides Mr. William Burton, the Leiceſterſhire Antiquary, there flouriſhed, nearly in the ſame period, another William Burton, who was diſtinguiſhed by his knowledge in Britiſh antiquities, as well as by his learning in general. His principal work was, ' A ' Commentary on Antoninus his Itinerary, or Jour- ' neys of the Roman Empire ſo far as it concerneth ' Britain,' illuſtrated with ' A Chorographical Map ' of the ſeveral Stations. Lond. 1658, folio.' Biſhop Kennet, ſpeaking of him, ſays, that this now neglected author was the beſt Topographer ſince Camden. Mr. Burton was born in London, educated in St. Paul's ſchool, and became a ſtudent in Queen's College, Oxford, in 1625. When at the Univerſity, he was patroniſed by the learned Mr. Allen, of Gloceſter Hall, who appointed him Greek Lecturer there. His indigence obliging him to leave the Univerſity (11), after he had taken the degree of Bachelor of the Civil Law, he was for ſome time Uſher to Mr. Thomas Farnaby, a famous Schoolmaſter in Kent. He was afterwards Maſter of the Free Grammar-ſchool at Kingſton upon Thames, in which ſtation he continued till within two years of his death, when he retired to London, where he died in 1657. A liſt of his works may be ſeen in Wood's Athenæ. Among others, we find that he wrote, in Latin, a Hiſtory of the ancient Perſic Language, which may probably be worth looking into, at a time when that language excites the public attention. Mr. Burton's funeral oration, on the death of Mr. Allen, was much applauded for its propriety and elegance. His great-grandfather

(11) In 1630.

expired

wife, Jane, daughter of Humphrey Adderly, of Weddington in Warwickſhire, he had a ſon named Caſſibilan, born 19th November 1609 (*b*), who tranſlated Martial's Epigrams into Engliſh verſe; and, like a true poet, conſumed moſt part of the eſtate left him by his father. He died February 28, 1681 (*i*). As for our author, he was one of the moſt laborious and underſtanding Antiquaries of his time: and, as one ſtiles him (*k*), was 'the diligence, and the great ornament of his country.' He gave to the Bodleian Library at Oxford, *Leland's Collections*, and his *Itinerary*, which had fallen into his hands (*l*).

(*b*) See The Deſcription of Leiceſterſhire, by our author, p. 179.
(*i*) Wood, Ath. as above.
(*k*) W. Burton, Comment. on Antoninus, edit. 1658, fol. p. 214.
(*l*) Wood, Ath. Vol. i. edit. 1721, col. 84.

expired with exceſs of joy, upon his being informed of the deceaſe of Queen Mary (12).

There flouriſhed, likewiſe, in the laſt century, Dr. Hezekiah Burton, a Divine of excellent character, and diſtinguiſhed abilities, who was educated in Magdalen College, Cambridge, of which he became a Fellow, and where he was an eminent tutor. He was ordained Prieſt by Biſhop Sanderſon; and, in 1667, was appointed Chaplain to Lord Keeper Bridgeman, by whom he was preſented to a Prebend of Norwich, and to the rectory of St. George's in Southwark. In 1668, he was engaged, with Dr. Stillingfleet and Dr. Tillotſon, in the treaty propoſed by Sir Orlando Bridgeman, and countenanced by Lord Chief Baron Hale, for a comprehenſion with the Diſſenters. About a year before his death, Dr. Burton, by the intereſt of his friend Tillotſon with the Chapter of St. Paul's, obtained the rectory of Barnes in Surry, at which place he died, of a malignant fever, in 1681. The only thing of his that appeared during his life, was the ſhort *Alloquium ad Lectorem*, prefixed to Dr. Cumberland's treatiſe, *De Legibus Naturæ*. After Dr. Burton's deceaſe, Dean Tillotſon publiſhed two volumes of his Diſcourſes, which reflect great credit on his memory, from the piety contained in them, and the juſt ſentiments they abound with on the nature and end of religion (13).

In the preſent century, Dr. John Burton, a phyſician and man-midwife at York, made very large and moſt valuable collections for the Hiſtory and Antiquities of Yorkſhire, and printed one volume upon the ſubject. An account of theſe collections, with ſome particulars concerning the collector himſelf, may be ſeen in the Britiſh Topography (14).] K.

(12) Wood's Athenæ, Vol. ii. col. 215, 216. Brit. Topography, Vol. i. p. 5. Granger's Biogr. Hiſt. Vol. iii. p. 318.
(13) Birch's Life of Tillotſon, p. 42. 116. Granger, *ubi ſupra*, Vol. iii. p. 273.
(14) Vol. ii. p. 407—416.

BURTON (HENRY) was born at Birdſall in Yorkſhire, in the year 1579 (*a*), and educated at St. John's College in Cambridge, where he took the degrees in Arts (*b*). In 1612, July the 14th, he was incorporated Maſter of Arts at Oxford (*c*). He took afterwards his degree of Bachelor of Divinity. The firſt employment he had, was that of tutor to the ſons of Robert Lord Carey of Lepington, created in 1625 Earl of Monmouth, whoſe Lady (*d*) was governeſs to Prince Charles, in his infancy (*e*). Through this Lord's intereſt, probably, he was made Clerk of the Cloſet to Prince Henry; and, after his death, to Prince Charles (*f*). In 1623, he was appointed to attend that Prince into Spain; but, for what reaſons is unknown, was ſet aſide, when part of his goods were ſhipped (*g*). Upon King Charles the Firſt's acceſſion to the crown, he expected no leſs than to be continued Clerk of the Cloſet to him; but his Majeſty giving that place to Dr. Neile, Biſhop of Durham, who had in that quality ſerved his father King James I. Mr. Burton was highly diſguſted at this and the forementioned affront, and expreſſed his reſentment upon all occaſions, particularly by railing againſt the Biſhops (*h*). On the twenty-third of April 1625, he preſented a letter to King Charles, wherein he remonſtrated to him, how popiſhly affected were Dr. Neile and Dr. Laud, his continual attendants (*i*); for which, and ſome other indiſcretions, he was forbidden the court (*k*). About the year 1625, he was preſented to the Rectory of St. Matthew's, in Friday-ſtreet, London (*l*). But what rendered him moſt conſiderable, and cauſed him to be much taken notice of, was his ſevere proſecution in the Star-Chamber (*m*). For having on the fifth of November 1636, preached, in his own church of St. Matthew's, two ſermons, publiſhed afterwards under the title of *For God and the King* [*A*], he was, in December following, ſummoned to appear before Dr. Duck, one of the Commiſſioners for cauſes eccleſiaſtical, who tendered to him the oath *ex officio*, to anſwer to certain articles preſented to him. But Burton refuſed to take that oath; and, inſtead of anſwering, appealed to the King. However, notwithſtanding his appeal, a Special High-Commiſſion Court being called ſoon after at Doctor's-Commons, he was ſuſpended by them, in his abſence, both from his office and benefice. Upon that, he thought fit to conceal himſelf in his own houſe; and in that time publiſhed his two ſermons, with an Apology to juſtify his appeal. But on the firſt of February, a Serjeant at Arms, with ſeveral Purſuivants and other armed officers, by virtue of a warrant from the Star-Chamber, broke open his doors, ſearched his ſtudy, and carried him to priſon; whence the next day (February the ſecond) he was, by an order from the Privy-Council, conveyed to the Fleet, and there kept ſeveral weeks cloſe priſoner. During his confine-

(*a*) He was 67 years of age in 1646, and conſequently muſt have been born in 1579. See A. Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. Faſti, col. 192.
(*b*) Wood, *ibid.*
(*c*) *Ibid.* He was incorporated there again M. A. July 14, 1617, *ibid.* col. 207.
(*d*) Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Hugh Trevanion, of Corriegheigh, in Cornwall, Knt. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. ii. p. 398.
(*e*) Wood, *ibid.* and T. Fuller's Church Hiſtory, book xi. p. 152.
(*f*) Wood, *ubi ſupra*.
(*g*) Fuller, *ibid.*
(*h*) Lord Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, 6 Vols. 8*vo*. Lond. 1733, Vol. i. p. 200.
(*i*) Wood, *ubi ſupra*.
(*k*) Clarendon, *ubi ſupra*.
(*l*) Wood, *ubi ſupra*. Newcourt could not find when he was inſtituted.
(*m*) See Ruſhworth's Hiſtor. Collect. Vol. i. Part iii. edit. 1692. p. 78. and A new Diſcovery of the Prelates Tyranny, &c. Lond. 1641, 4*to*, by W. Prynne.

[*A*] *Two ſermons, publiſhed afterwards*, &c.] The text they were preached upon, was, *Proverbs* xxiv. 21, 22. In theſe two ſermons, and his *Apology* mentioned afterwards, he charged the Biſhops (†) with 'dangerous plots to change the orthodox Religion 'eſtabliſhed in England; and to bring in Romiſh 'ſuperſtition in the roome of it:' And blamed them for introducing ſeveral innovations into divine worſhip. The chief he mentioned, were (1)—'That in 'the Epiſtle the Sunday before Eaſter, they have put 'out *In*, and made it, *At the name of Jeſus*, which 'alteration is directly againſt the Act of Parliament: '—That two places are changed into the praiers ſet 'forth for the 5th of November; namely, *Root out 'that Babyloniſh and Antichriſtian Sect, which ſay*, '&c is thus altered, Root out that Babyloniſh and 'Antichriſtian Sect *of them* which ſay; next, *Cut off 'thoſe workers of iniquity whoſe religion is rebellion*, '&c. was, in the book printed in 1635, thus altered, 'Cut off thoſe workers of iniquity, *who turne religion 'into rebellion*:—That the Prayer for the Navy is left 'out of the late booke for the faſt:—That the placing 'the communion-table altar-wiſe, at the upper-end 'of the chancel, is done to advance and uſher in 'Popery:—That the ſecond ſervice, as dainties, is 'ſaid there:—That bowing towards the altar, is wor-'ſhipping the table, or God knows what.'

(†) Page 5.
(1) Apologie, &c. p. 2, 3, 4, 105.

ment in this place, he wrote *An Epiſtle to his Majeſty*; another *to the Judges*; and *a Letter to the true-hearted Nobility* (*n*); for which, as well as for his two ſermons above mentioned, he was proceeded againſt in the Star-Chamber, on March the eleventh, as a ſeditious libeller. In the mean time, Mr. Prynne, who was proſecuted with him, fearing that they ſhould not be permitted to make a full anſwer to their information, draws up a croſſe-bill againſt the Archbiſhop and others; in which he charged them 'with uſurping upon his Majeſtie's prerogative-royal, with innovations in religion, licenſing of Popiſh and Arminian books, &c.' Having ſigned it, they tendered it to the Lord Keeper, who refuſed to admit it; and accordingly it was ſuppreſſed (†). But it is to be obſerved, that the Court had a great deſire of making their crime amount, if poſſible, to high-treaſon; for, June 6, 1637, all the Judges and the King's Counſel met at Serjeant's-Inn (*o*), about ſeditious books written and diſperſed by Mr. Burton and Dr. Baſtwick: but nothing being found in Burton's books, on which to ground an indictment for treaſon, he was proceeded againſt, as obſerved above, in the Star-Chamber. The ſcope of the information againſt him was (*p*), for writing and publiſhing ſeditious, ſchiſmatical, and libellous books, againſt the Hierarchy of the Church, and to the ſcandal of the Government. To this information, he (and Baſtwick and Prynne, who were indicted with him) prepared anſwers; but their counſel refuſed to ſign them, for fear of offending the Court of Star-Chamber. Upon this, the defendants petitioned the Court, that, according to ancient precedents, they might ſign their anſwers with their own hands; declaring they would abide by the cenſure of the Court, if they did not make good what was contained therein. But this was refuſed by the Court, unleſs they brought their anſwers ſigned by counſel. Mr. Burton's anſwer was at length ſigned by Mr. Holt, a Bencher of Gray's-Inn, who afterwards withdrew his hand, becauſe the other counſel, out of fear, would not ſubſcribe it. However, Mr. Burton tendered it to the Court, deſiring it might be accepted, or Mr. Holt ordered to new ſign it. Upon this, the Court ordered that it might be received under the hand of Mr. Holt alone; which was accordingly done. After it had lain in Court near three weeks, upon the Attorney-General's ſuggeſtion to the Court, on the nineteenth of May, that it was ſcandalous, it was referred to the two Chief Juſtices, Sir John Bramſton and Sir John Finch, to conſider of, and to expunge what was contained therein as unfit to be brought into Court, or otherwiſe impertinent and ſcandalous (†). They expunged ſixty-four whole ſheets, that is the whole anſwer, except ſix lines at the beginning, and about twenty-four at the latter end. Soon after, a perſon came to the Fleet to examine Mr. Burton upon interrogatories grounded on his anſwer; but hearing how much had been expunged out of it, he refuſed to be examined, unleſs his anſwer might be admitted as it was put in, or he permitted to put in a new anſwer. This not being allowed of, it was ordered by the Court, on the ſecond of June, that if he would not anſwer to interrogatories framed upon his anſwer, he ſhould be proceeded againſt *pro confeſſo*; his obſtinacy being looked upon as a ſelf-conviction. On the day of the ſentence, which was June 14, 1637, Burton and the two other defendants ſtanding at the bar, the Court cauſed the information to be read; and no legal anſwer being put in in time, nor filed on record, the Court began for this *contempt* to proceed to ſentence. But the defendants, before the Court ſpake, cried out for juſtice——that their anſwers might be read, and that they might not be condemned unheard. Nevertheleſs, becauſe their anſwers were not filed on record, the Court proceeded to give this ſentence (*q*); namely, to fine Burton and the others five thouſand pounds a-piece, and to order, that he in particular ſhould be deprived of his eccleſiaſtical benefice, degraded from his miniſterial function, and degrees in the Univerſity; ſhould be ſet on the pillory, and both his ears cut off there; confined to perpetual cloſe impriſonment in Lancaſhire-caſtle; debarred the acceſs of his wife, or any other, excepting his keeper, and denied the uſe of pen, ink, and paper. All this (excepting the fine) was executed accordingly; for, June the twenty-ſeventh, he was degraded by Sir John Lamb, in St. Paul's; and the thirtieth of the ſame month was ſet in the pillory (*r*) in the Palace-yard, Weſtminſter [*B*], where his

(*n*) Ruſhworth, *ibid.* It was printed Lond. 1636, 4*to*. See alſo New Diſcovery, &c. as above, p. 14, 15, 16. 29.

(*o*) 13 Carol. I. See Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collect. Vol. i. Part ii. p. 324.

(†) New Diſcovery, &c. p. 19, 20.

(*p*) Ruſhworth's Collect. Vol. i. Part ii. p. 380. See the article BASTWICK (JOHN).

(†) New Diſcovery, &c. as above, p. 25, 28. 41.

(*q*) Ruſhworth *ubi ſupra*; and Part iii. Vol. i. p. 79. and Prynne's New Diſcovery, &c. p. 43. And The Cenſure, *ibid.* p. 25, &c.

(*r*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſtory, Book xi. p. 153.

[*B*] *He was ſet in the pillory in the Palace-yard, Weſtminſter.*] Here he made a long ſpeech, not entire and continued, but interrupted with occaſional expreſſions. The main deſign of it was, to parallel his ſufferings with our Saviour's: For, at the firſt ſight of the pillory, 'Methinks, ſaid he, I ſee Mount 'Calvary, where the three croſſes were pitched.' [For there were three pillories, one for himſelf, and a double one for Baſtwick and Prynne.] 'If Chriſt 'was numbered among thieves, ſhall a Chriſtian think 'much, for his ſake, to be numbered amongſt rogues '(†), ſuch as we are condemned to be? Surely if I 'be a rogue, I am Chriſt's rogue, and no man's.'—Shortly after he ſaid to his wife, 'See thou be not 'ſad, for I would not have thee to diſhonour the day, 'or to darken the glory of it, by ſhedding one tear, 'or fetching one ſigh; for behold there, for thy com-'fort, my triumphant chariot, on the which I muſt 'ride for the honour of my Lord and Maſter: And 'never was my wedding-day ſo well-come, and ſo 'joyful a day as this day is.'—When he was put in the pillory, he ſaid,—'Good people, I am brought 'hither to be a ſpectacle to the world, to angels, and 'to men; and howſoever I ſtand here to undergo the 'puniſhment of a rogue, yet except to be a faithful 'ſervant to Chriſt, and a loyal ſubject to the King, 'be the property of a rogue, I am no rogue; but 'yet, if to be Chriſt's faithful ſervant, and the 'King's loyal ſubject, deſerve the puniſhment of a 'rogue, I glory in it, and, I bleſs God, my conſci-'ence is clear'——Some aſking him, 'If the pil-'lory were not uneaſy for his neck and ſhoulders?' He anſwered, 'How can Chriſt's yoke be uneaſy? 'This is Chriſt's yoke, and he bears the heavier end 'of it, and I the lighter; and if mine were too 'too heavy, he would bear that too.'—One of the guards

(†) This was no great compliment to his fellow ſufferers Prynne and Baſtwick.

his ears were cut off in a barbarous manner: for they were pared ſo cloſe, that the temporal artery was cut, which made the blood ſtream in great abundance upon the ſcaffold, and yet he never ſhrunk at the pain (*s*). After that, he was ſent to Lancaſter-Caſtle, in Auguſt, and impriſoned there in the common gaol (*t*); but great crowds, who pitied his misfortunes, reſorting to him there; and he finding means to have ſome of his papers diſperſed in London (*u*), he was, after twelve weeks confinement in that place, removed by an order of Council to Cornet-Caſtle, in the iſle of Guernſey, in October 1637, where he remained a cloſe priſoner almoſt three years. But on November 7, 1640, his wife, Sarah Burton, preſented a petition to the Houſe of Commons (*w*), complaining of the ſevere ſentence of the Court of Star-Chamber, inflicted upon her huſband in the pillory; and that, by a particular order, ſhe was not to be permitted to come and viſit him. Upon this the Houſe ordered, on the tenth (*x*), that her huſband ſhould be forthwith ſent for to the Parliament, in ſafe cuſtody, by warrant of the Houſe, directed to the Governor of the iſle where he was priſoner, and to the Captain of the caſtle there; and that the cauſe of his detainer might be certified alſo to the Houſe (*y*). Accordingly a warrant was ſigned by the Speaker to the Governor and Captain of the Caſtle of Guernſey, which was ſent with all poſſible expedition (*z*). Mr. Burton and Mr. Prynne (who was now releaſed from his confinement in Montorgueil-Caſtle, in Jerſey) landed at the ſame time at Dartmouth, on the twenty-ſecond of November, where they were received and entertained with extraordinary demonſtrations of affection and eſteem, attended by a marvellous conflux of company, and their charges not only borne with great magnificence, but liberal preſents given to them: And this method and ceremony kept them company all their journey, great numbers of people meeting them at their entrance into all towns, and waiting upon them out, with wonderful acclamations of joy. When they came near London, multitudes of people of ſeveral conditions, ſome on horſeback, others on foot, met them ſome miles from the town; very many having been a day's journey; and they were brought, about two of the clock in the afternoon, in at Charing-Croſs, and carried into the city by above ten thouſand perſons, with boughs and flowers in their hands (*a*); the common people ſtrewing flowers and herbs in the ways as they paſſed, making great noiſe, and expreſſions of joy for their deliverance and return; and in thoſe acclamations, mingling loud and virulent exclamations againſt the Biſhops (*b*). On the fifth of December, Mr. Burton preſented a petition to the Houſe of Commons, wherein he ſet forth his ſufferings (*c*); in conſequence of which, the Houſe reſolved, on the twelfth of March following (*d*), that the ſuſpending of him, the breaking open his houſe, and arreſting him without any cauſe ſhown, and his impriſonment thereupon; and the ſearching and ſeizing of his books and papers, was againſt law, and the liberty of the ſubject; and that he ought to have reparation and recompence for the damages ſuſtained by thoſe proceedings [*C*]. The twenty-fourth of the ſame month, they farther reſolved (*e*), that the ſentence againſt him was illegal, and ought to be reverſed; that he be freed from the fine of five thouſand pounds, and from impriſonment, and reſtored to his degrees in the Univerſity, orders in the Miniſtry, and to his eccleſiaſtical benefice in Friday-ſtreet, London; and alſo have recompence for his impriſonment, and for the loſs of his ears: which, on the twentieth of April, they voted ſhould be ſix thouſand pounds (*f*). But the enſuing confuſions in the kingdom prevented his receiving that ſum (*g*). However, in October 1642, he was reſtored to his living of St. Matthew's; Mr. Cheſtlin, the then incumbent, having quitted it (*h*). Burton, after this, declared himſelf an Independent, and complied with all the alterations that enſued. But we are told by A. Wood (*i*), that when he ſaw what ſtrange courſes the Parliament took, he grew more moderate. He was buried January 7, 1647-8 (*k*); and therefore A. Wood is miſtaken, when he ſays (*l*) that he lived till after the beheading of his old maſter, King Charles I. Beſides the books above mentioned, for which he was ſo ſeverely puniſhed, he wrote many other things; of which there is an account in the note [*D*].

(*s*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. Book xi. p. 154. Prynne's New Diſcovery, &c. p. 57.

(*u*) Lord Clarendon, Vol. i. 8*vo*, edit. Oxford, 1733, p. 200.

(*w*) Rushworth's Hiſtor. Collect. Part iii. Vol. i. p. 20.

(*y*) Rushworth, *ibid.*

(*t*) Rushworth's Hiſtor. Collect. Part iii. Vol. i. p. 79.

(*x*) Diurnal Occurrences of Parliament, Lond. 1641, 4*to*, p. 2.

(*z*) Lord Clarendon, Vol. i. p. 201.

(*a*) There could be but very few flowers in the latter end of November, when this happened.

(*b*) Lord Clarendon, *ubi ſupra*, p. 201, 202. Fuller's Church Hiſt. Book xi. p. 172. Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. ii. edit. 1733, 8*vo*, p. 385; and Prynne, p. 113.

(*c*) Rushworth, *ubi ſupra*, p. 78.

(*d*) *Ib.* p. 207; and Prynne, *ubi ſupra*, p. 139.

(*e*) Rushworth, *ibid.* p. 213.

(*g*) Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. ii. Lond. 1733, 8*vo*, p. 385.

(*f*) Diurnal Occurrences, or Daily Proceedings of both Houſes, &c. Lond. 1641, 4*to*, p. 83.

(*h*) Mercurius Ruſticus, 1646, 12*mo*, p. 146, &c.

(*i*) Faſti, Vol. i. col. 192.

(*l*) *Ibid.*

(*k*) R. Smith's Obituary, in Peck's *Deſiderata Curioſa*, Vol. ii. Book xiv. p. 22.

guards having an old ruſty halberd, the iron whereof was tacked to the ſtaff with an old crooked nail, one ſaid, 'What an old ruſty halberd is that!' To which Burton replied, 'This ſeems to me to be one of thoſe 'halberds which accompanied Judas when he went 'to betray and apprehend his maſter.'——A friend aſking him, 'if he would have been without this 'particular ſuffering,' he ſaid, 'No, not for a 'world (2).'

(2) Prynne's New Diſcovery and Cenſure, &c. p. 46—56.

[*C*] *And that he ought to have reparation and recompence for the damages ſuſtained by thoſe proceedings.*] It was at the ſame time reſolved upon the queſtion, 'That the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Biſhop of 'London, the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, the Earl 'of Pembroke and Montgomery, Sir Henry Vane, 'and Sir John Cooke, and Sir Francis Windebanke' (who had ſigned the warrant at the council-board for his cloſe impriſonment) 'ſhould make reparation to 'Mr. Burton for his damages ſuſteyned by his im-'priſonment (3).'

(3) Prynne, *ubi ſupra*, p. 140.

[*D*] *He wrote many other things.*] They are as follows: 'I. A Cenſure of Simony. Lond. 1624. II. 'A Plea to an Appeal, traverſed Dialogue-wiſe. 'Lond. 1626. III. The baiting of the Pope's Bull. 'Lond. 1627. IV. A Tryal of private Devotions, 'or a Dyal for the Hours of Prayer. Lond. 1628. 'V. Iſrael's Faſt; or, Meditations on the 7th Chap-'ter of Joſhua. Lond. 1628. VI. Seven Vials, or 'an Expoſition on the 15th and 16th Chapters of the 'Revelations. Lond. 1628. VII. Babel no Bethel; 'i. e. The Church of Rome no true viſible Church 'of Chriſt, being an Anſwer to Hugh Cholmeley's 'Challenge, and Robert Butterfield's Maſchil. VIII. 'Truth's Triumph over Trent, or the great Gulph 'between Sion and Babylon; i. e. The irrecon-'cileable Oppoſition between the Apoſtolick Church 'of Chriſt and the apoſtate Synagogue of Antichriſt, 'in the main and fundamental Doctrine of Juſtifica-'tion. Lond. 1629. IX. The Law and the Goſpel 'reconciled againſt the Antinomians. Lond. 1631, '4to.

'4to. X. Chriſtian's Bulwark, or the Doctrine of 'Juſtification. Lond. 1632, 4to. XI. Exceptions 'againſt a Paſſage in Dr. Jackſon's Treatiſe of the 'Divine Eſſence and Attributes. XII. The ſound-'ing of the two laſt Trumpets; or, Meditations on 'the 9th, 10th, and 11th Chapters of the Revela-'tions. Lond. 1641, 4to. XIII. The Proteſtation 'proteſted, or a ſhort Remonſtrance, ſhewing what 'is principally required of all thoſe that have or do 'take the laſt Parliamentary Proteſtation. Lond. '1641, 4to. XIV. Relation of Mr. Chillingworth. 'XV. A Narration of his own Life. Lond. 1643, '4to. XVI. A Vindication of Independent Churches, 'in anſwer to Mr. Prynne's two Books of Church-'Government, and of Independency. Lond. 1644, '4to. XVII. Parliament's Power for Laws in Reli-'gion. 1645, 4to. XVIII. *Vindiciæ Veritatis:* 'Truth vindicated againſt Calumny: In a brief An-'ſwer to Dr. Baſtwick's two late Books, entitled, '*Independency not God's Ordinance*. Lond. 1645, 4to. 'XIX. Truth ſhut out of Doors; or, A brief Nar-'rative of the Occaſion and Manner of Proceeding 'of Aldermanbury Pariſh, in ſhutting their Church-'Door againſt him. Lond. 1645, 4to. XX. Con-'formity's Deformity, in a Dialogue between Con-'formity and Conſcience. Lond. 1646, 4to (4).'

(4) This account is taken from the Catalogue in Bodley's Library, and from Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. i. col. 635; and Faſti, col. 194.

*** [BURTON (JOHN), a learned Divine of the preſent century, was born, in 1696, at Wembworth, in Devonſhire, of which pariſh his father was Rector. The firſt part of his grammatical education he received at Okehampton in the ſame county, and the remainder in the ſchool of the city of Ely. The occaſion of his being removed to ſo great a diſtance from the place of his nativity, aroſe from the death of his father, by which event he was put under the guardianſhip of the Rev. Mr. Samuel Bentham of Ely, who was his firſt couſin by his mother's ſide. Such were the proofs which young Burton afforded at ſchool of his capacity, diligence, and worthy diſpoſitions, that the learned Dr. Aſhton, Prebendary of Ely, and Maſter of Jeſus College, Cambridge, deſigned to have him admitted into his own college. But, in the mean time, Dr. Turner (*a*), Preſident of Corpus Chriſti College, Oxford, and likewiſe Prebendary of Ely, having made an accidental trial of Mr. Burton's literary improvements, he procured him a ſcholarſhip in that college in 1713, when he was ſeventeen years of age (*b*). Here he made ſo diſtinguiſhed a progreſs, that Dr. Mather, the Preſident, appointed him to the important office of tutor, when he was only Bachelor of Arts. Soon after, the college conferred upon him the honour of reading the Greek lecture. During the whole courſe of his ſtudies, his behaviour was at once ſo cheerful and ſo regular, that he equally recommended himſelf to the affection of his equals, and the eſteem of his ſuperiors. Dr. Potter, in particular, at that time Regius Profeſſor of Divinity, and Biſhop of Oxford, conceived a great regard for him, on account of the ingenuity and learning which he diſplayed in theological diſputations (*c*). On the 24th of March, 1720, Mr. Burton was admitted to the degree of Maſter of Arts (*d*). In the exerciſe of his duty as a tutor, no one could exceed him in attention, diligence, and a zealous concern for the improvement of his pupils. As he was himſelf unacquainted with mathematics, and ignorant of the Hebrew tongue, he took effectual care that the young men under his tuition ſhould be well inſtructed in theſe points. With regard to thoſe of his pupils who were upon charitable foundations, he was ſolicitous that the acquiſition of knowledge ſhould be rendered as cheap to them as poſſible. He was even anxious that it might be no expence to them at all: and, indeed, ſo diſintereſted and beneficent was the whole of his conduct, that, after having diſcharged the office of a tutor almoſt fifteen years, he was ſcarcely poſſeſſed of fifty pounds when he quitted the univerſity (*e*). In explaining to his pupils the principles of logic and metaphyſics, he began with Sanderſon and Le Clerc, and from them proceeded to Locke. In ethics, he firſt read Ariſtotle, with the addition of Cicero upon the ſame topics; and then made uſe of Puffendorf's Abridgment, and Sanderſon's Lectures. With regard to natural philoſophy, after beginning with a ſhort ſketch, on the plan of Bartholine (purged, however, from the errors of Deſcartes), he recommended to his young gentlemen to go through a courſe of experiments under Whiteſide (*f*) and Bradley; and for ſuch ſtudents as were poor, he obtained the liberty of attending the experiments *gratis*. In the mean while, Mr. Burton did not ſuffer the learned languages to be neglected, but lectured his pupils twice a-week in Xenophon and Demoſthenes, hearing them conſtrue word for word, and forming them to a critical taſte by his own obſervations. He did the ſame with reſpect to the Latin tongue, but leſs frequently; becauſe, in Corpus Chriſti college, as well as in other colleges, the juniors are examined twice a-week in ſome Roman author. In reviſing, correcting, and improving the exerciſes of the ſtudents, Mr. Burton diſplayed ſurpriſing patience, and indefatigable diligence; and there are ſtill extant his Themes, Declamations, Orations, and Poems of every kind, which he compoſed for the uſe of his own pupils, and even of others (*g*). His attention, however, was not ſolely confined to the buſineſs of tuition. He was anxious for reſtoring the credit of the Univerſity preſs, and for enabling poor editors to carry on their literary undertakings. With this view, he often prevailed upon Dr. Mather, Dr. Holmes, and other Vice-Chancellors, to order new and neat ſets of types; and, by the aſſiſtance of ſome noble friends, he was ſo ſtrenuous in behalf of the learned Hutchinſon, the editor of Xenophon, that no editors, ſince that time, have had any delay or difficulty in obtaining the exemption from the duty on paper, which has been granted by parliament to books printed at the Clarendon preſs. It was, alſo, by Mr. Burton's perſuaſion, that Mr. (afterwards Lord) Rolle gave an hundred pounds to the univerſity, for the purpoſe of lending it to editors; and that Dr. Hodges, Provoſt

(*a*) An account, both of Dr. Aſhton and Dr. Turner, may be ſeen in Bentham's Hiſtory and Antiquities of the Church of Ely, p. 252. 262, 263.

(*b*) De Vitâ et Moribus Johannis Burton, p. 4, 5. Gent. Mag. Vol. xli. p. 305.

(*c*) De Vitâ, &c. p. 7.

(*d*) Catalogue of Oxford Graduates, p. 57.

(*e*) De Vitâ, &c. p. 8, 9.

(*f*) Mr. John Whiteſide, of Chriſt-Church, public Lecturer in Experimental Philoſophy, died in 1729, and was ſucceeded by the celebrated Dr. James Bradley, Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy.

(*g*) De Vitâ, &c. p. 9—12. Gent. Mag. ubi *ſupra*, p. 306.

of Oriel College, bequeathed two hundred pounds to the ſame uſe (*b*). In 1725, when our learned tutor was Pro-proctor and Maſter of the Schools, he ſpoke, before the determining Bachelors, a Latin oration, intitled *Heli*, which was both written and publiſhed with the deſign of enforcing the ſalutary exerciſe of academical diſcipline. The ſame ſubject was ſtill more fully conſidered by him in four Latin ſermons, preached before the univerſity, which, likewiſe, with Appendixes, were afterwards given to the public. Indeed, the labour that Mr. Burton, during two years, cheerfully went through, as Maſter of the Schools, was immenſe. Among other improvements, he had the honour of introducing into the ſchools, Locke, and ſome other eminent modern philoſophers, as not unworthy companions of Ariſtotle; and he printed, for the uſe of the younger ſtudents, a double ſeries of philoſophical queſtions, with references to the writers proper to be read or conſulted under each topic. This ſcheme was ſo much approved of by the learned Thomas Johnſon, M. A. of Magdalen College, Cambridge, that, with the conſent of the Author, he formed upon it a larger plan of the ſame kind, which has gone through ſeveral editions (*i*). On the 19th of July, 1729, Mr. Burton was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Divinity (*k*); and in 1732, when the ſettlement of the colony of Georgia was in agitation, he was ſolicited, by the excellent Dr. Bray, and other eminent clergymen (*l*), to give his aſſiſtance in promoting that undertaking. Accordingly, he preached a ſermon in its recommendation, before the ſociety for conducting it; and his diſcourſe was afterwards publiſhed, with an Appendix concerning the ſtate of the colony. He was, likewiſe, through his whole life, an ardent promoter of Dr. Bray's admirable ſcheme of parochial libraries.

(*b*) De Vitâ, &c. p. 9—12. Gent. Mag. *ubi ſupra*, p. 306.

(*i*) *Ibid. ibid.*

(*k*) Catalogue of Oxford Graduates, *ubi ſupra*.

(*l*) Dr. Hales, Dr. Berryman, &c.

Among other youths who were committed to the tuition of Mr. Burton, there were ſeveral from Eton ſchool, who excelled in genius and learning. This circumſtance introduced him to an epiſtolary correſpondence, and a ſocial intercourſe, with the maſters of the ſchool, and the provoſt and fellows of the college; the conſequence of which was, that they formed ſo good an opinion of his diſpoſition and character, as to elect him, in 1733, into a fellowſhip of their ſociety. About the ſame time, upon the death of Dr. Edward Littleton, he was preſented to the vicarage of Maple-derham in Oxfordſhire; which may be conſidered as a grand æra in Mr. Burton's life. Upon going to take poſſeſſion of his new preferment, he found the widow of his predeceſſor, and three infant daughters, without a home, and without a fortune. A ſight ſo affecting inſpired him with compaſſion; compaſſion was followed by love, and love by marriage. Indeed, the lady had every qualification, excepting money, to recommend her; for ſhe was graceful in her perſon, elegant in her manners, cultivated in her underſtanding, amiable in her diſpoſition, and excellent in her character (*m*). The cold maxims of the world would, no doubt, condemn Mr. Burton's choice as imprudent; but, for our part, we eſteem him for his diſintereſtedneſs, and his ſuſceptibility of the finer feelings. It is to his honour that he was open to the impreſſions of beauty and virtue in diſtreſs, and that he could bind them to his heart by the cloſeſt and tendereſt ties. Mr. Burton ſhewed the ſame contempt for money, and perhaps carried it to an exceſs, after he was ſettled in his living. His ſituation being remarkably pleaſant, nothing gave him a greater delight than repairing, enlarging, and adorning his houſe, embelliſhing his gardens, planting trees, clearing fields, making roads, and introducing ſuch other improvements as he believed would be of advantage to his ſucceſſors [*A*]. Works of a ſimilar kind were undertaken by him, when, in 1766, he was inſtituted to the rectory of Worpleſdon in Surry. By theſe means his expences ſometimes ſo far exceeded his income, that we are obliged to charge him with imprudence, whilſt we admire his benevolence and generoſity (*n*). In 1748, the death of his wife affected him in the tendereſt manner, as is evident from ſeveral parts of his *Opuſcula Metrico-Proſaica* (*o*). This event did not leſſen his regard for her three orphan daughters, towards whom he continued to exert the greateſt affection, care, and liberality. From henceforward he ſpent the principal part of the year at Eton College; where he gave himſelf entirely up to the ſtudy of literature, and the aſſiſtance of his friends. Indeed, Eton was preciſely the ſituation which ſuch a man as Mr. Burton could wiſh to enjoy. There he had the converſation of the learned, the uſe of a large and well-choſen library, a table plentifully, though temperately, furniſhed, and the morning and evening celebration of divine worſhip; and theſe were bleſſings which, in his eſtimation, called for his warmeſt gratitude to the Supreme Being. Whenever there were any public meetings on literary or eccleſiaſtical affairs, whether at Oxford, London, or Cambridge, he had as much ſatisfaction in being preſent at them, as others have in hunting, racing, or gaming; and he was diſpleaſed when thoſe of the clergy who might have been expected to have attended ſuch meetings, permitted themſelves to

(*m*) De Vitâ, &c. p. 17—19. Gent. Mag. *ubi ſupra*, p. 307.

(*n*) *Ibid. ibid.*

(*o*) P. 118. 130. 147.

[*A*] *As he believed would be of advantage to his ſucceſſors.*] The cauſeway through the marſh at Woodbridge, in the road from the north part of Surry to Guildford, which was begun by his advice and aſſiſtance, and finiſhed by his contribution and that of his friends, will be a laſting memorial of his judgment and induſtry on ſuch occaſions. Part of his leiſure hours at Maple-derham was employed in collecting hints for removing obſtructions in the navigation of the river Thames. Theſe hints he formed into a pamphlet, intitled, 'The preſent State of the 'Navigation of the River Thames conſidered, and 'certain Regulations propoſed.' 4to, 1765. A ſecond edition, with an Appendix, was publiſhed in 1767 (1).

(1) De Vitâ et Moribus Johannis Burtoni, p. 20. Gent. Mag. Vol. xli. p. 307.

be

be prevented from doing it by trifling conſiderations. On the firſt of July, 1752, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity, and afterwards publiſhed his lectures on that occaſion. He was intimately connected with many of the biſhops; and perhaps he was the more acceptable to them, as he never aſked any thing for himſelf. A Hayter, a Lowth, and a Secker, were in the number of his friends. To the laſt great prelate he was always a moſt welcome gueſt; and he had peculiar ſatisfaction in viſiting the Archbiſhop. When he was firſt invited by his Grace to Lambeth, he anſwered, that he ſhould with pleaſure quit the Bear and Ragged Staff (his uſual inn) for the Mitre. Whilſt Dr. Burton was thus careſſed by the governors of the church, he was equally dear to the loweſt of the clergy; who were aſſiſted by his advice and intereſt, and hoſpitably received by him at his table. He did not even diſdain the company of the common people; and nothing was more agreeable to him, than to ſee all around him eaſy, cheerful, and happy. To ſuch of the young ſcholars at Eton as appeared to be of promiſing abilities and diſpoſitions, he ſhewed a particular attention, made them the companions of his hours of leiſure, and afforded them every encouragement which lay in his power. On Dr. Burton's character as a ſcholar it is needleſs to enlarge, as that is beſt diſplayed in his writings. His theological abilities are apparent in his Engliſh and Latin Sermons; his critical ſkill in his Diſſertations, and the prefaces prefixed to his *Opuſcula*, as well as in the *Opuſcula* themſelves; and his talents as an editor in the *Pentalogia*. When he preached before the Univerſity, no one was heard with greater attention, or had a more numerous and reſpectable auditory. Amongſt his other employments, he was fond of amuſing himſelf with the exerciſe of poetry; but always in a manner that was chaſte, innocent, and inoffenſive. In all his journies and excurſions, he was accompanied by the Muſes; nor did they forſake him in the ſeaſons of diſtreſs, or in the hours of pain and ſickneſs (*p*). How far he excelled as a poet, may be judged of from his works; which, perhaps, may lead ſome perſons to imagine, that he rather wrote from a warm affection to poetry, and from an extraordinary knowledge and admiration of the claſſics, than from any great vigour of genius and imagination.

(*p*) De Vitâ, &c. p. 20—29. Gent. Mag. *ubi ſupra*, p. 307, 308.

When Dr. Burton came to an advanced age, and his eyes began to fail him, he thought proper to collect together and publiſh his ſcattered pieces, under the title of *Opuſcula Miſcellanea*. Scarcely had he finiſhed this taſk, when he was ſuddenly attacked by an eryſipelous fever, which diſturbed his intellects, and ſhattered his decaying frame. He ſeemed, however, at intervals, to recover, and to be deſirous of reſuming his ſtudies. The day before his death, the lamp of life appeared to be rekindled. In the evening, it being Sunday, he ſent, as had been his cuſtom, for five or ſix promiſing youths, and, after ſupper, diſcourſed to them, with more than uſual perſpicuity and elegance, on ſome important ſubject of divinity. From hence his phyſician and friends conceived hopes, though miſtaken ones, of his recovery; for, after a moſt ſerene ſleep, he quietly departed this life the next morning, being the 11th of February, 1771, in the 76th year of his age, and was buried at the entrance of the inner chapel at Eton (*q*).

(*q*) De Vitâ, &c. p. 31—3[illegible] Gent. Mag. *ſupra*.

Dr. Burton's character is apparent from what has already been ſaid. As he was not entirely without enemies, we believe that he hath ſometimes been charged with pedantry; nor have ſtrictures been wanting on the Burtonian ſtyle. It is, likewiſe, highly probable, that there are perſons who do not agree with him in every theological ſentiment which may have been advanced in his writings. But be theſe things as they may, prejudice itſelf cannot deny that he was an able divine, a ſound ſcholar, and an excellent academic; and that he ſet an uſeful example to univerſity-men, whether as fellows, tutors, officers, or editors. In ſhort, his abilities, virtues, and learning, were ſuch as juſtly entitle him to have his name tranſmitted with honour to poſterity.

An account of his works will be given below [*B*]. K.]

[*B*] *An account of his works will be given below.*] Many of Dr. Burton's ſermons, and all his theological diſſertations, were ſeparately publiſhed; but, becauſe they are collected together in the two volumes of his diſcourſes, and in his *Opuſcula*, we ſhall take them as they occur in theſe publications. 'Occaſional Sermons preached before the Univerſity 'of Oxford, on public Days appointed for Faſts and 'Thankſgivings. By John Burton, D. D. Vice-'Provoſt of Eton College. 8*vo*, 1764. At the Cla-'rendon Preſs.' This volume contains, beſides a general preface on preaching and publiſhing ſermons, eleven diſcourſes on the following occaſions and ſubjects. *General Faſt*, 1741. The Time of War a ſpecial Call to Piety. *On the Martyrdom of King Charles the Firſt*. 1743. Principles of Chriſtian Loyalty. *General Faſt*, 1744. The Folly and Wickedneſs of miſplacing our Truſt. *General Faſt*, 1757. God's Call of the Jews to Repentance applied. *General Faſt*, 1762. Moral Uſes of Faſting conſidered and applied. *General Thankſgiving*, 1746. The Expoſtulation, &c. of Samuel applied. *Inauguration*, June 22, 1752. The Duty and Intereſt of a Chriſtian Subject conſidered. *Inauguration*, three Sermons. Univerſity Politics; or, the Study of a Chriſtian, Gentleman, Scholar. Nov. 5, 1752. The Regulation of Zeal in Controverſies of Religion. The ſubjects of the ſecond volume of Dr. Burton's Diſcourſes, which was intitled, 'Sermons preached on public 'Occaſions,' and printed at Oxford, in *octavo*, in 1766, were as follows. *Aſſize*, 1746. Principles of Religion the only ſufficient Reſtraint from Wickedneſs. *Meeting of Charity-Schools in London*, 1759. Religious Education of poor Children recommended. *Before the Sons of the Clergy in London*, 1761. Zeal for our Conſtitution in Church and State recommended. *Before the Aſſociates of Dr. Bray and Truſtees of Georgia*, 1732. The Duty and Reward of propagating Principles of Religion. *Before the Univerſity of Oxford*, 1733. The extenſive Propagation of Abraham's Religion repreſented. *Inauguration*, 1764. The Uſe and Neceſſity of Religion in Perſons of high Stations. *Conſecration of a Chapel. Confirmation.* God's Word the young Man's Guide. *Homily on Iſaiah* liii. with a Preface on Homily-preaching. To each of his volumes Dr. Burton has prefixed a Synopſis, or Summary of the Contents. With regard to the Sermons themſelves, they are not of

of a slight and slimsy contexture, but are much laboured; being of a very considerable length, and containing a great variety of matter. The method and manner of them are, indeed, somewhat more formal than hath lately been fashionable; but our learned Author acted, in this respect, according to his own deliberate judgment. 'An affected spruce 'brevity,' says he, 'an elegant negligence in the 'composition—miscellaneous reflections—and a total 'dissimulation of all order and method, are circum-'stances more agreeable to the present popular taste. 'But I profess myself a friend to the old fashion, as 'being a way of fair and honest dealing in the li-'terary world, and most conducive to edification: 'and with good reason I prefer the old-fashioned 'methodical elaborate sermon, with all its formali-'ties, to the modern plausible loose essay, and the 'fallacious praise of writing with ease; which I con-'sider in no other view, than as a plea for idle-'ness (2).'

(2) Preface to the first volume of Sermons, p. xi, xii.

Dr. Burton's Latin theological dissertations, collected and published in one volume, 8*vo*, about the time of his death, under the title of *Opuscula Miscellanea Theologica*, are these: *Hophni* et *Phinees*; sive Impietas Sacerdotum publicæ Impietatis Causa. *Concio pro Gradu S. T. B. cum Appendice, de Vitiis quibusdam in Rerum sacrarum Administratione tollendis.* A. D. 1729. *Heli:* sive Exemplum Magistratûs intempestivâ Lenitate peccantis. *Concio eo Animo conscripta ut Academicæ Disciplinæ salubris Administratio strenuè exerceatur.* A. D. 1725. *Samuel* triplici Nomine laudatus, Propheta; Populi Israelitici Judex; Scholarum Propheticarum Rector. *Conciones duæ, cum Additamentis, et Appendice de Studiis Theologiæ instituendis; quo quidem pertinent aliæ duæ Conciones seu Dissertationes.* Scilicet, De Fundamentalibus Dissertatio Theologica. 1756. De Praxeos Theologicæ Abusibus, Concio. 1760. *Appendicis Loco additur*, Concio *Johannis Bear* de Primævorum Patrum Auctoritate, cum Præfatione Commendatoriâ *Johannis Burton*. The Dissertations on Samuel contain some curious observations on the schools of the Prophets among the Israelites.

Our Author's *Opuscula Miscellanea Metrico-Prosaica* comprehend a variety of pieces in Greek and Latin, with two or three copies of English verses. The longest poem is the *Sacerdos Paræcialis Rusticus*, which had been separately published. The two most important pieces in prose are, the *Dissertatio critica de Literarum Græcarum Institutionibus*, and the *Commentariolus* Thomæ Secker, *Archiep. Cantuar. Memoriæ sacer*. Dr. Burton having, in this last performance, which appeared soon after the Archbishop's death, spoken with severity concerning the Dissenters, on account of their supposed opposition to the settlement of a Bishop in America, Dr. Furneaux took occasion, in his Letters to Mr. Justice Blackstone, to vindicate that body of men from the charge brought against them (3). With respect to some of the smaller pieces in the *Opuscula Metrico-Prosaica*, perhaps the public would not have greatly suffered, or the writer have lessened his reputation, if they had been omitted.

(3) P. 190, Note.

Dr. Burton was the author of some publications besides those which are collected together in the volumes now mentioned. In 1744, he published (4) 'The Genuineness of Lord Clarendon's History of 'the Rebellion printed at Oxford vindicated;' in which he clearly and fully refutes the slander that had been advanced by Oldmixon, in his Critical History of England. In 1758, appeared the Doctor's *Dissertatio et Notæ criticæ spectantes ad Tragœdias quasdam Græcas editas in Pentalogia.* The publication of the five select tragedies which constitute the *Pentalogia* had been recommended by our Author to a pupil of his, of great expectation, Mr. Joseph Bingham. The young gentleman had proceeded so far as to collate a number of manuscripts, and print almost the whole text and notes, when the world was deprived of him, in 1736, by an immature death. By this unfortunate event the work lay neglected, till Dr. Burton undertook the labour and expence of completing the edition; and accordingly it came out, in 1758, with a preface, dissertations, index, and additional notes (5). The *Pentalogia* hath lately been reprinted at the University press. The Doctor's pamphlet on the navigation of the river Thames has already been noticed. In 1766, he published a discourse, intitled, 'Papists and Pharisees compared: 'or, Papists the Corrupters of Christianity;' occasioned by Philip's Life of Cardinal Pole. About the same time, he delivered at Oxford a set of sermons, still in manuscript, the design of which was to refute the Articles of the Council of Trent (6).

(4) In large octavo, printed at Oxford.

(5) De Vitâ et Moribus, &c. p. 26, 27.

(6) *Ibid.*

Dr. Burton is understood to have been the author, under the name of *Philaleutherus Londinensis*, of 'Remarks on Dr. King's Speech before the Uni-'versity of Oxford, at the Dedication of Dr. Rad-'cliff's Library, on the 13th of April, 1749.' This produced from Dr. King, 'Elogium Famæ inser-'viens *Jacci Etonensis*, sive Gigantis; or, The Praises 'of *Jack of Eton*, commonly called *Jack the Giant:* 'collected into English Metre, after the Manner of 'Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, *John Burton*, 'and others. To which is added, a Dissertation on 'the Burtonian Style. By a Master of Arts (7).'

(7) See the article BOWYER (WILLIAM), Vol. ii. p. 442.

But the severest attack ever made upon our Author's manner of composition, is that which is contained in the following lines of the late celebrated poet Churchill:

'Burton (whilst aukward affectation's hung
'In quaint and labour'd accents on his tongue,
'Who 'gainst their will makes junior blockheads
'speak,
'Ign'rant of both, new Latin and new Greek,
'Not such as was in Greece and Latium known,
'But of a modern cut, and all his own;
'Who threads, like beads, loose thoughts on such a
'string,
'They're praise and censure; nothing, every thing;
'Pantomime thoughts, and style so full of trick,
'They even make a Merry Andrew sick;
'Thoughts all so dull, so pliant in their growth,
'They're verse, they're prose, they're neither, and
'they're both)
'Shall (though by nature ever loth to praise)
'Thy curious worth set forth in curious phrase;
'Obscurely stiff, shall press poor Sense to death,
'Or in long periods run her out of breath;
'Shall make a babe, for which, with all his fame,
'Adam could not have found a proper name,
'Whilst, beating out his features to a smile,
'He hugs the bastard brat, and calls it Style (8).'

(8) Churchill's Works, Vol. iii. p. 124. 5th edition.

We shall only observe concerning these lines, that the invectives of a satiric poet, whose genius pushed him to the extreme of severity, and who was probably stimulated by personal dislike, will never be considered as the language of truth.

*** [To our account of Dr. Burton, we shall add some memoirs of the gentleman who wrote his life, and with whom he was connected above fifty years, as a relation, a pupil, and a most intimate friend, Dr. Edward Bentham. An article concerning him was intended by us in its regular place; but the materials not having been communicated in time, we cannot now more properly introduce him, than by joining him to a name with which he was so long and so closely united.

BENTHAM (EDWARD) *, Canon of Christ-Church, Oxford, and King's Professor of Divinity in that University, was born in the College at Ely, on the 23d of July, 1707. His father, Mr. Samuel Bentham, was a very worthy clergyman, and Vicar of Witchford, a small living near that city; who having a numerous family, his son Edward, on the recommendation of the learned and celebrated Dr. Smalridge, then Dean of Christ-Church, was sent, in 1717, to the school of that college.

* For the materials of this article we are indebted to Dr. Bentham's son, Thomas Bentham, M. A. student of Christ-Church.

Having there received the rudiments of claſſical education, he was, in the Lent term of 1723, when he was nearly ſixteen years of age, admitted a Member of the Univerſity of Oxford, and placed at Corpus-Chriſti College, under the more immediate care and tuition of his relation, Dr. John Burton. In this ſituation, his ſerious and regular deportment, and his great proficiency in all kinds of academical learning, recommended him to the notice of ſeveral eminent men; and, among others, to the favour of Dr. Tanner, Canon of Chriſt-Church, by whoſe death he was diſappointed of a nomination to a ſtudentſhip in that ſociety. At Corpus-Chriſti College he formed a ſtrict friendſhip with Robert Hoblyn, Eſq; of Nanſwydden in Cornwall, afterwards repreſentative for the city of Briſtol, whoſe character, as a ſcholar and a member of Parliament, rendered him deſervedly eſteemed by the lovers of literature and of their country. In company with this gentleman, and another intimate friend, Dr. Ratcliff, afterwards Maſter of Pembroke College, Mr. Bentham made, at different times, the tour of part of France, and other places. Having taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, he was invited by Dr. Cotes, Principal of Magdalen Hall, to be his Vice-Principal; and was accordingly admitted to that ſociety on the 6th of March, 1729-30. Here he continued only a ſhort time; for, on the 23d of April in the year following, he was elected Fellow of Oriel College, in the room of Mr. Martin. In Act term, 1732, he proceeded to the degree of Maſter of Arts, and, about the ſame time, was appointed tutor in the college; in which capacity he diſcharged his duty, in the moſt laborious and conſcientious manner, for more than twenty years. This is apparent, as well from the grateful ſenſe his pupils have ever expreſſed of his care over them, as by the many letters, introductions, &c. which were drawn out and calculated for their improvement (*a*); and alſo from the great reſort of perſons of the firſt rank to that college. As a member of the ſociety at large, no man could be more valuable, or more eſteemed; for he not only punctually and cheerfully diſcharged that part of college duties and offices which fell to his ſhare, but was willing to aſſiſt others, and even to take their burthen on himſelf. No one excelled him in thoſe ſmaller attentions to the intereſt and pleaſure of his friends, which, though they do not of themſelves conſtitute a great character, are certainly the beſt recommendations of it: and, indeed, few men, however willing they might be, were capable of being ſo generally uſeful. By a conſtant and unwearied application to whatever he undertook, he had at length acquired ſuch a readineſs and facility of mind, that as ſcarcely any kind of buſineſs could occur for which he was wholly unprepared, ſo he tranſacted the ordinary courſe of it with the utmoſt eaſe and convenience to himſelf; and his advice and aſſiſtance were the more eagerly ſought for, as they were not only ſatisfactory and beneficial, but communicated without the leaſt degree of parade and oſtentation. On the 26th of March, 1743, Mr. Bentham took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity; and on the 22d of April, in the ſame year, he was collated, by Biſhop Egerton, to the Prebend of Hundreton, in the cathedral-church of Hereford. On the 8th of July, 1749, he proceeded to the degree of Doctor in Divinity; and in April 1754, upon the death of Dr. Newton, Canon of Chriſt-Church, he was promoted to the fifth ſtall in that cathedral. Here he continued the ſame active and uſeful courſe of life for which he had always been diſtinguiſhed. He ſerved the offices of Sub-dean and Treaſurer, for himſelf and others, above twelve years. The affairs of the treaſury, which Dr. Bentham found in great confuſion, owing to the negligence of the deputy, he entirely new-modelled, and put into a train of buſineſs in which they have continued ever ſince, to the great eaſe of his ſucceſſors, and benefit of the ſociety. So intent was he upon the regulation and management of the concerns of the college, that he refuſed ſeveral preferments which were offered him, from a conſcientious perſuaſion that the avocations they would produce were incompatible with the proper diſcharge of the offices he had voluntarily undertaken. Being appointed by the King to fill the Divinity chair, vacant by the death of Dr. Fanſhawe, Dr. Bentham was, with much reluctance, and after having repeatedly declined it, perſuaded, by Archbiſhop Secker and his other learned friends, to accept of it; and, on the 9th of May, 1763, he was removed to the eighth ſtall in the cathedral. His unwillingneſs to appear in this ſtation was increaſed by the buſineſs he had to tranſact in his former ſituation, and which he was afraid would be impeded by the acceſſion of new duties: not to ſay that a life ſpent in his laborious and ſedentary manner had produced ſome unfavourable effects on his conſtitution, and rendered a greater attention than he had hitherto ſhewn to private eaſe and health, abſolutely neceſſary. Beſides, as the duties, when properly diſcharged, were great and intereſting, ſo the ſtation itſelf was of that elevated and public nature to which his ambition never inclined him: *latere maluit atque prodeſſe.* The diffidence he had of his abilities (that ſure criterion of real merit) had ever taught him to ſuſpect his own ſufficiency; and his Inauguratory Lecture breathed the ſame ſpirit, the text of which was, 'Who is ſufficient for theſe things?' But whatever objections Dr. Bentham might have to the profeſſorſhip before he entered upon it, when once he had accepted of it, he never ſuffered them to diſcourage him in the leaſt from exerting his moſt ſincere endeavours to render it both uſeful and honourable to the Univerſity. He ſet himſelf immediately to draw out a courſe of lectures for the benefit of young ſtudents in divinity, which he conſtantly read at his houſe at Chriſt-Church, *gratis*,

(*a*) Theſe were afterwards publiſhed with conſiderable additions.

gratis, three times a-week during Term-time, till his deceaſe. The courſe took up a year; and he not only exhibited in it a complete ſyſtem of divinity, but recommended proper books, ſome of which he generouſly diſtributed to his auditors. His intenſe application to the purſuit of the plan he had laid down, together with thoſe concerns in which his affection for his friends, and his zeal for the public good in every ſhape, involved him, proved more than a counterbalance for all the advantages of health and vigour that a ſtrict and uniform temperance could procure. It is certain that he ſunk under the rigorous exerciſe of that conduct he had propoſed to himſelf: for though ſixty-eight years are a conſiderable proportion in the ſtrongeſt men's lives, yet his remarkable abſtemiouſneſs and ſelf-denial, added to a diſpoſition of body naturally ſtrong, promiſed, in the ordinary courſe of things, a longer period. Dr. Bentham was a very early riſer, and had tranſacted half a day's buſineſs before many others began their day. His countenance was uncommonly mild and engaging, being ſtrongly characteriſtic of the piety and benevolence of his mind; and, at the ſame time, it by no means wanted expreſſion, but, upon proper occaſions, could aſſume a very becoming and affecting authority. In his attendance upon the public duties of religion, he was exceedingly ſtrict and conſtant; not ſuffering himſelf ever to be diverted from it by any motives, either of intereſt or pleaſure. Whilſt he was thus diligent in the diſcharge of his own duty, he was not ſevere upon thoſe who were not equally diligent. He could ſcarcely ever be prevailed upon to deliver his opinion on ſubjects that were to the diſadvantage of other men; and when he could not avoid doing it, his ſentiments were expreſſed with the utmoſt delicacy and candour. No one was more ready to diſcover, commend, and reward every meritorious endeavour. Of himſelf he never was heard to ſpeak; and if his own merits were touched upon in the ſlighteſt manner, he felt a real uneaſineſs. Though he was not fond of the formalities of viſiting, he entered into the ſpirit of friendly ſociety and intercourſe with great pleaſure. His conſtant engagements, indeed, of one kind or other, left him not much time to be devoted to company; and the greater part of his leiſure hours he ſpent in the enjoyment of domeſtic pleaſures, for which his amiable and peaceable diſpoſition ſeemed moſt calculated. Till within the laſt half-year of his life, in which he declined very faſt, Dr. Bentham was ſcarcely ever out of order; and he was never prevented from diſcharging his duty, excepting by a weakneſs that occaſionally attacked his eyes, and which had been brought on by too free an uſe of them when he was young. That part of his laſt illneſs which confined him, was only from the 23d of July to the firſt of Auguſt. Even death itſelf found him engaged in the ſame laborious application which he had always directed to the glory of the Supreme Being, and the benefit of mankind; and it was not till he was abſolutely forbidden by his phyſicians, that he gave over a particular courſe of reading, that had been undertaken by him with a view of anſwering Mr. Gibbon's Roman Hiſtory. Thus he died at his poſt, like a faithful ſoldier, in the exerciſe of his arms, and the defence of his religion. That ſerenity of mind and meekneſs of diſpoſition, which he had manifeſted on every former occaſion, ſhone forth in a more eſpecial manner in his latter moments; and, together with the conſciouſneſs of a whole life ſpent in the divine ſervice, exhibited a ſcene of true Chriſtian triumph. After a few days illneſs, in which he ſuffered a conſiderable degree of pain without repining, a quiet ſigh put a period to his exiſtence below, on the firſt of Auguſt, 1776, when he had entered into the 69th year of his age. His remains were depoſited in the weſt end of the great aile in the cathedral of Chriſt-Church, Oxford. Dr. Bentham reſided, the principal part of the year, ſo regularly at Oxford, that he never miſſed a term from his matriculation to his death. In the ſummer, he generally made a tour of ſome part of the kingdom, with his family; and, for the laſt thirty years of his life, ſeldom failed in carrying them to meet all his brothers and ſiſters at Ely, amongſt whom the greateſt harmony and affection ever prevailed. One of his brothers is the Rev. James Bentham, Prebendary of Ely, to whom the antiquarian and biographical world is ſo highly indebted for his excellent Hiſtory and Antiquities of the Conventual and Cathedral Church of Ely. Dr. Bentham married Elizabeth, the ſecond daughter of Thomas Bates, Eſq; of Alton in Hants, by whom he had three children, Edward, Thomas, and Elizabeth, the firſt of which died young: the two others, together with his widow, ſurvived him. His ſon Thomas is M. A. and Student of Chriſt-Church.

Beſides Dr. Bentham's great intimacy with Mr. Hoblyn and Dr. Burton, already mentioned, he enjoyed, alſo, the friendſhip of Archbiſhop Secker, the late Duke of Marlborough, Dr. Butler and Dr. Egerton, Biſhops of Durham, Dr. Hayter and Dr. Lowth, Biſhops of London, Dr. Pearce, Biſhop of Rocheſter, and Dr. Tucker, Dean of Glouceſter. With the Archbiſhop he was peculiarly intimate, a correſpondence being conſtantly kept up between them till that eminent prelate's death; and ſcarcely either of them appeared in any public tranſaction before the other had been previouſly informed and conſulted. Dr. Bentham's conſtant reſidence in the Univerſity exempted him from, what was naturally very irkſome to him, a perſonal attendance upon great men; and as he was not eagerly bent on the purſuit of worldly honours, and was ever of opinion, that what he had to communicate was beſt done by letters, he was rarely ſeen at levees and at court. Whenever he did appear at theſe places, he certainly was a much more agreeable viſitant, becauſe he had no favours to ſolicit. Such were his

friends; and as they were men who were highly valuable, both for their private virtues, and their public zeal in the common cauſe of religion and learning, ſo it will be thought no diminution of their characters, that they are recorded among the friends of Dr. Bentham.

On the whole, when we reflect on Dr. Bentham's ſincere and unaffected piety, on his extenſive comprehenſion in the ſeveral branches of liberal ſcience and claſſical knowledge, on his conſcientious attention to the intellectual and moral improvement of his pupils, on the zeal he diſplayed for their benefit in his uſeful writings [*A*], on his ſtrict regard to order and diſcipline, on his diligence and prudence in the management of the temporal affairs of the ſocieties he belonged to, on the exactneſs and credit with which he diſcharged every part of his office as Regius Profeſſor of Divinity, on the meekneſs and mildneſs of his temper, joined with a due degree of ſenſibility; on the conſtancy and ardour of his friendſhips, and, in ſhort, on the uniform tenour of his conduct, in all the duties of public and of private life, we cannot heſitate in pronouncing, that he was a diſtinguiſhed ornament of the Univerſity of Oxford, of the Church of England, and of the general cauſe of religion and literature. K.]

[*A*] *In his uſeful writings.*] Dr. Bentham's publications were as follows: 1. 'The Connection be-'tween Irreligion and Immorality. A Sermon 'preached at St. Mary's in Oxford, at the Aſſizes: 'before the Honourable Mr. Juſtice Denniſon and 'Mr. Serjeant Birch, and before the Univerſity, on 'March the 1ſt, 1743-4.' 8*vo*, 1744. 2. 'An In-'troduction to Moral Philoſophy.' 8*vo*, 1745. A ſecond edition was publiſhed in 1746. To this tract is annexed, firſt, a Table of Reference to Engliſh Diſcourſes and Sermons upon moral Subjects, ranged according to the Order of the Introduction; and, ſecondly, a Table of ſeveral of the principal Writers in Moral Philoſophy. 3. 'A Letter to a young 'Gentleman.' 8*vo*, 1748. 4. 'A Letter to a Fellow 'of a College. Being the Sequel of a Letter to a 'young Gentleman of Oxford.' 8*vo*, 1749. Theſe two letters are upon Diſaffection to Government, and were intended to promote in the Univerſity the principles of the Revolution, and a ſpirit of loyalty to the preſent royal family. 5. 'Advice to a young 'Man of Rank upon coming to the Univerſity.' 6. 'A Sermon preached before the Honourable Houſe 'of Commons, at St. Margaret's Weſtminſter, on 'Tueſday, January 30, 1749-50. Being the Anni-'verſary of the Martyrdom of King Charles the 'Firſt.' 4*to*, 1750. 7. 'Reflexions on Logic.' 8*vo*. A ſecond edition came out in 1755. At the end is added, a Table of the principal Writers of Logic. Our Author having been charged, in the *Biographia Britannica*, under the article *Locke*, with a deſign of excluding from the ſchools that great man's Eſſay on the Human Underſtanding, he ſubjoined, in 1760, a ſhort, but ſatisfactory, vindication of himſelf, to the remaining copies of the Reflexions. 8. 'Τῶν Παλαι-'ῶν, &c. Επιτάφιοι.' 'Funeral Eulogies upon Mi-'litary Men from Thucydides, Plato, Lyſias, Xe-'nophon. In the Original Greek. To which are 'added, Extracts from Cicero. With Obſervations 'and Notes in Engliſh.' 8*vo*. The ſecond edition, with additions, appeared in 1768. The impreſſion is beautiful, and the Notes and Obſervations ſhew Dr. Bentham's great acquaintance with claſſic antiquity, and the Greek language. 9. 'De Studiis 'Theologicis Prælectio.' 1764. 10. 'Reflexions 'upon the Study of Divinity. To which are ſub-'joined, Heads of a Courſe of Lectures.' 8*vo*, 1771. This tract contains many judicious obſervations; and the Heads of a Courſe of Lectures exhibit, perhaps, as complete a plan of theological ſtudies as was ever delivered. 11. 'De Vitâ et Moribus Johannis Bur-'toni, S. T. P. Etonenſis. Epiſtola Edvardi Ben-'tham, S. T. P. R. ad Reverendum admodum Ro-'bertum Lowth, S. T. P. Epiſcopum Oxonienſem.' To this we are almoſt wholly indebted for our account of Dr. Burton. 12. 'A Sermon preached in the 'Pariſh-Church of Chriſt-Church, London, on 'Thurſday, April the 30th, 1772: being the Time 'of the yearly Meeting of the Children educated in 'the Charity-Schools in and about the Cities of 'London and Weſtminſter.' 4*to*. 13. 'An Intro-'duction to Logic, ſcholaſtic and rational.' 8*vo*, 1773. The *Specimen Logicæ Ciceronianæ* annexed, diſplays Cicero's cloſe attention to the ſtudy of logic, and our Author's intimate knowledge of Cicero. 14. 'De Tumultibus Americanis deque eorum Con-'citatoribus ſenilis Meditatio.' This was occaſioned by ſome members of parliament having cenſured the Univerſity of Oxford for addreſſing the King in favour of the American war. Dr. Bentham, like many other wiſe and good men, did not imagine that the conteſt would turn out to be ſo formidable as it hath ſince appeared. He takes occaſion, in the courſe of the pamphlet, to pay a high compliment to his friend Dr. Tucker.

BUSBY (Richard), the moſt eminent ſchoolmaſter in his time, was the ſecond ſon of Richard Buſby, of the city of Weſtminſter, Gent. but born at Lutton in Lincolnſhire, September 22, 1606 (*a*). He received his education in Weſtminſter-ſchool, as a King's Scholar; and in 1624 was elected Student of Chriſt-Church (*b*). The twenty-firſt of October 1628, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*c*); and that of Maſter, June 18, 1631 (*d*); at which time he was eſteemed a great Maſter of the Greek and Latin tongues, and a complete Orator [*A*]. On the firſt of July 1639, he was admitted to the Prebend and Rectory of Cudworth, with the chapel of Knowle annexed, in the church of Wells; of which he loſt the profits during the civil wars; but found means to keep his Student's place, and other preferment (*e*). He was appointed Maſter of Weſtminſter-ſchool, December 13, 1640 (*f*); in which laborious ſtation he continued above fifty-five years, and bred up the greateſt number of learned ſcholars that ever adorned any age or nation. But he met with great uneaſineſs from the ſecond Maſter, Edward Bagſhaw; who being a buſy and pragmatical man, endeavoured to ſupplant him; but was himſelf removed out of his place for his inſolence [*B*], in May 1658.

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. ii. col. 923. and his Epitaph in Weſtminſter-abbey.

(*b*) Wood, *ibid.*

(*c*) *Idem*, Faſti, Vol. i. col. 240.

(*d*) *Ib.* col. 258.

(*e*) Wood's Athen. *ubi ſupra*. See Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. edit. 1714, fol. Part ii. p. 74.

(*f*) From his Epitaph.

[*A*] *And a complete orator.*] As alſo a very good actor; as appeared from the part he acted, with great applauſe, in the comedy called *The Royal Slave*, written by William Cartwright; which was acted before King Charles I. and his Queen, at Chriſt-Church, by the ſtudents of that houſe, on the 30th of Auguſt, 1636 (1).

(1) Wood, Ath. *ubi ſupra*, col. 35, 923. and Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. i. p. 344, 345.

[*B*] *But was himſelf removed out of his place for his inſolence.*] Bagſhaw publiſhed an account of the quarrel between him and Dr. Buſby, under this title: 'A 'true and perfect Narration of the Differences between 'Mr. Buſby and Mr. Bagſhaw, the firſt and ſecond 'Maſters of Weſtminſter-ſchool.' Lond. 1659, in four ſheets, 4*to* (2). —— One Owen Price, an Independent, endeavoured, likewiſe, to ſupplant Mr. Buſby about the ſame time, and to come into his place (3).

(2) Wood, Ath. Vol. ii. col. 491.

(3) See Fr. Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, &c. Vol. ii. edit. 1735, lib. xiii. p. 20, 21.

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1658 (g). After the Reſtoration of King Charles II. Mr. Buſby's merit and reputation being taken notice of, his Majeſty conferred on him a Prebend of Weſtminſter, into which

(g) Wood, Ath. *ubi ſupra.* See Preface to *Arcana Dogmatum Anti-Remonſtrantium*, Lond. 1659, 12mo, by L. Womock.

*** [We do not apprehend that there is any evidence, that Bagſhaw really attempted to ſupplant Buſby in Weſtminſter-ſchool; nor does Anthony Wood accuſe him of this, though he has given a very unfavourable account of him, and appears to have been much prejudiced againſt him. But Bagſhaw was of an intractable temper; and it was evidently ſome miſunderſtandings between him and Buſby which occaſioned his removal. In the pamphlet above mentioned, Bagſhaw alleged, that it had been a cuſtom, for above ſixty years, that the forms in Weſtminſter-ſchool ſhould be thus ordered: the upper maſter taught the fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh; the ſecond maſter taught the third and fourth; and an uſher, for the eaſe of both, and the benefit of the upper maſter, taught the firſt and ſecond: but that, in 1657, Mr. Buſby having repreſented to the governors of the ſchool, that, in conſequence of his age, he had need of an aſſiſtant, they had made an order for that purpoſe: after which he alſo procured another order, that the ſecond maſter, who had till then taught the third and fourth, might now be put down to teach the younger boys in the firſt, ſecond, and third forms. This Bagſhaw complained of as both injurious and diſhonourable to him; as Buſby's aſſiſtant was thereby placed above him (4). 'Mr. Buſby,' he ſays, 'brought 'Mr. James (the aſſiſtant) into the ſchool, and there, 'with a great deal of ceremony, placed him above 'me, employing him, for the moſt part, to teach 'the fourth form, from which I was ſo lately re-'moved. Which indignity was ſo much the greater, 'in that Mr. James was not only ſome other ways 'inferior to me, but likewiſe many years my junior 'in the univerſity; and before that change, uſher 'below me in the ſchool (5).'

(4) True and perfect Narrative of the Differences between Mr. Buſby and Mr. Bagſhaw, 4to, 1659, p. 3. 6.

(5) *ibid.* p. 11.

Bagſhaw alſo ſays, 'Mr. Buſby hath oft complained 'to me, and ſeemed to take it ill, that I did not uſe 'the rod enough.' On the other hand, he charges Buſby with being too ſevere. 'So far,' ſays he, 'as 'relates to this ſchool, I could wiſh there were ſome 'order taken to limit and reſtrain the exorbitance of 'puniſhment; that poor little boys may not receive 'thirty or forty, nay ſometimes ſixty laſhes at a time, 'for ſmall and inconſiderable faults (6).'

(6) *Ibid.* p. 19.

In a petition of Buſby's to the governors of the ſchool, beſides ſtating that Bagſhaw expreſſed great diſcontent at their appointing him an aſſiſtant, and mentioning ſome other particulars againſt him, he ſays, that 'he had commanded his ſcholars not to 'pay that accuſtomed civility, which is due from 'ſcholars unto their teacher, to the aſſiſtant at his 'paſſing by them; and puniſhed ſome of his ſcholars 'for ſo doing. Whereupon ſo great diſorder enſued, 'that the reſpect was thereupon omitted to your pe-'titioner, which hath been theſe nineteen years due 'to him. Mr. Bagſhaw did likewiſe command the 'monitor to put your petitioner (Buſby) into his 'monitor's bill, and to ſhew that bill unto him; 'thereby expoſing your petitioner to be indicted by 'his own monitor, and pretending to a power of 'puniſhing your petitioner.' After replying to theſe accuſations, Bagſhaw adds, 'I am very ſorry that 'Mr. Buſby's paſſion ſhould make him betray either 'ſo much levity, or ſo much guilt, as now in his old 'days to fear a whipping, as it were by way of re-'taliation, for thoſe many ſharp ſeverities he hath 'uſed to others (7).'

(7) *Ibid.* p. 14, 15. 21.

Wood ſays of Bagſhaw, that when he was at Oxford, and 'while he continued in the ſtate of under-'graduate and bachelor, he did ſet a high value 'upon, and expreſſed himſelf, very often into-'lerably impudent, ſaucy and refractory to the cen-'ſor, and thereupon was either ſconced, or put out 'of commons, or forced to make his palinody in a 'declamation in the public hall. Farther alſo, when 'quadrageſimal diſputations were publicly performed 'in the ſchools, he would, without any provocation, 'take the queſtions, either of an under-graduate or 'bachelor, purpoſely to diſpute with him, and ſo 'conſequently ſhew his parts, and be ſhouldered out, 'or carried out into the quadrangle on the ſhoulders 'of his admirers (8).' Wood is alſo much diſſatisfied with him for not having had a due reverence for the academic dreſs; and adds, that, in 1651, when he

(8) Athenæ Oxonienſes, Vol. ii. col. 491.

'proceeded in arts (a year being then allowed to 'him), and was ſenior of the act then celebrated, 'and being ſoon after put in office, he ſhewed him-'ſelf a turbulent and domineering perſon, not only 'in his college, but in the univerſity, where it was 'common with him to diſturb the Vice-chancellor 'with interpoſed ſpeeches, without formalities, and 'his hat cocked: which poſture alſo he uſed when 'he read the catechiſt-lecture in his houſe (9).'

(9) Athen. Oxon. *ubi ſupra.*

After his removal from Weſtminſter-ſchool, in 1659, he was admitted into holy orders by Dr. Ralph Brownrig, Biſhop of Exeter; and became Vicar of Amerſden in Oxfordſhire. After the Reſtoration, he was made Chaplain to the Earl of Angleſea (10); but, in 1662, he was ejected from his living, in conſequence of the Act of Uniformity (*). The ſame year, he was apprehended by order of the Council, and committed priſoner to the Gatehouſe in Weſtminſter, becauſe, as Wood ſays, he had 'written and preached 'ſeveral matters againſt his Majeſty and preſent 'government, church and biſhops.' Dr. Pope ſays, that King Charles II. ſent for him, 'deſigning to 'work ſome good upon him, and do him a kindneſs: 'but he found him ſo obſtinate and refractory, that 'he was forced to leave him to his own imaginations.' Dr. Calamy adds, that 'when he was with the King, 'he ſaid ſomething that was ſo offenſive to him, that 'he was ſent to the dungeon in the Tower (11).' In 1664, he was removed to South-ſea Caſtle, near Portſmouth. How long he was confined there, we are not informed. But it appears, that he again gave offence to the government after his being ſet at liberty, and was at length committed to Newgate for refuſing to take the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy. He died there, according to Dr. Calamy, in 1671; but Wood ſays, that 'he unwillingly laid 'down his head, and died in an houſe in Tuttle-'ſtreet, within the city of Weſtminſter (12).' He was interred in Bunhill burying-ground, near Moorfields, being 'accompanied to that place by near a 'thouſand Proteſtant Diſſenters (13).' The inſcription upon his tomb was written by Dr. Owen, and in that he is ſpoken of as a pious, ſincere, and zealous divine (14). He was the author of ſundry pieces, chiefly on controverſial ſubjects, which are enumerated in the *Athenæ Oxonienſes*. Wood ſays, that, ſome years before his death, he had 'taken to wife a vir-'tuous and ſuperannuated maid (but perfectly blind), 'named Margaret, the daughter of John Peacock.' Dr. Calamy informs us, that this 'blind gentle-'woman fell in love with him for his preaching (15).' The Oxford antiquary ſays, 'he was a perſon of very 'good parts (which he himſelf knew too well), well 'learned, but of a hot and reſtleſs head (16).' He ſeems to have been a zealous Calviniſt, and a warm friend to civil liberty. He had many admirers, and might be poſſeſſed of more good qualities than Wood allows him. But Dr. Calamy ſays, 'I believe they 'that had the greateſt value for his miniſterial gifts '(which I have heard ſome repreſent as very emi-'nent and conſiderable) won't ſtick to own, that he 'was a man of a very warm and eager temper (17).'

(10) *Id. ibid.*

(*) Calamy's Account of the ejected Miniſters, Vol. ii. p. 542. edit. 1713.

(11) Account of the ejected Miniſters, *ubi ſupra*, p. 543.

(12) Athen. Oxon. *ut ſupra.*

(13) *Id. ibid.*

(14) *Id. ibid.*

(15) Account of ejected Miniſters, *ut ſupra.*

(16) Athen. Oxon. *ut ſupra.*

(17) Account of ejected Miniſters, *ut ſupra.*

The father of this Edward Bagſhaw, who was of the ſame name, was alſo an author, and a perſon of ſome note in his time. He was educated in Brazennoſe College, Oxford, where he took a degree in arts, and afterwards ſettled in the Middle Temple, where he ſtudied the law, became a bencher, and acquired reputation in his profeſſion. In the fifteenth year of the reign of Charles I. he was elected Lent-reader for that ſociety; and in the courſe of his readings maintained, that a parliament might be held without biſhops, and that biſhops had no right to interfere in civil affairs. But this doctrine giving great offence to Archbiſhop Laud, he made application to the King concerning it, who commanded the Lord Keeper Finch to prohibit Mr. Bagſhaw from reading any farther upon this ſubject. He was choſen Member of the Houſe of Commons for the borough of Southwark, in the parliament which began to ſit at Weſtminſter on the 3d of November, 1640. He afterwards ſided with the royal party, and attended the parliament called by the King at Oxford. In 1644, he was taken into cuſtody by a party of parliamentarians,

which he was inſtalled July 5, 1660 (*b*); and the eleventh of Auguſt following, he was made Treaſurer and Canon-Reſidentiary of the church of Wells (*i*). The nineteenth of October 1660, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity (*k*). At the coronation of King Charles II., on the twenty-third of April 1661, he carried the *Ampulla* (*l*). In the Convocation, which met June the twenty-fourth, the ſame year, he was Proctor for the Chapter of Bath and Wells; and one of thoſe who approved and ſubſcribed the Common Prayer-Book (*m*). He gave two hundred and fifty pounds towards repairing and beautifying Chriſt-Church College and Cathedral (*n*); and founded and endowed two lectures in the ſame College, one for the Oriental languages, and another for the mathematics; giving moreover a hundred pounds, to repair the room in which they were to be read. He contributed alſo to the repair of Lichfield church (*o*). As for his many other benefactions, they are not upon record, becauſe they were done in a private manner. This great man, after a long, healthy, and laborious life, died April 6, 1695, aged 89 (*p*), and was buried in Weſtminſter-Abbey, where there is a curious monument erected to him [*C*]. He compoſed ſeveral books for the uſe of his ſchool [*D*]. With regard to his character, we are told, that he was very well acquainted

(*b*) J. le Neve's Faſti, &c. edit. 1716, fol. p. 372.

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 40.

(*k*) Wood's Faſti, Vol. ii. col. 137.

(*l*) Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. Lond. 1728, fol. p. 412.

(*m*) *Ib.* p. 480. 584.

(*n*) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 284.

(*o*) Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. i. p. 376.

(*p*) See his Epitaph; and Wood's Ath. *ubi ſupra.*

liamentarians, in Oxfordſhire; and being conveyed to London, was committed priſoner to the King's-Bench priſon, by the Houſe of Commons. About the time of the Reſtoration, he was treaſurer of the Middle Temple. He died in 1662. He publiſhed ſeveral pieces; particularly, 1. *A Treatiſe defending the Revenues of the Church in Tithe and Glebe*, Lond. 1646, 4*to*. 2. *A Treatiſe maintaining the Doctrine, Liturgy, and Diſcipline of the Church of England*. 3. *The Rights of the Crown of England, as it is eſtabliſhed by Law*, Lond. 1660, 8*vo*. 4. *The Life and Death of Mr. Robert Bolton*, Lond. 1633, 4*to*. He alſo wrote one or two other ſmall tracts; and ſome of his ſpeeches in parliament were publiſhed (19). T.]

(19) Athen. Oxon. *ubi ſupra*, col. 315, 316.

[*C*] *Where there is a curious monument erected to him.*] On which is the following inſcription: En infra poſitam, qualis hominum oculis verſabatur, Buſbeii imaginem. Si eam quæ in animis altius inſedit ultra deſideras, Academiæ utriuſque, & fori Lumina, Aulæ, ſenatus, atque eccleſiæ, Principes viros contemplare: Cumque ſatam ab illo ingeniorum meſſem Tam variam tamque uberem luſtraveris, Quantus is eſſet qui ſeverit cogita. Is certe erat, Qui inſitam cuique a Natura indolem Et acute perſpexit, Et exercuit commode, Et feliciter promovit. Is erat, qui adoleſcentium animos Ita docendo finxit, aluitque, Ut tam ſapere diſcerent, quam fari; Dumque pueri inſtituebantur, Senſim ſuccreſcerent viri. Quotquot illius diſciplina penitus imbuti In publicum prodiere, Tot adepta eſt monarchia, Tot eccleſia Anglicana Propugnatores, Fidos omnes, pleroſque ſtrenuos. Quæcunque demum ſit fama Scholæ Weſtmonaſterienſis, Quicquid inde ad homines fructûs redundarit, Buſbeio maxime debetur, Atque in omne porro ævum debebitur. Tam utilem patriæ civem Multis annis opibuſque voluit florere Deus: Viciſſim ille Pietati promovendæ Se, & ſua alacris devovit: Pauperibus ſubvenire, Literatos fovere, Templa inſtaurare, Id illi erat divitiis frui; Et hos in uſus, Quicquid non erogarat vivus, Legavit moriens.

Richardus Buſby, Lincolnienſis S. T. P.

Natus eſt Lutoniæ —— —— 1606 Sept. 22.
Scholæ Weſtmonaſt. præfectus eſt 1640 Dec. 23.
Sedem in Eccleſ. { Weſtm. Prebend. / Wellenſi Theſaur. } Obtinuit { July 5. / A. D. 1660 / Aug. 11. }
Obiit ——————— 1695. Apr. 5.

The ſubſtance of which is: 'You ſee below a repreſentation of Buſby's body (20), and outward appearance. If you would ſee his inward qualifications, behold the lights of both Univerſities, and of Weſtminſter-hall, the chief men at Court, in the Parliament, and in the Church. And when you perceive how large and how plentiful a harveſt of ingenious men was ſown by him, conſider how great was the ſower. He was a perſon very ſagacious in finding out every one's genius and diſpoſition, and no leſs induſtrious in employing them to advantage, and forwarding them ſucceſsfully. He was a perſon who ſo formed and trained up the minds of youth by his inſtructions, that they learned at the ſame time both to ſpeak and to be wiſe; and whilſt they were inſtructed by him as boys, they inſenſibly grew up to be men. As many ſcholars as he ſent out into the world, ſo many faithful, and in general brave, champions, did Church and State obtain. Whatever reputation Weſtminſter-ſchool enjoys, whatever advantage has thence accrued, is chiefly due to Buſby, and will for ever be due to him. So uſeful a man God bleſſed with long life, and crowned with riches. And he, on his part, cheerfully devoted himſelf, and his poſſeſſions, to the promoting of piety. To relieve the poor; to ſupport and encourage learned men; to repair churches; That, he thought, was truly enjoying his riches. And what he employed not upon thoſe good uſes in his lifetime, he bequeathed to the ſame at his death.'——The reſt contains only an account of his birth and death, and of his ſeveral promotions, already mentioned above.

(20) There is on his monument his ſtatue in full proportion, and very like him.

[*D*] *He compoſed ſeveral books for the uſe of his ſchool.*] Namely, theſe following: I. 'A ſhort Inſtitution of Grammar, for the Uſe of Weſtminſter-ſchool.' Cambr. 1647, 8*vo*. II. *Juvenalis et Perſii Satiræ*. Lond. 1656, purged of all obſcene paſſages. III. 'An Engliſh Introduction to the Latin Tongue, for the Uſe of the Lower Forms in Weſtminſter-ſchool.' Lond. 1659, &c. 8*vo*. IV. *Martialis Epigrammata ſelecta*. Lond. 1661, 12*mo*, cleared of all obſcenities. V. *Græcæ Grammaticæ Rudimenta, in Uſum Scholæ Weſtmonaſterienſis*. Lond. 1663, 8*vo*. VI. *Nomenclatura Brevis Reformata, adjecto cum Syllabo Verborum & Adjectivorum*. At the end is printed, *Duplex Centenarius Proverbiorum Anglo-Latino-Græcorum*. Lond. 1667, &c. 8*vo*. VII. Ἀνθολογία δευτέρα: *ſive Græcorum Epigrammatum Florilegium novum. Cum aliis veterum Poematis*, &c. Lond. 1673, &c. 8*vo*. VIII. *Rudimentum Anglo-Latinum, Grammatica literalis & numeralis, in Uſum Scholæ Regiæ Weſtmonaſt.* Lond. 1688, 8*vo*. IX. *Rudimentum Grammaticæ Græco-Latinæ Metricum, in Uſum Nobilium Puerorum in Schola Regia Weſtmon.* Lond. 1689, 8*vo*. Mr. Wood ſuppoſes that ſome of theſe pieces might be compoſed by his uſhers (21). M.

(21) Wood, Ath. *ubi ſupra.*

*** [Though Dr. Buſby's father was a gentleman, it appears that the circumſtances of the family were ſuch as rendered it neceſſary for young Buſby to receive aſſiſtance in the courſe of his education. The following facts are tranſcribed, by Widmore (22), from the accounts of the churchwardens of St. Margaret's, Weſtminſter.

(22) Widmore's Hiſtory of the Church of St. Peter, Weſtminſter, p. 227.

1628.

To Richard Buſby, by conſent of veſtry, towards enabling him to proceed Bachelor of Arts, v l.

1631.

To Richard Buſby, a King's ſcholar of Weſtminſter, towards enabling him to proceed Maſter of Arts at Oxon, by conſent of the veſtry, vi l. xiii s. iiii d.

The appointment of Dr. Buſby to the Headmaſterſhip of Weſtminſter-ſchool, is repreſented by Widmore (23) as having taken place in 1638, and not in 1640, as is aſſerted in the inſcription on the Doctor's monument. Which account is true, we cannot preciſely aſcertain: but Widmore's ſeems the more probable, as Lambert Oſbolſtone (or Oſbaldeſton), Buſby's predeceſſor in the ſchool, was proſecuted, by Archbiſhop Laud, in 1638-9, and, in conſequence of a ſevere and unjuſt ſentence paſſed upon him in the Star-Chamber, immediately fled, and lay concealed till the meeting of the parliament, in November 1640 (24).

(23) *Ibid.*

(24) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, Vol. ii. p. 805—817.

Beſides

quainted with all parts of learning, eſpecially Philology; which he had chiefly acquired by his own diligence and induſtry. Of his ſingular ſkill in Grammar, his works in that kind are undeniable and ſufficient proof. Notwithſtanding his being the greateſt maſter of it, he was the freeſt man in the world from that pedantic humour and carriage which hath made ſome of that profeſſion ridiculous to the more ſenſible part of the world. No

Beſides Dr. Buſby's actual benefactions to the college of Chriſt-Church, Oxford, and other places, we find that he formed a deſign of eſtabliſhing a lecture-ſhip at each of our Univerſities, which did not take effect. The fact is thus related in the Life of Dr. Humphrey Prideaux: 'Dr. Buſby offered to found 'two catechiſtical lectures, with an endowment of '100l. *per annum* each, for inſtructing the under-'graduates in the rudiments of the Chriſtian religion, 'provided all the ſaid under-graduates ſhould be 'obliged to attend the ſaid lectures, and none of 'them be admitted to the degree of Bachelor of 'Arts, till after having been examined by the cate-'chiſt as to their knowledge in the doctrines and 'precepts of the Chriſtian religion, and by him ap-'proved of.——But this condition being rejected by '*both* Univerſities, the benefaction was rejected 'therewith, and the church hath ever ſince ſuffered 'for the want of it (25).' The author of the Confeſſional, from whom we have taken the preceding anecdote, has made ſome ſtrictures, with his uſual ingenuity and acuteneſs, on the rejection of Dr. Buſby's propoſal.

(25) Confeſſional, p. 436, 437, 3d edition.

Mr. Groſley, in his Tour to London (26), ſpeaking of the Doctor's ſtatue in Weſtminſter-Abbey, ſays, that this ſtatue, admirably executed, and placed among the monuments of the poets, &c. ſtruck him by its exact reſemblance, for beauty and truth, to the celebrated Languet, curate of St. Sulpice's church at Paris.

(26) Vol. i. p. 206.

Dr. Buſby's ſeverity to his ſcholars is of ſuch notoriety, that it has almoſt become proverbial. Of its being carried to exceſs, ſtriking proofs appear in the relation of his quarrel with Bagſhaw, annexed to note [*B*]. Correction by ſtripes is not always avoidable, eſpecially where a large number of children are educated together; and Dr. Beattie hath ſhewn, in his Eſſay on Claſſical Learning, that the cuſtom of *flogging*, in our public ſchools, has not the effect of breaking the ſpirits of the boys, or of rendering them ſervile in future life. However, when every allowance is made for Dr. Buſby, and when we even take into conſideration the number of excellent ſcholars formed by him, it muſt ſtill, we think, be acknowledged, that he was guilty of an unjuſtifiable ſeverity. In ſupport of this ſentiment, we ſhall tranſcribe the reflections with which the ingenious Mr. Knox concludes his Eſſay on Parental Indulgence. 'With the 'excellent effects of Spartan diſcipline, every one is 'acquainted. Of the lamentable conſequences of 'modern relaxation, daily experience furniſhes ex-'amples. The puerile age is patient and tractable. 'Reformation muſt begin there. Temperance, di-'ligence, moderation, and humility, cannot be too 'early inculcated. Theſe will lead through the 'temple of Virtue to the temple of Honour. In this 'progreſs, ſtrict diſcipline will ſometimes be neceſ-'ſary; but let not the pretence of proper correction 'give an opportunity for the gratification of vin-'dictive cruelty. Inhumanity even in a Buſby can-'not admit of palliation (27).'

(27) Knox's Eſſays, Vol. ii. p. 344.

We have been favoured, by the preſent learned and worthy Maſter of Weſtminſter-ſchool, Dr. Smith, with a ſight of the book containing the names of the King's ſcholars who have been ſent, from time to time, to the Univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge; and we find among them a number of perſons who have been eminent for their genius and learning, and have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in various reſpects. Several of them have either already appeared in the *Biographia Britannica*, or will hereafter contribute to its ornament and credit. We ſhall add a catalogue of the Firſt and Second Maſters of Weſtminſter-ſchool, from its eſtabliſhment to the preſent time, with the years of their appointment, and their removal, reſignation, or death.

Head Masters.

1540	John Adams	1540
1543	Alexander Nowel	1553
1555	Nicholas Udal	1556
	John Paſſey, at the latter end of Queen Mary's or beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, or between Nowel and Udal, *viz.* 1553 and 1555	
1563	John Randall	
1564	Thomas Browne	1569
1570	Francis Howlyn	1571
1572	Edward Graunte	1592
1593	William Camden	1598
1599	Richard Ireland	1610
1610	John Wilſon	1622
1622	Lambert Oſbolſtone	1638
1638	Richard Buſby	1695
1695	Thomas Kniple	1711
1711	Robert Freind	1732
1732	John Nicoll	1753
1753	William Markham	1764
1764	John Hinchliffe	1764
1764	Samuel Smith.	

Second Masters.

1540	Odnell Hayborne	1543
1551	Edward Cratford	1552
1556	Thomas Nott	
	Richard Spencer, at the latter end of Queen Mary's or beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, or between Cratford and Nott, *viz.* 1553 and 1555	
1563	—— Randall	
1564	Thomas Alleyn	1567
1568	John Priſe	1571
1572	—— Frobuſhur	
1573	John Graunte	
1574	Thomas Atkinſon	
1575	William Camden	1593
1593	—— Middleton	1610
1610	Thomas Hardinge	1624
1624	William Pritchard	1630
1631	John Jordan	1639
1642	George Croyden	1643
1645	Thomas Vincent	1656
1656	Edward Bagſhaw	1658
1658	Adam Littleton	1661
1661	William James	1663
1663	Thomas Knipe	1695
1695	Michael Maittaire	1699
1699	Robert Friend	1711
1711	George Tollet	1713
1714	John Nicoll	1732
1732	James Johnſon	1748
1748	Peirſon Lloyd	1771
1771	William Vincent.	

The foregoing names, down to Dr. Nicoll and Dr. Lloyd, were taken by Mr. Widmore, one or two excepted, from the accounts of the treaſurers of the church, or the vouchers of thoſe accounts, or old Chapter books (28).

(28) Widmore, *ubi ſupra*, p. 227, 228.

Dr. Pope, in his Life of Biſhop Ward, ſays, that Edward Bagſhaw junior, when he was a King's ſcholar at Weſtminſter, 'was a well-favoured white-'haired youth, *and his father was liberal to the maſter:* 'all which concurring with a good docible inclina-'tion, made him one of Mr Buſby's white boys, or 'chief favourites.' The ſame author inſinuates, that both Bagſhaw and Buſby were of tempers too violent and imperious to remain long in amity. He repreſents Dr. Buſby, likewiſe, as making intereſt with the ruling powers, and as having had too much compliance, cunning, and money, to be hurt by his antagoniſt (29). Some farther particulars concerning Mr. Bagſhaw might be extracted from Biſhop Kennet's Regiſter; and particularly a large account of the manner in which he was treated by Dr. James Margetſon, Archbiſhop of Dublin, when, in 1662, he accompanied the Earl of Angleſey to that city, in quality of his Lordſhip's chaplain (30). K.]

(29) From a learned Correſpondent.

(30) Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, p. 784—786.

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one ever trained up a greater number of eminent men, both in Church and State, than himſelf; which was a plain demonſtration of his uncommon ſkill and diligence in his profeſſion. He extremely liked, and even applauded, and rewarded, wit in any of his ſcholars, though it reflected upon himſelf; of which many inſtances are ſtill remembered. We are farther told, that there was an agreeable mixture of ſeverity and ſweetneſs in his manners; ſo that if his carriage was grave, it was at the ſame time civil, and full of good-nature, as his converſation was always modeſt and learned; but in his ſchool he was extremely *ſevere*. His piety was unfeigned and without affectation, and his ſtedfaſt zeal to the Church, and loyalty to the Crown, were eminent, and not without trials in the worſt of times. But his greateſt virtue was charity; in the diſcharge of which none ever took more care, that his right hand ſhould not know what his left did. As to his conſtitution of body; he was healthy to ſuch a degree, that his old age proved altogether free from thoſe diſeaſes and infirmities which moſt commonly attend other perſons: and as this was the conſequence and reward of his chaſtity, ſobriety, and temperance, ſo he ſpent this bodily ſtrength altogether upon his indefatigable labours, in the education of youth in Weſtminſter-ſchool; which he never remitted till he was releaſed of it by death, to which he ſubmitted with the utmoſt conſtancy and patience (*q*).

(*q*) J. Crull, M. D. in his Antiquities of Weſtminſter-Abbey, edit. 1715, 8vo, p. 241, 242.

BUTLER, or BOTELER, the name of a noble family, which, for the great ſervices they have done the Britiſh crown, have been raiſed to titles of honour in all the three kingdoms. The antiquity of this family is ſo great, that it appears to have ſurpaſſed the ſkill of our ableſt antiquaries to fix the origin of it with any degree of exactneſs (*a*). Indeed, they have been ſo far from doing this, that ſome have ſuggeſted the original ſirname of the family was Walter, others again have inclined to think it Becket, and there want not thoſe who declare in favour of le Boutiller or Butler, againſt them all (*b*) [*A*]. But whatever obſcurity there may be in regard to the ſtate of the family in thoſe times, there is nothing more certain, than that Theobald, who was declared Butler of Ireland in the very beginning of the XIIIth century, eſtabliſhed in that kingdom a moſt honourable and potent houſe, which, by the great ſervices they rendered the crown, by their intermarriages with the nobleſt families in England and Ireland, and by being intruſted with the moſt honourable and profitable employments in the government, acquired to themſelves vaſt poſſeſſions (*c*); ſo that King Edward II., in the ninth year of his reign, was pleaſed to create, by patent under the great-ſeal, dated at Lincoln, Sept. 1, 1315, Edmund le Botiller, Earl of Karryke or Carrick, who was afterwards raiſed to be Chief Governor of Ireland, under the title of Guardian or Lord Juſtice of that kingdom (*d*). His ſon James le Botiller, who married Eleanor, daughter of Humphry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Eſſex, and Conſtable of England, by

(*a*) Monaſt. Ang. Vol. ii. p. 1025. n. 11. 46. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. i. p. 633, 634. Thynne's *alias* Lancaſter's Genealogical Account of the Botelers of Kent.

(*b*) Carte's Introduction to the Life of James Duke of Ormond, p. iii.

(*c*) Laurence's State of Ireland, p. 195.

(*d*) See the Patent in Carte's Introduction. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. i. p. 95.

[*A*] *Who declare in favour of le Boutiller, or Butler, againſt them all.*] We are told, that Mr. Roberts, Ulſter King of Arms in Ireland, took a great deal of pains in compiling a Genealogical Hiſtory of the family of Ormond, wherein he labours to prove, that the name of the family was originally Walter, or Water; and in ſupport of this, he brings a great number of inſtances, from which it appears, that Theobald, after he was Butler of Ireland, ſubſcribed Theobald Walter to charters of King John; and he likewiſe ſhews, that his deſcendents preſerved the ſurname of Walter, down to the time of James the firſt Earl of Ormond, who ſtyled himſelf, *Jacobus Walter Pincerna Hiberniæ* (1). We are, likewiſe, told in ſupport of this notion, that Walter is alſo a name of office, and that it ſignifies the ruler over any of the King's foreſts; and this upon the authority of Richard Verſtegan (2): but as that writer is not very correct, I am apt to think he is a little miſtaken here, and that the office he means was ſtyled, not Walter, but Waldtgrave; and that Walter is a contraction or corruption of Waldtheer, *i. e.* the lord or owner of a wood (3), anſwering to the word Sylveſter, or Sylvius; ſo that taking all this together, it is not at all improbable, that the father of Theobald might uſe this ſurname. Sir Robert Rothe, who put the laſt hand to another very laborious account of the deſcent of this noble family, which was written by his father, a Barriſter at Law, and Counſel to Thomas Earl of Ormond, in Queen Elizabeth's time, declares expreſsly for the ſurname of Becket, and will have Theobald, Butler of Ireland, to be the ſon of Walter Fitz-Gilbert, *i. e.* ſon of Gilbert Becket; and many writers concur in deriving this family from Walter Becket, a younger brother of Thomas, Archbiſhop of Canterbury (4). That the Earls of Ormond were deſcended ſome way or other from the family of Becket, is aſſerted in an act of parliament; but this does not prove that the ſurname of the family was Becket, ſince they might be deſcended as well by marriage; which notion may be ſupported from two pedigrees, wherein it is ſo laid down: but as theſe pedigrees are inconſiſtent with each other, ſo the Reverend Mr. Carte has clearly ſhewn, that they are irreconcileable to truth (5). But the Reverend Mr. John Butler, a clergyman in Northamptonſhire, being diſſatisfied with all the accounts he had met with, and even with that of the famous Sir William Dugdale (6), who, to ſay the truth, ſpeaks very cautiouſly of this family, being ſenſible of the imperfections of his materials, reſolved to ſet this whole matter in a new light; and the ſtory he tells us is this: That Richard I. Duke of Normandy had, beſides his ſon Richard II. by Gunora, another ſon by a lady whom he does not mention, whoſe name was Geoffry, Count of Brionis; who had iſſue Giſlebert, who was guardian to William the Conqueror. He had alſo two ſons, Richard Earl of Clare, and Baldwin. This Richard Earl of Clare was Cupbearer in ordinary to William I. and had five ſons; Gilbert, Roger, Walter, Robert, and Richard: theſe two laſt mentioned often ſupplying their father's place, took from thence the ſurname of Bouteillers. Robert, after his father's death, became Cup-bearer to Henry I. and had iſſue Walter, and other ſons. Walter ſucceeded him as Cup-bearer, and was Baron of Baynard Caſtle; and the eldeſt ſon of this Walter was Herveus, who was the father of Theobald, the firſt Butler of Ireland (7). This Reverend Gentleman has taken a great deal of pains to ſhew, that the ſurname of Botiller was much ancienter than the grant of this office to Theobald; whence he would infer, that the ſurname of the family was not either Walter or Becket, but Botiller or Butler. All this very eminently demonſtrates, that it is a fruitleſs thing to expect either exactneſs or certainty in matters of this nature; and, indeed, having looked into the pedigrees of ſeveral families of this name in England, I find different accounts of its origin in almoſt every one of them.

(5) *Id. ibid.*

(6) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 305.

(7) Carte's Introduction, p. xxi.

(1) See an account of this performance, and the arguments contained therein, in the Rev. Mr. Carte's Introduction, p. xi.

(2) Reſtitution of Decayed Intelligence, Antwerp, 1606, p. 329.

(3) Gotheldt, Antiq. Germ. p. 359.

(4) Carte's Introduction, p. ix, x.

Elizabeth, daughter of Edward I., was, in conſideration of that marriage, created, by Edward III., Earl of Ormond; which being a large territory, whereas Carrick was only a manor, the family bore this title, and, in ſucceeding times, ſeldom uſed that of their more ancient honour (*e*). It was to the ſame perſon, and on account of the ſame marriage, that King Edward III. granted by patent, dated at Wallingford November 9, 1358, the regalities and liberties of Tipperary, and the rights of a palatine in that county (*f*). He died January 6, 1307-8, and was ſucceeded by his ſon James, the ſecond, commonly called the *Noble Earl*, on account of his being great-grandſon to King Edward I. In 1359, he was appointed Lord Juſtice of Ireland; and on July 24, 1376, he was again intruſted with that power, with an appointment of five hundred pounds a year, which was the uſual ſalary (*g*). He died October 18, 1382, and was ſucceeded by his ſon James, the third Earl of Ormond, who had alſo the honour to be appointed Lord Juſtice of Ireland by King Richard II., July 25, 1392. He was afterwards made Conſtable of Ireland by King Henry IV., who alſo intruſted him with the office of Lord Juſtice of that kingdom, in poſſeſſion of which he died, Sept. 7, 1405 (*h*). He left two ſons, James, the fourth Earl of Ormond, and Sir Richard le Botiller. This Earl of Ormond had a very remarkable honour done him; for he was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland before he was of age, by commiſſion dated the eighteenth of December, in the ninth year of the reign of Henry IV. In 1420, he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland by King Henry V., and ſeveral times after enjoyed the ſame honour (*i*). He died Auguſt 23, 1452, and left behind him three ſons, James, John, and Thomas. The firſt of theſe, ſtiled James, the fifth Earl of Ormond, was, in 1449, created by King Henry VI. Earl of Wiltſhire; two years after he was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland; and adhering ſteadily to King Henry VI. he was not only appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for ten years, but was twice made High-Treaſurer of England, and honoured with the Garter. He had a large ſhare in the battle of Wakefield, fought December 21, 1460, in which the Duke of York was killed; but being taken priſoner the year following, at the bloody battle of Towton in Yorkſhire, he was beheaded on the firſt of May 1461, at Newcaſtle (*k*). His brother John, who was with him in that battle, was attainted; but by the kindneſs of Edward IV. he was reſtored in blood, and ſucceeded to the earldom of Ormond. He was looked upon as one of the fineſt gentlemen of that age, and was ſent Ambaſſador to ſeveral Courts of Europe; but, in a fit of devotion, making a journey to Jeruſalem, he died in the Holy Land in 1478 (*l*). Thomas, his younger brother, being reſtored in blood, ſucceeded him as Earl of Ormond, who was of the Privy-Council in England to King Henry VII., and ſummoned to Parliament there by the ſtile of Lord Rochford. He died in 1515, and left iſſue two daughters, the youngeſt of which, Margaret, married Sir William Bullen, Knight of the Bath, by whom ſhe had Sir Thomas Bullen (*m*). Sir Pierce Butler, grandſon to Sir Richard Butler, ſecond ſon of James the third Earl of Ormond, ſucceeded to that title, and to all the eſtates of the family in Ireland, of which he was appointed Lord Deputy in 1521, and in 1524 he was made Lord Treaſurer of that kingdom. He had great diſputes there with the potent family of Fitzgerald; and finding himſelf oppreſſed by their intereſt at Court, he came over here to ſolicit for redreſs (*n*). At this time, King Henry VIII. being much enamoured of the Lady Anne Bullen, prevailed upon Sir Pierce Butler to reſign his earldom of Ormond, that he might beſtow it upon her father; with which propoſition he complied, though probably very unwillingly, and becauſe he durſt not refuſe it (†) [*B*]. He was thereupon created with great pomp at Windſor, Feb. 23, 1527-8, Earl of Oſſory; and, beſides other gratifications, he was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, which he held for ſeveral years; and, in proceſs of time, on the death of Sir Thomas Bullen, he was reſtored to the title of Earl of Ormond, which was afterwards confirmed to his ſon by act of parliament.

(*e*) By which the Rev. Mr. Carte ſuggeſts, the Kildare family gained precedency of that of Ormond. Selden's Titles of Honour, p. 639.

(*f*) Carte's Introduction, p. xxx ii.

(*g*) Lib. CCC. Lambeth Hiſtorical Account of the Government of the Lordſhip and Kingdom of Ireland, from Records, MS. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. i. p. 125.

(*h*) Annal. Hibern. ad ann. 1405. Cox's Hiſtory, Vol. i. p. 145.

(*i*) Hiſtorical Account of the Governors of Ireland.

(*k*) Dugdale's Baron. Vol. ii. p. 235.

(*l*) Carte's Introduction, p. xlii.

(*m*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 385.

(*n*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. i. p. 220.

(†) Lib. G. Lambeth, p. 121. Selden's Titles of Honour, p. 640.

[*B*] *Probably very unwillingly, and becauſe he durſt not refuſe it.*] It is ſtrange to ſee what lengths princes will go to gratify their paſſions. Sir Thomas Bullen was, indeed, the grandſon of Thomas Earl of Ormond, and the grand-nephew of James Earl of Wiltſhire and Ormond; but both his father and his uncle had been attainted for their adherence to the houſe of Lancaſter: yet now the King was fond of ſeeing the former title revived, and the latter added to it, in favour of a perſon whoſe daughter he thought fit to marry; and, therefore, not ſatisfied with raiſing him to the title of Viſcount Rochford, and to the Order of the Garter, he, on the 8th of December, 1530, created him Earl of Wiltſhire and Ormond, limiting the former honour to the heirs-male of his body, and the latter to his heirs general (8); and, on the 24th of January following, he was made Lord Privy Seal; which, however, did not hinder him from having the diſmal mortification of ſitting in judgment upon his daughter, when the King thought fit to proceed againſt her, in order to take away her life. With that unfortunate princeſs died her brother George Viſcount Rochford, who was alſo attainted, and left no iſſue; and, in 1539, Thomas Earl of Wiltſhire and Ormond departed this life (9), which renders it not eaſy to apprehend what is ſaid by the hiſtorian of the Ormond family, as to Peter Earl of Oſſory's being reſtored to the title of Ormond, February the 22d, 1537-8, becauſe then Sir Thomas Bullen was living, or Sir William Dugdale is much miſtaken as to the time of his death. The act of parliament mentioned in the text was made in the 35th year of the King, and ſeems to be intended to ſecure effectually the honour of Ormond to James, the then Earl, and his heirs-male, with the like precedency as the ancient Earls of Ormond had. This was a point of juſtice certainly due to the family, and ſeems to be one of the worthieſt actions of that prince's reign (10). We may from hence diſcern the reaſon why Queen Elizabeth had always ſo great a regard for Thomas Earl of Ormond, and ſupported him, notwithſtanding he had the misfortune to be upon very bad terms with her potent favourite, Robert Earl of Leiceſter.

(8) i. Pat. 21 Hen. VIII. p. 2. Decemb. 8.

(9) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 306.

(10) See the act of parliament, as referred to in the text.

(o) See this Act in Carte's Introduction, p. xlvi.

ment (o). This Pierce or Peter, Earl of Ormond and Offory, died Auguſt 26, 1539, leaving two ſons, James and Richard; the latter of whom was created, by King Edward VI., Viſcount Mountgarret, which honour continues in his poſterity. James, the eldeſt ſon, was, in his father's lifetime, created Viſcount Thurles, and enjoyed moſt of the great offices of the kingdom, ſucceeded his father as Earl of Ormond and Offory, and was Lord Treaſurer of Ireland the greateſt part of his life. He made a very great figure in his country, and would very probably have made a much greater, if he had not been cut off by ſudden death: for coming over hither at the King's command, he was poiſoned at a feaſt at Ely-houſe, and died October 28, 1546 (p). He left behind him, by his wife the daughter and heireſs of the Earl of Deſmond, ſeven ſons, Thomas, Edmund, John, Walter, James, Edward, and Pierce. Thomas, Earl of Ormond and Offory, was bred up with King Edward VI., and was in great favour with him, as he appears to have been alſo with Queen Mary, and much more ſo with Queen Elizabeth, who conſidered him as her kinſman and near relation; and, in the firſt year of her reign, ſhe not only confirmed a grant of lands made to him by her ſiſter, and releaſed the reſerved rent, but alſo granted him the office of Lord Treaſurer of Ireland, which high poſt he held during all her reign, and afterwards during his life (q). She likewiſe confirmed to him the grant of the regalities of Tipperary; and ſo great a confidence ſhe had in his loyalty, that when two of his brothers, Edmund and Peter, took part with the rebels, ſhe ſent the Earl over to reduce them, which he did by fair means. He alſo managed a long war againſt the Earl of Deſmond, and contributed greatly to his defeat and deſtruction (r). He was afterwards General againſt the famous rebel Tyrone, and without involving himſelf in any of the factions that diſturbed the Government, contented himſelf with doing his duty, and this with great hazard to himſelf and his family: for, by the treachery of the Iriſh, he was taken priſoner at a conference, and very hardly treated; but at laſt he was ſet at liberty, from an apprehenſion that he might have died in their hands, which would not have anſwered their purpoſes (s). He was about ſeventy years of age when King James came to the throne, who renewed his commiſſion of Lieutenant-General of the army, and ſhewed him great reſpect. He was the firſt Proteſtant of his family, and very ſincere in his religion. He had the misfortune to be quite blind for about twelve years before his death, and had the mortification alſo to loſe his only ſon, which gave him much grief (t). He died in 1614, leaving behind him an only daughter, Elizabeth, whom he married firſt to Theobald, the youngeſt ſon of his ſecond brother Sir Edmund Butler, intending that young gentleman for his heir, whom he procured to be created Viſcount Tulleophelim; but he dying ſoon after, King James prevailed upon, or rather obliged him, to give his daughter in marriage to Sir Richard Preſton, a favourite of his, whom he created Baron Dingwall, in the kingdom of Scotland (u). But notwithſtanding this marriage, the Earl, both by a deed and by his will, ſettled all his eſtates, excepting one manor, and ſix thouſand pounds portion which he aſſigned his daughter, upon his heirs at law. Upon his death, Sir Walter Butler of Kilcaſhe, eldeſt ſon to Sir John Butler, who was the third ſon of James the ſixth Earl of Ormond, ſucceeded to that title, and ought to have ſucceeded to the eſtate, but that the ſuperior intereſt of the Lord Dingwall kept him from it; and ſo partial was King James in this affair, that he undertook to decide the cauſe himſelf; but making ſuch an award as the Earl of Ormond and Offory would not ſubmit to, he was, for his contempt, committed to the Fleet, where he remained a priſoner eight years (w) [C]. In 1625 he recovered his liberty; and going over ſoon after into Ireland, died at Carrick, Feb. 24, 1632. He married Ellen, daughter to Edmund Viſcount Mountgarret, by whom he had iſſue two ſons and nine daughters. His eldeſt ſon,

(p) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. i. p. 280.

(q) Carte's Introduction, p. lviii.

(r) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. i. p. 422.

(s) Carte's Introduction, p. lxii.

(t) Short Hiſt. of the Ormond Family, p. 149.

(u) Ancient Peerage of Scotland, p. 133.

(w) Carte's Introduction, p. xvii.

[C] *Where he remained a priſoner eight years.*] There was ſomething in this caſe exceſſively hard. Sir Richard Preſton was a gentleman who had been bred up with the King, and therefore it is no wonder that he had an affection for him: but this was no excuſe for his obliging the Earl of Ormond to marry his daughter to him, and much leſs could it be a reaſonable cauſe for his making uſe of ſuch violent methods, for depriving Walter Earl of Ormond of what had been ſettled upon him many years before by deed, and was again confirmed to him by will (11). But, notwithſtanding all this, that noble Earl continued always loyal, and attributed the wrongs done him to the King's miſinformations, or miſconceptions. His Majeſty is ſaid to have relented at laſt; and, when preſſed by ſome of his Scotch favourites to carry things farther, he anſwered, 'That they had been carried 'too far already; and that if ever he looked into this 'affair again, it ſhould be to unravel what he had done.' The Earl of Ormond, however, did not recover his liberty till King James's death: and if we conſider this tranſaction attentively, it will be found a moſt exorbitant and moſt ungrateful ſtretch of prerogative againſt a family the moſt unſtained in its honour, and the moſt affectionate to the Engliſh Intereſt, and the Crown, of any that had ſettled in Ireland, which had been remarkably diſtinguiſhed in former reigns, and for which King James pretended to have the higheſt eſteem and regard, while he was oppreſſing one branch of it, and offering violence to the inclinations of the other; for the Lady Dingwall adhered cloſely to her father's ſentiments, and was far from being in the leaſt inſtrumental to the wrongs done to her couſin, though it was pretended they were done for her ſake. C.

(11) Carte's Introduction, p. lxvii.

*** [The behaviour of King James the Firſt to Walter Earl of Ormond reflects peculiar diſgrace on the character of that monarch. He became convinced that he had made an unjuſt deciſion; he was ſenſible that he ought to unravel what he had done; and yet he perſiſted in depriving the Earl of Ormond of his right, and in ſuffering him to be kept a priſoner. The King could declaim, upon occaſion, on the duties of a prince, and particularly on his obligations to do juſtice; but, at the ſame time, he could be guilty of the moſt flagrant violations of it, to comply with the intereſted and wicked views of his favourites. K.]

Thomas

Thomas Viſcount Thurles, married, againſt his conſent, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Poyntz of Acton (*x*), in the County of Glouceſter. He had the misfortune to be drowned near the Skerries, as he was going to England, December 15, 1619, leaving three ſons and four daughters (*y*). Of theſe ſons, James, the eldeſt ſucceeded his grandfather in his titles, and his anceſtors in their eſtates (*z*), of whom, therefore, we ſhall ſpeak more particularly in the enſuing article.

(*x*) Genealogical Account of the Ancient Families in Glouceſterſhire. *viz.* Pipard, Poyntz, &c.

(*y*) Short Hiſt. of the Ormond Family, p. 155.

(*z*) Carte's Introduction, p. lxvii.

BUTLER (JAMES), Earl, Marquis, and Duke of Ormond; one of the ableſt Stateſmen, moſt accompliſhed Courtiers, and worthieſt perſons of the age in which he flouriſhed. He was the ſon of Thomas Butler, Eſq; eldeſt ſon and heir apparent of Sir Walter Butler of Kilcaſh, by Mrs. Elizabeth Poyntz, and was born on the nineteenth of October 1610, in Newcaſtle-houſe at Clerkenwell, which was then inhabited by his grandfather Sir John Poyntz (*a*). The affairs of his family were at that time in ſuch diſorder, that ſcarcely any man would have imagined he ſhould ſo ſoon have worked himſelf through them, and appeared with that luſtre and dignity he did [*A*]. He was ſent to Hatfield to a carpenter's wife, by whom he was nurſed till he was about three years old, and he was then ſent for over to Ireland by his father and mother. He was frequently carried by them to Thomas Earl of Ormond, who lived about a year after he came over to Ireland; and having a great love to his mother's family, her grandfather having been his conſtant and faithful friend, as well as a reſpect for the nearneſs in blood between them, he was extremely fond of the child, and delighted much in playing with him, though he was then blind (*b*). Upon the deceaſe of the good old Earl, his grandfather, Sir Walter Butler of Kilcaſh, aſſumed that title, and his father was called by courteſy Viſcount Thurles; who coming over to England about the law-ſuits of the family, was unfortunately drowned near the Skerries, December 15, 1619, leaving behind him a widow and ſeven children, in very diſconſolate circumſtances (*c*) [*B*]. James Butler, now in the ninth year of his age, was by courteſy ſtiled Viſcount Thurles, and the next year was ſent over to England by his mother, and placed under the care of Mr. Conyers, a Popiſh ſchoolmaſter at Finchley near Barnet. But Sir William Parſons, having, by ſome artifice, intitled the Crown to the wardſhip of the young Lord Thurles, King James removed him from this ſchool, and ſent him to Lambeth, to be brought up under the care and inſpection of Dr. George Abbot, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, that he might be well fixed in the Proteſtant religion; and in this, as the King's intention was good, and his care viſible, ſo it was indiſputably attended with ſucceſs; though ſome ſay no great regard was had to his education there, and that his circumſtances were very narrow; all which may poſſibly be very true, though there are authorities which may be urged in proof of a contrary opinion, in reſpect, at leaſt, to the Archbiſhop's attention (*d*) [*C*]. While Lord Thurles was at Lambeth, his grandfather, Walter

(*a*) Sir Richard Cox's Epiſtle to the Reader before the ſecond Volume of his Hiſt. of Ireland, from a MS. containing many particulars relating to this noble perſon.

(*b*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. i. p. 4.

(*c*) Sir Richard Cox's Account.

(*d*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. i. p. 5. Sir Richard Cox's Account.

[*A*] *And appeared with the luſtre and dignity he did.*] Beſides the diſputes that happened in this noble family, from the partiality of King James in favour of his countryman Sir Richard Preſton, there were others that took riſe from perſonal cauſes, particularly the high ſpirit of Sir Walter Butler, of Kilcaſh, who was extremely diſpleaſed that his ſon Thomas had married Mrs. Elizabeth Poyntz. Whence this diſpleaſure aroſe, does not appear; for, in point of family, there was no ſort of occaſion to complain, there being, as I take it, ſcarcely a better in England; and as to the lady's qualities, they were ſuch as intitled her to the eſteem of the moſt judicious perſons of that age (1). Add to this, that Thomas Earl of Ormond had the greateſt intimacy with Sir Nicholas Poyntz, this Lady's grandfather, as appears by his ſending him with a challenge to the great earl of Leiceſter (2), which he carried, though againſt his will. It was, probably, this friendſhip between the two families, that brought Mr. Thomas Butler, afterward Viſcount Thurles, to his firſt acquaintance with the young Lady he married; and it appears that her family had a great affection for him and his children: but this produced no alteration in Sir Walter's ſentiments, who, when his ſon and daughter came over to Ireland after the birth of this their eldeſt ſon, did not ſuffer them to live in the ſame houſe with him (3); ſo that few perſons have been born, or bred, under more untoward circumſtances, than attended the coming into the world, the infancy, and even the youth, of this great man, who, notwithſtanding, gave early hopes of his becoming, in time, all that he afterwards was. So irreſiſtible are the efforts of a great genius, and ſo much ſuperior to the injuries of fortune!

(1) The Ancient and preſent State of Glouceſterſhire, by Sir Robert Atkins, p. 202.

(2) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 95.

(3) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. i. p. 3.

[*B*] *A widow and ſeven children, under very diſconſolate circumſtances.*] The affairs of the Lord Viſcount Thurles were in a very perplexed ſituation; his father was under the King's diſpleaſure, and a priſoner in the Fleet; he laboured himſelf under his father's diſpleaſure: the family-eſtate was under ſequeſtration; and the liberties of the County-palatine of Tipperary had been ſeized by a Quo Warranto; which misfortunes making his preſence neceſſary in England, he was going thither when he had the misfortune to be drowned (4). His iſſue by his Lady were three ſons and four daughters, *viz.* James, who is the ſubject of this article; John, who died at Naples in his travels, unmarried, in 1636; and Richard Butler of Kilcaſh, Eſq. Of his daughters; the eldeſt, Ellen, married the Viſcount Muſkerry, afterwards Earl of Clancarty; Elizabeth, his ſecond, married, firſt, James Purcell, Eſq; and afterwards, Colonel John Fitzpatrick; Mary, the third, eſpouſed Sir George Hamilton, Knight, ſon to the then Earl of Abercorne, and anceſtor to the preſent Earl; the fourth, Eleanor, married Sir Andrew Aylmer, Bart. (5)

(4) Sir Richard Cox's Account.

[*C*] *In reſpect, at leaſt, to the Archbiſhop's attention.*] We are told by Mr. Carte, that, whatever learning the Archbiſhop had himſelf, he ſhewed very little concern to encourage it in others; and that the young Lord Thurles had ſo little notice taken of him, that he was not taught ſo much as to underſtand Latin (6). 'He lived, however, continues he, in the Archbiſhop's family, and was maintained there, though but very indifferently, till after the death of King James. The reaſon of this neglect probably was, that the Archbiſhop conſidered him as a burden impoſed on him by the King, and which he could not, in decency, decline; for he received no allowance for the young Lord's ſubſiſtence, either from the Court, or from the Ormond family, the whole eſtate whereof was under ſequeſtration by an extent from the Crown; and forty pounds a year was all that the young Lord had for his own and his ſervant's clothing and expences.' But Sir Richard

(5) Carte's Introduction to the Life of the Duke of Ormond.

(6) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. i. p. 5.

Walter Earl of Ormond, was in great trouble and perplexity: King James had thrown him into the Fleet for contempt, in refuſing to acquieſce under his award, and ſequeſtered his eſtates, and left him nothing to ſubſiſt upon. In this ſituation things continued during the lifetime of that Prince; but, upon his deceaſe, the Earl recovered his liberty, and part of his eſtate, and then took home his grandſon, who by this time was ſixteen. It does not appear, that by this change there was any more care taken of the young Lord's education. On the contrary, his grandfather left him pretty much to himſelf; ſo that at eighteen, we find him attending the Duke of Buckingham at Portſmouth, though that favourite was the capital enemy of his family; but from the principles of loyalty, hereditary in his noble houſe, the young Lord never found any obſtacles, when his Sovereign or his country required his ſervice (*e*). On the Duke's being ſtabbed by Felton, Lord Thurles returned to London, and embarked in a new ſcene of life: for finding his couſin, the Lady Elizabeth Preſton, at Court, and a very agreeable young Lady, he began to entertain deſires of compromiſing the diſputes that had been ſo fatal to both their families, by marrying her. He met, however, with many and great difficulties in this affair, which might have exhauſted the patience, and been too hard for the prudence of an older man: but his conſtancy in his addreſſes, and his indefatigable attention to remove theſe obſtacles, by degrees got the better of them all at laſt; ſo that, with the King's conſent, ſignified by his letters patents, dated September 8, 1629, he obtained leave to marry her (*f*) [*D*]. This marriage was ſolemniſed the Chriſtmas following; and immediately after he went down to Acton in Glouceſterſhire, the ſeat of his uncle, Sir Robert Poyntz; and there, with the aſſiſtance of his uncle's chaplain, he applied himſelf to, and gained a competent knowledge of, the Latin tongue. About the cloſe of the enſuing year, he went over to Ireland, where ſoon after he purchaſed a troop of horſe; but his affairs requiring his preſence in England, he left his Lady behind him, and paſſing through the north of Ireland, croſſed over to Scotland, and having viſited his Lady's relations in that kingdom, came up to London, where he was at the time of his grandfather's deceaſe, February 24, 1632, by which he became Earl of Ormond (*g*). He returned to Ireland in the beginning of the month of September in the enſuing year, at a very critical juncture, when the Lord Wentworth, afterwards the great Earl of Strafford, entered upon the government of Ireland, with the title of Lord Deputy. He was very early and very advantageouſly taken notice of by that eminent Stateſman, who, amongſt his other ſhining qualities, was an excellent judge of men. He had ſent a meſſage to the Earl of Ormond, in relation to a ſubſcription for the ſupport of the army, which, however legal it might be, was a thing unqueſtionably neceſſary; and this induced the Earl to ſecond the Lord Deputy's deſires, in ſuch a manner, as procured him a very handſome letter of thanks (*h*). His Lordſhip ſoon after came up to Dublin, to pay his compliments to the Deputy; who obſerving him very attentively as he croſſed the Caſtle-yard, ſaw ſomething ſo very extraordinary in his looks and in his mien, that he could not help ſaying to thoſe who ſtood near him, *That if his ſkill in phyſiognomy did not fail him, that young nobleman would make the greateſt man of his family* (*i*): a prediction which did equal honour to the young Earl of Ormond, and to the Lord Deputy, whoſe ſkill in this inſtance moſt certainly did not deceive him. One of the firſt ſteps taken by the new Governor was to call a Parliament, which, though a thing abſolutely neceſſary, he foreſaw would be attended both with danger and difficulty: but, notwithſtanding this, he ventured upon it, and the Houſes met July 14, 1634; to whom he went in great ſtate, the Earl of Kildare bearing the Cap of Maintenance, and the Earl of Ormond the Sword (*k*). In this Parliament, however, there happened a difference be-

(*e*) Narrative of the Expeditions in ſupport of the French Proteſtants in the Reign of Charles I. p. 193.

(*f*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. i. p. 9. Sir Richard Cox's Account.

(*g*) Memoirs of Ireland, p. 135.

(*h*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. i. p. 58. This Letter, dated Sept. 14, 1633, is in the Appendix to the ſecond Volume, p. 56.

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 58.

(*k*) See the manner of holding this Parliament in Strafford's Letters, Vol. i. p. 282.

chard Cox gives ſomewhat a different account of this matter, and more eſpecially of the Archbiſhop's behaviour, which is the more remarkable, becauſe he tranſcribed it from a manuſcript for which he expreſſes great eſteem. Speaking of the mother of Lord Thurles's management of him after his father's unfortunate death, he ſays (7), 'She put him to a *private ſchool* under a *Roman Catholic*; but by order of King *James*, he was removed to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s, Doctor *Abbot*, and by *him* he was *wholly maintained* for *five* or *ſix* years without any *penſion* from *Court*, or *poſſibility of help* from *home*, where all was ſequeſtered and depreſt. By *him* alſo he was firſt inſtructed in the *Proteſtant Religion*, and in the *doctrine* of the *Church* of *England*, unto which he ſtuck faſt to his death.'

(7) Sir Richard Cox's Account.

[*D*] *He obtained leave to marry her.*] The difficulties the Earl of Ormond had to ſtruggle with in this reſpect, are very well worth knowing. That potent favourite the Duke of Buckingham, whoſe ruling paſſion was raiſing every branch of his family to titles of honour, and vaſt eſtates, caſt his eyes upon the Lady Elizabeth Preſton, while a very child, and engaged her father, Sir Richard, to beſtow her upon his nephew George Fielding, ſecond ſon to the Earl of Denbigh; and, with a view to this marriage, this young gentleman was created Lord Fielding of the Caghe in the kingdom of Ireland, and Sir Richard Preſton was created Viſcount Callan and Earl of Deſmond, with remainder to his intended ſon-in-law George Lord Fielding, by which limitation thoſe honours are now in the Denbigh family (8). To ſecure all things more effectually for the favourite's purpoſe, King James was prevailed upon to grant the wardſhip and marriage of James Lord Thurles to the ſaid Earl of Deſmond, which was certainly a very ſtrange act in that Prince (9). But Providence defeated all theſe ſchemes by the murder of the Duke of Bucks, and the death of the Earl of Deſmond, who was drowned in his paſſage between Dublin and Holyhead, October the 28th, 1628. His Counteſs, the daughter of Thomas Earl of Ormond, died eighteen days before him, and recommended it to her daughter, upon her death-bed, to marry her couſin, if poſſible, to put an end to the diſputes in the family (10). After the death of her parents, the Earl of Holland had the wardſhip of this young Lady, and ſhewed, at firſt, a ſtrong inclination to make good the contract that had been entered into with the Denbigh-family; but was, at laſt, content to ſell his intereſt for fifteen thouſand pounds (which was more than he could have got by the other marriage) to my Lord of Ormond, and then the King's leave was eaſily obtained (11).

(8) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 441.

(9) Hiſtory of King James I. p. 575.

(10) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. i. p. 7.

(11) Sir Richard Cox's Account.

tween the Earl and the Lord Deputy, of ſo extraordinary a nature, that, conſidering the temper of the latter, it is a wonder that it was ſo eaſily made up (*l*) [*E*]. But after this they ſeem to have agreed perfectly well. The Deputy was indeed of a very high ſpirit, proceeded in his own way, and dealt roundly with people of all ranks: but the Earl of Ormond having nothing in view, but the ſervice of his country and the honour of the Crown, adminiſtered no ground of offence, but, on the contrary, did ſuch eminent ſervices, and in a way ſo open and free from particular views, that the Lord Wentworth eſteemed and admired him, writing over highly in his favour to England, and, without any application from him, procured him to be ſworn of the Privy-Council in that kingdom, when he was but twenty-four years of age (*m*) [*F*]. The ſame good underſtanding continued after the Lord Deputy was appointed Lord Lieutenant, and created Earl of Strafford: and in the next Parliament of Ireland, which ſat in 1640, the Earl of Ormond was very active, and by his behaviour gave ſuch ſatisfaction, that when the troubles in Scotland rendered it neceſſary to raiſe an army in Ireland, his Lordſhip was made choice of to command it under the Lord Lieutenant; when, by his zeal and dili-

(*l*) Memoirs of the Ormond Family, p. 98.

(*m*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. i. p. 65. Sir Richard Cox's Account.

[*E*] *That it was ſo eaſily made up.*] We ſhall give the reader the ſtory of this quarrel, from the manuſcript quoted by Sir Richard Cox, and which, it is not impoſſible, might be copied from ſome memoirs of this noble perſon, drawn up by Sir Robert Southwell; for it agrees perfectly with the account given from that gentleman's papers by Mr. Carte; only it is ſhorter, and ſeems to be more plainly expreſſed (12). 'The Lord *Wentworth*, afterwards Earl of *Strafford*, 'went over *Lord Deputy* in 1633. In a while after 'he called a *Parliament*; which being appointed to 'meet within the *Caſtle* of *Dublin*, a *proclamation* was 'iſſued, *That none of the Members, either Peers or 'Commons, ſhould enter with their ſwords.* All obeyed 'the *order* ſave *this young Lord*, who told the *Black 'Rod* at the door, *he ſhould have no ſword of his ex-'cept in his guts.* So being the *only Peer*, who ſat 'that day in *defiance* of the *proclamation*, it fired the '*Lord Deputy*, who was not wont to be *diſobeyed.* The '*Earl* was called upon in the *evening* to anſwer for 'it, who thereupon ſhewed *His Majeſty's Writ*, call-'ing him to *Parliament, cinctus cum gladio*; which 'ſort of *anſwer* being not expected, and finding him 'like to prove an *untractable companion*, it was in de-'liberation *that night*, between the *Lord Deputy* and 'his *two friends* Sir *George Ratcliff* and Mr. *Wan-'desford, whether to trample him quite under foot, or 'to oblige ſo daring a young man, who was now alſo 'grown very popular?* But Sir *George* being for the '*more benign extreme*, he was taken into *favour, ca-'reſſed*, and made one of the *Privy Council*, and no '*opportunities* were from that time forward omitted to '*oblige* him, or ſet him forth in a *high character* to '*His Majeſty*.' Mr. Carte's remark upon this tranſaction, is equally pertinent and proper (13). He thinks that his Lordſhip's defence was founded on the inveſtiture of the earldom *per cincturam gladii*, which was a neceſſary badge of that dignity, uſed in all ages as ſuch, and worn by the Earls of England in the Houſe of Lords; a practice to which the Iriſh Earls were by expreſs law obliged to conform; ſo that in this reſpect he had a ſtatute to ſupport him, with which no order of the Lord Deputy could diſpenſe; and I am entirely of his opinion, that the event in this caſe was very extraordinary, and ſo unlikely to follow from a diſpute with a Lord Deputy, ſo impatient of contradiction, that it was no encouragement to any body to engage another. It is, however, poſſible, that Lord Wentworth, who was a man of great ſpirit, might be ſecretly pleaſed with this ſimilitude of temper in another man of quality; and it is farther probable, that finding it impoſſible to cenſure his Lordſhip's conduct, he thought it more agreeable to good policy to approve it.

(12) Sir Richard Cox's Account.

(13) Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. i. p. 65.

[*F*] *Procured him to be ſworn of the Privy Council, when he was but twenty four years of age.*] We cannot well have better lights upon any ſubject, than are derived to us on this, from the letters of the Earl of Strafford; which being of a private nature, and written in confidence, moſt certainly ſhow the real ſentiments of his heart; who, beſides, was not a man at all inclined to diſſimulation. The firſt mention he makes of my Lord Ormond, is in a letter dated Auguſt 3, 1633, wherein, having taken notice of the manner in which he had provided for the pay of the army on his firſt coming over, he has this paragraph (14). 'My Lord of Ormond, being the Maſ-'ter of the Rolls, made acquainted with this day's 'reſolution of this Council, came the next morning 'to me in a very noble way, to witneſs his full con-'ſent thereunto, as well for himſelf as for all his 'tenants and friends (15).' The only letter in that collection, directed to the Earl of Ormond, is dated from Dublin, June 2, 1634: it is as full and clear, in reſpect to his Lordſhip's conduct, and the Deputy's regard for him, as words can make it, but is too long to be inſerted here. But in a diſpatch, dated from Dublin Caſtle, December 16, 1634, directed to Mr. Secretary Cook, intended as a general view of the ſtate of Ireland at that time; and on the margin of which, his Majeſty's ſenſe of the Lord Deputy's repreſentations is written by the hand of the ſaid Secretary; there is this very remarkable paragraph (16). 'In the higher Houſe there is my Lord of Ormond, 'that hath as much advantage of the reſt in judgment 'and parts, as he hath in eſtate and blood; and one 'who, upon my obſervation ſince I came thither, 'expreſſeth very good affections to the crown and 'government, ſo as I hold him a perſon of conſe-'quence, and fit to receive ſome mark of his Ma-'jeſty's favour, and humbly offer it to his Majeſty's 'wiſdom, Whether it were not ſeaſonable to make 'him a Counſellor: he is young, but take it from 'me, a very ſtaid head; ſo as I ſhould think we had 'got much the better, by the exchange of the Earl 'of Ormond for Sir Piers Croſby. Beſides, it will 'be impoſſible, without his Lordſhip, to find a title 'for the crown to Ormond, ſo as without him no 'plantation neither, in which reſpect it were good 'to take him in. But as in all others of this nature, 'I refer it clearly to the King's wiſdom, as one who 'will have no other intereſts here but the ſervice of 'my maſter; nor, upon my faith, did I ever ſo much 'as mention this, or any ſuch thing, to my Lord of 'Ormond.' The Anſwer to this part of the Lord Deputy's letter runs thus. 'All theſe you mention 'ſhall find themſelves remembered; and for the Earl 'of Ormond, your Lordſhip ſhall receive herewith his 'Majeſty's warrant to ſwear him Counſellor accord-'ing to your advice.' In other letters of his, he ſpeaks of him to the King, and to his miniſters, with all imaginable eſteem and reſpect. After his troubles came on, and he was priſoner in the Tower, he looked upon the Earl as his ſincere friend, and writes to him with all imaginable freedom and confidence. In a letter (17) dated from the Tower, December the 17th, 1640, he informs him, that he had mentioned him to the King for Lord Deputy of Ireland, and that he was hindered from that preferment by his own countrymen, and the Earl Marſhal, that is, the then Earl of Arundel. When things bore harder upon him, and his great ſoul felt, though it never ſunk under, his misfortunes, he wrote with ſome degree of paſſion, to the Earl of Ormond. His letter is dated from the Tower, February the 3d, 1640 (18). It begins thus: 'My noble Lord, there is ſo little reſt given me, as 'I have not time ſcarce to eat my bread. I truſt to 'have more quietneſs after a while. Your Lordſhip's 'favours towards me in theſe afflictions are ſuch as 'have, and ſhall, level my heart at your foot ſo long 'as I live, or elſe let me be infamous to all men.' There is ſomething ſo generous and ſo great in the friendſhip between theſe noblemen, that it ought to be tranſmitted with juſt praiſe to poſterity.

(14) Strafford's Letters, Vol. i. p. 99.

(15) *Ibid.* p. 260.

(16) *Ibid.* p. 352, 353.

(17) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. iii. p. 28, 29.

(18) *Ibid.* p. 29.

gence, the forces intended to be raiſed were levied in a ſhort ſpace of time: and in the month of Auguſt, the Lord Lieutenant, being then in England, ſent over a deputation to the Earl of Ormond, conveying to him all the powers granted to him by his commiſſion, as Lieutenant General (*n*). But the fair weather in Ireland did not laſt long. The ſame Parliament that had thanked the King, in the moſt ſolemn manner, for ſending them ſo good a Lieutenant as the Lord Strafford, now, in his abſence, and when they found he was like to be attacked in England, fell upon him firſt in Ireland. The Houſe of Commons drew up a long and vehement remonſtrance, conſiſting of ſixteen articles; and endeavours were uſed to procure a like remonſtrance from the Houſe of Lords; but they were defeated by the ſtrenuous oppoſition of the Earl of Ormond and his friends; for which the King thanked him, by a letter dated the twenty-ſecond of November 1640 (*o*). It was his Majeſty's intention, at this time, to have declared the Earl, Deputy of Ireland; but this being oppoſed by the Committee of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, was laid aſide. The Earl was no leſs active and diligent in the enſuing Parliament, though with different ſucceſs: but his zeal and candour were ſo well known and ſo thoroughly underſtood, that the laſt requeſt the Earl of Strafford made the King, when he knew that there were no hopes of ſaving his life, was, that his Blue Garter might be given to his friend the Earl of Ormond; with which his Majeſty would very readily have complied, but that the Earl upon the firſt notice of it declined it; modeſtly hinting, that his own loyalty ſtood in no need of rewards to confirm it, and that perhaps ſuch an honour might be employed more for his Majeſty's ſervice (*p*) [G]. When the great rebellion broke out in that kingdom, on the twenty-third of October 1641, the Earl was at his country ſeat of Carrick, the government being then in Sir William Parſons and Sir John Borlace, who had the title of Lords Juſtices. As ſoon as the King was informed of it, he thought of the Earl of Ormond for Lieutenant-general; and though the Earl of Leiceſter, at the deſire of the Parliament, was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, yet the Lords Juſtices, upon notice of his Majeſty's deſignation, ſigned a commiſſion to the Earl of Ormond, to be Lieutenant-general and Commander in Chief of the army, which conſiſted at that time of no more than three thouſand men (*q*). The Earl no ſooner received this commiſſion, than he propoſed acting vigorouſly againſt the rebels, with the ſmall force he had, and what additional troops could be immediately raiſed, that they might not have time to form or arm themſelves effectually: but from ſome fatal diſtaſte which the Lords Juſtices had to the Earl, grounded, as a certain writer tells us, on their apprehenſion, that, if he ſuppreſſed the rebellion, he would be rewarded with the government of Ireland, they oppoſed him in every thing; ſo that with the beſt intention in the world he was not able to do much; but what he could do he did (*r*). In the latter end of the month of January 1642, the rebels having advanced within ſeven miles of Dublin, the Earl marched out of that city, with 2000 foot, 300 horſe, and five ſmall field-pieces, and diſlodged them from the Naas, and would have proceeded farther if thoſe who had the ſupreme power would have permitted him. Soon after he made another excurſion, by which he obliged the rebels to raiſe the blockade of Drogheda, and would have purſued them vigorouſly if he had not been recalled. In the beginning of April he made a third expedition; and having beaten the rebels from their ſeveral poſts, at laſt, on the fifteenth of that month (*s*), he came up with and engaged them at Kilruſh. The forces under his command did not exceed three thouſand five hundred men, and thoſe of the rebels were above double his number. He attacked, however, and routed them entirely, with the loſs only of twenty killed and forty wounded; whereas the rebels had ſeveral hundred killed upon the ſpot, and would have ſuffered more, if they had not had a bog near them. This was a very glorious and important ſervice; and though the enemies of the Earl of Ormond had raiſed many cruel calumnies againſt him in England, yet they were ſo ill put together, and ſo apparently falſe, that the Houſe of Commons ordered the Speaker to write him a letter of thanks for his ſervices; and it was propoſed to move the Houſe of Lords, to join with them in beſeeching his Majeſty to make the Earl of Ormond Knight of the Garter. They likewiſe ſent him a jewel of the value of ſix hundred and fifty pounds; and, in the account of the victory, publiſhed by order of their Houſe, celebrated his conduct and courage very highly (*t*). The Earl made another expedition that year with great ſucceſs; and there is no doubt but the rebels had been purſued with much greater effect, if he had been more at liberty: but ſtanding very indifferently with the Lords Juſtices, and diſputes ariſing ſoon after with the Earl of Leiceſter,

(*n*) Memoirs of Ireland, p. 197.

(*o*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. i. p. 115.

(*p*) See this explained in the note [G].

(*q*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. p. 81.

(*r*) Memoirs of Ireland, p. 236.

(*s*) Cox's Hiſt of Ireland, Vol. ii. p. 106.

(*t*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. i. p. 312—314. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. p. 106. Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 21.

[G] *Might be employed more to his Majeſty's ſervice.*] One of the laſt acts of the Earl of Strafford's life, was to teſtify his kindneſs and regard to the Earl of Ormond, whom he recommended, the evening before he ſuffered, to his Majeſty, by the Lord Primate Uſher; and at that time it is moſt likely, that he deſired his Garter might be given to him; for amongſt the memoranda ſet down in the Primate's almanack, of the anſwers given him, by the King, to the Earl's requeſts, which were to be communicated to him the morning he ſuffered (the 7th), is this (19): 'Earl of Ormond ſhall be Knight of Garter in his place.' We are indebted to Mr. Carte for the account given us of the Earl's declining this honour (20), and of his reaſon for it. That he did decline it is certain, ſince he did not receive the Garter during this reign; and that he did it from the motive aſſigned in the text, is highly probable, becauſe he could not well do it from any other: for as things ſtood at that time, the Parliament would not have been diſpleaſed at his receiving that favour.

(19) Strafford's Letters, Vol. ii. p. 418. 432. Sir Richard Cox's Account.

(20) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. i. p. 139.

who

who was Lord Lieutenant, the ſervice in Ireland was much impeded (*u*). But the King, being very ſenſible of the Earl's entire fidelity to him, releaſed him in ſome meaſure from the difficulties he was under, by appointing him Lieutenant-general, by an independent commiſſion from himſelf under the Great Seal; and ſoon after, of his own motive, he created him Marquis of Ormond (*w*), as a farther mark of his favour. All this, however, did not contribute much to the proſecution of the war. The Iriſh became daily more and more numerous, and the Engliſh weaker and weaker; and, which was ſtill worſe, they were ſo ill ſupplied, that the only method that could be found to enable the army once more to take the field, was by calling in and coining half the plate of thoſe who were ſo good ſubjects as to ſend it. At length, however, the Marquis of Ormond marched with two thouſand five hundred foot, and five hundred horſe; on the ſecond of March 1642-3, and, after ſome ſmall advantages, came before the town of Roſs. On the twelfth he battered it in breach and made an aſſault, in which he was repulſed. This encouraged the Iriſh General, Preſton, to advance with ſix thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe to its relief; and being an officer of experience and judgment, he not only threw a ſupply into the place, but alſo forced the Marquis of Ormond to a battle, under various diſadvantages, excluſive of the ſuperiority of numbers of two to one (*x*). The horſe of the Marquis's army, or at leaſt the beſt part of them, were weak enough to fancy that they were betrayed by him, which made them give way, and thereby endangered his life and liberty; but having got with ſome difficulty to his foot, he charged the Iriſh ſo briſkly, that he broke them, and gained a complete victory, taking Lieutenant-general Cullen and a great number of priſoners, with all the baggage (*y*). If this victory could have been improved, there is no doubt the conſequences of it would have been great: but the government in Ireland was ſo weak, and the people either ſo poor, or had ſo little confidence in their rulers, that no ſufficient ſupply was furniſhed for the uſe of the army; and this, together with the commands he received from Oxford, obliged the Marquis of Ormond to think ſeriouſly of a ceſſation which the rebels had propoſed; more eſpecially when by a reſolution of the Privy-Council at Dublin, dated the twenty-ſecond of June 1643, it was declared that the army could not be ſupplied with ten thouſand pounds, half in proviſion and half in money, in which caſe the Marquis offered to beſiege Wexford, diſcontinue the treaty, and proſecute the war (*z*). Being thus diſappointed on one ſide, and preſſed on the other, he concluded, but not without the greateſt caution, and with the beſt advice, ſuch a ceſſation on the fifteenth of September 1643 [*H*]. The news of this ceſſation was

(*u*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. i. p. 319. Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 22.

(*w*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. i. p. 337. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland.

(*x*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. p. 1, 11. Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 21, 22.

(*y*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. i. p. 404.

(*z*) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 23. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. p. 128. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. i. p. 437.

[*H*] *Such a ceſſation on the 15th of September*, 1643.] There was no action of this noble perſon's life that has been more cenſured, than his making this ceſſation, which, it muſt be allowed, had a bad effect upon his Majeſty's affairs in England, and muſt likewiſe be confeſſed not to have done much good in Ireland (21). Yet, upon a fair and candid inquiry, it will not be found that the Earl of Ormond acted any other part than became a perſon of ſtrict honour, and ſteady principle. It has been very truly obſerved, that there were, at that time, no leſs than five parties in Ireland; the Proteſtants loyal to the King, at whoſe head was the Earl of Ormond; the Proteſtants inclined to the Parliament, who were countenanced, at leaſt, by one of the Lords Juſtices; the Papiſts that were well affected to the Conſtitution, whoſe chief was the Marquis of Clanrickard; the Papiſts that meant to adhere to the Pope, headed by the greateſt part of their Clergy; and the Scots who meant well to themſelves, who were reſolved to keep what they had got, and deſired to get more if they could. As all theſe parties had different views, ſo they purſued different meaſures. The Earl of Ormond was for proſecuting the war againſt ſuch as were actually rebels, but not for driving all the Iriſh to deſpair, which he thought would ſtrengthen the rebels (22). The Lords Juſtices were for the continuance of the war, though cold in the proſecution of it; but, at the ſame time, violent in refuſing the ſubmiſſions, forfeiting the eſtates, and executing, by law, ſuch of the Iriſh Papiſts as fell into their hands, depending upon a force from England, ſooner or later, to ſupport their conduct. The wiſer part of the Iriſh were for obtaining a toleration of their religion, and returning to their duty. The wilder ſort, who, by the way, were much the majority, aimed at throwing off, what they called, the Engliſh yoke, and ſetting up for themſelves. The Scotch were for the continuance of the war, as that by which they were like to get moſt. The Earl of Ormond laboured all he could to reduce all parties to one mind, and to the obedience that was due to the laws and to the King. While he had any hopes of accompliſhing this by drawing off ſuch as had unwillingly, or upon miſtaken notions, joined the rebels, and reducing thoſe who perſiſted in rebellion, by the ſword, he was for continuing the war, in which no man had acted more vigorouſly, or had more freely expoſed his perſon. But when he ſaw that, by a complication of untoward accidents, this was rendered very impracticable, if not abſolutely impoſſible, he then inclined, from the natural generoſity of his temper, his deſire to prevent unneceſſary effuſion of blood, and, above all, out of regard to his maſter's ſervice, and of preſerving, at leaſt, one kingdom in its obedience, to give way to a ceſſation, with a view of coming at peace (23). That he was not alone in theſe ſentiments, but had the concurrence of the wiſeſt and beſt men of all ranks and profeſſions in that nation, will ſufficiently appear to the candid reader, from the following paper ſigned by thoſe with whom he adviſed, and containing the reaſons which induced them to give him ſuch advice (24), which may be looked upon as a full vindication of the rectitude of his intentions, and the uprightneſs of his conduct, from which we ought to judge of a man's character, and not from events.

(21) Lord Clarendon's Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p 28. Sir John Temple's Hiſt. of the Iriſh Rebellion. Borlace's Hiſtory of Caſtlehaven's Memoirs. Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland.

(22) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. i. p. 450.

(23) See Sir Philip Percival's large Vindication of the Ceſſation, in the Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. i. p. 454—463.

(24) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. p. 133.

'WHEREAS the Lord Marquis of Ormond hath demanded the opinions, as well of the members appointed from the Council-board to aſſiſt his Lordſhip in the preſent treaty, as of other perſons of honour and command, that have, ſince the beginning thereof, repaired out of ſeveral parts of this kingdom to his Lordſhip: They therefore ſeriouſly conſidering how much his Majeſty's army here hath already ſuffered through want of relief out of *England*, though the ſame was often preſſed and importuned by his moſt gracious Majeſty, who hath left nothing unattempted, which might conduce to their ſupport and maintenance, and unto what common miſery, not only the officers and ſoldiers, but others alſo his Majeſty's good ſubjects within this kingdom, are reduced: And further, conſidering how many of his Majeſty's principal forts and places of ſtrength are, at this preſent, in great diſtreſs, and the imminent danger the king-

was but very ill received in England, where the barbarities committed by the Iriſh at the breaking out of the rebellion, made them juſtly conſidered as men who deſerved no regard; and, indeed, they met with none but what they derived from their own force, and the diviſions and weakneſs of the Engliſh, which had compelled the Marquis to act as he did (*a*). On the other hand, the Iriſh obſerved this ceſſation of theirs very indifferently, which put the Marquis under great hardſhips; notwithſtanding which, he ſent over forces to the aſſiſtance of his Royal Maſter; and the King was ſo fully ſatisfied with his fidelity on the one hand, and his capacity on the other, that he reſolved to make him Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in the room of the Earl of Leiceſter (*b*). The Marquis of Ormond had before declined that employment; but found himſelf now in ſuch circumſtances, or rather found the affairs of the King and of the nation in ſuch a ſituation, that he was obliged to accept it, and accordingly was ſworn into, and entered upon his government in the beginning of 1644 (*c*). He found every day new difficulties to ſtruggle with, from the time of his accepting that great truſt. The power of the Iriſh was continually increaſing; the Scots in Ireland were very little inclined to obey his orders; and the Parliament had their agents and emiſſaries every where, which gave him great diſturbance. But what troubled him moſt, was the new treaty, into which he was obliged to enter with the Iriſh, who, on the one hand, dealt very inſincerely with him, had an independent intereſt at Oxford, where they ought to have had none; and, on the other, pretended, on the ſcore of his tenderneſs for many miſguided, whom he therefore conſidered as honeſt, men amongſt them, and his relation to the moſt conſiderable perſons in their councils, to expect more from him than they could have pretended to from another in his place (*d*). All theſe conſiderations taken together, induced him to deſire leave to reſign; which the King would not hear of, but endeavoured to diſpel his apprehenſions, and to remove ſome at leaſt of the many difficulties he was under, by ſending him freſh powers (*e*) and farther inſtructions. Theſe, as they ſhowed his Majeſty's kindneſs towards him, prevailed upon him to continue in his poſt: yet neither theſe inſtructions, nor his care, could prevent many inconveniencies and misfortunes that fell out the enſuing year, when ſeveral attempts were made by the friends of the Parliament to ſurpriſe the fortreſſes [illegible] Ireland, and even Dublin itſelf; which though by his vigilance the Lord Lieutenan[illegible] prevented, yet theſe and other accidents gave ſuch encouragement to the Iriſh, that they broke out again in ſeveral parts of the kingdom (*f*). But the worſt of all was their inſincerity and double dealing in the management of the peace, and their ſtrange negociations with the Earl of Glamorgan, which have been the ſubject of ſo much diſpute, and which, though they remain ſtill not a little in the dark, ſufficiently demonſtrate the honour and integrity of the Lord Lieutenant, who never had any thoughts of peace (*g*) but upon juſt principles. The more prudent and moderate men, however, even amongſt the Iriſh, were equally ſenſible of the neceſſity of a peace, and of a peace concluded under the authority of the Lord Lieutenant, which at laſt they brought very near taking effect; but the arrival of John Baptiſti Rinuncini, Archbiſhop and Prince of Firmo, the Pope's Nuncio, made a great change in affairs (*h*), and excited a new ſpirit of madneſs amongſt thoſe who were beginning to return to their reaſon and duty. Yet, notwithſtanding all theſe diſtractions, and the ſtrange behaviour of the Iriſh, the peace was at laſt concluded at Dublin, on the thirtieth of July 1646, and actually proclaimed at Kilkenny, which had been the chief ſeat of the rebellion (*i*) [*I*]. But the Nuncio

(*a*) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 24. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland Vol. ii. p. 133.

(*b*) Borlace's Hiſt. p. 139. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. p. 137. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. i. p. 467. 475.

(*c*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. p. 137.

(*d*) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 27. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol i. p. 508.

(*e*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. i. p. 141, 142. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. i. p. 519—521.

(*f*) Temple's Hiſt. of the Rebellion. Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, Vol. ii. p. 148. Earl of Caſtlehaven's Memoirs, p. 45. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. i. p. 524.

(*g*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. p. 153. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. i. p. 550.

(*h*) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 31. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. p. 156.

(*i*) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 32. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. p. 166. See alſo the Articles themſelves, in his Appendix, p. 93

'dom is like to fall into; and finding no poſſibility 'of proſecuting this war without large ſupplies, 'whereof they can apprehend no hope or poſſibility 'in due time: They, for theſe cauſes, do conceive 'it neceſſary for his Majeſty's honour and ſervice, 'That the ſaid Lord Marquis aſſent to a ceſſation of 'arms for one whole year, on the articles and con'ditions this day drawn up, and to be perfected by 'virtue of his Majeſty's commiſſion, for the preſer'vation of this kingdom of Ireland. Witneſs our 'hands, the 15th day of September, 1643.'

'Clanrickards and	James Ware,	John Gifford,
St. Albans,	Michael Ernly,	Philip Percival,
Roſcommon,	Foulk Hunks,	Richard Gibſon,
Richd. Dungarvan,	John Poulet,	Henry Warren,
Edward Brabazon,	Maurice Euſtace,	Alanus Cooke,
Inchiquin,	Edward Povey,	*Advocatus Regis.*
Thomas Lucas,		

[*I*] *Which had been the chief ſeat of the rebellion.*] There never was any thing more baſe, more barbarous, or more inconſiſtent with any kind of principles of honour, morality, or religion, than the behaviour of the Iriſh Catholics to the Marquis of Ormond. He marched to Kilkenny in the latter end of Auguſt, with two hundred horſe and twelve hundred foot, and was received there with all the marks of affection, reſpect, and triumph, that it was poſſible for a nation to expreſs. But when he heard what the Clergy were doing at Waterford, he ſuſpected the ſtorm that ſoon followed; and to prevent it, he offered, as the cleareſt mark of the ſincerity of his intentions, to give his lady and children as hoſtages. But even then, he did not ſuſpect any deſign againſt his perſon, or the forces under his command: So that he marched to Carrick, and from thence to Clonmell, where he was denied entrance; notwithſtanding which, he moved on to Caſhell, where he was informed that Owen O Neile had threatened the city with deſtruction, if they received his Excellency; and ſoon after he had full information, that this blood-thirſty rebel was marching with a numerous army to intercept him; upon which he turned back to Calan, and marched from thence to Loghlinbridge, arriving there before O Neile could reach him, and ſo back to Dublin, where he was received with inexpreſſible tranſports of joy, friends and foes having given him over for loſt (25). But the worſt part of this affair was, that General Preſton and his army, who were for the moſt part of Engliſh extraction, ſhould, againſt their own intereſt, ſo far concur in this meaſure, as to let O Neile march through their quarters, without giving the Marquis any notice: And afterwards he behaved ſtill worſe; and therefore the Lord Lieutenant and Council, in vindicating their next meaſure, wrote to the King in theſe terms:

(25) Clarendon's Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 37. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. p. 169. Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. i. p. 577—582.

Nuncio perſiſting in his bad deſigns, called an aſſembly of the Clergy at Waterford, by which he defeated all that might have been expected from that treaty, and had ſuch an influence over the Generals of the Iriſh rebels, as to gain them to a moſt perfidious attempt, for ſurpriſing the Marquis of Ormond, who, upon the faith of the treaty, had marched with a ſmall body of forces to Kilkenny; ſo that with infinite difficulty and danger he retreated back to Dublin, and the rebels immediately took meaſures for beſieging that city (*k*). The King was now in the hands of his enemies, the affairs of the Proteſtants in Ireland in a very low condition (*l*), the city of Dublin in ſo weak a ſtate, that, to excite the diligence of the ſoldiers and inhabitants to fortify it, the Marchioneſs of Ormond, and other Ladies of the firſt quality, carried baſkets of earth to the works with their own hands (*m*). Under theſe circumſtances the Marquis entered into a treaty with the Commiſſioners from the Parliament of England, but was far from being haſty therein, that the Iriſh might have time to conſider coolly of their own intereſts, and the duty they owed to their Sovereign. This had in ſome meaſure its effect. Some overtures were made and received; but their fickleneſs and inſincerity put it out of the Lord Lieutenant's power to deal with them (*n*), and he was at laſt compelled to ſign a treaty with the Parliament's Commiſſioners, which he did on the nineteenth of June 1647, on the beſt terms (*o*) that he could poſſibly obtain [*K*]. In purſuance of this treaty, on the twenty-eighth of July, he left the Regalia to be delivered to the Commiſſioners, and embarking on board Captain Matthew Wood's frigate, was tranſported to England, and landed on the ſecond of Auguſt at Briſtol (*p*). He went from thence to Acton in Glouceſterſhire, the ſeat of his uncle Sir Rober Pointz, and from thence, as ſoon as he could obtain Sir Thomas Fairfax's paſs, to London. As ſoon as he had permiſſion from thoſe who were then in power, he went to pay his duty to his Majeſty at Hampton-Court, to whom he gave in writing a clear and diſtinct account of his proceedings in Ireland, which when his Majeſty had conſidered at his leiſure, he fully and in every part approved; and upon the Marquis's offering to reſign his commiſſion, refuſed it (*q*), adding, that if it could be ever employed with ſucceſs in that kingdom, it muſt be by him. He gave his Majeſty his advice upon the then ſtate of his affairs, and attended him as long as he was ſo permitted: but finding public concerns running daily more and more into confuſion, his private circumſtances much embarraſſed, and his perſon in danger, he judged it neceſſary to provide for his own ſafety, and accordingly, December 25, 1647 (*r*), embarked for France. On his arrival there, he applied his thoughts more immediately to Ireland, and finding that all had happened there which he foreſaw, from the violence of the Nuncio, who had rendered himſelf odious even to all the diſcreet men of his own party, he ſet on foot new ſchemes for the bringing back that kingdom to its duty, by engaging part of the army to declare for the King, and the better part of the Roman Catholics to join with them; which deſign he managed with ſuch ſecrecy and addreſs, that the Lord Inchiquin offered to receive him in Munſter, and the Catholics, that they might be the better able to cloſe with him, expelled the Nuncio (*s*). Having taken all the precautions he was able, for receiving aſſiſtance from France, he ſet out from Paris, went to ſee his family at Caen in Normandy, and from thence embarking on board a cyder-boat of Havre de Grace, very narrowly miſſed being drowned (*t*) by a ſhip-wreck, procured by his own impatience [*L*]. With much ado he got on board a Dutch man of war, attended by the Earls of

(*k*) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 33. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. p. 169. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. i. p. 580.

(*l*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 123.

(*m*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, p. 175. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. i. p. 587.

(*n*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, p. 181, 182. Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 53. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. i. p. 590.

(*o*) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 68, 69. 71.

(*p*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. i. p. 605.

(*q*) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 78. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 11—13.

(*r*) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 82. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 15.

(*s*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, p. 202. Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 83. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 37.

(*t*) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 94. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 38.

terms (26): That the Iriſh, having perfidiouſly violated the peace, had begun a new war, to wreſt the kingdom from his Majeſty, and transfer it to the King of Spain, or the Pope; to avoid which they were forced to apply themſelves to the Parliament.

(26) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. p. 172.

[*K*] *On the beſt terms that he could poſſibly obtain.*] The reader may find theſe articles at large in the Appendix to Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland; and upon reading them it muſt be readily owned, that they were ſuch as none but the Marquis of Ormond could have procured from thoſe who granted them (27). As this negociation had taken up a great deal of time, and as the preſervation of Dublin was, during all that time, chiefly owing to the ſupplies which the Lord Lieutenant procured on his own credit, there was, amongſt other articles, a very reaſonable one for his being reimburſed; which, however, gave his enemies, of whom he had always enow, ſome handle for aſperſing him. The Earl of Clarendon has cleared up this matter in very few words (28). 'Since upon 'the moſt ſtrict and impartial examination of thoſe 'proceedings, malice itſelf cannot fix a colourable 'imputation upon the Marquis, of the want of that 'fidelity and diſcretion which was requiſite to pre'ſerve his Majeſty's intereſt, or of any abſence of a 'ſingular affection and compaſſion towards the people, 'who have the honour to be of the ſame nation with 'him, they endeavoured to get it believed by dark 'and obſcure expreſſions, that in the articles he made 'before the delivery of Dublin, he intended his 'own particular benefit and advantage, and objected 'to him, that he conſented to have thirteen thou'ſand pounds paid to his own uſe and behoof, and 'that the ſame was paid by them, and received by 'him accordingly; and ſo they would perſuade the 'world, that the perſon which frankly expoſed the 'greateſt fortune and eſtate that any ſubject had in 'either of the three kingdoms, and who, while he 'was poſſeſſed of any part of it, made all worthy men 'in want owners of it with him, could betray a truſt 'for a vile ſum of money, and could be ſo ſottiſh as 'to make that infamous bargain, and inſert it into 'the articles which were to be viewed and peruſed 'by all men; whereas he might as eaſily have driven 'that traffic with ſuch ſecreſy, that it could never 'have been diſcovered if he had meant it ſhould be 'ſecret.' His Lordſhip then proceeds to ſhew, in what manner the money, raiſed by the Marquis of Ormond, was applied in the ſupport of Dublin, and other garriſons; how that account was audited by Sir James Ware; and how thoroughly ſatisfied the Parliament Commiſſioners were, that not one penny of this ſum could be acquired by, or come into the pocket of, the Marquis of Ormond, who diſpoſed of it immediately for the payment of debts he had contracted for thoſe ſervices.

(27) Appendix to the ſecond Vol. p. 137.

(28) Clarendon's Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 71.

[*L*] *By a ſhipwreck procured by his own impatience.*] When the Marquis left his family at Caen, he pur-

of Roſcommon and Caſtlehaven, with many other perſons of diſtinction, and arrived ſafely at Cork September 9, 1648. He wrote from thence to the General Aſſembly of the Catholics at Kilkenny, and invited them to treat with him for a peace, to which they ſhewed themſelves very ſincerely inclined, and prevailed upon him to come to his own caſtle at Kilkenny, allowing him guards for his ſecurity; and the peace being concluded, was preſented to him by the hands of the Speaker of that Aſſembly, on the ſeventeenth of January following (*u*). There now ſeemed to be greater hopes than ever, of the revival and recovery of the Royal Authority in that kingdom. But that old intractable rebel, Owen O'Neile, who had revived that fatal diſtinction amongſt the Catholics, of the Old Engliſh and the Old Iriſh, refuſed to ſubmit to the peace, and all the creatures of the Nuncio and the bigotted Iriſh adhered to him (*w*). About this time the news of the King's being beheaded reached Ireland, and was received with ſuch univerſal abhorrence, that the Lord Lieutenant ſaw plainly, the whole Iſland might be brought to acknowledge King Charles II. whom he cauſed to be immediately proclaimed, if O'Neile could be brought over in time (*x*). But his endeavours upon this head proved ineffectual, as did alſo another attempt of his to gain over Jones and Coot; and though to outward appearance the King's affairs in Ireland looked fair and promiſing, yet the Lord Lieutenant quickly found that it was impoſſible to ſhake the reſolution of his open and declared enemies; and at the ſame time there appeared but too many good reaſons to doubt, whether he might ſafely rely upon the aſſurances of many of his pretended friends (*y*) [*M*]. Under all theſe perplexities, amongſt which this was not the leaſt, that a fair underſtanding was grown up between the Parliament Party, and the Old Iriſh under Owen O'Neile, he formed the great and generous deſign of attacking Dublin; in order to which, he had by continual ſkirmiſhes, whereby he ruined the Engliſh horſe, and by the aſſiſtance of his friends, and his own perſonal

(*u*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. p. 204, 205. Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 96, 97.

(*w*) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 104, 105. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. P. ii. p. 3. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. P. 57.

(*x*) Memoirs of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 375.

(*y*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p 58. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. P. ii. p. 3. Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 109.

poſed to ride poſt down to the ferry oppoſite to Havre de Grace: But having rode the firſt ſtage to Dive, he there met the Maſter of an half-decked boat laden with cyder, who promiſed to convey him that evening to Havre; and the Marquis having with him a new book, which he was deſirous of reading by the way, he and his ſervant, for all the reſt of his company were gone before, went on board that ſmall veſſel. The wind turned, and ſat ſo croſs, that they were all night on the water. Towards morning the wind blew very high, and the Maſter being at a loſs, aſked the Marquis of Ormond what hour it was by his watch. The Marquis's impatience to be on ſhore, betrayed him into an error, that had like to have proved fatal to him, and, indeed, occaſioned the loſs of the veſſel. He told the Maſter, it was an hour later than, in fact, it was. This made the man ſo miſcount his tide, that he ran upon the flats, the boat was ſplit, and the Marquis, with ſome difficulty, eſcaped in the cock-boat, which brought him ſo near the ſhore, that men waded into the water, and carried him to land on their ſhoulders. This happening on a Sunday morning, when all people were at church, thoſe helps were wanting, which otherwiſe might have ſaved the cyder-boat (29).

(29) This account is taken from Sir Robert Southwell's Narrative.

[*M*] *The aſſurances of many of his pretended friends.*] It is not eaſy to conceive or deſcribe the ſituation of the Lord Lieutenant at this juncture. He returned into the kingdom without either men or money; and though he found numbers convinced of their paſt miſtakes, and making ſtrong profeſſions of obedience for the future, yet, at the ſame time, there were powerful enemies in different parts of the kingdom. The city of Dublin was in the hands of Colonel Michael Jones, who commanded the Parliament's forces: and beſides that, and other neighbouring garriſons, Colonel Monck was in poſſeſſion of Dundalk and other places, and the ſame party had alſo a ſtrong garriſon in Londonderry (30). Owen O'Neile had an army of near ſix thouſand men compoſed of the old Iriſh, who were wholly at his devotion; and though he always entertained ſome kind of correſpondence with the Lord Lieutenant, yet he was, at the ſame time, treating with Colonel Monk, and other officers of the Parliament party. In England, Oliver Cromwell had been appointed Commander in Chief for the reduction of Ireland, the very fame of which kept up the ſpirits of the rebels, and terrified many that were well affected. At the ſame time, the Lord Lieutenant was controuled by the Commiſſioners appointed by the aſſembly at Kilkenny: the diſputes about command in his own army, kept him in conſtant employment, and it was with great difficulty he found means to adjuſt them. Some alſo of Lord Inchiquin's officers were diſcontented, and this once roſe ſo high as a mutiny at Cork, to appeaſe which the Lord Lieutenant was obliged to go thither in perſon. But what is moſt ſurpriſing, Prince Rupert, who, with part of the fleet that had revolted from the Parliament, was all this time on the Iriſh coaſt; inſtead of giving the Marquis any aſſiſtance, as he might have done, created freſh uneaſineſs by his intrigues with all parties; attended with an apparent jealouſy of, and diſlike to, the Lord Lieutenant, flowing from motives of ambition and ſelf-conceit. Againſt ſo many open and concealed enemies, it was a difficult thing to make proviſion; and yet, for ſome time, the Lord Lieutenant did it with ſucceſs. Owed O'Neile, though he had a good army, wanted ammunition, and thereupon applied to Colonel Monk; who, upon his undertaking to make a diverſion, by cutting off the Marquis of Ormond's ſubſiſtence, promiſed to ſupply him with powder, bullet, and match; to receive which, O'Neile ſent Lieutenant General O'Farrel with a detachment of five hundred horſe; but Lord Inchiquin having intelligence of this, met O'Farrel in his return, routed and deſtroyed his detachment, took the whole convoy, beſieged Dundalk, and, in two days, obliged Monk to ſurrender; by which all the magazines in that place fell into the hands of the Royaliſts (31). This, though it put out of the power of O'Neile to perform what he had promiſed, yet did not hinder him from making a new agreement for relieving Londonderry, for which he had two thouſand pounds in money, a great quantity of ammunition, and two thouſand cows, and this ſervice he performed; ſo that, when it was to ſerve their own turns, the Parliament made no ſcruple at all of deriving aſſiſtance from the moſt guilty of the Iriſh rebels, and the avowed enemies of the Engliſh name and nation. The jealouſies in the Lord Lieutenant's army ſtill ſubſiſted; Cromwell was continually ſending over freſh emiſſaries to ſow ſedition and diſaffection; all the parties in Ireland had their particular views, which they continued to purſue at the expence of the public intereſt, which was the ſole care of the Lord Lieutenant; and it was the ſteadineſs he ſhewed in adhering to it, beyond all other conſiderations, that raiſed him ſo many enemies, who were continually plotting and contriving to defeat all his deſigns; and, in order to it, ſcrupled not to make uſe of any meaſures. Upon this view, therefore, of the ſituation of his affairs, the reader will eaſily judge of the care and perplexity he muſt be in; and if he be inclined to enter into all the particulars of his conduct, and to receive full ſatisfaction as to the grounds of theſe aſſertions, he need only conſult the Earl of Clarendon's elaborate work, in which he will find every ſtep of the Lord Lieutenant's management fully cleared and effectually vindicated (32).

(30) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 38, 39.

(31) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. P. ii. p. 4, 5.

(32) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 93—118.

credit in Ireland, raiſed money enough to keep together a very conſiderable body of forces, though, as he apprehended, ſcarcely ſufficient for the execution of ſo great a ſcheme (z). He came, however, before that city, with an army conſiſting of two thouſand horſe and five thouſand foot, excluſive of the forces under the Lord Dillon of Coſtillo, which were on the North ſide, and conſiſted of two thouſand foot and five hundred horſe. But while they were thus employed, they could not hinder the coming in of a great ſupply from England, conſiſting of two thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe, under the command of the Colonels Reynolds and Venables *(a)*. The Lord Lieutenant was extremely apprehenſive of Jones's making a ſally from the city, in which his forces were now become very near as numerous as thoſe that formed the ſiege, and therefore he was inclined to retire: But the Iriſh troops having been hitherto very ſucceſsful, ſince they were under his command, apprehended that nothing could oppoſe them; and, therefore, they deſired that a body of forces might be ſent to ſecure Baggatrath, in order to prevent any new ſuccours from entering the place (*b*). But while they were buſy in this, Jones, as the Lord Lieutenant apprehended, ſallied out of the city with four thouſand foot and twelve hundred horſe, and attacked the royal army, which was not in the beſt order, with ſuch fury, that notwithſtanding all the Lord Lieutenant could do, in point both of courage or conduct, and he gave very noble inſtances of both, yet they were totally routed with very great loſs of men; and all their baggage, tents, and artillery, fell into the enemies hands (*c*). This was the fatal battle of Rathmines, the loſs of which totally deſtroyed the hopes of the Lord Lieutenant, and threw the affairs of Ireland into greater confuſion than ever: yet ſuch was his preſence of mind, that in his retreat he took the important Fortreſs of Balyſonan, making the Governor believe that Dublin had ſurrendered; by which he covered Kilkenny, and ſoon after forced Jones to raiſe the ſiege of Drogheda *(d)*. There wanted not ſome malicious people, who would have thrown the ſcandal of this great loſs upon the Lord Lieutenant; but the honeſteſt and beſt informed amongſt the Iriſh Papiſts have not only acquitted him on this head, but have fairly owned, that the chief cauſe of the defeat was the army's being betrayed by Edmund Reily, afterwards the Popiſh Archbiſhop of Armagh (*e*) [*N*]. The Lord Lieutenant, to repair in ſome meaſure this great misfortune, renewed his treaty with Owen O'Neile, and having ſhewn him in a clear light his own danger, brought him to conclude it, and promiſe to join him with an army of ſix thouſand foot and five hundred horſe; but before he could execute this, he was taken off by poiſon *(f)*. In the mean time Oliver Cromwell landed with his army at Dublin, about the middle of Auguſt, having eight thouſand foot, four thouſand horſe, and two hundred thouſand pounds in ready money. He entered immediately after his arrival upon action, and advanced without delay to Drogheda, into which place the Lord Lieutenant had thrown a garriſon of two thouſand three hundred men of his beſt troops, under the command of Sir Arthur Aſton, while himſelf endeavoured to collect an army ſufficient to relieve it. Cromwell came before the place on the third of September, and receiving his heavy cannon by ſea, began to batter it on the ninth; and having made a breach that was practicable by the eleventh, he cauſed it to be attacked, carried it that day by aſſault, and with infinite barbarity put to death all that he found therein, which ſtruck ſuch a terror into the Iriſh as could never be worn off *(g)*. A little before this time, King Charles II. ſent the Lord Lieutenant the Garter by Mr. Seymour. The growth of the enemies power, and the diviſions that happened among his own forces, put it entirely out of his power to raiſe an army ſufficient to look Cromwell in the face: But notwithſtanding this, and the deep diſtreſs he was in for want of money, he made a ſhift to force him to raiſe the ſiege of Duncannon, and kept him for ſome time from enlarging his conqueſts. But what Cromwell was notable to effect by force, he knew how to bring about by other means; and having debauched part of Lord In-

(z) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. P. ii. p. 5. Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 113. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 73.

(a) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 118. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. P. ii. p. 6. Memoirs of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 391.

(b) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 122, 123.

(c) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. P. ii. p. 7. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 79.

(d) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 124—127.

(d) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 128, 129.

(e) Peter Walſh's Hiſt. of the Remonſtrance, p. 583—609.

(f) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 137. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 82.

(g) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. P. ii. p. 8. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 84. Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 131.

[*N*] *Edmund Reily, afterwards the Popiſh Biſhop of Armagh.*] This Edmund Reily was, at this time, Vicar-General of Dublin, and had been engaged in a long ſeries of moſt iniquitous negociations between Colonel Michael Jones, the Marquis of Antrim, and Owen O'Neile (33). About four years after this, he was one of the chief authors of a moſt vile and deteſtable action, which was, the burning the black caſtle of Wicklow, and cauſing the people that were in it to be murdered, during the time of a ceſſation; for which inhuman barbarity he would infallibly have ſuffered death, had he not claimed the merit of this other infamous action, of betraying the Marquis of Ormond's army at this fatal action of Rathmines; which ſervice to the rebels he ſo fully made out, that he ſaved his life (34). Yet for all this, we have no very clear relation of the manner in which this act of treachery was committed; but from laying circumſtances together, it ſeems to have been thus: The poſt of Baggatrath was ſo ſituated, as to command a meadow under the walls of Dublin, in which the rebels grazed their horſes, and beſides, lay ſo conveniently towards the river, that by drawing a line from thence, and fortifying it, all future ſupplies might have been cut off, as well as the horſes ſtarved. The Lord Lieutenant detached fifteen hundred men for this ſervice, and they marched on the 1ſt of Auguſt at the fall of night; but though the place was not quite a mile off, yet their Popiſh guides ſo managed the matter, as that the detachment did not reach the ground they were to fortify, till an hour before day. It is therefore very likely, that Reily's treachery conſiſted in corupting theſe guides, and giving notice to the enemy of the march of the detachment; for before they had time to fortify themſelves, they were attacked by the rebels. But notwithſtanding all this, and his future behaviour at Wicklow, this very man was made choice of, by the Pope, to be afterwards Archbiſhop of Armagh, and Primate of all Ireland; which is an inconteſtable proof of Popiſh perfidy, and of the ſmall concern the ſubjects of that religion had for the ſervice of their Sovereign.

(33) Peter Walſh's Hiſt. of the Remonſtrance, p. 583. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. P. ii. p. 7.

(34) Peter Walſh's Hiſt. of the Remonſtrance, p. 609.

chiquin's

chiquin's forces, he thereby weakened the Lord Lieutenant's power extremely (*b*). The Biſhops and Clergy began now to revive their clamour, and to pretend that no good was to be expected ſo long as affairs were directed by Ormond; and their intrigues had ſuch an effect, that at laſt it was openly inſiſted upon, that the Lord Lieutenant ſhould leave Ireland; which, excepting the concern he had for the intereſt of the King, and his ſubjects that were ſtill faithful, was agreeable enough to his inclination; and therefore, when he found he could no longer be uſeful to either, he declared the Marquis of Clanrickard Lord Deputy, and embarked December 5, 1650, for France, carrying with him the Lord Inchiquin, Colonel Wogan, and about forty officers (*i*). The Marquis landed very ſafely in France, and went the beginning of the year following to Paris, where he attended the Queen-Mother and the Duke of York, till the arrival of his Majeſty, after his unfortunate defeat at Worceſter. His finances being now in a very diſordered condition, the King in no condition to aſſiſt him, and the Parliament about to ſhare all the lands in Ireland, belonging to perſons who had fought againſt them, amongſt thoſe that were ſtiled Adventurers, it was found abſolutely neceſſary to ſend the Marchioneſs over, to try if ſhe could not obtain from the Parliament of England an exemption of her own eſtate, that they might have ſomething to ſubſiſt upon (*k*). After her departure the Marquis fell into great ſtraits, and might have fallen into greater, if the nobility of France had not ſhowed him great civilities, and freely invited him to ſpend ſome time at their houſes, where he was treated with all poſſible kindneſs and reſpect. One of theſe invitations was attended with an adventure, the circumſtances of which were ſo entertaining, that I am perſuaded the reader will be pleaſed to ſee them in the notes (*l*) [O]. While he was thus in needy circumſtances abroad, the Marchioneſs ſtruggled through very great difficulties at home. She did, indeed, in the beginning of 1653, procure an order of Parliament for the ſettling upon her two thouſand pounds a year, together with Dunmore-houſe near Kilkenny, for the ſubſiſtence of herſelf and family; but ſhe found ſo many obſtructions in the carrying this order into execution, that it was about two years before ſhe got that matter fully ſettled; and then ſhe went over and reſided at Dunmore, after ſhe had ſent her two ſons to Holland, and never ſaw her Huſband till after the King's reſtoration (*m*). It is certain, that the Marquis had as great a ſhare in the King's confidence as any man, and hardly ever quitted his attendance on his perſon during the time of his exile. When Cardinal Mazarine, to oblige Cromwell, conſtrained his Majeſty to leave France, he went for Spaw, where meeting with his ſiſter the Princeſs of Orange, they went to Aix la Chapelle, and from thence to Cologne, where the King ſtaid for ſome time (*n*). It was here that his Majeſty had an account of the ill uſage his brother, the Duke of Glouceſter, met with from the Queen-Mother, in order to force him to change his religion; and this engaged the King to think of bringing him to Cologne, with the care of which the Marquis of Ormond was intruſted, and he performed it with great ſteadineſs and ſpirit. He went afterwards to the Hague to fetch the Princeſs of Orange, and on his return attended his Majeſty, her Royal Highneſs, and the Duke of Glouceſter, to the fair of Frankfort, and on that occaſion was preſent at Koningſtein, at an interview between his Maſter and Queen Chriſtina of Sweden, who, whatever reſpect ſhe might pay him, had been no friend to his family (*o*). The Marquis was afterwards intruſted with a negociation, in which the King engaged with the Duke of Newburgh, by whoſe aſſiſtance it was hoped he might conclude an advantageous treaty with Spain. This, however, went on

(*b*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 97. Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 147. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. P. ii. p. 10.

(*i*) Hiſtorical View of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 257, 258. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. P. ii. p. 5, 52.

(*k*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 157.

(*l*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 159.

(*m*) See her Letter to Oliver Cromwell, in the Collection publiſhed by Mr. John Nicholls, p. 86. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 160.

(*n*) See Sir Henry Bennet's Letters, p. 95. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 162—169.

(*o*) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. v. p. 335. Bennet's Letters, p. 99.

[O] *Will be pleaſed to ſee them in the notes.*] A French nobleman of great quality having invited the Marquis of Ormond to his houſe at St. Germain en Laye (35), entertained him there for ſome time, in a manner perfectly ſuitable to his own rank, and that of his gueſt. At his coming away, the Marquis, in compliance with a very inconvenient Engliſh cuſtom, left with the Maître d'Hôtel ten piſtoles to be diſtributed among the ſervants. It was all the money he had, nor did he know how to get credit for more when he reached Paris. As he was upon the road, ruminating on this melancholy circumſtance, and contriving how to raiſe a ſmall ſupply for preſent uſe, he was ſurpriſed to be advertiſed by his ſervant, that the nobleman, at whoſe houſe he had been, was behind driving furiouſly, as if he was deſirous to overtake him. The Marquis had ſcarcely left St. Germain, when the diſtribution of the money he had given cauſed a great diſturbance among the ſervants, who exalting their own ſervices and attendance, complained of the Maître de Hôtel's partiality. The nobleman hearing an unuſual noiſe in his family, and, upon enquiry into the matter, finding what it was, took the ten piſtoles himſelf, and cauſing horſes to be put to his chariot, made all the haſte that was poſſible after the Marquis of Ormond. The Marquis, upon notice of his approach, got off his horſe, as the other quitted his chariot, and advanced to embrace him with great affection and reſpect; but was ſtrangely ſurpriſed to find a coldneſs in the nobleman which forbad all embraces, till he had received ſatisfaction in a point which had given him great offence. He aſked the Marquis, if he had reaſon to complain of any diſreſpect, or other defect, which he had met with in the too mean, but friendly, entertainment which his houſe afforded? And being anſwered by the Marquis, that his treatment had been full of civility; that he had never paſſed ſo many days more agreeably in his life; and could not but wonder why the other ſhould ſuſpect the contrary, the nobleman then told him, that the leaving ten piſtoles to be diſtributed among the ſervants, was treating his houſe as an inn, and was the greateſt affront that could be offered to a man of quality; that he paid his own ſervants well, and had hired them to wait on his friends as well as himſelf; that he conſidered him as a ſtranger that might be unacquainted with the cuſtoms of France, and err through ſome practice deemed leſs diſhonourable in his own country, otherwiſe his reſentment ſhould have prevented any expoſtulation; but as the caſe ſtood, after having explained the nature of the affair, he muſt either redreſs the miſtake by receiving back the ten piſtoles, or give him the uſual ſatisfaction of men of honour for an avowed affront. The Marquis acknowledged his error, took back his money, and returned to Paris with leſs anxiety about his ſubſiſtence.

(35) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 159. From the relation of Dr. Drelincourt, Dean of Armagh.

but slowly, till Don Juan of Austria was declared Governor of the Spanish Low-Countries, and even then his Majesty procured but indifferent terms. Such as they were, however, it was thought requisite to draw over the Irish regiments from the French service to the Spanish; and this, by the industry of the Marquis, was effectually performed. They were formed into six regiments, and the Marquis had one of them; and by his interest also the town of St. Ghislain, in which the French had a garrison, was delivered up to the Spaniards in the beginning of the year 1657, a service of great importance, considering the vicinity of that place to Brussels (*p*). But notwithstanding all the services the King's subjects rendered to the Spaniards, they were not very forward in making returns, which was chiefly owing to the accounts given by Cardenas, their Minister in England; which meeting with entire credit from Don Juan, he expressed some diffidence of the interest of the King's friends in England (*q*). To clear up this point, the Marquis of Ormond offered to go over and gain an exact account of the state of things in that kingdom, which he performed with infinite hazard to himself, and returned in safety, after running through almost incredible dangers [*P*]. There

(*p*) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. v. p. 306. 334. 349.

(*q*) Bennet's Letters, p. 133.

[*P*] *After running through almost incredible dangers.*] It is but reasonable to explain the cause that induced the Marquis of Ormond to undertake this perilous journey, before we mention his narrow escapes therein. The Spaniards had promised to furnish the King with six thousand men, whenever he was master of a port in England to receive them: there were also many gentlemen in England of family and fortune, that had offered their services to his Majesty; whence it seemed to be no rash, or ill-founded, scheme to hope, that an insurrection might be raised, and such a port secured (36). It was to look into the bottom of this business, and, if it was found practicable, to put things in motion, that the Marquis undertook this journey, which was covered by a pretence of his returning into Germany, to resume his negociations with the Duke of Newburgh, that his absence from the King might be accounted for, and Cromwell's spies (37) abroad be the less capable of giving him any information. Instead of going to Germany, the Marquis went directly into Holland; and hiring a small vessel at Scheveling, passed over into England, where he landed, in the beginning of February 1657, at Westmarsh, seven miles from Colchester in Essex, from whence he travelled up to London. His first lodging was at a Popish Surgeon's in Drury-lane (38), where he had not been long, before he took the freedom of asking his Landlord, if he had not a private place in his house to hide a Priest in? He answered in the negative; adding, that his house was the worst in the world for such a person to lodge in, because it was often searched, as all the houses were in two or three streets thereabouts. He took the hint immediately, paid his landlord, and decamped without delay; and very luckily; for that very night the Surgeon's house, and several others in the neighbourhood, were very closely searched. He went next to a French Taylor's in Black-Friars, where he was once alarmed to such a degree, that he was getting out of the garret-window; but finding it was only some workmen that ran hastily up stairs late on the Saturday night, to remove their tools before Sunday morning, he returned to his bed, where he slept in his clothes, that he might never be taken unprovided; and this precaution, and making himself well acquainted with all the back-ways, he used all the time he continued in England. This, indeed, was no more than he found necessary: for he had not been a week in town, before Cromwell had notice of it (39), and mentioned it to the Earl of Orrery. He went next to lodge in Old Fish-street, where he was somewhat more at his ease: he there took the name of Pickering, and passed for a disbanded officer. Finding a wig troublesome, and but an indifferent disguise, his friend Colonel Leg, to whom he complained of it, furnished him with a water to turn his own hair black; but either there was too much aquafortis in the mixture, or the Marquis applied it unskilfully; for instead of having the intended effect, it changed his hair of several colours, and besides, scalded his head to such a degree, as gave him a great deal of trouble. The Marquis ventured his person very freely, during the time he stayed, and saw all sorts of persons, that had manifested any inclinations for his Majesty's service, more especially in the city; where being introduced by Sir Philip Honeywood, to a company of some low, and all but middling sort of people, as a person for whom he would answer, and who was going to the King, they absolutely refused to say any thing, unless to some person of character and consideration, upon whom they might depend: upon which, he, to remove that difficulty, frankly discovered himself, but met with nothing in return, but general assurances, which might have been as well given, without his running that hazard (40). He afterwards met the *sealed knot*, as they were called, or Sir Richard Willis's club, once, in Colonel Russel's chambers, in Bedford garden; and at another time, at Sir Richard Willis's chambers, in Gray's Inn, where, however, nothing passed of moment, most of those gentlemen being persuaded, that any attempt to be made then, must be attended with insuperable difficulties, which were largely set forth by Sir Richard, who was all this while betraying them to Cromwell (41). The Marquis entered also into all the particular and private engagements of gentlemen, who were well affected; but seeing nothing that could encourage him to hope any good consequences from such a general insurrection, as had been meditated before his arrival, he advised laying all thoughts of it aside, and having stayed a month on this side the water, was conducted by Dr. Quartermaine, the King's Physician, into Sussex, and embarking at Shoreham in a small shallop, passed very safely over to Dieppe (42). It is very certain, that never any man ran through more dangers in so small a space than he did; for though at first his departure was mistaken by Cromwell's emissaries abroad, who thought he had left the King, as they phrased it, in a pet (43), yet they very soon penetrated the true design of his journey, and gave notice of it accordingly (44). Secretary Thurloe had several notices of his arrival, and of his transactions; but though he was indefatigable in searching for him, it was without success. On this occasion, Sir Richard Willis acted with great dexterity in his dangerous employment of a double spy, for he gave the Marquis notice to shift his lodgings in the morning, and in the evening gave Cromwell notice where those lodgings were. By this he at that time gained credit with both; for the Marquis finding his lodgings searched, gave him all the honour of his escape; and Cromwell finding the Marquis had been really there in the morning, looked upon Sir Richard's intelligence as well founded (45). Yet, by a comparison of circumstances, I cannot help thinking, that Cromwell was neither displeased with his journey nor his escape, for it gave a large field to his spies, and afforded a colour for setting on foot a most violent persecution, and erecting a new High Court of Justice, of which Lisle was the President. Before this bloody tribunal numbers were brought, many were tried, and few escaped. Sir Henry Slingsby and Dr. Hewitt were beheaded, four persons of meaner quality were hanged, drawn, and quartered, and others were imprisoned (46) as long as Cromwell lived. The Marquis was not much safer at Paris than he had been at London, for Cromwell sent notice to Cardinal Mazarine of his being there, and insisted on his causing him to be apprehended; which he would certainly have done, if he had not been deceived in his intelligence, by which he

(36) Memoirs of the Reign of Charles II. p. 133.

(37) See Thurloe's Letters, Vol. vii. p. 822.

(38) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, vol. ii. p. 178.

(39) Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, p. 24.

(40) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 176.

(41) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. vi. p. 668, 669.

(42) Bate. Elenc. Motuum, P. ii. p. 225. Life of Lord Viscount Mordaunt, p. 71. Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. vi. p. 617.

(43) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. vi. p. 822.

(44) *Ibid.* Vol. vii. p. 4. 17. 27, 28. 107.

(45) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. vi. p. 668. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 179.

(46) Heath's Chronicle, p. 404, 405.

There were about this time ſome favourable hopes of the Dutch, and not without reaſon, ſince it is certain that John de Witt was well affected to His Majeſty, and inclined, ſo far as was conſiſtent with the ſecurity of his own country (*r*), to do him ſervice. So, indeed, the moſt conſiderable people in Holland were, and as for the populace, they never diſſembled their good affections. To promote theſe, the Marquis of Ormond entered into a treaty of marriage for his ſon the Earl of Oſſory, with a daughter of the Sieur de Beverweert, natural ſon of Maurice Prince of Orange (*s*), which ſoon after took effect; and though this may ſeem entirely a family tranſaction, yet it was attended with circumſtances as pregnant with affection and loyalty to his maſter, as any tranſaction of his whole life (*t*). He was ſoon after engaged in ſeveral other ſchemes for his Majeſty's ſervice; and when it was thought requiſite that a right underſtanding ſhould be reſtored with the Queen-Mother, the Marquis of Ormond was diſpatched to Paris to bring it about, and had all the ſucceſs that could be deſired in his negociation (*u*). He afterwards attended his Majeſty in his journey to Fontarabia, and had there a long conference with Cardinal Mazarine, who made it a point not to ſee the King; which, however, had no other conſequence, than confirming the Marquis in his notions of the inſincerity and bad principles of that Miniſter, whom he both diſliked and deſpiſed (*w*). On his return, things began to change their face in England, and Monk beginning his march from the North, the Marquis of Ormond was one of the firſt that formed a true notion of his deſign; and, not long after, Sir George Downing, who had been Cromwell's Miniſter to the States of Holland, deſired a conference with the Marquis, and therein gave him all the lights he could. When the General ſent over Sir John Grenvile to the King, the Marquis of Ormond was let into the ſecret, and had as great a ſhare in the tranſactions, which immediately preceded the King's return, as any man about him, without exception. When all things were fixed for that purpoſe, as he had attended his Majeſty during his long exile, he accompanied him alſo into England, where he was immediately ſworn of the Privy-Council, and made Lord Steward of the Houſehold (*y*). He was ſoon after appointed Lord Lieutenant of Somerſetſhire, and High-Steward of Weſtminſter, Kingſton, and Briſtol, and reſtored to his office of Chancellor of the Univerſity of Dublin: neither was it long before the King gave him farther marks of affection and eſteem, by reſtoring and augmenting the County Palatine of Tipperary, which his family had never enjoyed from the time of its being ſeized by King James (*z*). He was alſo created Baron of Lanthony and Earl of Brecknock (*a*), and very particular regard was ſhewn by the Parliament alſo in reſpect to his eſtates; to all which the King, likewiſe, added ſome grants that brought him both honour and advantage [Q]. A little before his Majeſty's

(*r*) Hiſt de Jean de Witt, p. 355.

(*s*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 182. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 478.

(*t*) See the article of BUTLER (THOMAS) Earl of Oſſory.

(*u*) Bennet's Letters, p. 135.

(*w*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 189.

(*y*) Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, p. 167.

(*z*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 218.

(*a*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 478.

he was perſuaded that the Marquis was gone to Scotland (47). One may gueſs at the Marquis's apprehenſion by the road he took to join the King again in Flanders; for he went in three days poſt to Lyons, from thence to Geneva, then paſſing through the Palatinate, and down the Rhine, made the Duke of Newburgh a viſit at Duſſeldorp, and from thence, about the middle of May, 1658, came to his Majeſty at Bruſſels (48).

(47) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. i. p. 740.

(48) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 180, 181. Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. i. p. 732, 733. 735. 737. 752.

[Q] *Added ſome grants that brought him both honour and advantage.*] Theſe grants were by letters patents under the great Seal, dated October 8, 1660, by which all the reſerved rents of his eſtates and the priſage of wines which he enjoyed as Butler of Ireland, were put out of charge in the Exchequer, and all arrears which were due before April, were ordered to be paid to the Marquis, who had likewiſe granted to him all his debts by bills, bonds, ſtatutes merchant, and of the ſtaple, or otherwiſe due to perſons, who had forfeited, all which being by ſuch forfeiture devolved to the crown, were now ordered to be diſcharged (49). His Majeſty, likewiſe, made him a grant of all the lands which had been formerly, by the Marquis himſelf, or by any of his anceſtors, Earls of Ormond and Oſſory, mortgaged, granted, demiſed, leaſed, or let to farm, in fee farm, fee-tail, lives or years, and which were forfeited by the having an hand in the late rebellion, directing commiſſions to be iſſued for finding his Majeſty's title to the premiſes; and upon return thereof, letters patents to be paſſed to the Marquis for the ſame (50). The King's letters were alſo ſent for putting him in poſſeſſion of the reſt of his eſtate reſtored to him by the Parliament of England, with the following remarkable preamble ſuppoſed to be drawn by Secretary Nicholas, which the reader cannot but judge worthy of his notice, as making a very material part of the perſonal hiſtory of this illuſtrious nobleman (51).

(49) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 218.

(50) See this explained at large in the place before cited.

(51) This agrees exactly in its contents with the Letter written by the ſame Secretary on the preſent made to the Marquis.

'It having pleaſed Almighty God, in ſo wonderful 'a manner, to reſtore us to our dominions and government, and thereby, into a power not only of 'protecting our good ſubjects, but of repairing by 'degrees the great damages and loſſes they have 'undergone in the late ill times, by their ſignal 'fidelity and zeal for our ſervice, which we hold 'ourſelves obliged in honour and conſcience to do 'as ſoon, and by ſuch means, as we ſhall be able: 'no body can wonder or envy, that we ſhould, as 'ſoon as is poſſible, enter upon the due conſideration 'of the very faithful, conſtant, and eminent ſervice 'performed to our Father of bleſſed memory, and 'ourſelf, upon the moſt abſtracted conſiderations of 'honour, duty, and conſcience, and without the 'leaſt pauſe or heſitation, by our right truſty and 'right entirely beloved couſin and counſellor, James, 'Marquis of Ormond, and Lord Steward of our 'houſehold, who from the very beginning of the re-'bellion in Ireland frankly engaged himſelf in the 'hardeſt and moſt difficult parts of our ſervice, and 'laying aſide all conſiderations or thought of his 'own particular fortune and convenience, as freely 'engaged that, as his perſon, in the proſecution and 'advancement of our intereſt; and when the power 'of our enemies grew ſo great, that he was no longer 'able to contend with it, he withdrew himſelf from 'that our kingdom, and from that time attended our 'perſon in the parts beyond the ſea, with the ſame 'conſtancy and alacrity, having been never from us, 'but always ſupporting our hopes and our ſpirits in 'our greateſt diſtreſſes with his preſence and counſels, 'in many occaſions and deſigns of importance hav-'ing been our ſole counſellor and companion. And 'therefore we ſay, all good men would wonder, if, 'being reſtored to any eaſe in our own fortune, we 'ſhould not make haſte to give him eaſe in his, that 'is ſo engaged and broken for us, and which his 'continual and moſt neceſſary attendance about us, 'muſt ſtill keep him from intending himſelf with 'the care and diligence he might otherwiſe do. We 'knowing well, beſides the arrears due to him dur-

'ing

Majeſty's coronation, he was raiſed to the dignity of Duke of Ormond, and was created Lord High Steward of England, on account of that ſolemnity, at which he aſſiſted in that high office (*b*). On the fourth of October 1662, he was declared Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, which was ſo ſatisfactory to that kingdom, that the Parliament made his Grace a preſent of thirty thouſand pounds (*c*); and, at the ſame time that his Grace ſent a letter of acknowledgment to the Houſe of Commons for this high and extraordinary favour, Secretary Nicholas acquainted the Lords Juſtices, that his Majeſty conſidered that act of the Parliament as a mark of affection to himſelf. The King's marriage hindered the Duke's going over to Ireland ſo early as he intended, and he did not arrive there till the twenty-ſeventh of July; yet he was ſo active and vigorous in the diſpatch of buſineſs, that he paſſed the Act of Settlement, and ſome other neceſſary laws, on the twenty-ſeventh of September, by which, order and good government in that kingdom were reſtored (*d*). His Grace had not been long in poſſeſſion of his great employment, before he found himſelf involved in new troubles and dangers. The Exchequer was empty, the army had great arrears, the Act of Uniformity excited great diſguſt among the fanatics, which ſoon after produced a dangerous conſpiracy for ſurpriſing the Caſtle of Dublin and ſeizing the Duke; but this was diſappointed by his vigilance, aſſiſted by the informations he received from his friends, as we have already had occaſion to ſhow in another place (*e*). He had beſides ſome other, and thoſe too very conſiderable, diſcouragements. Sir Henry Bennet, lately made Secretary of State, grew upon that promotion very cool towards him: the Counteſs of Caſtlemain, the King's miſtreſs, begged Phœnix-Park and Houſe; but his Grace ſtopped the warrant, which drew upon him her diſpleaſure; and the Queen-Mother, having taken the Marquis of Antrim under her protection, took occaſion to differ with the Duke of Ormond upon that nobleman's account (*f*). Theſe things, however, made no alteration in his conduct, and by degrees he got over moſt of the obſtacles, to the reſettling the tranquillity of that iſland. A ſum of money was remitted him which quieted the army, and a ſmall ſuccour of five hundred well affected men ſtrengthened his ſecurity, which was farther augmented by making a conſiderable draught from the Iriſh army, for the ſervice of Portugal (*g*). All things being now in a ſtate of tolerable quietneſs, his Grace, with the King's permiſſion, appointed his ſon, the Earl of Oſſory, Lord Deputy, and came over to England in May 1664 (*h*), and was received with great kindneſs by the King. He was far from being idle here; for as there were great complaints made of the Act of Settlement by different parties, the regulating of theſe fell in a great meaſure to the ſhare of the Duke, and it was chiefly through his care and indefatigable labours, that the Act of Explanation was framed and ſettled; and as ſoon as this was done he thought of returning to Ireland, where he landed on the third of September 1665 (*i*). The Parliament met in October following, and the great buſineſs of that ſeſſion, was the paſſing the Act before mentioned, which was happily effected, though not without great difficulty. The diſcontents that prevailed among the army, which was but ill principled towards the government, were daily increaſed by want of pay; ſo that at length they ſhewed themſelves mutinous, to a degree that broke out at laſt in an open inſurrection at Carrickfergus, which, however, was ſuppreſſed by the Duke's diſpatching his ſon, the Earl of Arran, with four companies of guards by ſea the very night he received the news, and the flame hindered from extending itſelf by the Duke's marching thither in perſon (*k*). By the like care and activity, other deſigns of the Malecontents were defeated, and the kingdom kept tolerably quiet. He made uſe of all his intereſt in England, in order to prevent the paſſing an Act for prohibiting the importation of Iriſh cattle, but to no purpoſe; for the Duke of Buckingham's party made a point of it and carried it (*l*). He foreſaw all the ill conſequences that attended this law, and did what he could to prevent them, and to find out various methods to balance them [*R*]. The cloſe friendſhip

(*b*) Bill. ſig. de ann. 13 Car. II.

(*c*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 237.

(*d*) See the ſeveral Letters and Addreſſes, together with the Lord Lieutenant's excellent Speech, in the Appendix to Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 20—30.

(*e*) See the article of BLOOD (THOMAS) note [*B*]. State Letters of the Earl of Orrery, p. 69.

(*f*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 271—277.

(*g*) Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, p. 725. Heath's Chron. p. 510.

(*h*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. P. iii. p. 7.

(*i*) Hiſt. of the Reign of King Charles II. p. 391.

(*k*) Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. iii. p. 263.

(*l*) The Intereſt of Ireland conſidered, p. 73.

'ing the time he commanded the army, and before 'he was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and from that 'time he was by our Royal Father put into the ſu'preme command of that kingdom; and during the 'whole time that he had the adminiſtration thereof, 'he hath never received any of the profits, emolu'ments, or appointments thereof, but wholly ſup'ported himſelf and our ſervice upon his own for'tune and inheritance, and over and above borrow'ed and ſupplied great ſums of money upon the 'engagement or ſale of his own lands, and diſburſed 'the ſame upon carrying on the public ſervice, as 'well during the time of his firſt being there under 'our Royal Father, as ſince under us.' It muſt be a great ſatisfaction to the Marquis to be ſenſible, that this was not mere form, or the overflowings of a venal eloquence, but bare matters of fact, plainly told by one who knew them to be ſuch, and which, upon being either heard or read, would be ſo acknowledged by the moſt intelligent people in England and Ireland.

[*R*] *And to find out various methods to balance them.*] This act for the prohibiting of Iriſh cattle into England was a matter of very great importance to both nations; and though the ſubject was handled by the beſt heads, and the beſt pens, on both ſides of the water, yet it does not appear, that the real conſequences of this law (52) were diſcerned on either ſide. It took up the attention of both houſes, during two ſeſſions of Parliament, was puſhed with all imaginable vehemence, and ſupported with extraordinary clamour, on one ſide, and oppoſed with great vigour, with much ſhow of argument, and with many laboured computations, on the other. Yet, I think it very plainly appears from the event, that neither ſide was in the right. The truth of the matter ſeems to be, that the Duke of Buckingham and the reſt of the great patrons of this law were of opinion,

(52) England's Intereſt with reſpect to Ireland truly ſtated, p. 91. Sir William Petty's Political Anatomy of Ireland, p. 125.

friendſhip between his Grace and Lord Clarendon, drew upon him the hatred of all thoſe who ſtudied, and brought about the misfortune of that great man; and at the ſame time that they contrived this, they were endeavouring to find out pretences for impeaching the Duke of Ormond, in which, however, they were diſappointed (*m*). But the very rumour had bad effects, more eſpecially in Ireland, which was at that time in ſuch a ſituation, as made it but too eaſy for things of this nature to do miſchief. In the month of May 1668, his Grace came over to England, as well in obedience to the King's commands, as to take care of his concerns both public and private: when he drew near London, he was met by abundance of perſons of diſtinguiſhed rank and fortune, who, from a rare principle of generoſity, thought it became them to ſhow this mark of reſpect for the Duke, merely on account of thoſe rumours (*n*). He was well received by the King, and upon a very ſevere and ſtrict enquiry into his conduct, there appeared no ground for cenſure. Notwithſtanding this, an opinion generally prevailed that he would not long continue Lord Lieutenant, of which he ſpoke to the King in very pathetic terms, making uſe amongſt others of theſe, 'that though it would never 'trouble him to be undone for his Majeſty, yet it would be an inſupportable affliction 'to be undone by him (*o*).' The King gave him all the aſſurances in the world, and very probably meant as he ſpoke; but the Duke of Buckingham, who now governed all, made him ſo uneaſy that at length he reſolved to diſplace him, as he did in the ſpring of the year 1669 (*p*). John Lord Roberts of Truro, then Lord Privy-Seal, was appointed to ſucceed him, who behaved towards his Grace with all imaginable decency, as the Duke alſo did to him. When this news reached Ireland, it was very ill received; aud thoſe who had ſhewn coolneſs enough towards the Duke's adminiſtration, appeared to be very warmly affected by his being removed, and the diſcontents which this occaſioned increaſed afterwards very perceptibly (*q*). To balance the loſs of favour at Court, his Grace received a new and high office, merely from reſpect to his reputation. Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, being very old and infirm, reſigned his poſt of Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, and that learned Body, as a mark of their eſteem, unanimouſly elected the Duke of Ormond Auguſt 4, 1669 (*r*). Thoſe who had been inſtrumental in removing his Grace, could not bear to ſee him ſo popular; and, therefore, they had recourſe to all the arts that could be deviſed for tarniſhing his adminiſtration, and to make the world believe that he had raiſed a prodigious fortune at the expence of the public (*s*). His Grace took care to refute every thing of this kind in ſo full a manner, that little or no dirt ſtuck, and the world was particularly ſatisfied of the falſehood of what was ſuggeſted in reſpect to his private fortune [*S*]. His ſucceſſor, the Lord Roberts, was removed the year following,

(*m*) Modeſt Account of the preſent Poſture of Affairs in England, p. 23.

(*n*) Hiſtorical Remembrancer, p. 91.

(*o*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 372.

(*p*) Hiſtory of England, Vol. ii. p. 429.

(*q*) Impartial View of the Affairs of Ireland ſince the Reſtoration, p. 55.

(*r*) Hiſt. & Antiquitat. Univ. Oxon. p. 440.

(*s*) See the Sale and Settlement of Ireland, publiſhed in that year, and ſaid to be written by Peter Talbot, the Popiſh Archbiſhop of Dublin.

opinion, that it would diſtreſs the Iriſh exceedingly, that it would increaſe the diſcontents, and augment the difficulties in adminiſtering affairs in that iſland, which were already but too many, and conſequently perplex the Duke of Ormond, and his friends (53). There were alſo ſome particular advantages aimed at, by giving this trade to Scotland, which engaged the Earl of Lauderdale and Lord Aſhley to promote it, as well as private prejudices to be gratified, which drew in all the enemies to the Earl of Clarendon's adminiſtration; but the pretences uſed, were the preventing an immenſe loſs to the Engliſh nation, by the purchaſe of Iriſh cattle, which it was ſaid had ſunk the rents of England two hundred thouſand pounds a year, though the higheſt computation of the amount of Iriſh cattle, annually ſold in England, fell ſhort of one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds. On the other hand, thoſe who oppoſed the bill, fixing their attention entirely on the preſent benefits that accrued to Ireland (54) by this trade, which was almoſt the only one that Kingdom then had, looked upon it as a meaſure as ruinous on one ſide, as it was cruel on the other. Such as had eſtates or intereſts in Ireland, looked upon themſelves as deeply concerned in the event; and all the friends of the court, who knew that the King was in his judgment againſt this law, laboured with the utmoſt diligence to hinder it from paſſing. But after all, when this law came to take effect, its conſequences ſhowed them to be all miſtaken; for the pains and diligence employed by the Duke of Ormond, and all his friends, in ſupporting what they took to be Iriſh intereſt, endeared both him and them to that nation; ſo that the deſign of the party abſolutely miſcarried in that reſpect (55). As to the intereſt of the two nations, the Engliſh certainly were far enough from being hurt by this traffic; and the Iriſh, by the paſſing of this law, being obliged to look out for foreign markets, to feed ſheep, and to fall into manufactures; were ſo far from being hurt by it, that they derived ſeveral advantages from it (56), which otherwiſe they could never have attained to, and of which, few or none were foreſeen by their friends. The bill paſſed through the Houſe of Commons in the firſt ſeſſion in five days; and in the laſt ſeſſion the great queſtion was carried by one hundred and ſixty-five againſt one hundred ſixty-four; in the Houſe of Lords, the numbers were ſixty-three againſt forty-ſeven; and it was obſerved, that all the Biſhops were in the minority. The King had procured it to be once laid aſide, and had taken a reſolution never to paſs it; but was ſo much afraid of loſing his ſupplies, that he thought himſelf obliged to do it, though much againſt his will (57). As for the Duke of Ormond, he applied himſelf, on the one hand, to leſſen as far as he was able the great inconveniences that immediately enſued upon this law; and, on the other hand, to the promoting the ſtuff-manufactures and the linen trade, which he did with ſuch vigour, that in leſs than two year's time they became very conſiderable, which induced an excellent judge of the intereſt of Ireland to ſay (58), That poſterity would own their future affluence to be a bleſſing they derived from his Grace's great wiſdom and incomparable government.

(53) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 329—345.

(54) Paxton's Diſc. concerning the nature, advantages, and improvement of Trade, p. 48—59. Gee's Trade and Navigation of Great Britain, conſidered, p. 27.

(55) The Secret Cauſes and Intrigues of the Romiſh Party in Ireland, p. 13.

(56) Sir William Petty's Political Anatomy of Ireland, p. 91. Gee's Trade and Navigation of Great Britain conſidered, p. 28. Sir William Petty's Political Arithmetic, p. 252.

(57) Political Obſervations on the Reigns of Charles II. and James II. p. 75.

(58) Lawrence's Intereſt of Ireland, and its Trade and Wealth ſtated, p. 189.

[*S*] *The falſehood of what was ſuggeſted in reſpect to his private fortune.*] We have a very large account given us by Mr. Carte, of the libels that were publiſhed about this time againſt his Grace, which repreſented him as one who had made immenſe advantages, under colour of paſt ſervices, by dint of his great popularity in England and in Ireland, and by the high favour he ſtood in with the King his maſter. We are alſo furniſhed with all the anſwers that were given to theſe; but to take notice of either, would extend this article beyond its due bounds; and, therefore, we will content ourſelves with giving the reader a ſuccinct and very curious ſtate of the account between the Duke of Ormond and the public, which by that writer is thus repreſented (59):

(59) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 408, 409.

The

ing, and having in the mean time loſt his poſt of Privy-Seal in England, this diſguſted him ſo much that he reſolved to retire, as for ſome time he did, but was afterwards made Lord Preſident of the Privy-Council (*t*). The Lord Berkeley of Stratton was ſent over Lord Lieutenant in his room; and under his adminiſtration it was, that very extraordinary favours were granted to the worſt ſort of Iriſh Papiſts, which afterwards created much trouble in that kingdom. As this and other tranſactions occaſioned many complaints to the King, who examined them in Council; his Grace of Ormond had frequent opportunities of explaining things, and ſetting the affairs of Ireland in a right light. This heightened the reſentments of thoſe who were friends to Lord Berkeley, and who had ſent him to Ireland (*u*), more eſpecially the Duke of Bucks, by whoſe procurement, as is generally believed, or at leaſt not without his participation, a moſt outrageous and deteſtable attempt was made upon the perſon of the Duke. The Prince of Orange, afterwards King William, being at this time in England, was invited December 6, 1670, to dine in the City, whither his Grace attended him; and in his return home he was attacked in St. James's-ſtreet, and forced out of his coach by Colonel Blood, who, it is believed, intended to have hanged him at Tyburn, if he had not been happily reſcued (*w*). The King expreſſed very high reſentment on the firſt news of this inſult, but was afterwards prevailed upon, by its author, to ſend the Earl of Arlington to the Duke, to deſire he would forgive Blood, for certain reaſons which he had orders to tell him. His Grace anſwered, 'if the King could forgive him 'ſtealing his crown, he might eaſily forgive his attempt upon his life; and if ſuch was 'his Majeſty's pleaſure, that was a ſufficient reaſon for him, and his Lordſhip might 'ſpare the reſt (*x*).' In the courſe of ſeven years, that his Grace was equally out of favour and employment, he never miſſed any opportunity of doing either his Sovereign or his country ſervice, or of paying his duty at Court, which he did in ſuch a manner, that notwithſtanding the great influence his enemies had over his maſter, which went ſo far as to hinder him from ſpeaking to the Duke for a whole year, yet they could never deceive him into a cenſure of any part of his Grace's management in Ireland, though they led him into ſeveral enquiries with that view, or prevail upon him to take from his Grace his White Staff as Lord Steward (*y*). It muſt be allowed, that there were good reaſons why the Duke ſtood ill with this Miniſtry, ſince he had three capital faults. In the firſt place, he was a hearty friend, as well as a ſincere ſon, of the Church; and, therefore, never courted either the Papiſts or the Fanatics. He depended ſolely upon the King's ſentiments, and would never ſtoop ſo low as to make any intereſt with his miſtreſſes; and, which was not his leaſt crime, he was very cool towards France (*z*). At laſt, when his Majeſty ſeemed to have overlooked at leaſt, if not forgotten, all his former ſervices, and ſaw him at Court with the utmoſt indifferency; in the latter end of April 1677, he ſurpriſed the Duke, with a meſſage that he would come

(*t*) Peerage of England, Vol. ii. p. 393.

(*u*) A full and impartial Account of all the ſecret Conſults, Negotiations, Stratagems, and Intrigues of the Romiſh Party in Ireland, from the Reſtoration to the Revolution, p. 7. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. P. iii. p. 11.

(*w*) London Gazette, Dec. 8, 1670. See the article of BLOOD (THOMAS), note [F]. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 869.

(*x*) Sir Gilbert Talbot's Narrative of Blood's ſtealing the Crown, preſerved in Stow's Survey of London, by Strype, Vol. i. p. 92.

(*y*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. iii. p. 462.

(*z*) Memoirs of the Reign of Charles II. p. 391.

The Duke of Ormond creditor.

	£.	s.	d.
To loſs of nine years income of his eſtate in Ireland, from October 1641, to December 1650, at 20,000 *l.* a year	180,000	00	00
To waſte of timber, buildings, &c. on it	50,000	00	00
To 2½ years income from 1650 to 1653	50,000	00	00
To debts contracted by the ſervice of the crown during the troubles	130,000	00	00
To ſeven years rents of his eſtate from 1653 to 1660, recoverable from the adventurers and ſoldiers that poſſeſſed it	140,000	00	00
To the value of eſtates forfeited to him by breach of conditions, the remainders whereof were veſted in him, but given up by an Act of Explanation	319,061	05	00
To arrears of pay, as Lord Lieutenant, commiſſioned officer	62,736	09	08
To ditto for fourteen months, from July 1647 to September 1648, at the rate of the allowance of 7893 *l.* a year to the Earl of Leiceſter, during his abſence from Ireland	9,208	10	00
To ditto for nine years and four months, from December 1650, to June 1660, at ditto	73,668	00	00
Total of loſſes and credits	1,014,674	04	08

The Duke of Ormond debtor.

	£.	s.	d.
By receipts on the 30,000*l.* Act in Ireland	26,440	00	00
By ditto on the grant of 71,916 *l.*	63,129	10	08
By ditto on the 50,000 *l.* granted by the Explanation Act	25,196	01	11
By ſavings on the grant of forfeited mortgages and incumbrances	5,655	12	10
By houſes, &c. on Kilkenny, Clonmel, &c. valued by Commiſſioners at 840 *l.* 12 s. a year, at ten years purchaſe	8,406	00	00
By lands allotted on account of his arrears, ſet at firſt for 1194 *l.* but afterwards improved, and ſet in 1681 at 1594 *l.* a year, but being ſubject to a quit rent of 449 *l.* a year, their improved yearly value is but 1165 *l.* at ten years purchaſe	11,650	00	00
Total of profit	146,083	07	11
Total of loſſes and dues to the Duke of Ormond	1,014,674	04	08
Deduct as by particular of profits	146,083	07	11
So that the Duke's loſſes, by the troubles and ſettlement of Ireland, exceeded his profits	868,590	16	09

and ſup with him. He did ſo, and was entertained with all the freedom and mirth that the moſt dutiful and ſincere affection could ſuggeſt; ſo that before he went away, his Majeſty diſcloſed the buſineſs of his viſit, which was, the reſolution he had taken to make his Grace once more Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (*a*) [*T*]. As unexpected as the King's choice was, it no ſooner became public, than it was extremely well received in England, and with very unuſual marks of joy in Ireland, though the Lord Lieutenant they then had, on the removal of Lord Berkeley, *viz.* the Earl of Eſſex, had taken much pains to make himſelf maſter of their affairs, and had managed them with great integrity and honour. It is certain, that this conduct of his did not hinder him from having, perhaps might contribute to procure him, enemies, who had even the boldneſs to attack his behaviour at the Council-Board; where, from a mere principle of juſtice, he was very warmly and very effectually defended by the Duke of Ormond, before there was any probability of his ſucceeding him (*b*). This, however, had ſuch an effect upon the Earl of Eſſex, that when his Grace came over, in Auguſt 1677, to take the ſword, he ſurrendered it with very unuſual and even unexampled marks of eſteem. Almoſt as ſoon as he entered on his government, the Duke met with things to diſturb him. A Popiſh regiment had been raiſed, under pretence of being intended for foreign ſervice, but remained in the kingdom longer than there ſeemed to be any neceſſity, under pretence of their being diſciplined, and for the ſame reaſon his Grace was deſired to furniſh them with arms; which he poſitively refuſed, adding, that they might very well learn their exerciſe with ſticks (*c*). The Proteſtant army he put into the beſt condition poſſible, gave orders for repairing all the forts, and cauſed a new one to be raiſed for protecting Kingſale Harbour, which he called Fort *Charles*. The very next year the Popiſh plot broke out, and an account was tranſmitted to the Lord Lieutenant, of diſcoveries which had been made of dangers to which Ireland was expoſed; intimating alſo ſome deſigns againſt his perſon. Upon this he cauſed Peter Talbot, the Popiſh Archbiſhop of Dublin, and every way worthy of that office, as having been the greateſt incendiary in the kingdom, to be apprehended; and, by proclamation, ordered all the Dignitaries of the Church of Rome to depart the kingdom by the twentieth of November. He took this opportunity, alſo, of diſarming the Papiſts, and of making ſuch orders with reſpect to the army, that it was impoſſible either for officers or private men of that communion to ſhelter themſelves therein (*d*). All theſe and other wiſe precautions he daily took; which, however, did not protect him from various calumnies in England: but theſe made no ſort of impreſſion upon him;

(*a*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 463. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. P. iii. p. 14.

(*b*) A full and impartial Account of all the ſecret Conſults, &c. p. 13. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. P. iii. p. 14. Laurence's Intereſt of Ireland, p. 155.

(*c*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. P. iii. p. 14. Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. iii. p. 360.

(*d*) A full and impartial Account of all the ſecret Conſults, &c. p. 15, 16. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. P. iii. p. 14.

[*T*] *To make his Grace once more Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.*] In the whole reign of King Charles II. there was not a more extraordinary incident than this, of reſtoring the Duke of Ormond to the Lieutenancy of Ireland, not only beyond his own expectations, and againſt even the hopes of his friends, but without any ſeeking of his, or aſſiſtance of theirs; in ſhort, by the iſſue of a court-intrigue, in which he had not the ſmalleſt concern (60): thus, then, it was brought about. The Earl of Eſſex, made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1672, was a nobleman of great integrity and honour, a true friend to the Engliſh and Proteſtant intereſt in Ireland, and yet at the time he was put into this government, and during the ſpace he continued in it, extremely well with the Duke of York. The party at court that had ruined and driven the Earl of Clarendon out of the kingdom, removed the Duke of Ormond from the Lieutenancy of Ireland, made the ſecond Dutch war, and themſelves infamous to poſterity by the title of the *Cabal*, were thoſe who ſecretly abetted the complaints againſt the Earl of Eſſex, and who at laſt determined the King to remove him (61): I ſay, that they ſecretly abetted the complaints againſt him, becauſe many of them profeſſed themſelves his friends, and had addreſs enough to deceive him, both then and afterwards. The ſcheme they had in view was to put the government for a ſmall time into the hands of Lords Juſtices, and then to procure the Lieutenancy for the Duke of Monmouth, in which, from the King's natural affection to his ſon (62), they judged, they ſhould meet with very little difficulty. But this deſign of theirs could not be carried on with ſuch ſecrecy as to eſcape the knowledge of the Duke of York, who, as it may eaſily be imagined, was not a little alarmed at it. His Royal Highneſs had no concern in the removal of the Earl of Eſſex, of whom he had then a very high opinion. But when once he had found out, that the Duke of Monmouth was intended for his ſucceſſor, he reſolved to leave no ſtone unturned to prevent this ſcheme from taking effect; and, therefore, took occaſion to mention to his Majeſty the great ſervices of the Duke of Ormond, and to repreſent to him in the ſtrongeſt light the neceſſity he was under of putting the government of Ireland into the hands of a perſon in whom he could abſolutely confide, and whoſe reputation was effectually eſtabliſhed with all the well-meaning part of his ſubjects in both nations (63). It was no ſooner ſuggeſted to his Majeſty, than he ſaw it in that point of light, which tended moſt to his own ſecurity: there was no man he eſteemed more, and hardly any he could depend upon ſo much as this nobleman; and, therefore, he immediately reſolved, that he ſhould be the perſon. There were various attempts made to alter the King's ſentiments in this reſpect, but to no purpoſe. He very clearly perceived, that ſome dark and dangerous deſigns were brewing, and he was equally afraid of the violence of the Papiſts, and of the ſecret plots of the Republicans. He knew that both parties were ſtrong in Ireland; and he knew likewiſe, that the Duke of Ormond was, of all men living, the moſt capable of defending him againſt both; and, therefore, he was inflexible in his determination of putting that kingdom into his hands (64). How well his Majeſty judged upon this occaſion, appeared, not only from the loud and general approbation this meaſure met with, both in England and Ireland, but alſo from the particular conduct of the Earl of Eſſex. That nobleman, well knowing his Majeſty's good-nature, was no ſooner acquainted, that his removal was a thing fixed, than he deſired and obtained leave to quit the ſword, when, and to whom he thought proper. But as ſoon as he was informed, that the Duke of Ormond was appointed Lord Lieutenant, he changed his reſolution, for which he gave this reaſon in a letter (65): 'Since his Majeſty has been pleaſed to 'pitch upon a perſon, who has ſo much experience 'in all affairs in this kingdom, and ſo eminent for 'his loyalty; I am reſolved to ſtay till his Grace 'ſhall arrive, that I may put the ſword myſelf into 'his hands.' He carried this ſtill further, by making a ſpecial order for receiving the Duke of Ormond with all the ſolemnity and pomp imaginable, too long to be inſerted; and to which therefore it is ſufficient to refer (66).

(60) Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. iii. p. 360.

(61) A full and impartial Account of all the ſecret Conſults, &c. p. 13.

(62) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 465, 466.

(63) Hiſt. of the Reign of King Charles II. p. 391.

(64) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 469.

(65) This Letter is dated from Dublin, Aug 17, 1677.

(66) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 468.

him;

him; for knowing that kingdom better than any other man, he went on his own way with great firmneſs; and the conſequences of his regulations fully anſwered all his expectations. Some attempts, however, were made to remove him; and a report of this prevailed ſo ſtrongly, that the Earl of Arlington, who was now become his Grace's warm friend, took occaſion to mention it to the King; whoſe temper was by this time very much changed, as appeared by the ſhort anſwer he gave him, which was to this effect; 'that the new Miniſters he had got, were for joſtling out his old 'friends, but they ſhould never gain that point of him;' adding with an oath, *That while the Duke of* Ormond *lived, he ſhould never be put out of that government (e).* The Duke of York was alſo of the ſame opinion. All this, however, did not diſcourage his enemies in England from proſecuting their old deſigns, and even forming new ones, in order to procure his removal from the Lieutenancy [*U*]. In the midſt of theſe public difficulties, one of the greateſt that could reach him in his private capacity, exerciſed his patience, which was, the death of the Earl of Offory, his eldeſt ſon, whom he loved with the tenderneſs of a father, and the affection of a friend (*f*). He bore this loſs, however, with great ſteadineſs; nor did he diſcover any marks of impatience, when, within three weeks after ſo great a misfortune, he found himſelf obliged to anſwer a new liſt of objections, which his enemies had prepared againſt his adminiſtration, with a view, perhaps, of picking more out of his anſwers than they knew how to thruſt into their charge. In this he diſappointed them; for he kept cloſe to his defence, and contented himſelf with ſhowing that what they ſuggeſted was either fooliſh or falſe (*g*). By this he preſerved his power, but not the exerciſe of it in ſuch an extent as he wiſhed: for though the times required, and himſelf preſſed, for a Parliament in Ireland, yet he was not permitted to call one; for both the intereſts at Court were now united againſt him; and though they could not prevail upon the King to part with his Lord Lieutenant, yet they kept the Lord Lieutenant from calling a Parliament (*h*). At laſt his Majeſty, conſidering the great proof the Duke had given of his abilities, in keeping all Ireland quiet during the time of the Popiſh plot, when England was in

(*e*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. iii. p. 492.

(*f*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 1001.

(*g*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 509.

(*h*) A full and impartial Account of all the ſecret Conſults, &c. p. 17.

[*U*] *In order to procure his removal from the Lieutenancy.*] After the breaking out of the Popiſh plot, it was impoſſible for one of the Duke's rank, and in his ſtation, to paſs his days in peace. The very cares of his office at ſuch a time, were more than ſufficient to exerciſe all his diligence and attention; and there is no doubt that they did. But how well ſoever he might perform what was incumbent upon him from his poſt, it was impoſſible that he ſhould give ſatisfaction to all parties; indeed, hardly poſſible, that he ſhould give ſatisfaction to any: for whatever he did, the Papiſts though too much (67), and the malecontents in England, whatever they thought, were ready enough to aſſert, he did too little. As his Grace wanted not information of all that paſſed, as well to his prejudice as his advantage; ſo nobody knew better how to make a defence, than he did, as appears from the following extract of a letter of his to Sir Robert Southwell, which deſerves a place for two reaſons; firſt, becauſe it fully clears the point now under our eye; and next, becauſe it affords us a ſpecimen of this nobleman's way of writing, which, if I miſtake not, will ſatisfy every judicious peruſer, that his Grace's character would have appeared, even in a light ſuperior to what it now does, had he found leiſure to be his own Hiſtorian (68). 'It hath been 'my fortune, upon ſeveral occaſions, to be taken by 'the Papiſts to be their greateſt enemy, when it 'was thought that character would have done me 'hurt, and ſometimes to be their greateſt friend, 'when that would hurt me; and (which is unreaſonable) the very ſame men have been believed, when 'they have made ſo different a deſcription of me. 'A little indulgence towards one, will ſeem to conclude from thence, that I am in neither extreme, that 'is, neither tranſported with fury againſt them that 'are of that religion, becauſe ſome of them, and 'perhaps too many, are traitors and murtherers; 'not truſting too much to them, becauſe, I believe, 'ſome of them are good ſubjects and honeſt men. 'It may be perhaps unſeaſonable to profeſs ſuch a 'temper; yet it may be as ſoon excuſed in me as in 'any man; for if there be truth in the information 'of Oates, I am to wait upon the King in the tragedy deſigned; though I really profeſs, I had rather go before him, even for my own ſake, becauſe 'I would not live to ſee the calamities and confuſions, that would follow, if ſuch a villany ſhould 'have ſucceſs.——It ſeems now to be the Papiſts 'turn, to endeavour to diſpatch me: the other Nonconformiſts have had theirs, and may have again, 'when they ſhall be inſpired from the ſame place, 'for different reaſons, to attempt the ſame thing. 'I know the danger I am, and may be in, is a perquiſite belonging to the place I am in, and ſo 'much envied for being in; but I will not be frighted into a reſignation, and will be found alive or 'dead in it, till the ſame hand that placed me ſhall 'remove me.——I know well, that I am born with 'ſome diſadvantages, in relation to the preſent conjuncture, beſides my natural weakneſſes and infirmities, and ſuch as I can no more free myſelf 'from, than I can from them. My father and mother lived and died Papiſts, and only I, by God's 'merciful providence, was educated in the true Proteſtant religion, from which I never ſwerved towards either extreme, not when it was moſt dangerous to profeſs it, and moſt advantageous to quit it. 'I reflect not upon any, who have held another 'courſe, but will charitably hope, that though their 'changes happened to be always to the proſperous 'ſide, yet they were made by the force of preſent 'conviction. My brothers and ſiſters, though they 'were not very many, were very fruitful and very 'obſtinate (they will call it conſtant) in their way; 'their fruitfulneſs hath ſpread into a large alliance, 'and their obſtinacy hath made it altogether Popiſh. 'It would be no ſmall comfort to me, if it had 'pleaſed God, it had been otherwiſe, that I might 'have enlarged my induſtry, to do them good, and 'ſerved them more effectually to them, and more 'ſafely to myſelf. But as it is, I am taught by nature, and alſo by inſtruction, that difference in 'opinion, concerning matters of religion, diſſolves 'not the obligations of nature; and in conformity 'to this principle, I own, not only, that I have done, 'but that I will do my relations, of that, or any 'other perſuaſion, all the good I can. But I profeſs, at the ſame time, that if I find any of them, 'who are neareſt to me, acting or conſpiring rebellion, or plotting againſt the government and the 'religion eſtabliſhed amongſt us, I will endeavour to 'bring them to puniſhment, ſooner than the remoteſt 'ſtranger to my blood. I know profeſſions of this 'nature are eaſily made, and therefore ſometimes 'little credited; but I claim ſome belief from my 'known practice, having been ſo unfortunate as to 'have had kinſmen in rebellion, and ſo fortunate 'as to ſee ſome of them fall, when I commanded in 'chief. Thoſe that remain, have, I hope, changed 'their principles, as to rebellion; if they have not, 'I am ſure, they ſhall find, I have not changed 'mine.'

(67) A full and impartial Account of all the ſecret Conſults, &c. p. 15.

(68) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 489.

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the utmoſt confuſion, reſolved to ſend for him over, which he did in the ſpring of the year 1682; and his Grace having ſettled affairs in Ireland, and left the ſword with his ſon Richard, Earl of Arran, landed at Cheſter on the ſecond of May (*i*). He was received by the King, with all the marks of affection and eſteem that his ſervices could deſerve; and, without doubt, his preſence and counſels were of great uſe to his Maſter in that critical juncture, which induced him to delay no longer a favour he had ſome time intended for his Grace, which was, raiſing him to the title of Duke in England; and this was accordingly done by a patent, dated November the ninth, in the thirty-fourth year of his Majeſty's reign, by the title of Ormond (*k*). All this, however, did not give him ſufficient weight to procure the King's aſſent to the meaſure which he had moſt at heart, which was the holding a Parliament in Ireland. On the contrary, the earneſtneſs with which he puſhed this was prejudicial to his intereſt; procured firſt an order for him to return to that kingdom, which he readily obeyed, and before he was well there, a reſolution to remove him from his government, which he received when he leaſt expected it (*l*). As diſagreeable as this news might be, it was followed by another piece of intelligence which gave him infinitely more diſquiet; and that was, the King's death; an event which he had always apprehended, and for which, in his private commerce with his friends, he expreſſed the moſt ſenſible concern. He cauſed King James II. to be proclaimed, as his duty required: but he was very ſoon made ſenſible, notwithſtanding all the ſervices he had rendered that Prince, at a ſeaſon when it was moſt dangerous to render him ſervice, of a wide difference between his Maſters: for whereas King Charles would never have obliged him to ſurrender the ſword in perſon; one of the firſt orders he received from his ſucceſſor, was, to give it up to the Lord Primate and the Earl of Granard, which he did on the laſt of March 1685 (*m*). It may, indeed, be ſaid in excuſe of King James, that the Duke of Ormond, having a great foreſight of the charges that were like to happen, employed all the time, from his laſt arrival in Ireland, in taking the beſt meaſures he was able for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant and Engliſh intereſt in that iſland; which was reſented to a degree of fury by the Iriſh, though without its having any effect upon him, who behaved with the ſame ſteadineſs from the time he received till he parted with the enſigns of his authority [*W*]. In performing this, which could be no very agreeable act, his Grace was very much ſurpriſed by the Lord Primate's making a long ſpeech, in which, with great plainneſs and perſpicuity, he inſiſted upon the miſeries which that kingdom had endured, and the deplorable condition it was in when his Grace was called to the government of it: he inſiſted alſo on the principal benefits derived from the Duke's gentle and wiſe adminiſtration; and concluded with obſerving, that as the effects of his prudence would be always felt, it was to be hoped they would produce perpetual gratitude towards the Ormond family in the whole Iriſh nation (*n*). On his arrival in England, his Grace was received with all poſſible marks of reſpect and affection, by all ranks of people, and with great civility by the King, at whoſe coronation he aſſiſted, as at that of King Charles II., and had the honour to carry the

(*i*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. P. iii. p. 15, 16.

(*k*) Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. iii. p. 406.

(*l*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 541. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireand, Vol. ii. P. iii. p. 16.

(*m*) Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. iii. p. 449.

(*n*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 543.

[*W*] *Till he parted with the enſigns of his authority.*] We have often quoted in this article, a treatiſe intituled, 'A full and impartial Account of all the 'ſecret Conſults, Negociations, and Stratagems; 'Intrigues of the Romiſh Party in Ireland, from the 'Reſtoration to the Revolution, for the Settlement 'of Popery in that Kingdom.' Printed frequently by itſelf, and ſince placed in the Appendix to the State Tracts, in the reign of King William III. It is written with great ſpirit, and is one of the principal authorities which Mr. Oldmixon conſulted in writing his Hiſtory; ſo that we may be ſure, that it contains nothing partial in favour of the Duke of Ormond. The author of this piece, ſpeaking of his Grace's conduct, after the acceſſion of King James, deſcribes it thus: 'The Duke of Ormond 'foreſaw (69) what was now paſt remedy, and told 'a friend of his, that nothing could now preſerve 'the Engliſh, but a precipitateneſs of the *Iriſh*. '*For*, ſaid he, *let my countrymen alone, and they will 'ſpoil their own buſineſs*. And ſo, indeed, they had 'in any time but this, when it might be ſaid, according to our Saviour's prediction, *That the time 'was come, when they that deſtroyed the Proteſtants, 'thought they did God ſervice*. King *James*, and his 'former (but now more eſpecial) favourites, the '*Iriſh*, were become equally furious in their courſe, 'and ſeemed to contend, the one in his commands, 'the other in their forward obedience, which ſhould 'exceed in their joint deſign of extirpating hereſy. 'The Duke of Ormond was called over; but before 'his departure laboured with an indefatigable di'ligence, to eſtabliſh matters on ſuch a foundation, 'that it might not be eaſy for them to create a 'preſent change, without a manifeſt violation and 'infringement of the laws and conſtitutions of the 'Kingdom. The new hoſpital, a ſtately fabric, 'near Dublin, erected for poor Soldiers, would (he 'foreſaw) be made a neſt for hornets, which to 'prevent as well as poſſible, he ſat ſeveral days with 'the Council and Judges, in private, in the Caſtle, 'and there made all the proviſion that could be for 'it, againſt the imminent ſtorm. One remarkable 'paſſage I muſt not omit to mention, which de'monſtrates the great ſpirit of that excellent perſon. 'At the aforeſaid hoſpital, he appointed a dinner 'for all the officers of the hoſpital, and the officers 'of the army, then in Dublin; which being over, 'he took a large glaſs of wine in his hand, and bid 'them fill it up to the brim; then ſtood up and called 'to all the company, *Look here, gentlemen, they ſay 'at Court, I am now become an old doating fool; you 'ſee, my hand doth not ſhake, nor does my heart fail; 'nor doubt but I will make ſome of them ſee their 'miſtake:* and ſo drank the King's health. But upon his arrival at court, he found, that King 'James's bigoted opinion would carry him to the 'moſt violent actions: a diſmal apprehenſion where'of, as is believed, at length broke his heart; for 'though he was of a great age, yet he was of ſuch 'health of body and cheerfulneſs of mind, that, in 'courſe of nature, he might have lived twenty years 'longer, as his mother did. It was plain, that the 'Iriſh could faſten no calumnies upon him, when 'the firſt thing they reproached him with was cheating the army in building the hoſpital; and that 'Robinſon, the Architect, had inriched himſelf by 'it; when indeed, not to leſſen any thing of his 'due character, Robinſon ſhewed the parts of an 'excellent artiſt in the contrivance, and of an honeſt 'man in the charge, as men of value and experience 'in building affirm.'

(69) A Collection of State Tracts publiſhed during the Reign of William III. Vol. iii. p. 629.

crown.

crown. He wanted not, however, ſome very ſenſible mortifications, for his regiment of foot was without ceremony taken from him, and given to Col. Juſtin Mackarty; and it is thought that his troop of horſe would have been likewiſe diſpoſed of; but as his Grace bought it fifty years before, it was not thought proper to repay the price he gave, in the decline of life, when his great age promiſed a ſpeedy vacancy (*o*). He ſtill kept his poſt of Lord Steward, which he might have diſpoſed of to advantage: but as it was given him freely by his late Royal Maſter, he ſcorned to ſell it; yet he ſaw no reaſon to reſign it; and no arguments could prevail upon King James to take it away. In Auguſt 1686, the King made a progreſs into the Weſt, in which his Grace attended him as far as Briſtol, and then his Majeſty making longer ſtages than were proper for a perſon of his age, the Duke returned to London (*p*). His affection for the perſon of the King, as well as his ſteady loyalty, induced him to behave to that Monarch with all imaginable marks of duty and reſpect: but the violent counſels by which that unfortunate Prince was hurried to his ruin, forced the Duke of Ormond, as well as ſeveral others of his beſt ſubjects, to oppoſe his will in caſes that were directly contrary to law: an extraordinary inſtance of which will be given in the notes (*q*) [*X*]. This did not hinder, however, King James's cauſing ſome attempts to be made upon the Duke's religion, by the Lord Arundel of Wardour, then Privy-Seal, and the Duke's intimate friend; and by Peter Walſh, a very honeſt, well-meaning Prieſt, to whom the Duke had been very kind: but both ended in ſuch repulſes, as gave no encouragement to make new trials (*r*). His Majeſty himſelf ſolicited the Duke for his conſent to aboliſh the Penal Laws; but met with ſuch an anſwer as he did not expect; to which he made a very memorable reply, That as his Grace had diſtinguiſhed himſelf from others, by his long and faithful ſervice to the crown, ſo he would alſo diſtinguiſh him from others by his indulgence (*s*). When the Earl of Clarendon went to Ireland, he lent his country-ſeat, at Cornbury in Oxfordſhire, to the Duke of Ormond, at which place he ſpent ſome part of two ſummers, and the reſt at other places. He intended to have followed his Majeſty in his next progreſs, and had provided accordingly: but being ſeized with the gout at Badminton, he was forced to remain there for about a month; when his Majeſty paſſing that way, in his road to and from Cheſter, made him a viſit each time in his chamber (*t*). At the laſt of theſe viſits, he gave him leave to reſide where he pleaſed, without being tied to any at-

(*o*) Succinct Account of the Affairs of Ireland, p. 107.

(*p*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 543.

(*q*) Memoirs of the Life of Dr. Burnet, Maſter of the Charter-Houſe.

(*r*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 545.

(*s*) *Ibid.*

(*t*) Hiſtory of King James II. p. 131.

[*X*] *An extraordinary inſtance of which will be given in the notes.*] The firſt inſtance in which the King took upon him to exerciſe this prerogative was, with regard to Sutton's Hoſpital, called the Charter-houſe (70); and in the caſe of one Andrew Popham, a Roman Catholic, whom by a letter, dated December 20th, 1686, and directed to the Governors of that hoſpital, he required to be admitted into the firſt penſioner's place that became vacant, without tendering him any oath, or requiring of him any ſubſcription in conformity to the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church of England, and notwithſtanding any ſtatute, order, or conſtitution of the ſaid hoſpital, with which he was pleaſed to diſpenſe. Dr. Thomas Burnet was at this time Maſter of the Charter-houſe, having been choſen, not long before, by the intereſt of the Duke of Ormond, to whoſe grandſon, the Earl of Oſſory, he had been Governor. The Biſhops, who were of the number of the electors, had made exceptions to him, that though he was a clergyman, he went always in a lay habit. But the Duke being ſatisfied, that his converſation and manners were worthy of a clergyman in all reſpects; and thinking theſe to be much more valuable than the exterior habit, inſiſted ſo ſtrongly in his favour, that he was at laſt choſen. Popham coming to him with his letter, demanded admiſſion, but was told, that the letter muſt be delivered to the Governors, before any thing could be done upon it; and was diſmiſſed without admiſſion. On January 17th, there was a full aſſembly of the Governors; when Popham being preſent, the letter was read, and the Lord Chancellor Jefferys preſently moved, that they ſhould immediately, without any debate, proceed to vote, whether Popham ſhould be accordingly admitted. Dr. Burnet, as the junior Governor, was to vote firſt; but inſtead thereof, he told them, he thought it his duty to acquaint their Lordſhips, that to admit a penſioner into that hoſpital, without taking the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, was not only contrary to the conſtitutions of the houſe, but alſo to an Act of Parliament, 3 *Car.* called *the Charter-houſe* Act. One of the Governors thereupon ſaying, 'What is this to the purpoſe?' the Duke of Ormond replied, 'He thought it was very much to 'the purpoſe: for an Act of Parliament was not 'ſo ſlight a thing, but that it deſerved conſidera-'tion.' After ſome diſcourſe, the queſtion was put, whether Popham ſhould be admitted; and was carried in the negative. The Governors intended to have returned immediately an anſwer to the King's letter; but as ſoon as the vote was paſſed, the Chancellor and ſome others hurried away; ſo that there was not a ſufficient number left to act as an aſſembly, or to do any more buſineſs at that time. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury attempted ſeveral times afterwards to have another aſſembly, that the letter might be written to the King; but could not get a full number together, till the Midſummer following. In the mean time, one Cardonnel, a French Proteſtant, naturaliſed and qualified for the place, appeared with a nomination from the King, prior to Popham's. His Majeſty thereupon ſent another letter, dated March 21ſt, to exclude him, and to reinforce his former order for Popham, to whom was likewiſe granted a diſpenſation under the great ſeal. This ſecond letter, and the letters patents, were read on Midſummer-day, in a ſtated aſſembly, where nine Governors were preſent. A letter was then drawn up in the name of the Governors, to one of the Secretaries of State, repreſenting, that they could not admit Popham, nor comply with his Majeſty's letters in his behalf, becauſe the hoſpital was of a private foundation, and the Governors obliged to act according to the conſtitutions of the ſame; and becauſe, likewiſe, the Act 3 *Car.* expreſsly enacted, That every perſon elected and admitted into it, ſhould, before he received benefit of any ſuch place, take the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy. This letter was ſigned by Archbiſhop Sancroft, the Duke of Ormond, the Marquis of Halifax, the Earls of Craven, Danby, and Nottingham, the Biſhop of London, and Dr. Burnet. When it was read to the King, he gave it to the Lord Chancellor, with orders to find a way how he might have right done him in the caſe. But the perſons concerned were of ſo great a character, ſo much conſidered by the nation, and ſo well able to defend their cauſe, that it was thought better to let the matter alone, till the prerogative claimed was eſtabliſhed by the ſubmiſſion of the two Univerſities, who were encouraged to aſſert their rights and the obligation of their ſtatutes by this example of the Governors of the Charter-houſe.

(70) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 546.

tendance, as Lord Steward; and his Grace thereupon hired Kingſton-Hall in Dorſetſhire, whither he was carried from Badminton in a very ill ſtate of health. In the ſummer he grew better; but a little before Midſummer was ſeized with a kind of ague, which held him to the laſt. He kept up his ſpirits, however, with great fortitude, and expreſſed much pleaſure in ſeeing his great-grandſon, the young Lord Thurles, then about two years old, play by his bed-ſide. As he had always lived, ſo he died, a member of the Church of England, July 21, 1688, in the ſeventy-eighth year of his age; and his corpſe, being removed to London, was on the fourth of Auguſt following interred in Weſtminſter-Abbey (*u*). He was without doubt one of the beſt, as well as the greateſt, men of his time; had all the virtues requiſite to adorn a man of his rank, and very few foibles. In reſpect to his perſonal accompliſhments, he was exceeded by none, and equalled but by few: he had the look and air of a man of Quality; a very graceful and eaſy behaviour, which at the ſame time was full of dignity, and created reſpect in all that ſaw him. He ſpoke extremely well, both in private converſation and upon public occaſions, in regard to which, he expreſſed himſelf with much facility and freedom (*w*). He had a very comprehenſive genius, ſo that there were few ſubjects that he was not maſter of; and yet, with all his parts and all his experience, he was extremely modeſt. His political principles were entirely agreeable to the conſtitution: he was loyal to his Prince in all circumſtances, and without any regard to conſequences. He underſtood the intereſt of the nation, and purſued it ſteadily. He thought that the law was to be the guide of Sovereigns as well as ſubjects, and, therefore, judged it his duty to aſſert it upon all occaſions (*x*). He was deſcended from a very noble and fortunate family, and was himſelf the moſt fortunate of that family [*Y*]. He was extremely happy in domeſtic concerns, living with the Ducheſs in the moſt ſincere friendſhip, as well as the moſt tender affection; regarding her death, which happened about four years before his own, as the greateſt misfortune of his life (*y*). He was no leſs happy in his children, and in their numerous poſterity, of which it will be neceſſary to give ſome account [*Z*]. To ſum up all; he paſſed through

(*u*) Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. iii. p. 487. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 1074. Sir Richard Cox's Account of this noble Perſon, in his Preface to his ſecond Volume of the Hiſtory of Ireland.

(*w*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, Vol. i. p. 95. 791. Life of Keeper North, p. 230.

(*x*) Memoirs of the Life of Dr. Thomas Burnet, Maſter of the Charter-Houſe.

(*y*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 549.

[*Y*] *And was himſelf the moſt fortunate of that family.*] We have already, in the preceding article, ſufficiently juſtified what is aſſerted in the text, as to the honours and fortune of this family; and ſhall only add, that from the 31ſt of Henry III. when Theobald Butler was made one of the Lords Juſtices, to the 1ſt of James II. when the Duke of Ormond quitted the government of Ireland, there had been, in the ſpace of four hundred and thirty-ſeven years, ten of this family, who had been twenty-ſeven times Lords Juſtices, Lords Deputies, or Lords Lieutenants of that Kingdom (71). His Grace had ſeen three generations above him; his father, Thomas, Viſcount Thurles; his grandfather, Walter, Earl of Ormond; and his great uncle, Thomas, Earl of Ormond; and he, likewiſe, ſaw three generations below him; his ſon, Thomas, Earl of Oſſory; his grandſon, James, who ſucceeded him as Duke of Ormond; and his great grandſon, Thomas, Lord Thurles. He had been himſelf, at the time of his deceaſe, fifty-ſeven years in the ſervice of the crown, under the reign of four Kings; and to three of them he had been Privy-Counſellor, and done moſt eminent ſervices. He was four times Lord Lieutenant, and in that ſpace held the ſupreme government for twenty-two years, which was more than any other ſubject had done (72). He lived always with great magnificence, and had rather too little care of his fortune. He bred ſeveral eminent men in his family, who came afterwards to be very conſiderable in the ſtate; and there were three at leaſt of his Chaplains, that came to be diſtinguiſhed highly in the Church; Dr. Hough, the late excellent Biſhop of Worceſter, Dr. Hartſtonge, Biſhop of Londonderry (73), and Dr. Thomas Burnet, Maſter of the Charter-houſe. Indeed, he was always eſteemed a great patron of the Clergy, as well as a true friend to the Church; following, therein, the maxim of his old friend, the Earl of Strafford, who was in nothing more commendable, than in his care of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate of Ireland; by which he kept up the credit of the Proteſtant Religion, and filled the ſeveral Sees with men of ſuch learning, virtue, and piety, as drew the eſteem, even of the Papiſts; at leaſt, of all ſuch as were not bigots to ſuch a degree, as hindered them from ſeeing the good qualities and exemplary behaviour of Chriſtian Prieſts, that were not of their own Church.

(71) Sir Richard Cox's Account.

(72) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 557.

(73) See the Engliſh Tranſlation of Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. i. p. 431.

[*Z*] *Of which it will be neceſſary to give ſome account.*] The Duke of Ormond married but once, and that was his couſin, Lady Elizabeth Preſton, the only daughter of the Earl of Deſmond, by the only daughter of Thomas, Earl of Ormond. This Lady was born in 1615, and, conſequently, was five years younger than the Duke. She married at the age of fourteen; and after living fifty-four years in great harmony with her Lord, departed this life, July 21, 1684 (74). By this Lady the Duke had ten children, *viz.* eight ſons and two daughters. 1. Thomas, born in 1632; and died before he was a year old (75). 2. Thomas, Earl of Oſſory, of whom in the next article. 3. James, born in 1635; but died within the year. 4. James, who died a little above a year old (76). 5. Richard, born July 15, 1639; he was educated with great care, and taught every thing ſuitable to his birth, and the great affection that his parents had for him. As he grew up, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a brave and excellent diſpoſition, which determined him to a military life. When the Duke was firſt made Lord Lieutenant, after the Reſtoration, his Majeſty was pleaſed, by his letter, dated April 23, 1662, to create Lord Richard, Baron Butler of Cloghgrenan, Viſcount of Tullogh, in the county of Catherlogh, and Earl of Arran, with remainder to his brother (77). He was ſworn of the Privy-Council in that kingdom, Auguſt 26, 1663. In the month of September, 1664, he married Lady Mary Stuart, only ſurviving daughter of James, Duke of Richmond and Lenox, by Mary, the only daughter of the great Duke of Buckingham, who died in July, 1667, at the age of eighteen, and was interred at Kilkenny. The Earl of Arran commanding the guards in Ireland, and having, as we have ſhewn, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in reducing the mutineers at Carrick-Fergus, and behaving with great courage in the famous ſea-fight with the Dutch, in 1673, he was on the 27th of Auguſt, the ſame year, created Baron Butler of Weſton, in the county of Huntingdon (78). He married in the month of June preceding, Dorothy, daughter of John Ferrers, of Tamworth-Caſtle, in Warwickſhire, Eſq. In May, 1682, he was conſtituted Lord Deputy of Ireland, upon his father's going over to England; and held that high office till Auguſt, 1684 (79), when the Duke returned. In the beginning of the year 1686 he died at London, and was interred in the vault at the eaſt end of Henry VIIth's chapel at Weſtminſter; leaving an only daughter, Charlotte, who was married to Charles, Lord Cornwallis (80). 6. Walter, born September 6, 1641, died at Dublin in 1643, and was buried at Chriſt-Church (81). 7. John, born in 1643; he was Captain of the troop of

(74) Peerage of England, Vol. i. p. 60. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 536, 537, 538.

(75) *Ibid.* Vol. ii. p. 551.

(76) *Ibid.* ubi *ſupra.*

(77) Peerage of England, Vol. i. p. 60.

(78) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 478.

(79) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Vol. ii. P. iii. p. 16.

(80) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. iv. p. 181.

(81) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 551.

through a long life and variety of fortunes, with honour and reputation; was esteemed and beloved by the good men of all parties; and died as much regretted as it was possible for man to be (z); and this, without courting popular applause; or pursuing any other rule in his conduct, than doing what was, in his own judgment, right.

(z) Complete Hist. of Ireland, Vol. iii. p. 487.

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of Horse Guards in Ireland, and was created Baron of Aghrim, Viscount Clonmore, and Earl of Gowran, in that kingdom (82). He married in 1675, the Lady Anne Chichester, sole daughter and heiress of Arthur, Earl of Donnegal; and was a young nobleman of great parts and spirit, but too much given to his pleasures, by which he greatly impaired his health; and going for the recovery of it to Paris, died there, in August 1676, without issue (83). 8. James, born in 1645, who while an infant being carried to take the air in a coach, the horses running away down Phœnix-hill, near Dublin, the woman who had the care of him, in her fright, threw him out of the window, and he was killed by the fall (84). 1. Lady Elizabeth, born June 29, 1640, who married Philip, Earl of Chesterfield, by whom she had one son, Henry, that died an infant, and a daughter, the Lady Elizabeth Stanhope, who married Patrick Lyon, Earl of Strathmore, in the kingdom of Scotland (85). 2. Lady Mary, born in 1646, married to William, Lord Cavendish, afterwards Earl and Duke of Devonshire (86), by whom she had three sons, William, afterwards Duke of Devonshire, Lord Henry, and Lord James, and a daughter, Lady Elizabeth, married to Sir John Wentworth, of Broadsworth, in the county of York, Baronet (87). His Grace had also a natural son by the Lady Isabella Rich, daughter of the Earl of Holland, begotten before his marriage, and bred up at Paris, where he died a little before the Restoration. The Duke held a friendly correspondence with this Lady, during his exile, which, as we have elsewhere shewn, had like to have been fatal to his own Lady (88), who, notwithstanding had so little of jealousy in her nature, that when Lady Isabella was on this very account obliged to fly out of England, she received her very kindly at Caen, where she lived with her two or three years (89). C.

(82) Catalogue of the Peers of Ireland, with the Dates of their Creation, and Titles of their eldest Sons, by R. L.

(83) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 450.

(84) *Ibid.* p. 551.

(85) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. ii. p. 269.

(86) Peerage of England, Vol. i. p. 85.

(87) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. i. p. 156.

(88) See the article of BOYLE (ROGER), Earl of Orrery, note [E].

(89) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 538.

*** [A large and curious history of the Bill for prohibiting the Importation of Irish Cattle, is given in the Continuation of the Life of the Earl of Clarendon. Perhaps there never was a Bill that was carried through both Houses of Parliament with so much violence and acrimony. This was owing to the private views and party spirit which mingled in the contest; for, though many of the members in each House promoted the Bill from a conviction of its reasonableness and utility, others were impelled by their hatred to Lord Clarendon, and by a desire of mortifying the Duke of Ormond (90). It is surprising, that a repeal of this Act hath not hitherto been attempted; though it might probably not be assented to even in the present enlightened times. The Duke of Ormond's true patriotism is worthy of admiration, who exerted great wisdom and vigilance, in converting to the benefit of Ireland, an event which at first seemed likely to be so fatal to that country. The methods he pursued to this purpose are enlarged upon by Carte, and are well represented by Dr. Leland; who having related several of the Duke's attempts to promote the trade and manufactures of the Irish, goes on as follows: 'But of all 'such schemes of national improvement, that of a 'linen manufacture was most acceptable to Ormond. 'He possessed himself with the noble ambition of 'imitating the Earl of Strafford in the most honourable part of his conduct, and opening a source of 'public wealth and prosperity, which the troubles 'and disorders of Ireland had stopped. An act of 'parliament was passed at Dublin to encourage the 'growth of flax and manufacture of linen. Ormond was at the charge of sending skilful persons 'to the Low-Countries, to make observations on the 'state of this trade, the manner of working, the 'way of whitening their thread, the regulations of 'their manufacture, and management of their 'grounds, and to contract with some of their most 'experienced artists. He engaged Sir William 'Temple to send to Ireland five hundred families 'from Brabant, skilled in manufacturing linen: 'others were procured from Rochelle and the Isle of 'Ré, from Jersey and the neighbouring parts of 'France. Convenient tenements were prepared for 'the artificers at Chapel-Izod, near Dublin, where 'cordage, sail-cloth, ticken, linen, and diaper, 'were brought to a considerable degree of perfection. 'Such cares reflect real honour on the Governor, who 'thus laboured to promote the happiness of a nation; and should be recorded with pleasure and 'gratitude, however we may be captivated by the 'more glaring objects of history (91).' We are farther informed by Dr. Leland, that the Duke of Ormond was not less assiduous to cultivate knowledge and learning in Ireland, that he might root out the superstition by which the country had been enslaved, and introduce civility and refinement (92).

(90) Clarendon's Life, Vol. iii. p. 704. 726. Third edition.

(91) Leland's Hist. of Ireland, Vol. iii. p. 450.

(92) *Ibid.* p. 450, 451.

The Primate, who, when the Duke of Ormond quitted his government, in 1685, made a long speech in his Grace's commendation, was Dr. Michael Boyle, successively Bishop of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross, Archbishop of Dublin, Archbishop of Armagh, and twenty-two years Lord High Chancellor of Ireland. In the several articles concerning him, in Harris's edition of Sir James Ware's Works (93), there is scarcely any mention of the virtues of this Prelate. The Puritans, we are told, considered him as a churchman little removed from Popery (94).

(93) Ware's Works, Vol i. p. 130. 357. 569.

(94) Leland, *ubi sup. a*, p. 490.

When it is said, in the Duke of Ormond's article, that his political principles were entirely agreeable to the constitution, we cannot admit the truth of the assertion, unless we were to grant that the constitution of our government was legally absolute in Charles the Second's reign; for otherwise, it is certain that the Duke went to an unwarrantable length, in his compliance with that monarch's tyrannical conduct. This is acknowledged by Dr. Leland. 'It 'is not be doubted, says he, but that the King, in 'the present course of arbitrary measures which he 'adopted, wished for the countenance of a servant 'so generally respected as the Duke of Ormond; 'and that the Duke of York, knowing the instability of his brother, sought to keep him steady 'and determined by the authority of such a counsellor. Were it to the present purpose, to enter 'into a detail of Ormond's conduct in England, it 'might not appear to form the most brilliant part of 'his life. The very facts which his biographer hath 'recited with so much satisfaction, prove him to 'have displayed the most unbounded attachment to 'the Crown, by being an active agent in the 'most odious and obnoxious measures. But to his 'honour, it must be observed, that he was by no 'means admitted into all the most secret councils 'and purposes of the King and Duke (95).

Mr. Macpherson, in giving the character of Charles the Second's ministry, at the time of the Restoration, says, that Ormond was more remarkable for his honour and integrity, than for great abilities (96). It is not our intention to disparage the Duke's talents, which certainly were very considerable, and were displayed to eminent advantage in the settlement of Ireland; but, at the same time, we are apprehensive that they have been in some degree exaggerated, both by Mr. Carte and by our ingenious predecessor.

(95) *Ibid.* p. 482, 483.

(96) History of Great Britain, Vol. i. p. 4.

In the Earl of Clarendon's Continuation, there are several circumstances relative to the Duke of Ormond; the most remarkable of which is, the history of his appointment to the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, the Chancellor's opposition to it, and the reasons which induced the Duke to accept of that employment (97).] K.

(97) Continuation, Vol. ii. p. 222—227.

*** [In the British Museum (98) is a letter from the Duke of Ormond, and the Privy Council of Ireland, to Sir Henry Bennet, Secretary of State, relative to the Marquis of Antrim, dated the 31st of July, 1663. Letters had been sent, in the King's name,

(98) Harleian MSS. No. 1579. fol. 137.

BUTLER (THOMAS), Earl of Oſſory, whoſe ſhining qualities, great parts, and exemplary virtue, independently of his high birth, and the honours to which he attained, rendered him the delight of the age in which he lived, and deſerved that his memory ſhould be tranſmitted with due praiſe to poſterity, was born when his father was Earl of Ormond and Oſſory, in the Caſtle of Kilkenny, July 9, 1634 (*a*). He was educated in his father's houſe, with all imaginable care, and under the beſt maſters, that, in thoſe troubleſome times, could be procured, till he was near thirteen; and then his father having ſigned a treaty with the Commiſſioners of the Parliament, for ſurrendering up Dublin, he came with him over into England (*b*). His ſtay was not long at that time; for the Marquis of Ormond, as we have ſhown in the foregoing article, being obliged to quit the kingdom in February 1648, took his ſon with him to France; and when, in September following, the Marquis went over again to Ireland, his Lordſhip and his brother Richard were left at the houſe of a Proteſtant Miniſter, at Caen in Normandy, for about a year, and were then ſent to a famous Academy at Paris, where the Earl diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his dexterity in his exerciſes, and by a ſteady and manly behaviour much beyond his years (*c*). In December 1650, he came back to Caen, where the Marchioneſs of Ormond then was, and remained there till the ſummer of 1652, when he attended her Ladyſhip into England, from whence he went with her in the beginning of the next year to Ireland (*d*). He returned from thence in 1654, with his mother, to London, and reſided with her in Wild-Houſe: but being now a man, and much courted and careſſed by perſons of all ranks, who were charmed with his eaſy and polite behaviour, and with the ſingular happineſs of his temper, in which a boundleſs bravery was united with the greateſt gentleneſs and modeſty; he ſoon made a great figure, and his name was almoſt in every body's mouth. This excited the jealouſy of Cromwell to a very high degree; and, therefore, he thought proper to ſecure him, which he accordingly did (*e*) in a very extraordinary manner [*A*]. He remained in the Tower near eight months, and then falling ill of a fever which threatened his life, Cromwell, not without great difficulty, conſented to his diſcharge. He went firſt with the Marchioneſs, his mother, to Acton in Glouceſterſhire; but the Phyſicians having certified, that a farther change of air was requiſite to reſtore his conſtitution; a paſs was obtained for him, and he went over to

(*a*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 502.

(*b*) Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 34.

(*c*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 502.

(*d*) *Id. ibid.*

(*e*) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 629.

name, to the Duke of Ormond, as Lord Lieutenant, and the Council of Ireland, directing that the Marquis of Antrim ſhould be reſtored to his eſtate, as an 'innocent Papiſt.' But in this letter, the Duke of Ormond repreſents, that this would be contrary to the Act of Settlement, wherein it had been enacted, that ſuch as at any time had 'adhered to the Nuncio's or Clergy's party, or papal 'power, in oppoſition to the King's authority, 'ſhould not be reſtored as innocent Papiſts.' For his Grace maintained, that this had been the caſe with the Marquis of Antrim, to his own knowledge; that nobleman having 'continually ſerved with the 'Pope's Nuncio, and his adherents,' in 1646 and 1648, in oppoſition to his Grace, then Marquis of Ormond, and Lord Lieutenant. But in anſwer to this letter, another was ſent from the King in behalf of the Marquis of Antrim, wherein his Majeſty obſerved, that the caſe of that nobleman had been referred to the conſideration and examination of certain Lords of the Privy Council. It is added, in the King's name, 'that after ſeveral meetings, theſe 'Lords have reported unto us, that they have ſeen 'ſeveral letters, all of them hand-writing of our 'Royal Father, to the ſaid Marquis, and ſeveral inſtructions concerning his treating and joining with 'the Iriſh, in order to the King's ſervice, by reducing to their obedience, and by drawing ſome forces 'from them for the ſervice of Scotland: That beſides the letters and orders, under his Majeſty's 'hand, they have received ſufficient evidence and teſtimony of ſeveral private meſſages and directions 'ſent from our Royal Father, and from our Royal 'Mother, with the privity, and with the directions, 'of the King our Father, by which they are perſuaded, that whatever intelligence, correſpondence, 'or actings, the ſaid Marquis had with the confederate Iriſh Catholics, was directed or allowed 'by the ſaid letters, inſtructions, and directions; 'and that it manifeſtly appears to them, that the 'King our Father was well pleaſed with what 'the Marquis did after he had done it (99).'

(99) *Ibid.* fol. 142, 143.

It is manifeſt from the above letter, that King Charles I. carried on private intrigues with the Iriſh rebels, with which Ormond, though Lord Lieutenant, was wholly unacquainted; and, indeed, it is ſufficiently evident, that Charles, in order to promote his own arbitrary views, made uſe of great duplicity and inſincerity both with Proteſtants and Papiſts.] T.

[*A*] *Which he accordingly did in a very extraordinary manner.*] It is certain, that, at this time, Oliver Cromwell found himſelf in a very uneaſy and perplexed ſituation, being ſurrounded on all ſides with dangers and difficulties, and not knowing whom to truſt (1). He had been obliged to diſſolve his Parliament, when he moſt needed their aſſiſtance; he had diſcovered a deſign of the Royaliſts to riſe in different parts of the kingdom, which afterwards broke out; and in this ſtate of affairs, conſidering that Lord Oſſory was looked upon as, in all reſpects, one of the moſt promiſing young noblemen of the age, he judged it requiſite, though he had no particular informations, to cauſe him to be ſecured (2). His Lordſhip then reſided with his mother, the Marchioneſs, at Wild-Houſe, and thither an officer was ſent with a guard to take him into cuſtody. It happened that he was out at the time of their coming; but the Marchioneſs of Ormond told the officer who commanded, that he need not wait for his coming him; ſince ſhe would pawn her word, that he ſhould wait upon the Protector the next morning (3). One Mr. Stephen Ludlow, who had a reſpect for the family, gave his Lordſhip notice of what had happened, and offered to aſſiſt him in his eſcape; but the Marchioneſs was againſt that meaſure, and poſitively inſiſted, that he ſhould comply with what ſhe had undertaken on his behalf (4). He went, therefore, early the next morning to Whitehall, and deſired an audience of the Protector, but in vain; for, after he had waited ſome time, a perſon came out, and told his Lordſhip he had orders to carry him to the Tower, which he accordingly did. The Marchioneſs, during his confinement, applied often to Cromwell, who treated her with ſingular reſpect, made her many compliments, and gave her very civil anſwers; yet would not grant her ſon's diſcharge, till his confinement brought on a fit of ſickneſs. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that a little before his impriſonment, Lord Oſſory had procured a paſs from the Protector, allowing him to travel through Italy, and even as far as Jeruſalem; and having been very courteouſly treated at an audience of leave upon this occaſion, he was the leſs apprehenſive of the uſage he afterwards met with (5).

(1) Bates's Elenc. Motuum, p. 198, 199.

(2) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 502.

(3) *Idem, ibid.*

(4) *Idem, ibid.*

(5) *Ibid.* p. 162.

Flanders, and took with him his brother Lord Richard, who paſſed for his ſervant (*f*). He durſt not remain long there, for fear Cromwell ſhould make it a pretence for ſeizing his mother's eſtate; and, therefore, he retired into Holland, where he remained about four years, and behaved with ſo much prudence and diſcretion, that he was admired and eſteemed by the greateſt men in the Republic, more eſpecially by the Lord Beverweert, a nobleman of the firſt rank, and whoſe virtues were not at all inferior to his diſtinguiſhed birth. His intimacy with that nobleman, gave him an opportunity of converſing with the Lady Emilia Naſſau, his daughter, a Lady of very great beauty, and endowed with all the virtues of her ſex; ſo that his Lordſhip became very much in love with her, and a treaty of marriage being ſet on foot, the Marquis of Ormond came to Holland on purpoſe to conclude it, which he did, though it was attended with ſome difficulties (*g*) [*B*]. Upon the Reſtoration, Lord Oſſory attended the King to England, and by patent, dated February 8, 1661, was appointed Colonel of foot in Ireland. On the thirteenth of June following, he was made Colonel and Captain of horſe. He was ſoon after appointed Lieutenant-General of horſe; and, in the beginning of the year 1662, he ſucceeded the Earl of Montrath in the command of a regiment of foot and troop of horſe (*h*). On the twenty-ſecond of June, in the ſame year, he was called by writ to the Houſe of Lords in Ireland, and had very extraordinary compliments paid him on that occaſion by both Houſes of Parliament [*C*]. On the ſixteenth of Auguſt, 1665, he was appointed Lieutenant-General of the army in that kingdom: but returning into England the year following, he was with his brother-in-law the Earl of Arlington at his ſeat at Euſton in Norfolk, where, in the beginning of June, hearing the guns from ſea, he, with Sir Thomas Clifford, found means, on the third of that month, to get from Harwich on board the Engliſh fleet under the command of the Duke of Albemarle, to whom he brought the firſt news of Prince Rupert's coming to join him, and had his ſhare in that, and in the next day's glorious action (*i*). He was ſoon after ſworn of the Privy-Council in England, being then Lord of the Bed-Chamber to the King by his father's reſignation; and on the fourteenth of September 1666, he was ſummoned by writ to the Engliſh Houſe of Lords (*k*), by the title of Lord Butler of Moore Park. He had not ſitten ſix weeks in the Houſe before he called the Duke of Buckingham to an account, for ſaying, on the debate of the bill for prohibiting the importation of Iriſh cattle, that none were againſt it but ſuch as had Iriſh eſtates or Iriſh underſtandings. The Duke was to have met him in Chelſea-fields the next day; but, in his ſtead, about three hours after the time, came an officer with a guard to ſecure him; and the Duke had ſhared the ſame fate, if he had not prudently kept out of the way. The next morning his Grace complained to the Houſe of Lords of a breach of privilege, which produced a new quarrel with the Earl of Arlington. As ſoon as the King was informed of this complaint, he ordered the Earl of Oſſory to be releaſed, who went immediately to the Houſe to make his defence; which did not hinder his being ſent to the Tower, and the Duke was committed to the cuſtody of the Uſher of the Black-Rod; but, in two days, they were both releaſed (*l*). In May 1670, he attended the King in his journey to Dover, to meet his ſiſter the Ducheſs of Orleans; and in October following he was ſent to Holland, to bring over the Prince of Orange (*m*). At the cloſe of the ſame year, he thought himſelf obliged to reſent, in a very extraordinary manner, the inſult offered his father by Col. Blood,

(*f*) Cart's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 502.

(*g*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 478.

(*h*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 503.

(*i*) Memoirs of the Lord Clifford, p. 79. Complete Hiſt. of England, p. 263.

(*k*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 478.

(*l*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 834.

(*m*) Life of King William III. p. 14.

[*B*] *Which he did, though it was attended with ſome difficulties.*] This Dutch nobleman was the ſon of the famous Maurice Prince of Orange, by Madame de Beverweert. He was a man of great virtue and integrity, and not only aſſiſted his country with his counſels, but had expoſed his life alſo in her ſervice, and might have ſucceeded Tromp in the chief command of the fleet, if, out of modeſty, he had not declined it (6). He had three ſons and five daughters. His eldeſt ſon, Maurice, was created Count of Naſſau, by the Emperor Leopold; his ſecond ſon, William Adrian, was ſo created likewiſe, but was commonly called, Lord Odike; Henry, his third ſon, was Lord of Auverquerque, anceſtor to the Earls of Grantham (7). The eldeſt of his daughters was this Lady Emilia, with whom he offered to give a fortune of ten thouſand pounds, but inſiſted, that an eſtate of twelve hundred pounds a year ſhould be immediately put into the poſſeſſion of Lord Oſſory. It was no eaſy matter to fix this, conſidering how large a part it made of what was in his mother's poſſeſſion; and beſides, ſome overtures had been made towards a more advantageous match with the daughter of the Earl of Southampton (8). But the Earl of Oſſory looked upon his happineſs as inconſiſtent with any marriage but this; ſo that, at length, he procured the ſettlement inſiſted upon to be made, and the wedding was celebrated, November 16, 1659. It was propoſed, that part of the ten thouſand pounds ſhould have made the portion of his ſiſter Lady Elizabeth, who, about this time, married the Earl of Cheſterfield, and that the remainder ſhould be employed in defraying the expences of the education of Lord John; but the King's neceſſities being very preſſing, the Marquis of Ormond made no heſitation at ſacrificing this, which ſeemed to be his laſt ſtake, for his maſter's ſervice (9).

(6) Hiſtoire de Maiſon d'Orange, p. 395.

(7) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. ii. p. 570.

(8) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. ii. p. 385.

[*C*] *Had very extraordinary compliments paid to him on that occaſion, by both Houſes of Parliament.*] His Lordſhip took leave of the Commons, in a ſhort and handſome ſpeech, on the 8th of Auguſt, 1662; upon which an order was made, that Sir Paul Davis and Sir Henry Tichburne, with the body of the Houſe, ſhould accompany him to the bar of the Houſe of Lords (10). The Lords having notice of their coming, made an order, that, by the conſent of the Earl's bench, the Earl of Oſſory ſhould be placed above all the Earls, but that it ſhould be no precedent for the future. His place being thus fixed, the Houſe of Commons were called in, and the Speaker, in their name, returned thanks to the Lords for the honour they had been pleaſed to do the honourable perſon he then preſented to the Houſe; and aſſured them, that nothing could do them greater pleaſure; and the Commons doubted not, but as he had been a great help to their Houſe, ſo he would be an honour to that of the Peers, and very uſeful to both. The Commons being withdrawn, the Earl of Oſſory was introduced into the Houſe, and complimented by the Chancellor, in a ſhort and handſome ſpeech, upon that occaſion.

(9) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 183.

(10) *Ibid.* p. 247.

towards the Duke of Buckingham, who was thought to be the author of it [*D*]. In the month of February following, he attended the Prince of Orange back to the Hague, from whence he made a tour to the Court of France, returned by the way of Holland, and ſoon after he arrived in England. The Prince of Orange, as a mark of his high eſteem and regard, ſent him a baſon and ewer of maſſy gold (*n*). In the ſummer of 1671, he went over again to Flanders and Holland, and, in the beginning of 1672, he had the command of the Reſolution, a third rate man of war, having a little before received a very extraordinary mark of the King's ſincere affection for him. It ſeems his Lordſhip, who loved play too much, had run in debt about eight thouſand pounds, which made him extremely uneaſy; of which his Majeſty being informed, he was ſo kind as to pay it for him, and Sir Stephen Fox contrived that it ſhould be done in ſuch a way, that nobody at Court knew any thing of it. The Earl was on board the Reſolution the fourteenth of March with Sir Robert Holmes, when he attacked the Dutch Smyrna fleet, and gave ſignal marks of courage upon that occaſion, with which, however, his father was highly offended; becauſe, as that attempt was made before any declaration of war, he looked upon it as diſhonourable to the Engliſh arms (*o*). In April he had the command of the Victory given him, which was a ſecond rate. He was in the action off Southwould-Bay, which happened May 28, 1672, and acquired great reputation therein, as well as by relieving all the wounded ſeamen in St. Thomas's Hoſpital; and on the thirtieth of September he was elected Knight of the Garter (*p*). In November following he was ſent Envoy Extraordinary to France, with compliments of condolance on the death of the Duke of Anjou. He was received there with extraordinary honours, and extremely preſſed to accept a command in the army; to induce him to which, he was offered twenty thouſand piſtoles for his equipage, and ten thouſand piſtoles a year: but he excuſed himſelf, though he could not avoid accepting, at his audience of leave, a jewel of the value of two thouſand pounds (*q*). In May 1673, his Majeſty honoured him with the command of the St. Michael, a firſt rate, and appointed him Rear-Admiral of the Blue on the ſeventeenth of the ſame month, in which poſt he ſerved in the enſuing battle againſt the Dutch, and covered the Prince, which was the ſhip wherein Sir Edward Spragge bore his Flag, as Admiral of the ſquadron, after his death, and the veſſel's being diſabled, till towards night; and then brought her off in tow, and joined Prince Rupert's ſquadron (*r*). Upon this his Lordſhip was promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral of the Red; and on the tenth of September he diſplayed the Union Flag, as Commander in Chief of the whole fleet, in the abſence of Prince Rupert (*s*), by the King's ſpecial command. It was towards the cloſe of this year, that the Earl formed a very important project of revenging the diſgrace the nation had ſuſtained in the former war, by the burning of our ſhips at Chatham; in return for which, he would have burnt all the ſhips that were laid up at Helvoetſluys; and why this was not put in execution remains a ſecret to poſterity (*t*) [*E*]. His Lordſhip had equally the confidence of the Duke of York, and of the

(*n*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 504.

(*o*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 880.

(*p*) Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. iii. p. 288. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 504. Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 87.

(*q*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 504.

(*r*) Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. iii. p. 295. Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 91.

(*s*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 504. Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 91.

(*t*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 505.

[*D*] *The Duke of Buckingham, who was thought to be the author of it.*] This very ſingular incident (11) happened, when Dr. Turner, afterwards Biſhop of Ely, was Chaplain in waiting; and in his preſence, the Earl of Oſſory coming by chance, not long after Blood's attempt, into the Royal preſence; and ſeeing the Duke of Buckingham ſtanding by the King, his colour roſe, and he addreſſed him in the following words: 'My Lord, I know well, that you are 'at the bottom of this late attempt of Blood's upon 'my father; and therefore, I give you fair warning: 'if my father comes to a violent end, by ſword or 'piſtol; if he dies by the hand of a ruffian, or by 'the more ſecret way of poiſon, I ſhall not be at a 'loſs to know the firſt author of it; I ſhall conſider 'you as the aſſaſſin; I ſhall treat you as ſuch, and 'wherever I meet you, I ſhall piſtol you, though you 'ſtood behind the King's chair; and I tell it you in 'his Majeſty's preſence, that you may be ſure I ſhall 'keep my word.'

(11) This was related to Mr. Carte by Robert Leſley of Glaſlaghin the county of Monaghan, Eſq; who had it from the Biſhop of Ely. Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 425.

[*E*] *Remains a ſecret to poſterity.*] The Earl of Oſſory, in his ſeveral voyages to Holland, had heard, and at laſt had taken the pains to ſee, that the Royal Charles was laid up in Helvoetſluys. This is an excellent harbour on the iſland of Voorn, in the province of Holland, about five miles ſouth from the Briel, at that time little talked of, though ſince become well known to the world, from its being the ſtation of our packets (12). In the latter end of the ſummer, his Lordſhip was informed, that two and twenty of the largeſt ſhips of the Dutch fleet, were to be laid up there: and this induced him to conſider more ſeriouſly a ſcheme he formerly had of burning the veſſels in this port: and what contributed ſtill more to excite him to this undertaking, was an account, that though the place was of ſuch conſequence, and very capable of being defended, yet there was no better garriſon in it than two companies of foot. In order to be perfectly ſatisfied, he ſent over M. St. Paul, his Maſter of the horſe, to take a view of the place; which he did, and brought back an exact plan of it, though at the hazard of his life. He then propoſed it to the King, deſiring no more than eight men of war; the like number of large boats for landing men, with two thouſand land troops; or if ſo many could not be ſpared, he was content to undertake it with fifteen hundred (13). The King was very well pleaſed with the project; but the Duke of Buckingham ſecretly oppoſed it, and raiſed ſome objections about getting ſhips into the port: but Sir John Narborough, who was to command under the Earl, being conſulted by the King, offered to carry in the veſſels, at half flood, or loſe his head; to which the Earl added, that if he did not then fire the Dutch ſhips with a halfpenny candle, he would be content to have his fixed by Cromwell's, upon Weſtminſter-Hall. Upon this the neceſſary preparations were made with great diſpatch; and about the middle of the month of December, when the Earl of Oſſory was ready to take his leave, and to embark at Portſmouth, he ſuddenly received a countermand, the very night before his intended departure. Whether this proceeded from the pique and jealouſy of that Duke, or from the King's unwillingneſs to ſtrike ſuch a ſtroke, when he was on the point of concluding the peace, though even in that he had been juſtified by the conduct of the Dutch, on the like occaſion, remains, and perhaps ever will remain, a ſecret (14). This, however, is certain, that his Lordſhip afterwards examined the place, and was thoroughly ſatisfied from thence, that nothing could have hindered the ſucceſs of his deſign, if he had been allowed to have put it in execution.

(12) Deſcription of the Seven United Provinces, printed for Moſes Pitt, p. 37.

(13) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 443. Columna Roſtrata, p. 249.

(14) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 505, 506.

King his maſter: and this both in their public and private concerns; as is evident from his being the only nobleman truſted with the ſecret of the Duke's firſt marriage (*u*), and the perſon who actually gave Mrs. Anne Hyde away. When, therefore, it was thought requiſite, in the winter of 1674, to offer the Lady Mary to the Prince of Orange, though the King made choice of Lord Oſſory, yet his Royal Highneſs confirmed it with a very ſignal teſtimony of reſpect, declaring he would rather truſt his concerns with his Lordſhip than with any other perſon; and when he embarked, on the tenth of November, with the Earl of Arlington his brother-in-law, it was univerſally underſtood at Court, that he was the Duke's Miniſter, as the other was the King's (*w*). How well he was received in Holland, and how grateful his perſon was to the Prince of Orange, appears from his Highneſs's conducting him on board his ſhip, which, though a great honour in itſelf, was much increaſed by the manner of doing it; for the Prince perceiving that the ſhip made little way, followed from ſhore the next morning in a long-boat, and accompanied his Lordſhip out to ſea (*x*). What the real iſſue was of this negociation, and by whom it was conducted, has been ſhewn in another place (*y*), and need not therefore be repeated here. In 1675, he was, as a mark of their reſpect, choſen Maſter of the Brotherhood of Trinity-houſe, and, in Auguſt following, made one of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty (*z*). In November 1676, he became Lord Chamberlain to Queen Catherine (*a*). When M. Bentinck came over to England in the ſummer of the next year, to reſume the treaty for the match before mentioned, he was particularly recommended by his Highneſs to the Earl of Oſſory, and the Duke of Ormond; and by their advice it was, that he applied himſelf to the Lord Treaſurer Danby; ſo that, by whatever means that negociation was happily terminated, his Lordſhip plainly had his ſhare in it. One advantage he drew from thence was this, that he obtained leave, which had been often refuſed him before, to go over, and make the reſt of the campaign with his Highneſs in Flanders, which he did; and, upon the appearance of a battle, he had the poſt of honour given him, with a command of ſix thouſand men (*b*). In the beginning of the year following, he went over again, in order to take upon him the command of the Britiſh ſubjects in the pay of the States, and, at the cloſe of the war, was continued in his command, with extraordinary marks of honour on the part of the States-General [*F*]. In the progreſs of that campaign he diſtinguiſhed himſelf extremely, more eſpecially at the battle of Mons, which was fought towards the cloſe of it, and wherein he commanded the Engliſh troops; with whom he did ſo much, and contributed ſo far to the retreat which Marſhal Luxemburg was obliged to make from the field of battle, that the States of Holland, the Duke of Villa Hermoſa, Governor of the Spaniſh Low-Countries, and even his Catholic Majeſty himſelf, thought fit, in a letter under his hand, to acknowledge the great ſervices (*c*) he performed in that action. His Lordſhip returned, in company with Mr. Hyde, who had been ſent to execute a commiſſion of importance to his Highneſs, September 13, 1678. His Majeſty intended, ſoon after, to have given him the command of a ſquadron, deſtined to chaſtiſe the Algerine pirates; but the Lord Treaſurer Danby interpoſing, and engaging that Sir John Narborough ſhould undertake that ſervice with a ſmaller force, he was thereupon preferred (*d*). His Lordſhip was in like manner diſappointed the next year, when the King had thought of him to have carried his compliments, and a jewel of the value of thirteen thouſand pounds, for the new Queen of Spain. But the Nobleman then at the head of the Treaſury, procured that deſign to be laid aſide, from a ſpirit of œconomy; notwithſtanding which, we are told, this jewel was, not long after, given to the Ducheſs of Portſmouth (*e*). It was in the courſe of this winter, that the enemies of the Duke of Ormond attacked his conduct warmly in the Houſe of Lords, where it was moſt vigorouſly defended by the Earl of Oſſory, who thought fit to carry the war into the enemies quarters, in a famous ſpeech in anſwer to one of the Lord Shafteſbury's,

(*u*) As appears by a Certificate under his Royal Highneſs's hand, produced at the Council-Table, when the marriage was enquired into.

(*w*) Supplement to Heath's Chronicle, p. 599. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 911.

(*x*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 505.

(*y*) See the article of BENNET (HENRY), Earl of Arlington, note [*N*].

(*z*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 505.

(*a*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 992.

(*b*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 505, 506.

(*c*) Life of King William III. p. 94. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 943. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 506.

(*d*) Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. iii. p. 306.

(*e*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 506.

[*F*] *With extraordinary marks of honour, on the part of the States-General.*] At the time the Earl went over to command the Engliſh forces in the ſervice of the States, in February 1677, he had a commiſſion from them to be Colonel and Captain of one of the ſix regiments; yet was made Major-General and Commander in chief of the Engliſh brigade by the Prince of Orange's patent (15); but his waggon ordinances were appointed him in that rank and quality by the States. When the peace was made, the Earl declared, that he expected a commiſſion from the States-General, according to the cuſtom of that ſervice; which the Prince of Orange ſought to evade as well as he could, being very deſirous, on the one hand, to keep his Lordſhip in the poſt, and very apprehenſive, on the other, that the States would never be brought to create a new general officer at a time when his ſervice was not immediately neceſſary. The Earl remained firm in his ſentiments, that he ought to be upon the regular and legal eſtabliſhment; and therefore, in the beginning of the year 1680, he ſent over an agent, with inſtructions to demand ſuch commiſſions as he expected; or if theſe were refuſed, to deliver up the commiſſions that he had, of Colonel and Captain. The Prince interpoſed as far as he could, and gave the Earl's agent all the good words poſſible; but the gentleman told his Highneſs, it was not in his power to negociate or to liſten to any propoſals, but that he was barely charged with a meſſage, and muſt return to his maſter with the anſwer of their High Mightineſſes. When the Prince ſaw that there was nothing to be done in this way, he laid the matter before the Council of State, ſet forth the abilities and ſervices of the Earl of Oſſory, and ſhowed how reaſonable a thing it would be to grant him what he demanded; which the States did, and the whole affair was ſettled entirely to his Lordſhip's ſatisfaction, in April 1680, but in a manner ſo repugnant to their uſual maxims, that the Prince of Orange himſelf was amazed at it, though, at the ſame time, highly ſatisfied and pleaſed (16).

(15) Life of Major Bernardi, p. 40, 41.

(16) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 506, 507.

which,

which, as an inſtance of his Lordſhip's talents, ſhall be preſerved in the notes [G]. As this did him very great credit at home, ſo it procured him from abroad an honour he very little expected. This ſpeech of his being tranſmitted to Holland, was there tranſlated into, and printed in, Dutch; upon which the Prince of Orange, as a mark of his ſincere friendſhip, as well as a proof of his very high eſteem, wrote his Lordſhip a letter, the contents of which render it extremely worthy of notice (*f*) [*H*]. We draw now near the cloſe of his days, and the laſt period of his honours. The King was a good deal embarraſſed about the port of Tangier in Barbary, the poſſeſſion of which he acquired by his marriage with the Infanta of Portugal, and in fortifying of which he had ſpent immenſe ſums of money (*g*). The place was certainly of great importance, as it lay very commodiouſly for protecting our trade, for keeping the Moors in awe, and for giving us weight in the Mediterranean; but more eſpecially as we poſſeſſed it by an undiſputed title, and were at liberty to make what acquiſitions we could, without giving umbrage to any Chriſtian Prince. The Parliament, however, had conceived a diſlike to the manner in which this affair had been managed, grounded chiefly upon a rumour that the garriſon was a nurſery for Popiſh ſoldiers (*h*); to remove which fears, his Majeſty made choice of the Earl of Oſſory to go over thither in quality of Governor (*i*). He was preparing every thing for that purpoſe, when his Lordſhip was ſuddenly taken ill at Arlington-Houſe, of a high and malignant fever, which diſturbed his head almoſt from the time he was ſeized. The Phyſicians had for two days ſome hopes of his recovery; but he relapſed, and on July 30, 1680, expired, as univerſally lamented as he had been beloved (*k*). His Lordſhip died when he was juſt turned of the forty-ſixth year of his age, leaving his diſconſolate Counteſs and his

(*f*) Appendix to the ſecond Vol. of Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, p. 30.

(*g*) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. ii. p. 335.

(*h*) Kennet's Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. iii. p. 376, 408.

(*i*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 507.

(*k*) Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 125. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 1001. Complete Hiſt. of England, Vol. iii. p. 393.

[*G*] *Shall be preſerved in the notes.*] The Earl of Shafteſbury had not, very probably, any perſonal diſlike to the Duke of Ormond; but he ſaw clearly, that ſo long as he continued Lord Lieutenant, and in credit with the King, the progreſs of their party would be entirely ſtopped in Ireland, and much retarded in England (17). It was for this reaſon, therefore, that he expatiated in the Houſe of Lords, on the great danger the three kingdoms were in from Popery, and the little care that was taken to proſecute the Papiſts in Ireland, notwithſtanding that, of the three, it was viſibly the moſt expoſed. As he was a very copious and witty ſpeaker, he could not help throwing out ſome ſtrokes as to perſons allied to the Iriſh by blood, having a natural propenſity to indulge Papiſts; and upon this occaſion it was, that the Earl of Oſſory thought proper to anſwer him in the following ſpeech; the latter part of which is a ſuccinct view of his antagoniſt's meaſures, when he acted with the Court. The Earl of Shafteſbury, inſtead of replying with heat, as ſoon as the Earl ſat down, ſtood up again, and explained his firſt ſpeech in ſuch a manner, as that he ſeemed to take off thoſe reflections, that were undoubtedly deſigned to fall upon the Duke of Ormond; and this conceſſion in ſo great a man might well be eſteemed a victory.

(17) See North's Examen of Kennet's Complete Hiſtory, p. 85, 86, 87.

'I am very ſorry, and do much wonder, to find 'that noble Lord ſo apt to reflect upon my father, 'when he is pleaſed to mention the affairs of Ire-'land. It is very well known that he was the chief 'perſon that ſuſtained the King's and the Proteſtant 'intereſt, when the Iriſh rebellion firſt broke out. 'His ſervices were ſo acceptable to the Long Parlia-'ment, that, after ſome ſucceſſes he had againſt the 'Iriſh rebels, the Parliament voted him thanks, and 'ſent him a rich jewel, as a mark of honour and 'their eſteem. It is well known, that when he had 'made two peaces with the Iriſh, they both times 'perfidiouſly broke them, and endeavoured his 'murder, and ſent out ſeveral excommunications 'againſt him, and thoſe that adhered to him. When 'he was abroad, I believe many may remember 'how, when the Duke of Glouceſter was taken into 'the hands of ſome that would have perverted him, 'the King commanded my father to bring him from 'Paris, which he did, notwithſtanding the threaten-'ings and animoſity of that party againſt him. 'How he has been laid at, by that party, ſince 'the King's Reſtoration, I think is ſufficiently noto-'rious. I beg your Lordſhips pardon, if the near-'neſs of my relation may have made me ſay any 'thing, which may look vain, being infinitely 'much concerned, that any ſuſpicion ſhould be 'raiſed againſt him, which may argue his being not 'ſufficiently zealous in all things wherein the Pro-'teſtant religion and the King's ſervice are con-'cerned. Having ſpoke of what he has done, I 'preſume with the ſame truth to tell your Lordſhips, 'what he has not done. He never adviſed the 'breaking of the triple league, he never adviſed the 'ſhutting up of the Exchequer, he never adviſed 'the declaration for a Toleration, he never adviſed 'the falling out with the Dutch and joining with 'France. He was not the author of that moſt ex-'cellent poſition of *Delenda eſt Carthago*, that Hol-'land, a Proteſtant country, ſhould, contrary to the 'true intereſt of England, be totally deſtroyed. I 'beg your Lordſhips will be ſo juſt, as to judge of 'my father and of all men, according to their 'actions and counſels (18).

(18) Appendix to Carte's ſecond Vol. of the Life of the Duke of Ormond, p. 90.

[*H*] *The contents of which render it extremely worthy of notice.*] There is ſuch a mixture of freedom and ſpirit in this letter of his Highneſs's, that, at the ſame time we produce it to ſhew his regard for the Earl of Oſſory, it cannot but raiſe a ſentiment of eſteem for his Highneſs himſelf, who could in ſo few lines p int the warmth of his ſatisfaction; his averſion to falſe patriots; his high opinion of the Duke of Ormond; his fears for this country; his foreſight of what would happen to it; and his tenderneſs for his friend (19).

(19) *Idem, ibid.*

'J'AY eſté ravi d'apprendre, que vous avez ſi 'bien ſceu faire faire ces bourgres d'Haranguers. 'Voſtre harangue eſt icy imprimé, laquelle je vous 'envoyerai, ſi je la puis avoir, devant que cellecy 'part. Je n'aurois jamais crû, que l'on auroit eſté 'ſi loin, d'attaquer Monſieur voſtre pere, lequel je 'croirois eſtre au deſſus de toutes ſuſpons, ſurtout 'en fait de religion. Dieu ſçait ce que cecy ſera 'la fin de toutes vos brouilleries: je la crains extre-'mement du mauvais coſté. Le temps nous ap-'prendra en peu. Croiez moy toujours ſans reſerve 'abſolument a vous.

'De la Haye ce
'2 de May 1679. G. H. Prince d'Orange.'

In Engliſh thus.

'*I Was overjoyed to learn, that you knew ſo well 'how to deal with theſe infamous Demagogues. 'Your ſpeech is printed here, which I will ſend you, 'if I can get it before this goes away. I could never 'have believed, that they would have puſhed things ſo 'far, in attacking your father, whom I looked on to 'be above all ſuſpicions, in point of religion more 'eſpecially. God knows whether this will be the 'period of your diſturbances: I am extremely apprehen-'ſive of the worſt. Time will ſoon explain things. 'Believe me always, and without reſerve, to be abſo-'lutely your's.*

'*William Henry Prince of Orange.*'

children

children to the care of the Duke of Ormond his father; by whom they were educated and diſpoſed of in the world, in a manner ſuitable to their high quality [*I*]. To venture at drawing a character of this excellent perſon, at ſuch a diſtance of time, and from the ſcanty materials that we have been able to collect together, would be only amuſing the reader with a rude and imperfect ſketch of a picture that deſerves to be drawn at full length. We ſhall content ourſelves, therefore, barely with a few touches, and leave his portrait to be finiſhed by the hand of ſome able maſter. The Earl of Oſſory had a very graceful perſon, and, without concerning himſelf much about dreſs, made always as good a figure as any Nobleman at Court. He had a martial air, and that eaſineſs in addreſs, which is natural to thoſe who perform their exerciſes well, and have been much uſed to them. He poſſeſſed, in a high degree, all polite accompliſhments. He underſtood Muſic well, ſpoke and wrote French and Italian perfectly, underſtood moſt of the modern languages, and, with all the qualities that recommend a man in a Court, had all the talents alſo of a man of buſineſs. His courage was truly heroic, and roſe, upon all occaſions, in proportion to the danger; but it was the effect of his high ſpirit and good ſenſe, and not at all of a haſty diſpoſition, for in his behaviour no man was more cautious or more modeſt; and though, when he thought it neceſſary, he ſpoke with great warmth and freedom, yet he never did this unprovoked, and was very eaſily reconciled, provided he thought his antagoniſt ſincere. His generoſity was boundleſs, but at the ſame time was exerted to noble purpoſes, and upon proper occaſions. When he was Commander in Chief of the Engliſh brigade, and had the naming of the officers of ſix regiments, he ſhewed his diſintereſtedneſs in preferring men of merit freely, and at the ſame time directed his Secretary, Mr. Ellis of Pall-Mall, to take nothing for their commiſſions; and as he was by this means deprived of a conſiderable perquiſite, his Lordſhip thought himſelf obliged to make it up to him out of his own pocket. In a word, his virtue was unſpotted in the centre of a luxurious Court; his integrity unblemiſhed amidſt all the vices of his times; his honour untainted through the courſe of his whole life; his reputation general with all parties at home, and ſo diffuſed abroad, that he received the ſtrongeſt marks of confidence and eſteem from perſons of the higheſt rank in every nation in Europe; and had the honour of entertaining at his own houſe, all foreigners of diſtinction that viſited the Court of England in his time. Neither has this juſt tribute to his high virtues, and many amiable qualities, been confined only to the ſhort period of his life: the ſame felicity has attended his memory. Such as have written of Iriſh concerns, have commended his prudence in the government of that kingdom, of which he was twice Lord Deputy; thoſe who have treated of maritime affairs, have extolled his courage and conduct on board the fleet; and foreign Hiſtorians have recorded the great ſervices he performed in Flanders: nor even in theſe times, when men are too apt to take things in wrong lights, and to impoſe their own conceptions on poſterity for Hiſtory, has there yet appeared a writer ſo regardleſs of truth, or of his own character, as to venture a ſtroke of cenſure on that of Lord Oſſory.

[*I*] *In a manner ſuitable to their high quality.*] The Counteſs of Oſſory was naturaliſed by Act of Parliament, paſſed September 13, 1660 (20); and ſhe was conſidered throughout her whole life, as one of the beſt and moſt agreeable ladies of her rank, in the kingdom. She was certainly an excellent wife; and inſtead of reproaching the Earl with his ſingle indiſcretion, in point of play, ſhe always conſoled him with aſſurances, that ſhe would labour by her œconomy to prevent or repair any inconveniences it might otherwiſe occaſion (21). By her the Earl had eleven children, five ſons and ſix daughters, of whom the major part ſurvived him. His eldeſt ſon, James, who ſucceeded him in his title of Oſſory, was born April 29, 1665, in the caſtle of Dublin (22); and on the demiſe of his grandfather, ſucceeded him alſo, in the title of Ormond. Charles, the ſecond ſon, was created by King William and Queen Mary, in the year 1693, Baron of Cloghgrenan, Viſcount Tullogh, and Earl of Arran, in the kingdom of Ireland; as alſo Lord Butler of Weſton, in the county of Huntingdon, by which he became a Peer of England (23). His Lordſhip was Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, and Lord High-Steward of the city and liberty of Weſtminſter. Of Lord Oſſory's four ſurviving daughters, Lady Elizabeth, the eldeſt, was married to William Stanley, Earl of Derby (24); Lady Emilia Butler lived a maid: Lady Henrietta eſpouſed Henry Naſſau d'Auverquerque, Earl of Grantham (25); and Lady Catherine Butler never married. Another James, who was elder than the deceaſed Duke of Ormond, and two other ſons that were younger, dying in Ireland, were buried at Chriſt Church, Dublin, as were alſo two of his Lordſhip's daughters. C.

(20) Kennet's Hiſtorical Regiſter, p. 255.

(21) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. ii. p. 501.

(22) Peerage of England, Vol. i. p. 60.

(23) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. iv. p. 229.

(24) Peerage of England, Vol. i. p. 124.

(25) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. ii. p. 372.

*** [In the Continuation of the Life of the Earl of Clarendon, there is a particular account of the quarrel between Lord Oſſory and the Duke of Buckingham, concerning the Iriſh Cattle Bill; and the ſtory, as told by the noble Hiſtorian, is far from redounding to the credit of the Duke (26).

The Duke of Ormond's being highly offended with his ſon, for engaging in the attack of the Dutch Smyrna fleet, before a declaration of war, diſplays the true honour and dignity of his Grace's ſentiments. The obſervation of thoſe formalities which the Law of Nations has been underſtood to preſcribe, before contending kingdoms actually draw the ſword, is founded both on the principles of equity and ſound policy. The deviations from ancient rules in this reſpect, which have lately taken place, were thought, without doubt, to be juſtified by ſufficient motives; but whether they will in the end appear to be the reſult of genuine wiſdom, may reaſonably be queſtioned.

We believe it is true, what our predeceſſor declares, that no writer has ventured a ſtroke of cenſure on Lord Oſſory. His qualities were of ſuch a ſplendid as well as ſolid nature, that they excited univerſal eſteem and affection. There are ſome characters which are peculiar favourites in their own times, and the memory of which is handed down to poſterity with ſingular pleaſure. The principal ingredients in the compoſition of theſe characters are, affability of temper, openneſs of behaviour, an abhorrence of diſſimulation and low policy, undaunted valour, and a generoſity bordering upon extravagance. The late Marquis of Granby ſeems to have reſembled Lord Oſſory, though with inferior abilities.] K.

(26) Continuation, Vol. iii. p. 713—718. Third edition.

BUTLER (SAMUEL), a celebrated Poet of the laſt century, was born at Strenſham in Worceſterſhire, and baptiſed there the thirteenth of February 1612 (*a*) [*A*]. His father Mr. Samuel Butler, a reputable country farmer [*B*], perceiving in his ſon an early inclination to learning, ſent him for education to the free-ſchool of Worceſter, under the care of Mr. Henry Bright; where having laid the foundation of Grammar-learning, he was ſent, for ſome time, to Cambridge [*C*], but was never matriculated in that Univerſity (*b*). After he had reſided there ſix or ſeven years (*c*), he returned to his native country, and became clerk to one Mr. Jefferys of Earl's-Croom, an eminent Juſtice of the Peace for that county, with whom he lived ſome years in an eaſy and reputable ſervice (*d*); during which time, through the indulgence of a kind maſter, he had ſufficient leiſure to apply himſelf to his favourite ſtudies, Hiſtory and Poetry; to which, for his diverſion, he added Muſic and Painting [*D*]. He was afterwards recommended to that great encourager of learning, Elizabeth, Counteſs of Kent; under whoſe patronage, he had not only the opportunity of conſulting all kinds of books, but of converſing likewiſe with that living library of learning, the great Mr. Selden (*e*); who was very converſant in that Lady's family, and often employed our Poet to write letters beyond ſea, and tranſlate for him (*f*). He lived ſome time alſo with Sir Samuel Luke, a gentleman of an ancient family in Bedfordſhire, and a famous commander under Oliver Cromwell; about which time he wrote the celebrated HUDIBRAS [*E*]; under which character, it is generally ſuppoſed, he intended to ridicule that Knight [*F*]. After

(*a*) Wood. Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 452. And Butler's Life, prefixed to his *Hudibras*, edit. Lond. 1732, 12mo, p. 5.

(*b*) Life of Butler, *ibid.* p. 6.

(*c*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(*d*) Anthony Wood does not mention this incident of Butler's Life.

(*e*) Life, &c. p. 6, 7.

(*f*) Wood, *ibid.*

[*A*] *He was born in the year* 1612.] This was contradicted by Charles Longueville, Eſq; a gentleman whoſe father was Butler's particular friend (2); and who declared, that our Poet was born in the year 1600. The reader muſt chooſe, which authority he will rely upon.

(2) See the *General Dictionary*, Article HUDIBRAS.

[*B*] *His father——a reputable country farmer.*] Anthony Wood tells us, that Butler's father had a competent eſtate of nearly three hundred pounds a year, but moſt of it in leaſe lands held of Sir Thomas Ruſſel, grandfather of Sir Francis Ruſſel, Baronet, Lord of the Manor of Strenſham (3). The authority of the Oxford Antiquary, in what he ſays of our Poet, is the more to be depended upon, as he had his information from Butler's own brother, then living.

(3) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 452.

[*C*] *He was ſent, for ſome time, to Cambridge.*] Some of the neighbourhood, Mr. Wood informs us (4), pretended, that Butler went to Oxford; and he aſſures us, that one Samuel Butler was elected from Weſtminſter-ſchool, a ſtudent of Chriſt-church in 1623; but, making very little ſtay there, he was not matriculated, and conſequently his age and place of nativity are not remaining on record in that Univerſity: otherwiſe, had he been a member of that body, we ſhould have known whether he was afterwards the famed author of *Hudibras*. The reader ſhould be told, that the gentleman mentioned above (5) affirmed, that Mr. Butler never reſided at Oxford.

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) In the Remark [*A*].

[*D*] *He applied himſelf to——Painting.*] The anonymous author of his *Life* (6) tells us, he had ſeen ſome pictures, ſaid to be of Mr. Butler's drawing, which were preſerved in Mr. Jefferys's family: 'which 'I mention not (adds he) for the excellency of them, 'but to ſatisfy the reader of his early inclinations to 'that noble art; for which alſo he was afterwards 'entirely beloved by Mr. Samuel Cooper, one of the 'moſt eminent Painters of his time.' The Oxford Antiquary (7) places our Poet's improvement in Muſic and Painting to the time of his ſervice under the Counteſs of Kent.

(6) Prefixed to his *Hudibras*, edit. Lond. 1732. 12*mo*, page 6.

(7) *Ubi ſupra.*

[*E*] *About which time he wrote the celebrated* HUDIBRAS.] 'Though fate (ſays the Author of his 'Life) more than choice, ſeems to have placed him 'in the ſervice of a Knight, ſo notorious both in 'perſon and politics; yet, by the rule of contraries, 'one may obſerve throughout his whole poem, 'that he was moſt orthodox both in his religion 'and loyalty. And I am the more induced to believe he wrote it about that time, becauſe he had 'the opportunity to converſe with thoſe living characters of rebellion, nonſenſe and hypocriſy, which 'he ſo livelily and emphatically expoſes throughout 'the whole work (8).'

(8) Life, &c. page 7.

[*F*] *It is generally ſuppoſed, he intended to ridicule* Sir Samuel Luke *under the character of* Hudibras.] The principal reaſon of this conjecture is founded on the following paſſage of the poem:

'Tis ſung there is a valiant Mamaluke,
In foreign land ycleped ——
To whom we have been oft compared,
For perſon, parts, addreſs, and beard:
Both equally reputed ſtout;
And in the ſame cauſe both have fought.
He oft in ſuch attempts as theſe,
Came off with glory and ſucceſs;
Nor will we fail i' th' execution
For want of equal reſolution (9).

(9) Hudibras, Part i. Canto i. ver. 904.

The name *Sir Samuel Luke* exactly ſupplies the deficiency in the ſecond line, if you melt the two ſyllables of SAMUEL into one; and the compariſon *Hudibras* makes between himſelf and that Knight, ſeems to juſtify the ſuppoſition. But what tends farther to confirm it, is a ballad, intitled, *A Tale of the Cobler and Vicar of Bray*, printed in *Butler's poſthumous Works* (10); in which Sir Samuel Luke is thus characterized:

(10) Page 285. See the Remark [*R*].

In Bedfordſhire there dwelt a Knight,
Sir Samuel by name,
Who by his feats in civil broils
Obtained a mighty fame.

Nor was he much leſs wiſe than ſtout,
But fit in both reſpects
To humble ſturdy Cavaliers,
And to ſupport the ſects.

This worthy Knight was one that ſwore
He wou'd not cut his beard,
Till this ungodly nation was
From Kings and Biſhops clear'd.

Which holy vow he firmly kept,
And moſt devoutly wore
A griezly meteor on his face,
Till they were both no more.

His Worſhip was, in ſhort, a man
Of ſuch exceeding worth,
No pen or pencil can deſcribe,
Or rhyming bard ſet forth.

Many and mighty things he did
Both ſober and in liquor;
Witneſs the mortal fray between
The Cobler and the Vicar.

Then follows the tale, in which the Knight acts as a Juſtice of the Peace, and has a Clerk named *Ralph:*

RALPH, who was both his Squire and Clerk,
And Conſtable withal.

I ſhall not diſpute whether this ballad be Butler's or not; but ſhall only obſerve from it, that as, in *Hudibras*, the Knight is ſuppoſed to be drawn in the character of Sir Samuel Luke, ſo here Sir Samuel is evidently drawn in the character of Hudibras. For, beſides what has been already quoted, he is armed with a *Baſket-hilt:*

Then up he took his *baſket-hilt*,
And out enraged he went.

In

After the Reſtoration of King Charles II. our Poet was made Secretary to Richard Earl of Carberry, Lord Preſident of the Principality of Wales, who appointed him Steward of Ludlow-Caſtle, when the Court was revived there; and about this time he married one Mrs. Herbert, a gentlewoman of a very good family [*G*]. The Oxford Antiquary pretends (*g*), that Butler was Secretary to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, when that Lord was Chancellor of the Univerſity of Cambridge; and the Life-writer aſſures us (*b*), the Duke had a great kindneſs for our Poet, and was often a benefactor to him [*H*]. But no one was a more generous friend to Mr. Butler, than that Mæcenas of all learned and witty men, Charles Lord Buckhurſt, the late Earl of Dorſet and Middleſex; who, being himſelf an excellent Poet, knew how to ſet a juſt value upon the ingenious performances of others (*i*); and we are told, he owed it to that Nobleman, that the Court taſted his *Hudibras* (*k*). He had alſo promiſes of places and employments of great value and credit, from the Lord Clarendon, High Chancellor of England (*l*); but they proved mere Court promiſes. In ſhort, Mr. Butler affords a remarkable inſtance of that coldneſs and neglect, which great geniuſes often experience from the Court and age in which they live [*I*]. The integrity of his life, the acuteneſs of

(*g*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(*b*) Page 8.

(*i*) Life, &c. *ibid.*

(*l*) Wood, *ib.*

(*k*) See Prior's Poems, Dedication to the Duke of Dorſet.

In like mauner as Hudibras:

His puiſſant ſword unto his ſide
Near his undaunted heart was ty'd,
With *Baſket-hilt*, that would hold broth,
And ſerve for fight and dinner both (11).

(11) Hudibras, Part i. Canto i. ver. 351.

And whether we ſuppoſe this ballad to be written before or after *Hudibras*, it will equally anſwer our purpoſe: for, in the firſt caſe, it will be evident, that Butler drew from this character; and, in the latter, it will ſhew, that, at that time, Sir Samuel Luke was generally underſtood to be meant under the character of Hudibras. The new editor of *Hudibras* (†) tells us, 'it has been ſuggeſted—that, notwithſtanding Sir Samuel Luke of Wood-end, in the pariſh of Cople, in Bedfordſhire, has generally been reputed the Hero of this poem, yet, from the circumſtances of his being compared to Sir Samuel Luke, it is ſcarce probable, that he was intended, it being an uncommon thing to compare a perſon to himſelf: that the ſcene of action was in *Weſtern Clime*; whereas Bedfordſhire is north of London; and that he was credibly informed by a Bencher of Gray's-inn, who had it from an acquaintance of Mr. Butler's, that the perſon intended was Sir Henry Roſewell, of Ford-abbey in Devonſhire.—Theſe, indeed *(adds our Editor)*, would be probable reaſons to deprive Bedfordſhire of its Hero, did not Mr. Butler, in his *Memoirs* of 1649, give the ſame deſcription of Sir Samuel Luke; and, in his *Dunſtable-Downs*, expreſsly ſtyle *Sir Samuel Luke, Sir Hudibras*. And from the ſham ſecond part, publiſhed 1663, it appears, that the *Bear-bating* was at Brentford, which is *Weſt* of London; and this might induce him to ſay,

(†) Pref. p. 3, 4. See the text, at the end.

'*In Weſtern Clime there is a Town*, &c.'

[*G*] *He married Mrs. Herbert, a gentlewoman of a very good family.*] Anthony Wood ſays, ſhe was a widow, and that Butler ſupported himſelf by her jointure; for though, in his riper years, he had ſtudied the Common Law, yet he made no advantage by the practice of it (12). But the Life-writer aſſures us, ſhe was not a widow; and that, though ſhe had a competent fortune, it was of little or no advantage to Butler, being moſt of it unfortunately loſt by being put out on bad ſecurities (13).

(12) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(13) Life, &c. Page 8.

[*H*] *Wood pretends, he was Secretary to the Duke of Buckingham —— and the Life-writer aſſures us, the Duke had a great kindneſs for him*, &c.] The late ingenious Major Richardſon Pack tells us a ſtory; which, if it be true, overthrows the aſſertion both of the Antiquary and the Life-writer. We ſhall give it in his own words. 'Mr. Wycherly had always laid hold 'of an opportunity, which offered, to repreſent to 'his Grace *(the Duke of Buckingham)* how well Mr. 'Butler had deſerved of the Royal Family by writing 'his inimitable *Hudibras*; and that it was a reproach 'to the Court, that a perſon of his loyalty and wit 'ſhould ſuffer in obſcurity, and under the wants he 'did. The Duke ſeemed always to hearken to him 'with attention enough, and, after ſome time, undertook to recommend his pretenſions to his Majeſty. Mr. Wycherly, in hopes to keep him ſteady 'to his word, obtained of his Grace to name a day, 'when he might introduce that modeſt and unfortunate Poet to his new patron. At laſt an appointment was made, and the place of meeting was 'agreed to be the Roe-buck. Mr. Butler and his 'friend attended accordingly; the Duke joined them. 'But, as the D—l would have it, the door of the 'room where they ſat was open, and his Grace, who 'had ſeated himſelf near it, obſerving a pimp of 'his acquaintance (the creature too was a Knight) 'trip by with a brace of ladies, immediately quitted 'his engagement, to follow another kind of buſineſs, 'at which he was more ready, than in doing good 'offices to men of deſert; though no one was better 'qualified than he, both in regard to his fortune and 'underſtanding, to protect them; and from that hour, 'to the day of his death, poor Butler never found 'the leaſt effect of his promiſe (14).'

(14) Poſthumous Works of W. Wycherly, Eſq; publiſhed by Mr. Theobald, in the Memoirs, &c. p. 6, 7.

[*I*] *He affords a remarkable inſtance of that coldneſs and neglect, which the greateſt geniuſes often experience from the court and age in which they live.*] We are told, indeed, by the gentleman mentioned in the remark [*A*], that King Charles II. once ordered him a ſmall gratuity of three hundred pounds; which had this compliment attending it, that it paſſed all the offices without any fee, at the ſolicitation of Mr. William Longueville of the Temple, Lord Danby being at that time High Treaſurer. But this ſeems to have been the only Court-favour he ever received. A ſtrange inſtance of neglect, when we conſider King Charles's exceſſive fondneſs for the poem of Hudibras. This is movingly related by our Poet himſelf (†), who thence takes occaſion to do juſtice to his poem, by hinting its excellencies in general, and paying a few modeſt compliments to himſelf; of which the following lines are worth tranſcribing:

(†) In his Hudibras at Court. See his Remains.

Now you muſt know, Sir Hudibras
With ſuch perfections gifted was,
And ſo peculiar in his manner,
That all that ſaw him, did him honour.
Among the reſt this Prince was one,
Admired his converſation:
This Prince, whoſe ready wit and parts
Conquer'd both men and women's hearts,
Was ſo o'ercome with Knight and Ralph,
That he cou'd never claw it off:
He never eat, nor drank, nor ſlept,
But Hudibras ſtill near him kept;
Nor wou'd he go to church, or ſo,
But Hudibras muſt with him go;
Nor yet to viſit concubine,
Or at a City feaſt to dine,
But Hudibras muſt ſtill be there,
Or all the fat was in the fire.
Now after all, was it not hard,
That he ſhould meet with no reward,
That fitted out this Knight and Squire,
This monarch did ſo much admire?
That he ſhou'd never reimburſe
The man for th' equipage, or horſe,
Is ſure a ſtrange ungrateful thing,
In any body but a King.
But this good King, it ſeems, was told,
By ſome that were with him too bold,
If e'er you hope to gain your ends,
Careſs your foes, and truſt your friends.

Such

of his wit, and eaſineſs of his converſation, rendered him highly acceptable to all men: yet he was very delicate, as well as ſparing, in the choice of his acquaintance. After having lived to a good old age [*K*], admired by all, though perſonally known to but few, he died [*L*] the twenty-fifth of September 1680, and was buried at the expence of his good friend Mr. Longueville of the Temple [*M*], in the Church-yard of St. Paul's Covent-garden (*m*). He had no funeral monument for many years; till, in 1721, Mr. Barber, an Alderman of London, generouſly erected one to his memory, among the Poets, in Weſtminſter-abbey [*N*]. The Poem, intituled HUDIBRAS [*O*], by

(*m*) Wood, *ubi ſupra*, col. 453. and Life, &c. p. 9.

Such were the doctrines that were taught,
Till this unthinking King was brought
To leave his friends to ſtarve and die,
A poor reward for loyalty!

Our author's fate in this reſpect is juſtly and pathetically lamented by Mr. Oldham, in his *Satire againſt Poetry* (15); in which he introduces the ghoſt of Spenſer diſſuading him from Poetry, upon experience and example, that poverty and contempt were its inſeparable companions. After mentioning the caſes of Homer and Cowley, he goes on:

(15) See Poems and Tranſlations by J. Oldham. Lond. 1683. p. 173.

On Butler who can think without juſt rage,
The glory and the ſcandal of the age?
Fair ſtood his hopes, when firſt he came to town,
Met every where with welcomes of renown;
Courted and lov'd by all, with wonder read,
And promiſes of princely favour fed.
But what reward for all had he at laſt,
After a life in dull expectance paſt?
The wretch, at ſumming up his miſpent days,
Found nothing left, but poverty and praiſe.
Of all his gains by verſe he could not ſave
Enough to purchaſe flannel and a grave.
Reduc'd to want, he in due time fell ſick,
Was fain to die, and be interr'd on tick;
And well might bleſs the fever that was ſent
To rid him hence, and his worſe fate prevent.

In like manner Mr. Dryden, in his *Hind and Panther* (16), makes the *Hind* (or Church of Rome) object to the *Panther* (or Church of England) her hard-heartedneſs in neglecting a Poet, who had ſtood up in her defence.

(16) See Dryden's Miſcellanies, Vol. iv. p. 213. edit. 1727. 12mo.

Unpitied *Hudibras*, your champion friend,
Has ſhewn how far your charities extend:
This laſting verſe ſhall on his tomb be read,
He ſham'd you living, and upbraids you dead.

[*K*] *He lived to a good old age.*] According to Anthony Wood and the Life-writer, he was ſixty-eight years of age when he died: but, according to Mr. Longueville, he was about fourſcore.

[*L*] *His Death.*] The Oxford Antiquary, and the writer of his *Life*, tell us, he died of a conſumption. Mr. Oldham ſays, he was carried off by a fever:

(17) See the Remark [*J*].

And well might bleſs the fever that was ſent, &c. (17).

But Mr. Longueville aſcribes his death only to old age; which may well be, if he arrived to fourſcore years. The ſame gentleman informs us, that Butler lived for ſome years in Roſe-ſtreet, Covent-garden, and probably died there.

[*M*] *He was buried at the expence of Mr. Longueville of the Temple.*] That gentleman (as we learn from his ſon Mr. Charles Longueville) would fain have buried him in Weſtminſter-Abbey, and ſpoke, with that view, to ſeveral perſons, who had been his admirers, offering to pay his part; but none of them would contribute: upon which Mr. Longueville buried him very privately at St. Paul's Covent-garden; himſelf, and ſeven or eight more, following him to the grave.

[*N*] *Mr. Alderman* Barber *erected a monument to* Butler—*in Weſtminſter-abbey.*] The inſcription thereon is as follows:

M. S.
Samuelis Butleri qui Strenſhamiæ in agro Vigornienſi
Natus 1612 obiit Londini 1680.
Vir doctus imprimis, acer, integer;
Operibus ingenii, non item præmiis felix; Satyrici apud
Nos carminis artifex egregius;
Qui ſimulatæ religioni larvam detraxit, et perduellium
Scelera liberrime exagitavit;
Scriptorum in ſuo genere primus et poſtremus.
Ne cui vivo deerant ferè omnia
Deeſſet etiam mortuo tumulus,
Hoc tandem poſito marmore, curavit
JOANNES BARBER Civis Londinenſis. 1721.

[*O*] *His Poem, intituled,* HUDIBRAS.] This incomparable performance is ſo well known to all who are the leaſt converſant in the *Belles Lettres*, that very little needs to be ſaid of it here. It is of the burleſque kind, being uſually ſtyled a *Mock Heroic*, or *Mock Epic*; and is pretty much of the nature of Homer's *Margites*; which, according to Ariſtotle, bore the ſame relation to Comedy, that the Iliad and Odyſſey do to Tragedy. The hint of this poem is taken from the inimitable Don Quixote; but, in other reſpects, it is perfectly an original, being intended as a general ſatire on thoſe times of anarchy and confuſion, during which the Poet lived. The Knight's name, and ſomething of his character, are borrowed from Spenſer's *Fairy Queen* (18):

(18) Book ii. Canto i, Stanza 17.

He that made love unto the eldeſt dame,
Was hight Sir *Hudibras*, an hardy man;
Yet not ſo good of deeds, as great of name,
Which he by many raſh adventures wan,
Since errant arms to ſhew he firſt began.
More huge in ſtrength, than wiſe in works he was,
And reaſon with fool-hardiſe over-ran:
Stern melancholy did his courage paſs;
And was (for terror more) all arm'd in ſhining braſs.

As to the verſification of this poem, I ſhall give the reader the ſentiments of two great judges of Poetry, Mr. Dryden and Mr. Addiſon. 'The ſort of verſe, 'which is called *burleſque*, conſiſting of eight ſyl-'lables, or four feet, is that which our excellent 'Hudibras has choſen.—The worth of his poem is 'too well known to need any commendation. His 'ſatire is of the Varronian kind, though unmixed 'with proſe. The choice of his numbers is ſuitable 'enough to his deſign, as he has managed it: but, 'in any other hand, the ſhortneſs of his verſe, and 'the quick returns of rhyme, had debaſed the ſtyle. 'And beſides, the double rhyme (a neceſſary com-'panion of burleſque writing) is not ſo proper for 'manly ſatire; for it turns earneſt too much into 'jeſt, and gives us a boyiſh kind of pleaſure. It 'tickles aukwardly with a kind of pain to the 'beſt ſort of readers: we are pleaſed ungratefully, 'and, if I may ſo ſay, againſt our liking; we thank 'him not for giving us that unſeaſonable delight, 'when we know he could have given us a better and 'more ſolid. He might have left that taſk to others, 'who, not being able to put in thought, can only 'make us grin with the excreſcence of a word of 'two or three ſyllables in the cloſe. It is indeed be-'low ſo great a maſter to make uſe of ſuch a little 'inſtrument. But his good ſenſe is perpetually ſhin-'ing through all he writes: it affords us not the 'time of finding faults. We paſs through the levity 'of the rhyme, and are immediately carried into 'ſome admirable uſeful thought. After all, he has 'choſen this kind of verſe, and has written the beſt 'in it; and had he taken another, he would always 'have excelled. As we ſay of a court-favourite, 'that whatever his office be, he ſtill makes it upper-'moſt, and moſt beneficial to himſelf (19).' Mr. Addiſon, ſpeaking of the ſeveral kinds of falſe wit, ſays: *I muſt ſubjoin the double rhymes, which are uſed in doggrel poetry, and generally applauded by ignorant readers. If the thought of the couplet in ſuch compoſitions is good, the rhymes add little to it; and if bad, it will not be in the power of the rhyme to recommend it. I am afraid, that great numbers of thoſe, who admire the incomparable* Hudibras, *do it more on account of thoſe*

(16) Dryden's Juvenal, edit. 1735, Dedicat. p. 100, 101.

by which he acquired that high reputation as a Poet, which he continues to enjoy, was publiſhed at three different times. The firſt part came out in 1663, in octavo: afterwards came out the ſecond part; and both were printed together, with ſeveral additions and annotations. At length the third and laſt part was publiſhed, but without any annotations, as appears by the copy printed in 1678 (*n*). The great ſucceſs of this poem occaſioned ſeveral unſucceſsful imitations of it [*P*]; and ſome vain attempts have been made to tranſlate ſome parts of it into Latin [*Q*]. The Oxford Antiquary aſcribes to

(*n*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

thoſe doggrel rhymes, than of the parts that really deſerve admiration. I am ſure, I have heard the

'— Pulpit, drum eccleſiaſtick,
'Was beat with fiſt inſtead of a ſtick;

And

'There was an ancient ſage Philoſopher,
'who had read Alexander Roſs over.

more frequently quoted than the fineſt pieces of wit in the whole poem (20). But, notwithſtanding theſe cenſures, the ſhortneſs of our Author's verſe, and the quick returns of his rhymes, have been ſome of the principal means of raiſing and perpetuating the fame of this poem: for the turns of wit and ſatirical ſayings, being ſhort and pithy, are therefore more tenable by the memory; and this is one reaſon, why Hudibras is more frequently quoted in converſation, than the fineſt heroic poem. King Charles II. whom the judicious part of mankind will allow to have been a judge of wit, was ſo great an admirer of *Hudibras* (though he ſhamefully neglected its author) (†), that he would often pleaſantly quote it in converſation (21). And moſt of our Poets have teſtified their high opinion of Butler's genius; but none in a manner ſo much to his advantage as Mr. Prior in the following paſſage of his *Alma:*

(20) Spectator, Vol. i. No. lx.

(†) See the Remark [*I*].

(21) Life, &c. p. 3.

But ſhall we take the Muſe abroad,
To drop her idly on the road,
And leave her ſubject in the middle,
As Butler did his bear and fiddle?
Yet he, *conſummate Maſter*, knew
When to recede, and where purſue:
His *noble negligences* teach
What others toils deſpair to reach.
He, *perfect dancer*, climbs the rope,
And balances your fear and hope:
If, after ſome diſtinguiſh'd leap,
He drops his pole, and ſeems to ſlip;
Strait gathering all his active ſtrength,
He riſes higher half his length.
With wonder you approve his ſlight,
And owe your pleaſure to your fright.
But, like poor Andrew, I advance,
Falſe mimic of my maſter's dance;
Around the cord awhile I ſprawl,
And thence, tho' low, in earneſt fall (22).

(22) Canto ii. init.

Nor has Hudibras wanted encomium from foreigners; among whom the French author of *Diſſertation ſur la Poëſie Anglois* (‡) expreſſes himſelf thus: 'The 'Engliſh have a Poet, whoſe reputation is equal to 'that of Scarron in French: I mean the Author of 'Hudibras, a comical Hiſtory in verſe, written in 'the time of Oliver Cromwell. It is ſaid to be a 'delicate ſatire on that kind of *Interregnum*; and 'that it is levelled particularly at the conduct of the 'Preſbyterians, whom the Author repreſents as a 'ſenſeleſs ſort of people, promoters of anarchy, and 'complete hypocrites. Hudibras, the hero of this 'poem, is a holy Don Quixote of that ſect, and a 'redreſſer of imaginary wrongs, that are done to his 'Dulcinea. The Knight has his Rozinante, his 'Burleſque Adventures, and his Sancho. But the 'Squire of the Engliſh Poet is of an oppoſite character to that of the Spaniſh Sancho; for, whereas 'the latter is a plain unaffected peaſant, the Engliſh 'Squire is a Taylor by trade; a Tartuff, or finiſhed 'hypocrite, by birth; and ſo deep a dogmatic Divine, that

(‡) Gen. Dict. Vol. iv. p. 296.

He cou'd deep myſteries unriddle,
As eaſily as thread a needle,

'as it is ſaid in the poem. The author of Hudibras 'is preferable to Scarron, becauſe he has one fixed 'mark or object; and that, by a ſurpriſing effort of 'imagination, he has found the art of leading his 'readers to it, by diverting them.' M. de Voltaire highly extols this poem, and at the ſame time accounts for its never having been tranſlated into foreign languages. 'There is one Engliſh poem — 'the title whereof is Hudibras — it is Don Quixote, 'it is our *Satire Menippée*, blended together. I never 'met with ſo much wit in one ſingle book as in 'this: which at the ſame time is the moſt difficult 'to be tranſlated.—Who would believe, that a work, 'which paints in ſuch lively and natural colours the 'ſeveral foibles of mankind, and where we meet 'with more ſentiments than words, ſhould baffle 'the endeavours of the ableſt tranſlators? But the 'reaſon of it is this; almoſt every part of it alludes 'to particular incidents (†).' I ſhall only add, that ſome verſes in the poem of *Hudibras* were omitted, for reaſons of State, in the firſt impreſſion; ſuch as theſe following:

(†) Letters concerning the Engliſh Nation, p. 212, 213. Lond. 1733. 8vo.

Did not the learned Glynn and Maynard,
To make good ſubjects traitors, ſtrain hard?
Was not the King, by proclamation,
Declar'd a traitor through the nation?

[*P*] *There have been ſeveral unſucceſsful imitations of* Hudibras.] Such as *The Second Part of Hudibras*; the *Dutch* and *Scotch Hudibras*; *Butler's Ghoſt*; the *Occaſional Hypocrite*; and ſome others. The Author of the firſt of theſe pieces, we are told, is ridiculed by Butler under the character of *Whachum*, towards the latter end of the ſecond part (23). I conjecture it muſt be that part of Whachum's character, which celebrates his ſkill in poetry. The verſes are admirable, and may ſerve as a ſpecimen of our Author's wit and humour.

(23) Life, &c. p. 13.

Beſides all this, he ſerv'd his maſter
In quality of Poetaſter,
And rhymes appropriate cou'd make
To ev'ry month i'th' Almanack;
When terms begin and end cou'd tell,
With their returns, in doggrel——
He wou'd an elegy compoſe
On maggots ſqueez'd out of his noſe;
In Lyric numbers write an ode on
His miſtreſs eating a black-pudding;
And when impriſon'd air eſcap'd her
It puff'd him with poetic rapture.
His ſonnets charm'd th' attentive croud,
By wide-mouth'd mortal troll'd aloud,
That, circled with the long-ear'd gueſts,
Like Orpheus look'd among the beaſts.
A Carman's horſe cou'd not paſs by,
But ſtood ty'd up to poetry;
Nor Porter's burthen paſs'd along,
But ſerv'd for burthen of his ſong.
Each window, like the pill'ry, appears,
With heads thruſt thro' nail'd by the ears.
All trades run in, as to the ſight
Of monſters, or their dear delight
The gallows-tree, when cutting purſe
Breeds buſineſs for heroic verſe;
Which none does hear but wou'd have hung,
T'have been the theme of ſuch a ſong (24).

(24) Hudibras, Part ii. Canto iii. ver. 358.

[*Q*] *Some parts of it have been tranſlated into Latin.*] The following ſimilies, we are told (25), were done by the learned Dr. Harmer, ſome time Greek Profeſſor at Oxford.

(25) Life, &c. p. 12, 13.

So learned Taliacotius, from
The brawny part of Porter's bum,
Cut ſupplemental noſes, which
Laſted as long as parent breech;
But when the date of Nock was out,
Off dropt the ſympathetic ſnout (26).

(26) Part i. Canto i. ver. 281.

Sic adſcititios naſos de clune toroſi
Vectoris docta ſecuit Taliacotius arte,

to our Author two pamphlets, ſuppoſed falſely (he ſays) to be William Prynne's: the one intituled, *Mola Aſinaria*; or, *The unreaſonable and inſupportable Burthen, preſſed upon the Shoulders of this groaning Nation*, Lond. 1659, in one ſheet in quarto; the other, *Two Letters*, one from *John Audland* a Quaker, to *William Prynne*; the other, *Prynne's Anſwer*, in three ſheets in folio, 1672 (*o*). The *Life-writer* mentions a ſmall poem, of one ſheet in quarto, on *Du Val*, a notorious highwayman, ſaid to be written by Butler (*p*). Theſe pieces, with a great many others (moſt, if not all, of them falſely aſcribed to our Author), are publiſhed together, under the title of, *The Poſthumous Works of Mr. Samuel Butler* [*R*]. The *Life-writer* has preſerved a fragment of Mr. Butler's, given him by Mr. Aubrey [*S*], who aſſured him he had it from the Poet himſelf.

(*o*) Wood, *ubi ſupra*.

(*p*) Life, &c. p. 14.

Qui potuere parem durando æquare parentem.
At poſtquam fato clunis computruit, ipſum
Una ſympathicum cœpit tabeſcere Roſtrum.

As wind i'th' Hypocondries pent
Is but a blaſt, if downward ſent;
But if it upward chance to fly,
Becomes new light and prophecy (27).

(27) Part ii. Canto iii. ver. 772.

Sic Hypocondriacis incluſa meatibus aura
Deſinet in crepitum, ſi fertur prona per alvum;
Sed ſi ſumma petat, mentiſque invaſerit arcem,
Divinus furor eſt, et conſcia flamma futuri.

So Lawyers, leſt the Bear Defendant,
And Plaintiff Dog ſhou'd make an end on't,
Do ſtave and tail with Writs of Error,
Reverſe of Judgment and Demurrer;
To let them breathe a while, and then
Cry whoop, and ſet them on again (28).

(28) Part i. Canto ii. ver. 161.

Sic Legum myſtæ, ne forſan pax foret Urſam
Inter tutantem ſeſe actoremque Moloſſum,
Faucibus injiciunt clavos, denteſque refigunt,
Luctanteſque canes coxis femorique revellunt;
Errores juriſque moras obtendere certi,
Judiciumque prius revocare ut prorſus iniquum.
Tandem poſt aliquod breve reſpiramen utrinque,
Ut pugnas iterent, crebris hortatibus urgent;
Eia, agite, O Cives, iterumque in prælia trudunt.

Theſe laſt Latin verſes, which, in *Butler's Life*, are ſo incorrectly printed, as to be rendered almoſt nonſenſe, are here (it is hoped) reſtored to their genuine reading.

[*R*] *The Poſthumous Works of Mr. Samuel Butler.*] They are diſtributed into three volumes, in *duodecimo*, conſiſting of a great variety of pieces. The editor aſſures us, they are, 'the remains of that great 'and celebrated Genius Mr. Butler, Author of *Hu-* '*dibras*,' and 'that a very great expence, and al- 'moſt incredible induſtry, had been laid out in col- 'lecting theſe pieces, which had been ſcattered through 'an infinite number of hands, and could not have 'been recovered but by the moſt intenſe application.' He adds, that 'they were written, as may be col- 'lected from the general arguments, partly during 'the rebellion, and partly at the latter end of King 'Charles the Second's reign, about which time the 'inimitable Author died.' We ſhall take notice here only of thoſe pieces in this collection, of which the publiſher has given ſome account. The *Fable of the Lion and the Fox*, he tells us, was obtained by the intereſt of an eminent Clergyman in Buckinghamſhire, who had been Chaplain to the old Earl of Caernarvon; who informed him, that Mr. Butler uſed to make long and frequent viſits to Aſket, the name of that Lord's ſeat; and that, at intervals, when he was diſengaged from my Lord's company, he wrote this piece, and ſeveral others. The Clergyman added, he believed the Fable of the Lion and the Fox was Mr. Butler's firſt eſſay in this kind of poetry, and that, after he had finiſhed it, he diſliked it, and threw it by, till Mr. Dichfield, who was then domeſtic Chaplain to the family, happened to get a copy, which he ſhewed to the clergy, and other gentlemen, that came to viſit my Lord, who generally took copies of it alſo, ſome of which are to be met with in their families at this time; and that the applauſe and credit Mr. Butler gained by this fable, induced him ſoon after to begin his *Hudibras*. With regard to the *Memoirs of the years* 49 and 50, the Editor aſſures us, he had ſeen ſeveral of Mr. Butler's Letters to his friends, in which was a part of them, together with the verſes, as they are now interſperſed and printed with them. The *Earl of Pembroke's Speeches* were intended as a burleſque on that nobleman's ſpeeches in the Houſe of Lords; which, we are told, were the common talk and ſport of the kingdom; and that many of the Wits, at that time, turned them into lampoons and ridicule; among whom Mr. Butler was one, who put them into the dreſs we now ſee them in, and ſent them incloſed in letters to his particular friends and acquaintance, from whoſe copies they were afterwards printed, without Mr. Butler's knowledge, and very much againſt his inclination. The *Speeches of Alderman Atkins* and *Hugh Peters* (the Editor tells us) were written by Butler, at the command of the Lord Carberry, to expoſe the intolerable profaneneſs and ſtupidity of the Faction. The Poem intitled *Hudibras at Court*, was communicated by the ſame hand as the Fable of the Lion and the Fox. The Editor ſays, it was doubtleſs intended as a *Fourth Part* of Hudibras, as is obvious to any perſon that compares it with the other three. How the Author came to drop the deſign, and to conclude the Firſt Canto with a ſevere Satire on the Court, is differently reported; but the moſt general and probable conjecture (he tells us) is, that, after a long and fruitleſs dependance on the promiſes of the King and the great Courtiers, full of reſentment, he reſolved to leave the Court, to which he could never again be reconciled to the day of his death. The pieces contained in the third volume of this collection, the publiſher aſſures us, were moſt of them written in Mr. Butler's own hand, as will appear by the originals in the cuſtody of the Printer. The Poem called *Dunſtable-Downs, or the Inchanted Cave*, and *The Tale of the Cobler and Vicar of Bray*, were given to the Editor by a gentleman, whoſe father was an intimate of Mr. Butler's, at the time he was Clerk to Sir Samuel Luke; and who aſſured him, the facts of both were true; and that Butler, who was then very young, wrote them whilſt he was with Sir Samuel, and, when he left that ſervice, gave his father the copies. The reſt of the pieces in this volume, excepting the *Coffin for the good old Cauſe*, which is generally ſuppoſed to be Sir Samuel's own, and publiſhed juſt before the expiration of the Rump, were collected from the Papers of Sir Roger L'Eſtrange, Dr. Midgley, Mr. Charles Booth, *Amanuenſis* to the late Duke of Buckingham, Lord Rocheſter, and Captain Julian, the famous Satire-monger of that time.

[*S*] *A fragment of Butler's, communicated by Mr. Aubrey.*] It is as follows:

No Jeſuit e'er took in hand
To plant a Church in barren land;
Nor ever thought it worth the while
A Swede or Ruſs to reconcile.
For where there is no ſtore of wealth,
Souls are not worth the charge of health.
Spain in America had two deſigns,
To ſell their Goſpel for their mines:
For had the Mexicans been poor,
No Spaniard twice had landed on their ſhore.
'Twas gold the Catholic Religion planted,
Which, had they wanted gold, they ſtill had wanted. B.

*** [The moſt diligent inveſtigation hath ſcarcely been able to collect any new facts concerning Butler's perſonal hiſtory, beſides thoſe which have been given by Anthony Wood, and the Writer of his Life, prefixed to the later Editions of his Hudibras. No additional circumſtances are furniſhed in this reſpect, either by the Editor of his Genuine Remains, or by Dr. Johnſon. The Doctor doth not think that there

himself (*q*). A new edition of Mr. Butler's *Hudibras* was published in 1744, by Zachary Grey, LL.D. with large annotations, and a preface, in two volumes 8*vo*. (*q*) Life, &c.

is any certainty of Butler's having ever received a gratuity of three hundred pounds from King Charles the Second. If it be true, that such a benefaction was granted him by his Majesty, as is related in Note [*I*], the honourable manner in which it was applied by our Poet ought not to have been omitted. He did not take a single shilling of it himself, but requested his friend Mr. Longueville to convert the whole gratuity to the payment of some debts which he had contracted (29). That Butler was under no obligations to the Duke of Buckingham, is probable, not only from Major Pack's story, but from a character which we find of that Nobleman in our Author's Genuine Remains. This character is drawn with great severity. It is written, as Dr. Johnson observes, 'with a degree of acrimony, such as neglect and disappointment might naturally excite; and such as it would be hard to imagine Butler capable of expressing against a man who had any claim to his gratitude (30).

(29) New and General Biographical Dictionary, Vol. ii. p. 450. British Biography, Vol. v. p. 438.

(30) Butler's Genuine Remains, Vol. ii. p. 72—75. Johnson's Life of Butler, p. 11.

Major Pack's story, in its essential circumstances, is confirmed by the anonymous Writer of a Pamphlet, published in 1713, intitled, 'Les Soupirs de la Grand Bretagne: or, The Groans of Great Britain.' 'The then Duke of Buckingham, says this Author, who was no niggard of his money on his whimsies, though a professed friend to poetry, could not be brought to do any thing for Butler. Mr. Wycherly had one night fixed him at the Cock in Suffolk-street, to a conversation with Mr. Butler, in order to do the latter a service. They had not been long together, but the Duke was infinitely pleased with the Poet: but in the midst of the business, he heard some squeaking fiddle and whores in another room, and broke from the Poet, and run to his whores. The former starved, and the latter had his money.' Butler,' says the same Writer, '(a species by himself) whilst he pleased the Court and City with his verses, perished for want. The Chancellor often bid him find out something to make him easy; which when he had done, it was sure to be disposed of before he could put in for it. But that Statesman comforted him, by telling him, that the Courtiers had a quarrel with him, since the King still answered them out of his book: but Butler replied, that he wished that his Majesty would think a little of the Author, since he was so conversant with his works.' We are farther informed, 'that Sir William Davenant, with a very ordinary capacity, and no genius, found friends and got money, whilst Butler could not attend at the levees of great men, and fawn on their valets (*).' It is necessary here to observe, that the notion of our Poet's having perished for want is groundless. Mr. Charles Longueville assured the Authors of the General Dictionary, that notwithstanding the many disappointments Mr. Butler met with, he never was reduced to any thing like want and beggary, and that he did not die in any person's debt.

(*) Les Soupirs de la Grand Bretagne, &c. p. 65, 66. We are indebted to Mr. Reed for the knowledge and use of this pamphlet.

It is said, that Butler did not shine in conversation till he had taken a chearful glass, though he was no intemperate drinker. Concerning the nature of his convivial talents, we find the following story in the British Biography. 'Before he was personally known to the Earl of Dorset, that Nobleman had a great desire to spend an evening with him as a private Gentleman; and with that view prevailed on Mr. Fleetwood Shepherd to introduce him into his company at a tavern which they used, in the character only of a common friend. This being done, Mr. Butler, we are told, whilst the first bottle was drinking, appeared very flat and heavy; at the second bottle extremely brisk and lively, full of wit and learning, and a most pleasant, agreeable companion; but before the third bottle was finished, sunk again into such stupidity and dulness, that hardly any body could have believed him to be the Author of Hudibras, a book abounding with so much wit, learning, and pleasantry. Next morning, Mr. Shepherd asked his Lordship's opinion of Mr. Butler, who answered, "He is like a nine-pin, little "at both ends, but great in the middle (31)." Dr. Johnson thus sums up our Poet's personal history.

(31) British Biography, *ubi supra*, p. 439, 440.

'In this mist of obscurity passed the life of Butler, a man whose name can only perish with his language. The date of his birth is doubtful; the mode and place of his education are unknown; the events of his life are variously related; and all that can be told with certainty is, that he was poor (32).' (32) Johnson, *ubi supra*, p. 15.

Soon after Mr. Alderman Barber had erected a Monument to our Poet's memory in Westminster Abbey, Mr. Samuel Wesley wrote this Epigram.

'While Butler, needy wretch, was yet alive,
No generous patron would a dinner give:
See him when starv'd to death, and turn'd to dust,
Presented with a monumental Bust.
The Poet's fate is here in emblem shown,
He ask'd for bread, and he receiv'd a stone (33).' (33) British Biography, *ubi supra*, p. 441.

The succeeding lines, on the same occasion, are supposed to have been written by Mr. Pope:

'Respect to Dryden Sheffield justly paid,
And noble Villiers honour'd Cowley's shade:
But whence this Barber? that a name so mean
Should, join'd with Butler's, on a tomb be seen.
This pyramid would better far proclaim,
To future ages, humbler Settle's name:
Poet and Patron then had been well pair'd,
The City Printer and the City Bard (34).' (34) Additions to Pope's Works, Vol. i. p. 13. Johnson's Poets, Vol. xxxiii. p. 367.

In 1759, Mr. Thyer, keeper of the public library at Manchester, published, in two volumes octavo, the Genuine Remains, in Verse and Prose, of Mr. Butler, from the original Manuscripts, formerly in the possession of W. Longueville, Esq. The authenticity of these pieces is decisively established by the learned Editor, who hath accompanied them with suitable Notes. From this publication it appears, that very few of the compositions which are found in what are called the posthumous Works of Mr. Samuel Butler are authentic. In the poetical part of the Genuine Remains, which occupies most of the first volume, some of the less perfect copies of verses might, without prejudice to the Author's reputation, have been omitted. One object of his satire and ridicule is the Royal Society, 'of which,' says Dr. Johnson, 'the enemies were for some time very numerous and very acrimonious; for what reason it is hard to conceive; since the philosophers professed not to advance doctrines, but to produce facts; and the most zealous enemy of innovation must admit the gradual progress of experience, however he may oppose hypothetical temerity (35).' The second volume consists of Characters (a species of wit much in fashion in the beginning of the last century), and of Thoughts upon various Subjects. The 'Characters' are strongly drawn, and have in them some admirable strokes of humour; and many of the 'Thoughts upon various Subjects' are equally ingenious and just. (35) Life of Butler, p. 14, 15.

Besides the large Notes with which Dr. Zachary Grey accompanied his Edition of Hudibras, he left at his decease a number of others in manuscript, probably designed for a future edition, which are now in the hands of Mr. Nichols. We have likewise, in our own possession, some Notes, found among Mr. Oldys's papers, principally tending to illustrate several of Butler's allusions to both ancient and modern Authors.

Besides the cause alleged by Monsr. Voltaire, in Note [*O*], why Hudibras is so difficult to be translated, there is another reason given for it by Dr. Towers, who observes, that much of the pleasure we receive from reading the work, arises not only from the thoughts, but from the humourous turn of the phrase; which it is impossible to transfer into a foreign language (36). Difficult, however, as the undertaking may be, it hath not been left unattempted; for there is a French translation of Hudibras, in three volumes 12*mo*, with Notes by the Translator, who was —— Townley, junior, Esq; of Townley, in Lancashire (37). Not having seen this work, we cannot give its character; but if the Author was a competent master of the French burlesque versification, he has probably succeeded the better for having been an English Gentleman, who was well acquainted with the manners and incidents described and alluded to by Butler. (36) Brit. Biography, Vol. v. p. 442. Note. (37) From the information of Mr. Nichols.

'Burlesque,'

'Burleſque,' ſays Mr. Shenſtone, 'may, perhaps, 'be divided into ſuch as turns chiefly upon the 'thought, and ſuch as depends more upon the ex-'preſſion: or we may add a third kind, conſiſting in 'thoughts ridiculouſly dreſſed in language much 'above or below their dignity. The Splendid Shil-'ling of Mr. Philips, and the Hudibras of Butler, 'are the moſt obvious inſtances. Butler, however, 'depended much upon the ludicrous effect of his 'double rhymes. In other reſpects, to declare my 'own ſentiments, he is rather a witty Writter than 'a humourous one (38).'

(38) Shenſtone's Works, Vol. ii. p. 182. third edition.

But the moſt capital criticiſm ever publiſhed on Hudibras, is that with which the world of taſte and literature hath lately been favoured by Dr. Johnſon. This is ſo ingenious, maſterly, and candid an appreciation of the excellencies and defects of the Poem, that our inſerting it entire will require no apology.

'The poem of Hudibras is one of thoſe compo-'ſitions of which a nation may juſtly boaſt; as the 'images which it exhibits are domeſtic, the ſenti-'ments unborrowed and unexpected, and the ſtrain 'of diction original and peculiar. We muſt not, 'however, ſuffer the pride which we aſſume as the 'countrymen of Butler to make any encroachment 'upon juſtice, nor appropriate thoſe honours which 'others have a right to ſhare. The poem of Hu-'dibras is not wholly Engliſh; the original idea is 'to be found in the hiſtory of Don Quixote; a book 'to which a mind of the greateſt powers may be in-'debted without diſgrace.

'Cervantes ſhews a man, who, having, by the 'inceſſant peruſal of incredible tales, ſubjected his 'underſtanding to his imagination, and familiariſed 'his mind by pertinacious meditation to think of 'incredible events and ſcenes of impoſſible exiſt-'ence, goes out in the pride of knighthood, to re-'dreſs wrongs, and defend virgins, to reſcue cap-'tive princeſſes, and tumble uſurpers from their 'thrones; attended by a ſquire, whoſe cunning, 'too low for the ſuſpicion of a generous mind, en-'ables him often to cheat his maſter.

'The hero of Butler is a Preſbyterian Juſtice, 'who, in the confidence of legal authority, and the 'rage of zealous ignorance, ranges the country to 'repreſs ſuperſtition and correct abuſes, accompa-'nied by an Independent clerk, diſputatious and 'obſtinate, with whom he often debates, but never 'conquers him.

'Cervantes had ſo much kindneſs for Don Quix-'ote, that however he embarraſſes him with abſurd 'diſtreſſes, he gives him ſo much ſenſe and virtue as 'may preſerve our eſteem: wherever he is, or what-'ever he does, he is made by matchleſs dexterity 'commonly ridiculous, but never contemptible.

'But for poor Hudibras, his Poet had no tender-'neſs: he chuſes not that any pity ſhould be ſhewn 'or reſpect paid him: he gives him up at once to 'laughter and contempt, without any quality that 'can dignify or protect him.

'In forming the character of Hudibras, and de-'ſcribing his perſon and habiliments, the Author 'ſeems to labour with a tumultuous confuſion of diſ-'ſimilar ideas. He had read the hiſtory of the mock 'knights errant; he knew the notions and manners 'of a Preſbyterian magiſtrate, and tried to unite the 'abſurdities of both, however diſtant, in one per-'ſonage. Thus he gives him that pedantic oſtenta-'tion of knowledge which has no relation to chi-'valry, and loads him with martial incumbrances 'that can add nothing to his civil dignity. He ſends 'him out *a colonelling*, and yet never brings him 'within ſight of war.

'If Hudibras be conſidered as the repreſentative 'of the Preſbyterians, it is not eaſy to ſay why his 'weapons ſhould be repreſented as ridiculous or uſe-'leſs; for, whatever judgment might be paſſed upon 'their knowledge or their arguments, experience had 'ſufficiently ſhown that their ſwords were not to be 'deſpiſed.

'The hero, thus compounded of ſwaggerer and 'pedant, of knight and juſtice, is led forth to 'action, with his ſquire Ralph, an Independent en-'thuſiaſt.

'Of the contexture of events planned by the Au-'thor, which is called the action of the poem, ſince 'it is left imperfect, no judgment can be made. It 'is probable that the hero was to be led through 'many luckleſs adventures, which would give occa-'ſion, like his attack upon the *bear and fiddle*, to 'expoſe the ridiculous rigour of the ſectaries; like 'his encounter with Sidrophel and Whacum, to 'make ſuperſtition and credulity contemptible; or, 'like his recourſe to the low retailer of the law, 'diſcover the fraudulent practices of different pro-'feſſions.

'What ſeries of events he would have formed, or 'in what manner he would have rewarded or pu-'niſhed his hero, it is now in vain to conjecture. His 'work muſt have had, as it ſeems, the defect which 'Dryden imputes to Spenſer; the action could not 'have been one; there could only have been a ſuc-'ceſſion of incidents, each of which might have hap-'pened without the reſt, and which could not all co-'operate to any ſingle concluſion.

'The diſcontinuity of the action might, however, 'have been eaſily forgiven, if there had been action 'enough; but I believe every reader regrets the 'paucity of events, and complains that in the poem 'of Hudibras, as in the hiſtory of Thucydides, there 'is more ſaid than done. The ſcenes are too ſeldom 'changed, and the attention is tired with long con-'verſation.

'It is indeed much more eaſy to form dialogues 'than to contrive adventures. Every poſition makes 'way for an argument, and every objection dictates 'an anſwer. When two diſputants are engaged up-'on a complicated and extenſive queſtion, the dif-'ficulty is not to continue but to end the contro-'verſy. But whether it be that we comprehend but 'few of the poſſibilities of life, or that life itſelf af-'fords little variety, every man who has tried knows 'how much labour it will coſt to form ſuch a com-'bination of circumſtances, as ſhall have at once the 'grace of novelty and credibility, and delight fancy 'without violence to reaſon.

'Perhaps the dialogue of this poem is not perfect. 'Some power of engaging the attention might have 'been added to it, by quicker reciprocation, by ſea-'ſonable interruptions, by ſudden queſtions, and by 'a nearer approach to dramatic ſpritelineſs; without 'which, fictitious ſpeeches will always tire, however 'ſparkling with ſentences, and however variegated 'with alluſions.

'The great ſource of pleaſure is variety. Uni-'formity muſt tire at laſt, though it be uniformity of 'excellence. We love to expect; and, when ex-'pectation is diſappointed or gratified, we want to 'be again expecting. For this impatience of the 'preſent, whoever would pleaſe, muſt make pro-'viſion. The ſkilful writer *irritat, mulcet*, makes a 'due diſtribution of the ſtill and animated parts. It 'is for want of this artful intertexture, and thoſe 'neceſſary changes, that the whole of a book may 'be tedious, though all the parts are praiſed.

'If unexhauſtible wit could give perpetual plea-'ſure, no eye would ever leave half-read the work 'of Butler: for what Poet has ever brought ſo many 'remote images ſo happily together? It is ſcarcely 'poſſible to peruſe a page without finding ſome aſſo-'ciation of images that was never found before. By 'the firſt paragraph the reader is amuſed, by the 'next he is delighted, and by a few more ſtrained 'to aſtoniſhment; but aſtoniſhment is a toilſome 'pleaſure: he is ſoon weary of wondering, and longs 'to be diverted.

"Omnia vult belle Matho dicere, dic aliquando
"Et bene, dic neutrum, dic aliquando male."

'Imagination is uſeleſs without knowledge: na-'ture gives in vain the power of combination, unleſs 'ſtudy and obſervation ſupply materials to be com-'bined. Butler's treaſures of knowledge appear pro-'portioned to his expence: whatever topic em-'ploys his mind, he ſhews himſelf qualified to ex-'pand and illuſtrate it with all the acceſſories that 'books can furniſh: he is found not only to have 'travelled the beaten road, but the bye-paths of li-'terature; not only to have taken general ſurveys, 'but to have examined particulars with minute in-'ſpection.

'If the French boaſt the learning of Rabelais, 'we need not be afraid of confronting them with 'Butler.

'But the moſt valuable parts of his performance 'are thoſe which retired ſtudy and native wit cannot 'ſupply.

'ſupply. He that merely makes a book from books 'may be uſeful, but can ſcarcely be great. Butler had 'not ſuffered life to glide beſide him unſeen or un-'obſerved. He had watched with great diligence 'the operations of human nature, and traced the 'effects of opinion, humour, intereſt, and paſſion. 'From ſuch remarks proceeded that great number of 'ſententious diſtichs which have paſſed into conver-'ſation, and are added as proverbial axioms to the 'general ſtock of practical knowledge.

'When any work has been viewed and admired, 'the firſt queſtion of intelligent curioſity is, how was 'it performed? Hudibras was not a haſty effuſion; 'it was not produced by a ſudden tumult of imagi-'nation, or a ſhort paroxyſm of violent labour. To 'accumulate ſuch a maſs of ſentiments at the call of 'accidental deſire, or of ſudden neceſſity, is beyond 'the reach and power of the moſt active and compre-'henſive mind. I am informed by Mr. Thyer of 'Mancheſter, the excellent Editor of this Author's 'reliques, that he could ſhew ſomething like Hudi-'bras in proſe. He has in his poſſeſſion the com-'mon-place book, in which Butler repoſited, not 'ſuch events or precepts as are gathered by reading; 'but ſuch remarks, ſimilitudes, alluſions, aſſem-'blages, or inferences, as occaſion prompted, or me-'ditation produced; thoſe thoughts that were gene-'rated in his own mind, and might be uſefully ap-'plied to ſome future purpoſe. Such is the labour 'of thoſe who write for immortality.

'But human works are not eaſily found without a 'periſhable part. Of the ancient poets every reader 'feels the mythology tedious and oppreſſive. Of 'Hudibras the manners, being founded on opinions, 'are temporary and local, and therefore become 'every day leſs intelligible and leſs ſtriking. What 'Cicero ſays of philoſophy is true likewiſe of wit and 'humour, that "time effaces the fictions of opi-"nion, and confirms the determinations of Nature." 'Such manners as depend upon ſtanding relations 'and general paſſions are co-extended with the race 'of man; but thoſe modifications of life, and pecu-'liarities of practice, which are the progeny of error 'and perverſeneſs, or at beſt of ſome accidental in-'fluence or tranſient perſuaſion, muſt periſh with 'their parents.

'Much therefore of that humour which tranſported 'the laſt century with merriment is loſt to us, who 'do not know the ſour ſolemnity, the ſullen ſuper-'ſtition, the gloomy moroſeneſs, and the ſtubborn 'ſcruples of the ancient Puritans; or, if we knew 'them, derive our information only from books, or 'from tradition, have never had them before our 'eyes, and cannot but by recollection and ſtudy un-'derſtand the lines in which they are ſatiriſed. Our 'grandfathers knew the picture from the life; we 'judge of the life by contemplating the picture.

'It is ſcarcely poſſible, in the regularity and com-'poſure of the preſent time, to image the tumult of 'abſurdity, and clamour of contradiction, that per-'plexed doctrine, and diſturbed both public and pri-'vate quiet, in that age, when ſubordination was 'broken, and awe was hiſſed away; when any un-'ſettled innovator who could hatch a half-formed 'notion produced it to the public; when every man 'might become a preacher, and almoſt every preacher 'could collect a congregation.

'The wiſdom of the nation is very reaſonably ſup-'poſed to reſide in the parliament. What can be 'concluded of the lower claſſes of the people, when 'in one of the parliaments ſummoned by Cromwell 'it was ſeriouſly propoſed, that all the records in the 'Tower ſhould be burnt, that all memory of things 'paſt ſhould be effaced, and that the whole ſyſtem 'of life ſhould commence anew?

'We have never been witneſſes of animoſities ex-'cited by the uſe of minced pies and plum porridge; 'nor ſeen with what abhorrence thoſe who could eat 'them at all other times of the year would ſhrink 'from them in December. An old Puritan, who 'was alive in my childhood, being at one of the 'feaſts of the church invited by a neighbour to par-'take his cheer, told him, that if he would treat 'him at an alehouſe with beer brewed for all times 'and ſeaſons, he ſhould accept his kindneſs, but 'would have none of his ſuperſtitious meats or 'drinks.

'One of the puritanical tenets was the illegality 'of all games of chance; and he that reads Gataker 'upon *Lots*, may ſee how much learning and reaſon 'one of the firſt ſcholars of his age thought neceſſary, 'to prove that it was no crime to throw a die, or play 'at cards, or to hide a ſhilling for the reckoning.

'Aſtrology, however, againſt which ſo much of 'this ſatire is directed, was not more the folly of 'the Puritans than of others. It had in that time a 'very extenſive dominion. Its predictions raiſed 'hopes and fears in minds which ought to have re-'jected it with contempt. In hazardous undertak-'ings, care was taken to begin under the influence 'of a propitious planet; and when the king was pri-'ſoner in Cariſbrook Caſtle, an aſtrologer was con-'ſulted what hour would be found moſt favourable 'to an eſcape.

'What effect this poem had upon the public, whe-'ther it ſhamed impoſture or reclaimed credulity, is 'not eaſily determined. Cheats can ſeldom ſtand 'long againſt laughter. It is certain that the credit 'of planetary intelligence wore faſt away: though 'ſome men of knowledge, and Dryden among them, 'continued to believe that conjunctions and oppoſi-'tions had a great part in the diſtribution of good or 'evil, and in the government of ſublunary things.

'Poetical Action ought to be probable upon cer-'tain ſuppoſitions, and ſuch probability as burleſque 'requires, is here violated only by one incident. 'Nothing can ſhew more plainly the neceſſity of do-'ing ſomething, and the difficulty of finding ſome-'thing to do, than that Butler was reduced to tranſ-'fer to his hero the flagellation of Sancho, not the 'moſt agreeable fiction of Cervantes; very ſuitable 'indeed to the manners of that age and nation, which 'aſcribed wonderful efficacy to voluntary penances; 'but ſo remote from the practice and opinions of the 'Hudibraſtic time, that judgment and imagination 'are alike offended.

'The diction of this poem is groſsly familiar, and 'the numbers purpoſely neglected, except in a few 'places, where the thoughts by their native excel-'lence ſecure themſelves from violation, being ſuch 'as mean language cannot expreſs. The mode of 'verſification has been blamed by Dryden, who re-'grets that the heroic meaſure was not rather choſen. 'To the critical ſentence of Dryden the higheſt re-'verence would be due, were not his deciſions often 'precipitate, and his opinions immature. When he 'wiſhed to change the meaſure, he probably would 'have been willing to change more. If he intended 'that, when the numbers were heroic, the diction 'ſhould ſtill remain vulgar, he planned a very hete-'rogeneous and unnatural compoſition. If he pre-'ferred a general ſtatelineſs both of ſound and words, 'he can be only underſtood to wiſh that Butler had 'undertaken a different work.

'The meaſure is quick, ſpritely, and colloquial, 'ſuitable to the vulgarity of the words and the levity 'of the ſentiments. But ſuch numbers and ſuch dic-'tion can gain regard only when they are uſed by a 'writer whoſe vigour of fancy and copiouſneſs of 'knowledge entitle him to contempt of ornaments, 'and who, in confidence of the novelty and juſtneſs 'of his conceptions, can afford to throw metaphors 'and epithets away. To another that conveys com-'mon thoughts in careleſs verſification, it will only 'be ſaid, "Pauper videri Cinna vult, et eſt pauper." 'The meaning and diction will be worthy of each 'other, and criticiſm may juſtly doom them to periſh 'together.

'Nor, even though another Butler ſhould ariſe, 'would another Hudibras obtain the ſame regard. 'Burleſque conſiſts in a diſproportion between the 'ſtyle and the ſentiments, or between the adventi-'tious ſentiments and the fundamental ſubject. It 'therefore, like all bodies compounded of hetero-'geneous parts, contains in it a principle of corrup-'tion. All diſproportion is unnatural, and from 'what is unnatural we can derive only the pleaſure 'which novelty produces. We admire it awhile 'as a ſtrange thing; but, when it is no longer ſtrange, 'we perceive its deformity. It is a kind of artifice, 'which by frequent repetition detects itſelf: and the 'reader, learning in time what he is to expect, lays 'down his book, as the ſpectator turns away from 'a ſecond exhibition of thoſe tricks, of which the 'only uſe is to ſhew that they can be played (39).]

K.

(39) Johnſon's Life of Butler, p. 15—39.

*** [BUTLER (JOSEPH), a Prelate of the moſt diſtinguiſhed character and abilities, was born at Wantage in Berkſhire, in the year 1692. His father, Mr. Thomas Butler, who was a ſubſtantial and reputable Shopkeeper in that town, obſerving in his ſon Joſeph (*a*) an excellent genius and inclination for learning, determined to educate him for the Miniſtry, among the Proteſtant Diſſenters of the Preſbyterian denomination. For this purpoſe, after he had gone through a proper courſe of grammatical literature, at the free grammar-ſchool of his native place, under the care of the Rev. Mr. Philip Barton, a Clergyman of the Church of England (*b*), he was ſent to a Diſſenting Academy, then kept at Glouceſter, but which was ſoon afterwards removed to Tewkeſbury. The principal Tutor of this Academy was Mr. Jones, a man of uncommon abilities and knowledge, who had the honour of training up ſeveral ſcholars, who became of great eminence, both in the eſtabliſhed Church and among the Diſſenters (*c*). At Tewkeſbury, Mr. Butler made an extraordinary progreſs in the ſtudy of divinity; of which he gave a remarkable proof, in the letters addreſſed by him, whilſt he reſided at Tewkeſbury, to Dr. Samuel Clarke, laying before him the doubts that had ariſen in his mind, concerning the concluſiveneſs of ſome arguments in the Doctor's 'Demonſtration of the Being and Attributes of God [*A*].' The firſt of theſe letters was dated November the 4th, 1713; and the ſagacity and depth of thought diſplayed in it immediately excited Dr. Clarke's particular notice. This condeſcenſion encouraged Mr. Butler to addreſs the Doctor again upon the ſame ſubject; which, likewiſe, was anſwered by him; and the correſpondence being carried on in three other letters, the whole was annexed to the celebrated treatiſe before mentioned, and the collection has been retained in all the ſubſequent editions of that work. The management of this correſpondence was entruſted, by Mr. Butler, to his friend and fellow-pupil, Mr. Secker, who, in order to conceal the affair, undertook to convey the letters to the poſt-office at Glouceſter, and to bring back Dr. Clarke's anſwers. When Mr. Butler's name was diſcovered to the Doctor, the candour, modeſty, and good ſenſe with which he had written, immediately procured him the friendſhip of that eminent and excellent man (*d*). Our young Student was not, however, during his continuance at Tewkeſbury, ſolely employed in metaphyſical ſpeculations and enquiries. Another ſubject of his ſerious conſideration was, the propriety of his becoming a Diſſenting Miniſter. Accordingly, he entered into an examination of the principles of Nonconformity; the reſult of which was, ſuch a diſſatisfaction with them, as determined him to conform to the eſtabliſhed Church. This intention was at firſt very diſagreeable to his father, who endeavoured to divert him from his purpoſe; and, with that view, called in the aſſiſtance of ſome eminent Preſbyterian Divines; but finding his ſon's reſolution to be fixed, he at length ſuffered him to be removed to Oxford, where he was admitted a Commoner of Oriel College, on the 17th of March, 1714 (*e*). At what time he took Orders doth not appear, nor who the Biſhop was by whom he was ordained; but it is certain, that he entered into the Church ſoon after his admiſſion at Oxford, if it be true, as is aſſerted, that he ſometimes aſſiſted Mr. Edward Talbot in the divine ſervice, at his living of Hendred near Wantage (*f*). With this gentleman, who was the ſecond ſon of Dr. William Talbot, ſucceſſively Biſhop of Ox-

(*a*) He was the youngeſt of eight children.

(*b*) When Dr. Butler became Dean of St. Paul's, he preſented his old maſter, Mr. Burton, to the Rectory of Hutton in Eſſex, where he died in 1762.

(*c*) A ſhort account of Mr. Jones may, perhaps, be given under the article of Dr. Samuel Chandler.

(*d*) Supplement to Biog. Brit. firſt edit. p. 20, 21. Dr. Porteous's Life of Archbiſhop Secker, p. ii. New York edition, 1773.

(*e*) Suppl. to Biogr. Brit. p. 21.

(*f*) Ibid.

[*A*] *Concerning the concluſiveneſs of ſome arguments in the Doctor's Demonſtration of the Being and Attributes of God.*] In the firſt letter, our young Student, after making a modeſt apology for the liberty he had aſſumed, though a ſtranger, in addreſſing the Doctor, expreſſes a particular ſatisfaction on meeting with an attempt to *demonſtrate* the Being of a God, which, he obſerves, was more than had been done before. However, in peruſing the Demonſtration, there aroſe two difficulties to him, the chief of which was in Dr. Clarke's proof, that the ſelf-exiſtent Being muſt of neceſſity be but one (1). The other difficulty, which precedes this in the letter, aroſe from the Doctor's argument to prove the Infinity or Omnipreſence of the ſelf-exiſtent Being (2). With regard to this laſt difficulty, Mr. Butler declares, in the courſe of the correſpondence, that it was cleared up to his ſatisfaction. But, in his fifth letter, ſpeaking of the ſelf-exiſtent Being, he writes thus: 'Could we make the ſuppoſition of 'its ceaſing to be, yet ſpace and duration would ſtill 'remain unaltered.'—— 'I grant the ſuppoſition is 'abſurd: but how otherwiſe can we know whether 'any thing be a property of ſuch a ſubſtance, but by 'examining whether it would ceaſe to be, if the ſup'poſed ſubſtance ſhould do ſo?' He then proceeds as follows: 'Notwithſtanding what I have now ſaid, I 'cannot ſay that I believe your argument not con'cluſive; for I muſt own my ignorance, that I am 'really at a loſs about the nature of ſpace and du'ration. But did it plainly appear that they were 'properties of a ſubſtance, we ſhould have an eaſy 'way with the Atheiſts; for it would at once prove 'demonſtrably an eternal, neceſſary, ſelf-exiſtent 'Being; that there is but one ſuch; and that he 'is needful, in order to the exiſtence of all other 'things: which makes me think, that though it may 'be true, yet it is not obvious to every capacity; 'otherwiſe it would have been generally uſed as a 'fundamental argument to prove the Being of a 'God.' In anſwer to this letter, Dr. Clarke obſerves, that our Student's granting the abſurdity of the ſuppoſition he was endeavouring to make, was conſequently granting the neceſſary truth of his argument of ſpace and duration's neceſſarily remaining, even after they are ſuppoſed to be taken away; and by not doing this, it is plain they are not themſelves ſubſtances, and that the ſubſtance, on whoſe exiſtence they depend, will neceſſarily remain likewiſe, even after it is ſuppoſed to be taken away; which ſhews that ſuppoſition to be abſurd and contradictory. Upupon the whole, the Doctor remarks in the concluſion, that his correſpondent's difficulty aroſe from not ſufficiently conſidering the nature of abſolute neceſſity, which muſt neceſſarily exiſt every where. Thus ended this amicable controverſy. But we cannot conclude the ſubject without obſerving, in juſtice to Mr. Butler, that in his objections to Dr. Clarke's notion of the nature of ſpace and duration, which include his diſſatisfaction with the argument *a prieri*, he raiſed the firſt battery againſt that argument; and though, from modeſty, and a conſideration of his youth, he forebore to puſh his ſtrength to the utmoſt, yet he hath been followed by others, who have attacked it in ſo formidable a manner, that, in the opinion of many learned men, it hath been abſolutely demoliſhed (3).

(1) Propoſition vii.

(2) Propoſition vi.

(3) Suppl. to Biogr. Brit. p. 20. Note [*b*].

ford, Saliſbury, and Durham, Mr. Butler formed an intimate friendſhip at Oriel College; which friendſhip laid the foundation of all his ſubſequent preferments, and procured for him a very honourable ſituation, when he was only twenty-ſix years of age. For it was in 1718, that, at the recommendation of Mr. Talbot, in conjunction with that of Dr. Clarke *(g)*, he was appointed by Sir Joſeph Jekyll to be Preacher at the Rolls. This was three years before he had taken any degree at the Univerſity, where he did not go out Bachelor of Law till the 10th of June, 1721, which, however, was as ſoon as that degree could ſtatutably be conferred upon him *(h)*. Mr. Butler continued at the Rolls till 1726, in the beginning of which year he publiſhed, in one volume octavo, 'Fifteen Sermons preached at that Chapel [*B*].' In the mean while, by

(g) Life of Dr. Secker, *ubi ſupra*, p. iv.

(h) Supplement, *ubi ſupra*.

[*B*] *Publiſhed, in one volume, octavo, Fifteen Sermons preached at that Chapel.*] The great demand for this volume, which was dedicated to Sir Joſeph Jekyll, obliged Mr. Butler to print a ſecond edition, reviſed and improved, in 1729, to which he prefixed a long preface; wherein, after apologizing for the abſtruſeneſs of the diſcourſes, and obſerving that this abſtruſeneſs aroſe from the nature of the truths advanced in them, he proceeds to give an abridgment and illuſtration of the principles laid down in his Sermons. This is done in ſo maſterly a manner, and affords ſuch a ſpecific view of his moral ſyſtem, that we cannot avoid making large extracts from the preface, if we would do juſtice either to the Author or to our Readers. 'There are, ſays he, two ways in 'which the ſubject of morals may be treated. One 'begins from enquiring into the abſtract relations of 'things: the other from a matter of fact, namely, 'what the particular nature of man is, its ſeveral 'parts, their œconomy or conſtitution; from whence 'it proceeds to determine what courſe of life it 'is, which is correſpondent to this whole nature. 'In the former method the concluſion is expreſſed 'thus, that vice is contrary to the nature and reaſon 'of things: in the latter, that it is a violation or 'breaking in upon our own nature. Thus they both 'lead us to the ſame thing, our obligations to the 'practice of virtue; and thus they exceedingly 'ſtrengthen and enforce each other. The firſt ſeems 'the moſt direct formal proof, and in ſome reſpects 'the leaſt liable to cavil and diſpute: the latter is in 'a peculiar manner adapted to ſatisfy a fair mind; 'and is more eaſily applicable to the ſeveral parti'cular relations and circumſtances in life.

'The following diſcourſes proceed chiefly in this 'latter method. The three firſt wholly. They 'were intended to explain what is meant by the na'ture of man, when it is ſaid that virtue conſiſts in 'following, and vice in deviating from it; and by 'explaining to ſhew that the aſſertion is true. That 'the ancient moraliſts had ſome inward feeling or 'other, which they choſe to expreſs in this manner, 'that man is born to virtue, that it conſiſts in fol'lowing nature, and that vice is more contrary to 'this nature than tortures or death, their works in 'our hands are inſtances. Now a perſon who found 'no myſtery in this way of ſpeaking of the ancients; 'who, without being very explicit with himſelf, kept 'to his natural feeling, went along with them, and 'found within himſelf a full conviction that what 'they laid down was juſt and true; ſuch an one would 'probably wonder to ſee a point, in which he never 'perceived any difficulty, ſo laboured as this is, in the 'ſecond and third ſermons; inſomuch, perhaps, as 'to be at a loſs for the occaſion, ſcope, and drift of 'them. But it need not be thought ſtrange, that 'this manner of expreſſion, though familiar with 'them, and, if not uſually carried ſo far, yet not 'uncommon amongſt ourſelves, ſhould want ex'plaining; ſince there are ſeveral perceptions daily 'felt and ſpoken of, which yet it may not be very 'eaſy at firſt view to explicate, to diſtinguiſh from 'all others, and aſcertain exactly what the idea of 'perception is. The many treatiſes upon the paſ'ſions are a proof of this; ſince ſo many would 'never have undertaken to unfold their ſeveral com'plications, and trace and reſolve them into their 'principles, if they had thought, what they were 'endeavouring to ſhew, was obvious to every one, 'who felt and talked of thoſe paſſions. Thus, though 'there ſeems no ground to doubt, but that the gene'rality of mankind have the inward perception ex'preſſed ſo commonly in that manner by the ancient 'moraliſts, more than to doubt whether they have thoſe 'paſſions; yet it appeared of uſe to unfold that in'ward conviction, and lay it open in a more explicit 'manner, than I had ſeen done; eſpecially when 'there were not wanting perſons, who manifeſtly miſ'took the whole thing, and ſo had great reaſon to 'expreſs themſelves diſſatisfied with it. A late Au'thor of great and deſerved reputation ſays, that to 'place virtue in following nature, is at beſt a looſe 'way of talk. And he has reaſon to ſay this, if 'what I think he intends to expreſs, though with 'great decency, be true, that ſcarce any other ſenſe 'can be put upon thoſe words, but acting as any of 'the ſeveral parts, without diſtinction, of a man's 'nature, happened moſt to incline him (*).

(*) Rel. of Nature delin. edit. 1724, p. 22, 23.

'Whoever thinks it worth while to conſider this 'matter thoroughly, ſhould begin with ſtating to 'himſelf exactly the idea of a ſyſtem, œconomy or 'conſtitution of any particular nature, or particular 'any thing: and he will, I ſuppoſe, find, that it is 'an one or a whole made up of ſeveral parts; but 'yet, that the ſeveral parts, even conſidered as a 'whole, do not complete the idea, unleſs in the no'tion of a whole, you include the relations and re'ſpects, which thoſe parts have to each other. Every 'work both of nature and of art is a ſyſtem: and as 'every particular thing, both natural and artificial, 'is for ſome uſe or purpoſe out of and beyond itſelf, 'one may add, to what has been already brought 'into the idea of a ſyſtem, its conduciveneſs to this 'one or more ends. Let us inſtance in a watch— 'Suppoſe the ſeveral parts taken to pieces, and placed 'apart from each other: let a man have ever ſo ex'act a notion of theſe ſeveral parts, unleſs he con'ſiders the reſpects and relations which they have to 'each other, he will not have any thing like the idea 'of a watch. Suppoſe theſe ſeveral parts brought 'together and any how united: neither will he yet, 'be the union ever ſo cloſe, have an idea which 'will bear any reſemblance to that of a watch. But 'let him view thoſe ſeveral parts put together in the 'manner of a watch; let him form a notion of the 'relations which thoſe ſeveral parts have to each 'other—all conducive in their reſpective ways, to 'this purpoſe, ſhewing the hour of the day; and 'then he has the idea of a watch. Thus it is with 'regard to the inward frame of man. Appetites, 'paſſions, affections, and the principle of reflection, 'conſidered merely as the ſeveral parts of our inward 'nature, do not at all give us an idea of the ſyſtem or 'conſtitution of this nature: becauſe the conſtitution 'is formed by ſomewhat not yet taken into conſider'ation, namely by the relations, which theſe ſeveral 'parts have to each other; the chief of which is the 'authority of reflection or conſcience. It is from 'conſidering the relations which the ſeveral appe'tites and paſſions in the inward frame have to each 'other; and above all, the ſupremacy of reflection 'or conſcience, that we get the idea of the ſyſtem or 'conſtitution of human nature. And from the idea 'itſelf it will as fully appear, that this our nature, 'that is, conſtitution, is adapted to virtue, as from the 'idea of a watch it appears, that its nature, that is, 'conſtitution or ſyſtem, is adapted to meaſure time. 'What in fact or event commonly happens, is no'thing to this queſtion. Every work of art is apt to be 'out of order: but this is ſo far from being accord'ing to its ſyſtem, that let the diſorder increaſe, and 'it will totally deſtroy it. This is merely by way 'of explanation, what an œconomy, ſyſtem, or con'ſtitution is. And thus far the caſes are perfectly pa'rallel. If we go further, there is indeed a differ'ence, nothing to the preſent purpoſe, but too im-

portant

by the patronage of Dr. Talbot, Biſhop of Durham, to whoſe notice he had been recommended (together with Mr. Benſon and Mr. Secker) by Mr. Edward Talbot on

'portant an one ever to be omitted. A machine is 'inanimate and paſſive: but we are agents. Our 'conſtitution is put in our own power. We are 'charged with it: and therefore are accountable for 'any diſorder or violation of it.

'Thus nothing can poſſibly be more contrary to 'nature than vice; meaning by nature, not only the '*ſeveral parts* of our internal frame, but alſo the '*conſtitution* of it. Poverty and diſgrace, tortures 'and death, are not ſo contrary to it. Miſery and in-'juſtice are equally contrary to ſome different parts 'of our nature taken ſingly: but injuſtice is more-'over contrary to the whole conſtitution of the na-'ture.

'If it be aſked, whether this conſtitution be really 'what thoſe philoſophers meant, and whether they 'would have explained themſelves in this manner? 'the anſwer is the ſame, as if it ſhould be aſked, 'whether a perſon, who had often uſed the word 'reſentment and felt the thing, would have explained 'this paſſion exactly in the ſame manner, in which it 'is done in one of theſe diſcourſes? As I have no 'doubt, but that this is a true account of that paſſion, 'which he referred to, and intended to expreſs by 'the word reſentment; ſo I have no doubt, but that 'this is the true account of the ground of that con-'viction which they referred to, when they ſaid, vice 'was contrary to nature. And though it ſhould be 'thought that they meant no more than, that vice 'was contrary to the higher and better part of our 'nature; even this implies ſuch a conſtitution as I 'have endeavoured to explain. For the very terms, 'higher and better, imply a relation or reſpect of 'parts to each other; and theſe relative parts, being 'in one and the ſame nature, form a conſtitution, 'and are the very idea of it. They had a perception 'that injuſtice was contrary to their nature, and that 'pain was ſo alſo. They obſerved theſe two per-'ceptions totally different, not in degree, but in 'kind: and the reflecting upon each of them as they 'thus ſtood in their nature, wrought a full intuitive 'conviction, that more was due and of right be-'longed to one of theſe inward perceptions, than to 'the other; that it demanded in all caſes to govern 'ſuch a creature as man. So that upon the whole, 'this is a fair and true account of what was the 'ground of their conviction; of what they intended 'to refer to when they ſaid, virtue conſiſted in fol-'lowing nature: a manner of ſpeaking not looſe 'and undeterminate, but clear and diſtinct, ſtrictly 'juſt and true.

'Though I am perſuaded the force of this con-'viction is felt by almoſt every one; yet ſince, con-'ſidered as an argument, and put in words, it ap-'pears ſomewhat abſtruſe, and ſince the connection 'of it is broken in the three firſt ſermons, it may not 'be amiſs to give the reader the whole argument 'here in one view.

'Mankind has various inſtincts and principles of 'action, as brute creatures have; ſome leading moſt 'directly and immediately to the good of the com-'munity, and ſome moſt directly to private good.

'Man has ſeveral which brutes have not; particu-'larly reflection or conſcience, an approbation of ſome 'principles or actions, and diſapprobation of others.

'Brutes obey their inſtincts or principles of action, 'according to certain rules; ſuppoſe the conſtitution 'of their body, and the objects around them.

'The generality of mankind alſo obey their inſtincts 'and principles, all of them; thoſe propenſions we 'call good, as well as the bad, according to the ſame 'rules; namely, the conſtitution of their body, and 'the external circumſtances which they are in. '[Therefore it is not a true repreſentation of man-'kind, to affirm that they are wholly governed by 'ſelf-love, the love of power and ſenſual appetites: 'ſince, as on the one hand, they are often actuated 'by theſe, without any regard to right or wrong; 'ſo on the other, it is manifeſt fact, that the ſame 'perſons, the generality, are frequently influenced 'by friendſhip, compaſſion, gratitude; and even a 'general abhorrence of what is baſe, and liking of 'what is fair and juſt, takes its turn amongſt the 'other motives of action. This is the partial inade-'quate notion of human nature treated of in the firſt 'diſcourſe: and it is by this nature, if one may ſpeak 'ſo, that the world is in fact influenced, and kept in 'that tolerable order in which it is.]

'Brutes in acting according to the rules before 'mentioned, their bodily conſtitution and circum-'ſtances, act ſuitably to their whole nature. [It is, 'however, to be diſtinctly noted, that the reaſon 'why we affirm this, is not merely that brutes in 'fact act ſo; for this alone, however univerſal, does 'not at all determine, whether ſuch courſe of action 'be correſpondent to their whole nature: but the 'reaſon of the aſſertion is, that as in acting thus, 'they plainly act conformably to ſomewhat in their 'nature; ſo from all obſervations we are able to 'make upon them, there does not appear the leaſt 'ground to imagine them to have any thing elſe in 'their nature, which requires a different rule or 'courſe of action.]

'Mankind alſo in acting thus would act ſuitably 'to their whole nature, if no more were to be ſaid 'of man's nature, than what has been now ſaid; if 'that, as it is true, were alſo a complete, adequate 'account of our nature.

'But that is not a complete account of man's na-'ture. Somewhat further muſt be brought in to 'give us an adequate notion of it; namely, that one 'of thoſe principles of action, conſcience or reflec-'tion, compared with the reſt as they all ſtand to-'gether in the nature of man, plainly bears upon it 'marks of authority over all the reſt, and claims the 'abſolute direction of them all, to allow or forbid 'their gratification: a diſapprobation of reflection 'being in itſelf a principle manifeſtly ſuperior to a 'mere propenſion. And the concluſion is, that to 'allow no more to this ſuperior principle or part 'of our nature, than to other parts; to let it govern 'and guide only occaſionally in common with the 'reſt, as its turn happens to come, from the temper 'and circumſtances one happens to be in; this is not 'to act conformably to the conſtitution of man: nei-'ther can any human creature be ſaid to act con-'formably to his conſtitution of nature, unleſs he 'allows to that ſuperior principle the abſolute autho-'rity which is due to it. And this concluſion is 'abundantly confirmed from hence, that one may de-'termine what courſe of action the œconomy of 'man's nature requires, without ſo much as knowing 'in what degree of *ſtrength* the ſeveral principles 'prevail, or which of them have actually the greateſt 'influence.

'The practical reaſon of inſiſting ſo much upon 'this natural authority of the principle of reflection 'or conſcience is, that it ſeems in great meaſure 'overlooked by many, who are by no means the 'worſt ſort of men. It is thought ſufficient to ab-'ſtain from groſs wickedneſs, and to be humane and 'kind to ſuch as happen to come in their way. 'Whereas in reality the very conſtitution of our na-'ture requires, that we bring our whole conduct be-'fore this ſuperior faculty; wait its determination; 'enforce upon ourſelves its authority, and make 'it the buſineſs of our lives, as it is abſolutely 'the whole buſineſs of a moral agent, to conform 'ourſelves to it. This is the true meaning of that 'ancient precept, *Reverence thy ſelf* (4).

(4) Preface to Butler's Sermons, Glaſgow edition of 1769, p. viii.—xxii.

Here our Author takes occaſion to make ſome admirable remarks on a material deficiency, or omiſſion, in Lord Shafteſbury's 'Inquiry concerning Virtue,' which we ſhall refer to in our account of that noble Writer; and then Mr. Butler goes on as follows:

'The ſermon *upon the Character of Balaam*, and 'that *upon Self-Deceit*, both relate to one ſubject. 'I am perſuaded, that a very great part of the wick-'edneſs of the world, is, one way or other, owing 'to the ſelf-partiality, ſelf-flattery, and ſelf-deceit, 'endeavoured there to be laid open and explained. 'It is to be obſerved amongſt perſons of the loweſt 'rank, in proportion to their compaſs of thought, 'as much as amongſt men of education and improve-'ment. It ſeems, that people are capable of being 'thus artful with themſelves, in proportion as they 'are capable of being ſo with others. Thoſe who 'have taken notice that there is really ſuch a thing,

'namely,

on his death-bed, our Author had been preſented firſt to the Rectory of Haughton, near Darlingon, and afterwards to that of Stanhope in the ſame dioceſe. The benefice

'namely, plain falſeneſs and inſincerity in men 'with regard to themſelves, will readily ſee the drift 'and deſign of theſe diſcourſes: and nothing, that 'I can add, will explain the deſign of them to him, 'who has not before-hand remarked, at leaſt, ſome-'what of the character. And yet, the admonitions 'they contain, may be as much wanted by ſuch a 'perſon, as by others; for it is to be noted, that a 'man may be entirely poſſeſſed by this unfairneſs of 'mind, without having the leaſt ſpeculative notion 'what the thing is.

'The account given of *Reſentment* in the eighth 'ſermon, is introductory to the following one *upon* '*Forgiveneſs of Injuries*. It may poſſibly have ap-'peared to ſome, at firſt ſight, a ſtrange aſſertion, 'that injury is the only natural object of ſettled re-'ſentment, or that men do not in fact reſent delibe-'rately any thing but under this appearance of in-'jury. But I muſt deſire the reader not to take any 'aſſertion alone by itſelf, but to conſider the whole 'of what is ſaid upon it: becauſe this is neceſſary, 'not only in order to judge of the truth of it, but 'often, ſuch is the nature of language, to ſee the 'very meaning of the aſſertion. Particularly as to 'this, injury and injuſtice is, in the ſermon itſelf, 'explained to mean, not only the more groſs and 'ſhocking inſtances of wickedneſs, but alſo con-'tempt, ſcorn, neglect, any ſort of diſagreeable be-'haviour towards a perſon, which he thinks other 'than what is due to him. And the general notion 'of injury or wrong, plainly comprehends this, 'though the words are moſtly confined to the higher 'degrees of it.

'Forgiveneſs of injuries is one of the very few 'moral obligations which has been diſputed. But 'the proof that it is really an obligation, what our 'nature and condition require, ſeems very obvious, 'were it only from the conſideration that revenge is 'doing harm merely for harm's ſake. And as to 'the love of our enemies: reſentment cannot ſuper-'ſede the obligation to univerſal benevolence, unleſs 'they are in the nature of the thing inconſiſtent, 'which they plainly are not.

'This divine precept, to forgive injuries and love 'our enemies, though to be met with in gentile 'moraliſts, yet is in a peculiar ſenſe a precept of 'chriſtianity; as our Saviour has inſiſted more upon 'it, than upon any other ſingle virtue. One reaſon 'of this doubtleſs is, that it ſo peculiarly becomes an 'imperfect, faulty creature. But it may be obſerved 'alſo, that a virtuous temper of mind, conſciouſ-'neſs of innocence and good meaning towards every 'body, and a ſtrong feeling of injuſtice and injury, 'may itſelf, ſuch is the imperfection of our virtue, 'lead a perſon to violate this obligation, if he be 'not upon his guard. And it may well be ſuppoſed, 'that this is another reaſon why it is ſo much inſiſted 'upon by Him, who *knew what was in man*.

'The chief deſign of the eleventh diſcourſe is to 'ſtate the notion of ſelf-love and diſintereſtedneſs, 'in order to ſhew that benevolence is not more un-'friendly to ſelf-love, than any other particular af-'fection whatever. There is a ſtrange affectation in 'many people of explaining away all particular af-'fections, and repreſenting the whole of life as no-'thing but one continued exerciſe of ſelf-love. 'Hence ariſes that ſurpriſing confuſion and per-'plexity in the Epicureans of old, Hobbs, the au-'thor of *Reflexions, Sentences, et Maximes Morales*, and 'this whole ſet of writers; the confuſion of calling 'actions intereſted which are done in contradiction to 'the moſt manifeſt known intereſt, merely for the 'gratification of a preſent paſſion. Now all this 'confuſion might eaſily be avoided, by ſtating to 'ourſelves wherein the idea of ſelf-love in general 'conſiſts, as diſtinguiſhed from all particular move-'ments towards particular external objects; the ap-'petites of ſenſe, reſentment, compaſſion, curioſity, 'ambition, and the reſt. When this is done, if the 'words *ſelfiſh* and *intereſted* cannot be parted with, 'but muſt be applied to every thing; yet, to avoid 'ſuch total confuſion of all language, let the di-'ſtinction be made by epithets: and the firſt may be 'called cool or ſettled ſelfiſhneſs, and the other 'paſſionate or ſenſual ſelfiſhneſs. But the moſt na-'tural way of ſpeaking plainly is, to call the firſt 'only ſelf-love, and the actions proceeding from it, 'intereſted: and to ſay of the latter, that they are 'not love to ourſelves, but movements towards ſome-'what external: honour, power, the harm or good 'of another: and that the purſuit of theſe external 'objects, ſo far as it proceeds from theſe movements '(for it may proceed from ſelf-love), is no otherwiſe 'intereſted, than as every action of every creature 'muſt, from the nature of the thing, be; for no 'one can act but from a deſire, or choice, or pre-'ference of his own.

'Self-love and any particular paſſion may be 'joined together; and from this complication, it 'becomes impoſſible in numberleſs inſtances to de-'termine preciſely, how far an action, perhaps even 'of one's own, has for its principle general ſelf-love, 'or ſome particular paſſion. But this need create no 'confuſion in the ideas themſelves of ſelf-love and 'particular paſſions. We diſtinctly diſcern what one 'is, and what the other are: though we may be 'uncertain how far one or the other influences us. 'And though from this uncertainty, it cannot but 'be, that there will be different opinions concerning 'mankind, as more or leſs governed by intereſt; 'and ſome will aſcribe actions to ſelf-love, which 'others will aſcribe to particular paſſions; yet it is 'abſurd to ſay that mankind are wholly actuated by 'either; ſince it is manifeſt that both have their 'influence. For as, on the one hand, men form a 'general notion of intereſt, ſome placing it in one 'thing, and ſome in another, and have a conſider-'able regard to it throughout the courſe of their 'life, which is owing to ſelf-love; ſo, on the other 'hand, they are often ſet on work by the particular 'paſſions themſelves, and a conſiderable part of life 'is ſpent in the actual gratification of them, that is, 'is employed, not by ſelf-love, but by the paſſions.

'Beſides, the very idea of an intereſted purſuit 'neceſſarily preſuppoſes particular paſſions or ap-'petites; ſince the very idea of intereſt or happineſs 'conſiſts in this, that an appetite or affection enjoys 'its object. It is not becauſe we love ourſelves that 'we find delight in ſuch and ſuch objects, but be-'cauſe we have particular affections towards them. 'Take away theſe affections, and you leave ſelf-love 'abſolutely nothing at all to employ itſelf about; 'no end or object for it to purſue, excepting only 'that of avoiding pain. Indeed the *Epicureans*, who 'maintained that abſence of pain was the higheſt 'happineſs, might, conſiſtently with themſelves, 'deny all affection, and, if they had ſo pleaſed, every 'ſenſual appetite too: but the very idea of intereſt or 'happineſs other than abſence of pain, implies par-'ticular appetites or paſſions; theſe being neceſſary 'to conſtitute that intereſt or happineſs.

'The obſervation that benevolence is no more 'diſintereſted than any of the common particular 'paſſions, ſeems in itſelf worth being taken notice 'of; but is inſiſted upon to obviate that ſcorn which 'one ſees riſing upon the faces of people who are ſaid 'to know the world, when mention is made of a 'diſintereſted, generous or public-ſpirited action. 'The truth of that obſervation might be made ap-'pear, in a more formal manner of proof: for who-'ever will conſider all the poſſible reſpects and rela-'tions which any particular affection can have to ſelf-'love and private intereſt, will, I think, ſee de-'monſtrably, that benevolence is not in any reſpect 'more at varience with ſelf-love, than any other par-'ticular affection whatever, but that it is in every 'reſpect, at leaſt, as friendly to it.

'If the obſervation be true, it follows, that ſelf-'love and benevolence, virtue and intereſt, are not 'to be oppoſed, but only to be diſtinguiſhed from 'each other; in the ſame way as virtue and any 'other particular affection, love of arts, ſuppoſe, are 'to be diſtinguiſhed. Every thing is what it is, and 'not another thing. The goodneſs or badneſs of 'actions does not ariſe from hence, that the epithet, 'intereſted or diſintereſted, may be applied to them, 'any more than that any other indifferent epithet, 'ſuppoſe inquiſitive or jealous, may or may not be

fice of Haughton was given to him in 1722, and that of Stanhope in 1725. At Haughton, there was a neceſſity for rebuilding a great part of the parſonage-houſe, and Mr.

'applied to them; not from their being attended 'with preſent or future pleaſure or pain; but from 'their being what they are: namely, what becomes 'ſuch creatures as we are, what the ſtate of the caſe 'requires, or the contrary. Or, in other words, 'we may judge and determine, that an action is 'morally good or evil, before we ſo much as con-'ſider, whether it be intereſted or diſintereſted. 'This conſideration no more comes in to determine, 'whether an action be virtuous, than to determine 'whether it be reſentful. Self-love in its due de-'gree is as juſt and morally good, as any affection 'whatever. Benevolence towards particular per-'ſons may be to a degree of weakneſs, and ſo be 'blameable: and diſintereſtedneſs is ſo far from 'being in itſelf commendable, that the utmoſt poſ-'ſible depravity, which we can in imagination con-'ceive, is that of diſintereſted cruelty.

'Neither does there appear any reaſon to wiſh 'ſelf-love were weaker in the generality of the world, 'than it is. The influence which it has, ſeems 'plainly owing to its being conſtant and habitual, 'which it cannot but be, and not to the degree or 'ſtrength of it. Every caprice of the imagination, 'every curioſity of the underſtanding, every affection 'of the heart, is perpetually ſhewing its weakneſs, 'by prevailing over it. Men daily, hourly ſacrifice 'the greateſt known intereſt, to fancy, inquiſitive-'neſs, love or hatred, any vagrant inclination. 'The thing to be lamented is, not that men have ſo 'great regard to their own good or intereſt in the 'preſent world, for they have not enough; but that 'they have ſo little to the good of others. And 'this ſeems plainly owing to their being ſo much en-'gaged in the gratification of particular paſſions un-'friendly to benevolence, and which happen to be 'moſt prevalent in them, much more than to ſelf-'love. As a proof of this may be obſerved, that 'there is no character more void of friendſhip, gra-'titude, natural affection, love to their country, 'common juſtice, or more equally and uniformly 'hard-hearted, than the *abandoned*, in, what is 'called, the way of pleaſure—hard-hearted and 'totally without feeling in behalf of others; except 'when they cannot eſcape the ſight of diſtreſs, and 'ſo are interrupted by it in their pleaſures. And 'yet it is ridiculous to call ſuch an abandoned courſe 'of pleaſure intereſted, when the perſon engaged 'in it knows before-hand, and goes on under the 'feeling and apprehenſion, that it will be as ruin-'ous to himſelf, as to thoſe who depend upon him.

'Upon the whole, if the generality of mankind 'were to cultivate within themſelves the principle of 'ſelf-love; if they were to accuſtom themſelves 'often to ſet down and conſider, what was the 'greateſt happineſs they were capable of attaining 'for themſelves in this life; and if ſelf-love were ſo 'ſtrong and prevalent, as that they would uniformly 'purſue this their ſuppoſed chief temporal good, 'without being diverted from it by any particular 'paſſion; it would manifeſtly prevent numberleſs 'follies and vices. This was in a great meaſure the 'Epicurean ſyſtem of philoſophy. It is indeed by 'no means the religious, or even moral inſtitution 'of life. Yet, with all the miſtakes men would fall 'into about intereſt, it would be leſs miſchievous, 'than the extravagancies of mere appetite, will, 'and pleaſure: for certainly ſelf-love, though con-'fined to the intereſt of this life, is, of the two, a 'much better guide than paſſion, which has abſo-'lutely no bound nor meaſure, but what is ſet to it 'by this ſelf-love, or moral conſiderations.

'From the diſtinction above made between ſelf-'love, and the ſeveral particular principles or affec-'tions in our nature, we may ſee how good ground 'there was for that aſſertion, maintained by the 'ſeveral ancient *ſchools* of philoſophy againſt the 'Epicureans, namely, that virtue is to be purſued 'as an end, eligible in and for itſelf. For, if there 'be any principles or affections in the mind of man 'diſtinct from ſelf-love, that the things thoſe princi-'ples tend towards, or that the objects of thoſe af-'fections are, each of them, in themſelves eligible, 'to be purſued upon its own account, and to be 'reſted in as an end, is implied in the very idea of 'ſuch principles or affection. They indeed aſſerted 'much higher things of virtue, and with very good 'reaſon; but to ſay thus much of it, that it is to be 'purſued for itſelf, is to ſay no more of it, than may 'truly be ſaid of the object of every natural affection 'whatever.

'The queſtion, which was a few years ago diſ-'puted in France, concerning *the Love of God*, 'which was there called enthuſiaſm, as it will every 'where by the generality of the world; this queſtion, 'I ſay, anſwers in *religion*, to that old one in *morals* 'now mentioned. And both of them, I think, are 'fully determined by the ſame obſervation, namely, 'that the very nature of affection, the idea itſelf, 'neceſſarily implies reſting in its object as an end.

'I ſhall not here add any thing further, to what I 'have ſaid in the two diſcourſes upon that moſt im-'portant ſubject, but only this: that if we are conſtitut-'ed ſuch ſort of creatures, as, from our very nature, to 'feel certain affections or movements of mind, upon 'the ſight or contemplation of the meaneſt inani-'mate part of the creation, for the flowers of the 'field have their beauty; certainly there muſt be 'ſomewhat due to him himſelf, who is the author 'and cauſe of all things; who is more intimately 'preſent to us, than any thing elſe can be, and 'with whom we have a nearer and more conſtant in-'tercourſe, than we can have with any creature: 'there muſt be ſome movements of mind and heart 'which correſpond to his perfections, or of which 'thoſe perfections are the natural object. And that 'when we are commanded to *love the Lord our God, 'with all our heart, with all our mind, and with all 'our ſoul*; ſomewhat more muſt be meant than 'merely, that we live in hope of rewards, or fear 'of puniſhments from Him; ſomewhat more than 'this muſt be intended: though theſe regards them-'ſelves are moſt juſt and reaſonable, and abſolutely 'neceſſary to be often recollected, in ſuch a world 'as this (5).'

(5) Preface to Butler's Sermons, Glaſgow edition of 1769, p. xxix—xlv.

From theſe extracts, our Readers will perceive, what excellent original matter is contained in Biſhop Butler's Sermons, and how juſtly they are entitled to the high encomiums which have been beſtowed upon them by the beſt judges. 'I did not doubt,' ſays Mrs. Cockburn, in a Letter to her Niece, that 'Dr. Butler would give you great ſatisfaction. He 'ſeems to have ſtudied human nature very deeply, 'its paſſions and affections; and has juſtly cleared it 'of that over-balance of ſelf-love, which ſome 'would make the motive of all our actions, ſetting 'that matter in a clearer light than it is uſually 'treated with. He likewiſe, as you obſerve, very 'rightly eſtabliſhes the authority of the principle of 'reflection, which ſtrongly obliges us to act according 'to its dictates, when conſidered as the guide aſſign-'ed us by the Author of our nature (6).' Lord Kaims, ſpeaking of devotion, as being natural to man, adds, in a note. 'See this principle beauti-'fully explained and illuſtrated in a Sermon upon 'the Love of God, by Doctor Butler, Biſhop of 'Durham, a writer of the firſt rank (7).' Many more teſtimonies might be produced to the excellency of our Prelate's diſcourſes; but it is needleſs to ac-cumulate teſtimonies in ſo plain a caſe. Every reader of Butler's Sermons muſt be ſenſible, that they afford an admirable proof of his ſagacity in treating moral queſtions. We cannot but think that what he hath advanced, on the ſeveral ſubjects diſcuſſed by him, is deciſive; and that he ought for ever to have ſilenced thoſe philoſophers who reſolve all human actions into the ſole principle of ſelf-love. It ſhould be remembered, that our Author's ſermons are chiefly to be conſidered as philoſophical and moral diſcourſes, addreſſed to a ſelect auditory; for they can by no means be regarded as general models of preaching. Pulpit compoſitions, being, for the moſt part, intended for the bulk of mankind, ought uſual-ly to be as plain and as clear as poſſible, both in ſen-timent and language; and this is attainable, without departing from elegance. Dr. Butler doth not ſeem naturally

(6) Mrs. Cockburn's Works, Vol. ii. p. 295, 296.

(7) Sketches of Man, Vol. iv. p. 199, 200. Second edition.

Mr. Butler had neither money nor talents for that work. Mr. Secker, therefore, who had always the intereſt of his friends at heart, and had acquired a very conſiderable influence with Biſhop Talbot, perſuaded that Prelate to give Mr. Butler, in exchange for Haughton, the Rectory of Stanhope, which was not only free from any ſuch incumbrance, but was, likewiſe, of much ſuperior value, being indeed one of the richeſt parſonages in England. Whilſt our Author continued Preacher at the Rolls Chapel, he divided his time between his duty in town and country; but when he quitted the Rolls, he reſided, during ſeven years, wholly at Stanhope, in the conſcientious diſcharge of every obligation appertaining to a good pariſh prieſt. This retirement, however, was too ſolitary for his diſpoſition, which had in it a natural caſt of gloomineſs: and though his recluſe hours were by no means loſt either to private improvement or public utility, yet he felt at times, very painfully, the want of that ſelect ſociety of friends, to which he had been accuſtomed, and which could inſpire him with the greateſt chearfulneſs. Mr. Secker, therefore, who knew this, was extremely anxious to draw him out into a more active and conſpicuous ſcene, and omitted no opportunity of expreſſing this deſire to ſuch as he thought capable of promoting it. Having himſelf been appointed King's Chaplain in 1732, he took occaſion, in a converſation which he had the honour of holding with Queen Caroline, to mention to her his friend Mr. Butler. The Queen ſaid, ſhe thought he had been dead. Mr. Secker aſſured her he was not. Yet her Majeſty afterwards aſked Archbiſhop Blackburne, if he was not dead? His anſwer was, 'No, Madam, but he is buried (*i*).' Mr. Secker, continuing his purpoſe of endeavouring to bring his friend out of his retirement, found means, upon Mr. Charles Talbot's being made Lord Chancellor, to have Mr. Butler recommended to him for his Chaplain. His Lordſhip accepted and ſent for him; and this promotion calling him to town, he took Oxford in his way, and was admitted there to the degree of Doctor of Law, on the eighth of December, 1733. The Lord Chancellor, who gave him, alſo, a Prebend in the church of Rocheſter, had conſented that he ſhould reſide at his pariſh of Stanhope one half of the year (*k*).

(*i*) Secker's Life, p. x.

(*k*) *Ibid.* Cataloeue of Oxford Graduates, p. 58. Supplement to Biographia Britannica, *ubi ſup.*

Dr. Butler being thus brought back into the world, his merit and his talents ſoon introduced him to particular notice, and paved the way for his riſing to thoſe high dignities which he afterwards enjoyed. In 1736, he was appointed Clerk of the Cloſet to Queen Caroline; and, in the ſame year, he preſented to her Majeſty a copy of his excellent treatiſe, entitled, 'The Analogy of Religion, natural and revealed, to the 'Conſtitution and Courſe of Nature [*C*].' His attendance upon his Royal Miſtreſs, by

naturally to have excelled either in perſpicuity or harmony of ſtyle. However, the obſcurity he hath been charged with aroſe principally from the nature of his ſubjects; and the difficulties which occur in his writings, are ſoon maſtered by a proper degree of attention. When the firſt edition of his Sermons was publiſhed, Mr. Secker took much pains to render the ſtyle more familiar, and the meaning more obvious. The ſame Gentleman gave our Author ſimilar aſſiſtance, in the preface to the ſecond edition of his Sermons, and in his 'Analogy (8).' The aid of ſuch a friend, who was himſelf remarkable for the ſimplicity and perſpicuity of his language, muſt have been of great advantage to theſe excellent works.

(8) Life of Abp. Secker, p. viii.

[*C*] *The Analogy of Religion, natural and revealed, to the Conſtitution and Courſe of Nature.*] The firſt edition, of 1736, was in quarto. The ſubſequent editions, the ſixth of which appeared in 1771, are in octavo. The work is inſcribed to the Lord Chancellor Talbot, in acknowledgment of the author's having been under the higheſt obligations to his Lordſhip, and the late Biſhop of Durham. The foundation of the mode of reaſoning that is carried on and completed in this treatiſe, was laid in our Author's Sermons, and particularly in the laſt of them, which is 'Upon the Ignorance of Man.' In that diſcourſe, he obſerves, that we may learn from our ignorance, firſt, with what temper of mind we ought to enquire into the ſubject of religion; namely, with expectation of finding difficulties, and with a diſpoſition to take up and reſt ſatisfied with any evidence whatever, which is real. And ſecondly, that our ignorance is the proper anſwer to many things, which are called objections againſt religion; particularly, to thoſe which ariſe from the appearances of evil and irregularity in the conſtitution of nature, and the government of the world (9). In the introduction to the Analogy, Dr. Butler, having made ſome excellent obſervations on the nature, the foundation, and the meaſure of probability, proceeds in the following manner: 'Hence, namely from analogical reaſoning, *Origen* has with ſingular ſagacity obſerved, 'that *he who believes the Scripture to have proceeded 'from him who is the Author of nature, may well expect to find the ſame ſort of difficulties in it, as are 'found in the conſtitution of nature.* And in a like 'way of reflection it may be added, that he who 'denies the Scripture to have been from God upon 'account of theſe difficulties, may, for the very rea'ſon, deny the world to have been formed by him. 'On the other hand, if there be an analogy or like'neſs between that ſyſtem of things and diſpenſa'tion of providence, which Revelation informs us of, 'and that ſyſtem of things and diſpenſation of pro'vidence, which experience together with reaſon in'form us of, *i. e.* the known courſe of nature; this 'is a preſumption, that they have both the ſame 'author and cauſe; at leaſt ſo far as to anſwer ob'jections againſt the former's being from God, 'drawn from any thing which is analogica lor ſimilar 'to what is in the latter, which is acknowledged to 'be from him: for an Author of nature is here ſup'poſed.

(9) Butler's Sermons, *ubi ſupra*, Vol ii. p. 113, 115.

'Forming our notions of the conſtitution and 'government of the world upon reaſoning, without 'foundation for the principles which we aſſume, 'whether from the attributes of God or any thing 'elſe; is building a world upon hypotheſis, like '*Des Cartes.* Forming our notions upon reaſoning 'from principles which are certain, but applied to 'caſes to which we have no ground to apply them, '(like thoſe who explain the ſtructure of the human 'body, and the nature of diſeaſes and medicines, 'from mere mathematics without ſufficient *data*;) 'is an error much a-kin to the former: ſince what is 'aſſumed in order to make the reaſoning applicable, 'is hypotheſis. But it muſt be allowed juſt, to join 'abſtract reaſonings with the obſervations of facts, 'and argue from ſuch facts as are known, to others 'that are like them; from that part of the divine 'government over intelligent creatures which comes 'under our view, to that larger and more general go-

by her especial command, was from seven to nine in the evening every day; and though this particular relation to that excellent and learned Queen was soon determined by

'vernment over them, which is beyond it; and from 'what is present, to collect, what is likely, credible, 'or not incredible, will be hereafter.

'This method then of concluding and determining being practical, and what, if we will act at all, 'we cannot but act upon in the common pursuits of 'life; being evidently conclusive, in various degrees, proportionable to the degree and exactness 'of the whole analogy or likeness; and having so 'great authority for its introduction into the subject 'of religion, even revealed religion; my design is to 'apply it to that subject in general, both natural 'and revealed: taking for proved, that there is an 'intelligent Author of nature, and natural Governor 'of the world. For as there is no presumption 'against this prior to the proof of it; so it has been 'often proved with accumulated evidence; from 'this argument of analogy and final causes; from 'abstract reasonings; from the most ancient tradition and testimony; and from the general consent 'of mankind. Nor does it appear, so far as I can 'find, to be denied, by the generality of those who 'profess themselves dissatisfied with the evidence of 'religion.

'As there are some, who, instead of thus attending to what is in fact the constitution of nature, 'form their notions of God's government upon hypothesis: so there are others, who indulge themselves in vain and idle speculations, how the world 'might possibly have been framed otherwise than it 'is; and upon supposition that things might, in 'imagining that they should, have been disposed 'and carried on after a better model, than what appears in the present disposition and conduct of 'them. Suppose now a person of such a turn of 'mind, to go on with his reveries, till he had at 'length fixt upon some particular plan of nature, as 'appearing to him the best.——One shall scarce be 'thought guilty of detraction against human understanding, if one should say, even beforehand, that 'the plan which this speculative person would fix 'upon, though he were the wisest of the sons of 'men, probably would not be the very best, even 'according to his own notions of *best*; whether he 'thought that to be so, which afforded occasions 'and motives for the exercise of the greatest virtue, 'or which was productive of the greatest happiness, 'or that these two were necessarily connected, and 'run up into one and the same plan. However, it 'may not be amiss once for all to see, what would 'be the amount of these emendations and imaginary 'improvements upon the system of nature, or how 'far they would mislead us. And it seems there 'could be no stopping, till we came to some such 'conclusions as these: that all creatures should at 'first be made as perfect and as happy, as they were 'capable of ever being: that nothing, to be sure, 'of hazard or danger should be put upon them to 'do; some indolent persons would perhaps think 'nothing at all; or certainly, that effectual care 'should be taken, that they should, whether necessarily or not, yet eventually and in fact, always 'do what was right and most conducive to happiness, which would be thought easy for infinite 'power to effect: either by not giving them any 'principles which would endanger their going wrong; 'or by laying the right motive of action in every 'instance before their minds continually in so strong 'a manner, as would never fail of inducing them to 'act conformably to it: and that the whole method 'of government by punishments, should be rejected, 'as absurd; as an aukward round-about method of 'carrying things on; nay as contrary to a principal 'purpose, for which it would be supposed creatures 'were made, namely happiness.

'Now, without considering what is to be said in 'particular to the several parts of this train of folly 'and extravagance; what has been above intimated, 'is a full direct general answer to it, namely, that 'we may see before-hand that we have not faculties 'for this kind of speculation. For though it be admitted, that from the first principles of our nature, 'we unavoidably judge or determine some ends to 'be absolutely in themselves preferable to others, 'and that the ends now mentioned, or if they run 'up into one, that this one is absolutely the best; 'and consequently that we must conclude the ultimate end designed, in the constitution of nature 'and conduct of providence, is the most virtue and 'happiness possible: yet we are far from being able 'to judge, what particular disposition of things 'would be most friendly and assistant to virtue; or 'what means might be absolutely necessary to produce the most happiness in a system of such extent 'as our own world may be, taking in all that is past 'and to come, though we should suppose it detached 'from the whole of things. Indeed we are so far 'from being able to judge of this; that we are not 'judges what may be the necessary means of raising 'and conducting one person to the highest perfection 'and happiness of his nature. Nay even in the little 'affairs of the present life, we find men of different 'educations and ranks are not competent judges of 'the conduct of each other. Our whole nature 'leads us to ascribe all moral perfection to God, and 'to deny all imperfection of him. And this will for 'ever be a practical proof of his moral character, to 'such as will consider what a practical proof is; because it is the voice of God speaking in us. And 'from hence we conclude, that virtue must be the happiness, and vice the misery, of every creature; and 'that regularity and order and right cannot but 'prevail finally in a universe under his government. 'But we are in no sort judges, what are the necessary 'means of accomplishing this end.

'Let us then, instead of that idle and not very innocent employment of forming imaginary models 'of a world, and schemes of governing it, turn our 'thoughts to what we experience to be the conduct 'of nature with respect to intelligent creatures; 'which may be resolved into general laws or rules of 'administration, in the same way as many of the 'laws of nature respecting inanimate matter may be 'collected from experiments. And let us compare 'the known constitution and course of things, with 'what is said to be the moral system of nature; the 'acknowledged dispensations of providence, or that 'government which we find ourselves under, with 'what religion teaches us to believe and expect; 'and see whether they are not analogous and of a 'piece. And upon such a comparison, it will I 'think be found, that they are very much so: that 'both may be traced up to the same general laws, 'and resolved into the same principles of divine 'conduct.

'The analogy here proposed to be considered, is 'of pretty large extent, and consists of several parts; 'in some, more, in others, less, exact. In some 'few instances perhaps it may amount to a real practical proof; in others not so. Yet in these it is a 'confirmation of what is proved other ways. It will 'undeniably shew, what too many want to have 'shewn them, that the system of religion both natural 'and revealed, considered only as a system, and prior 'to the proof of it, is not a subject of ridicule, unless that of nature be so too. And it will afford an 'answer to almost all objections against the system 'both of natural and revealed religion; though not 'perhaps an answer in so great a degree, yet in a 'very considerable degree an answer, to the objections against the evidence of it: for objections 'against a proof, and objections against what is said 'to be proved, the reader will observe, are different 'things.

'Now the divine government of the world, implied in the notion of religion in general and of 'christianity, contains in it; that mankind is appointed to live in a future state; that there, every 'one shall be rewarded or punished; rewarded or 'punished respectively for all that behaviour here, 'which we comprehend under the words, virtuous 'or vicious, morally good or evil: that our present 'life is a probation, a state of trial, and of discipline, 'for that future one; notwithstanding the objections 'which men may fancy they have, from notions of 'necessity, against there being any such moral plan

by her death in 1737, yet he had been ſo effectually recommended by her, as well as by the late Lord Chancellor Talbot, to his Majeſty's favour, that, in the next year, he was raiſed to the higheſt order of the church, by a nomination to the biſhopric of Briſtol; to which ſee he was conſecrated on the third of December, 1738. King George the Second not being ſatisfied with this proof of his regard to Dr. Butler, promoted him, in 1740, to the Deanry of St. Paul's, London; into which he was inſtalled on the 24th of May, in that year. Finding the demands of this dignity to be incompatible with his pariſh duty at Stanhope, he immediately reſigned that rich benefice. Beſides our Prelate's unremitted attention to his peculiar obligations, he was called upon to preach ſeveral diſcourſes on public occaſions, which were afterwards ſeparately printed, and have ſince been annexed to the later editions of the Sermons at the Rolls Chapel [*D*]. In 1746, upon the death of Dr. Egerton, Biſhop of Hereford, Dr. Butler was made Clerk of the Cloſet to the King; and in 1750, he received another diſtinguiſhed mark of his Majeſty's favour, by being tranſlated to the See of Durham. This was on the 16th of October, in that year, upon the deceaſe of Dr. Edward Chandler. Our Prelate, being thus appointed to preſide over a dioceſe with which he had long been connected, delivered his firſt, and, indeed, his laſt charge to his clergy, at his primary viſitation, in 1751. The principal ſubject of it was 'External Religion.' The Biſhop having obſerved, with deep concern, the great and growing neglect of ſerious piety in the kingdom, inſiſted ſtrongly on the uſefulneſs of outward forms and inſtitutions, in fixing and preſerving a ſenſe of devotion and duty in the minds of men. In doing this, he was thought by ſeveral perſons, to ſpeak too favourably of Pagan and Popiſh ceremonies, and to countenance, in a certain degree, the cauſe of ſuperſtition. Under that apprehenſion, an able and ſpirited Writer, who was underſtood to be a clergyman of the church of England, publiſhed, in 1752, a pamphlet, entitled, 'A ſerious Enquiry into the Uſe and Importance of external Religion: occaſioned by ſome Paſſages in the Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of Durham's Charge to the Clergy of that Dioeceſe;——humbly addreſſed to his Lordſhip (*l*).' Many perſons, however, and, we believe, the greater part of the clergy of the dioceſe, did not think our Prelate's Charge ſo exceptionable as it appeared to this Author. The Charge, being printed at Durham, and having never been annexed to any of Dr. Butler's other works, is now become extremely ſcarce (*m*); and it is obſervable, that it is the only one of his publications which ever

(*l*) This pamphlet hath been reprinted in the fourth volume of Mr Baron's 'Pillars of Prieſtcraft and Orthodoxy ſhaken.'

(*m*) We have been favoured by Dr. Porteous, the preſent Lord Biſhop of Cheſter, with the peruſal of a manuſcript copy of it, in his Lordſhip's poſſeſſion.

'as this at all; and whatever objections may appear 'to lie againſt the wiſdom and goodneſs of it, as it 'ſtands ſo imperfectly made known to us at preſent: 'that this world being in a ſtate of apoſtacy and 'wickedneſs, and conſeqnently of ruin, and the 'ſenſe both of their condition and duty being greatly 'corrupted amongſt men, this gave occaſion for an 'additional diſpenſation of providence; of the ut'moſt importance; proved by miracles; but con'taining in it many things appearing to us ſtrange 'and not to have been expected; a diſpenſation of 'providence, which is a ſcheme or ſyſtem of things; 'carried on by the mediation of a divine perſon, the 'Meſſiah; in order to the recovery of the world; yet 'not revealed to all men, nor proved with the 'ſtrongeſt poſſible evidence to all thoſe to whom it is 'revealed; but only to ſuch a part of mankind, and 'with ſuch particular evidence as the wiſdom of God 'thought fit. The deſign then of the following 'treatiſe will be to ſhew, that the ſeveral parts prin'cipally objected againſt in this moral and Chriſtian 'diſpenſation, including its ſcheme, its publication, 'and the proof which God has afforded us of its 'truth; that the particular parts principally objected 'againſt in this whole diſpenſation, are analogous to 'what is experienced in the conſtitution and courſe 'of nature, or providence; that the chief objections 'themſelves which are alleged againſt the former, 'are no other, than what may be alleged with like 'juſtneſs againſt the latter, where they are found in 'fact to be inconcluſive; and that this argument 'from analogy is in general unanſwerable, and un'doubtedly of weight on the ſide of religion, not'withſtanding the objections which may ſeem to lie 'againſt it, and the real ground which there may be 'for difference of opinion, as to the particular de'gree of weight which is to be laid upon it. This 'is a general account of what may be looked for in 'the following treatiſe. And I ſhall begin it with 'that which is the foundation of all our hopes and 'of all our fears; all our hopes and fears, which 'are of any conſideration; I mean a future life (10).'

(10) Introduction to the Analogy, p. vi.—xvi.

From this extract, our readers may perceive, in a ſlight degree, what they are to expect from the Analogy: but for full ſatisfaction they muſt have recourſe to the work itſelf, which, for depth and originality of thought and reaſoning, is one of the moſt maſterly performances that ever appeared in the world. Whether it is in every reſpect unexceptionable, we do not determine. Some hints and remarks, on the argument from Analogy, in proof of religion, might occaſionally have been thrown out before; but Dr. Butler was the firſt who conſidered it in a direct treatiſe, and brought it to ſuch a ſtate of perfection. He deſerves, therefore, to be regarded as a diſcoverer (11). 'I have ſo great an opinion,' ſays Mrs. Cockburn, 'of the Author of the *Analogy*, that I no 'ſooner ſaw it advertiſed, than I made it my buſineſs 'to enquire after it, and procured the reading it 'twice. I think the deſign finely executed, eſpeci'ally in the firſt part, and all the objections of the 'Deiſts very well obviated (12).' To the 'Analogy,' two diſſertations are annexed, one on Perſonal Identity, and the other on the Nature of Virtue; and they are equally excellent with the reſt of the book.

(11) Supplement to Biographia Britannica, p. 24. note [*F*].

(12) Cockburn's Works, Vol. ii. p. 296.

[*D*] *He was called upon to preach ſeveral ſermons upon public occaſions.*] Theſe were. 1. Before the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in foreign Parts, on Friday, February 16, 1738-9. 2. Before the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, the Court of Aldermen, the Sheriffs, and the Governors of the ſeveral Officers of the City of London, on Monday, in Eaſter-Week, 1740. 3. Before the Houſe of Lords, on Friday, January 30, 1740-1. 4. In the Pariſh Church of Chriſt-Church, London; on Thurſday, May 9, 1745: Being the Time of the yearly Meeting of the Children educated in the Charity Schools, in and about the Cities of London and Weſtminſter. 5. Before the Houſe of Lords, on Thurſday, June 11, 1747: Being the Anniverſary of his Majeſty's happy Acceſſion to the Throne. 6. Before his Grace Charles Duke of Richmond, Preſident; and the Governors of the London Infirmary, for the Relief of ſick and diſeaſed Perſons, eſpecially Manufacturers, and Seamen in Merchant-Service, &c. At the Pariſh Church of St. Laurence-Jewry, on Thurſday, March 31, 1748. Theſe ſeveral diſcourſes abound in that penetration and good ſenſe which diſtinguiſh Dr. Butler's other writings, and are highly worthy of a diligent peruſal.

proudced him a direct literary antagoniſt. By his promotion to the See of Durham, our worthy Biſhop was furniſhed with ample means of exerting the virtue of charity; a virtue which eminently abounded in him, and the exerciſe of which was his higheſt delight. But this gratification he did not long enjoy. He had been but a ſhort time ſeated in his new Biſhopric, when his health began viſibly to decline; and having been complimented, during his indiſpoſition, upon account of his great reſignation to the divine will, he is ſaid to have expreſſed ſome regret, that he ſhould be taken from the preſent world ſo ſoon after he had been rendered capable of becoming much more uſeful in it. In his laſt illneſs, he was carried to Briſtol, to try the waters of that place; but theſe proving ineffectual, he removed to Bath, where, being paſt recovery, he died on the 16th of June, 1752. His corpſe was conveyed to Briſtol, and interred in the Cathedral there, where a monument, with an inſcription, is erected to his memory (*n*). On the greatneſs of Biſhop Butler's intellectual character we need not enlarge; for his profound knowledge, and the prodigious ſtrength of his mind, are amply diſplayed in his incomparable writings. His piety was of the moſt ſerious and fervent, and perhaps ſomewhat of the aſcetic kind [*E*]. His benevolence was warm, generous, and diffuſive. Whilſt he was Biſhop of Briſtol, he expended, in repairing and improving the epiſcopal palace, four thouſand pounds, which is ſaid to have been more than the whole revenues of the Biſhopric amounted to, during his continuance in that See. Beſides his private benefactions, he was a contributor to the Infirmary at Briſtol, and a ſubſcriber to three of the Hoſpitals at London. He was, likewiſe, a principal promoter, though not the firſt founder, of the Infirmary at Newcaſtle, in Northumberland. In ſupporting the hoſpitality and dignity of the rich and powerful dioceſe of Durham, he was deſirous of imitating the ſpirit of his patron, Biſhop Talbot. In this ſpirit, he ſet apart three days every week for the reception and entertainment of the principal gentry of the country. Nor were even the clergy who had the pooreſt benefices neglected by him. He not only occaſionally invited them to dine with him, but condeſcended to viſit them at their reſpective pariſhes. By his will, he left five hundred pounds to the Society for propagating the Goſpel in foreign Parts, and ſome legacies to his friends and domeſtics. His executor and reſiduary legatee was his Chaplain, the Rev. Dr. Nathaniel Forſter, a divine of diſtinguiſhed literature, of whom an account will be given in its proper place. Biſhop Butler was never married (*o*). Soon after his deceaſe, the following lines, by way of Epitaph, were written concerning him; and were printed firſt, if we recollect aright, in the London Magazine.

(*n*) Supplement to Biographia Britannica, *ubi ſupra.*

(*o*) *Ibid.*

‘ Beneath this marble, BUTLER lies entomb'd,
‘ Who, with a ſoul enflam'd by love divine,
‘ His life, in preſence of his God, conſum'd
‘ Like the bright lamps before the holy ſhrine.
‘ His aſpect pleaſing, mind with learning fraught;
‘ His eloquence was like a chain of gold,
‘ That the wild paſſions of mankind controll'd;
‘ Merit, wherever to be found he ſought.
‘ Deſire of tranſient riches he had none;
‘ Theſe he with bounteous hand did well diſpenſe,
‘ Bent to fulfil the ends of Providence;
‘ His heart ſtill fix'd on an immortal crown.
‘ His heart a mirrour was, of pureſt kind,
‘ Where the bright image of his Maker ſhin'd;
‘ Reflecting faithful to the throne above,
‘ Th' irradiant glories of the Myſtic Dove (*p*) [*F*].

(*p*) Webb's Collection of Epitaphs, Vol. i. p. 97, 98.

[*E*] *Perhaps ſomewhat of the aſcetic kind.*] The Biſhop's diſpoſition, which had in it a natural caſt of gloomineſs, was ſuppoſed to give a tincture to his devotion. As a proof of this, and that he had even acquired ſomewhat of a ſuperſtitious turn of mind, it was alleged, that he had put a croſs in his Chapel at Briſtol. The croſs was a plain piece of marble inlaid. This circumſtance, together with the offence which ſome perſons had taken at his Charge delivered at Durham, might poſſibly give riſe to a calumny, that, almoſt fifteen years after his death, was advanced concerning him, in an obſcure and anonymous pamphlet, entitled, ‘ The Root of Proteſtant ‘ Errors examined.’ It was there ſaid, that our Prelate died in the communion of the church of Rome. Of this abſurd and groundleſs charge, we ſhall take no other notice, than to tranſcribe what the worthy and learned Biſhop of Cheſter hath written concerning it, in his Life of Archbiſhop Secker. ‘ This ſtrange ſlander, founded on the weakeſt ‘ pretences and moſt trivial circumſtances that can be ‘ imagined, no one was better qualified to confute ‘ than the Archbiſhop; as well from his long and ‘ intimate knowledge of Biſhop Butler, as from the ‘ information given him at the time by thoſe who attended his Lordſhip in his laſt illneſs, and were ‘ with him when he died. Accordingly, by an article in a news-paper, ſigned *Miſopſeudes*, his ‘ Grace challenged the author of that pamphlet to ‘ produce his authority for what he had advanced; ‘ and in a ſecond article defended the Biſhop againſt ‘ him; and in a third (all with the ſame ſignature) ‘ confuted another writer, who, under the name of ‘ *A real Proteſtant*, ſtill maintained that ridiculous ‘ calumny. His antagoniſts were effectually ſubdued, ‘ and his ſuperiority to them was publicly acknowledged by a ſenſible and candid man, who ſigned ‘ himſelf, and who really was, *A diſſenting Miniſter.* ‘ Surely, it is a very unwiſe piece of policy, in thoſe ‘ who profeſs themſelves enemies to Popery, to take ‘ ſo much pains to bring the moſt reſpectable names ‘ within its pale; and to give it the merit of having ‘ gained over thoſe who were the brighteſt ornaments ‘ and firmeſt ſupports of the Proteſtant cauſe (13).’

(13) Life of Secker, *ubi ſupra*, p. xl, xli.

[*F*] In the fiftieth volume of the Gentleman's Magazine, are inſerted three letters, written by our Prelate.

Prelate. The two firſt are in anſwer to complimentary ones, which had been ſent to him, on account of his tranſlation to the ſee of Durham; and in theſe he ſhews, how ſolicitous he was to employ, to wiſe and worthy purpoſes, the wealth and power of his new ſtation. The third is on the ſubject of tithes, and diſplays great good ſenſe and liberality of ſentiment. The Biſhop ſees no ſort of proof, that tithes, under the goſpel, are of divine right (14).

(14) Gent. Mag. Vol. l. p. 173. 280. 324.

It is ſaid that, at his deceaſe, he ordered his manuſcripts to be burnt, without ſo much as unfolding the covers of any of them (15).

(15) *Ibid.* Vol. xxii. p. 289.

Since this article was ſent to the preſs, Mr. Mainwaring's ingenious Diſſertation on the Compoſition of Sermons, has fallen into our hands, in which he pays a great and juſt tribute of applauſe to Biſhop Butler. Part of what he has ſaid we ſhall tranſcribe. 'Newton and Locke, who reſcued learning from the 'ſlavery of ſyſtems, and taught men to think for 'themſelves, were both of the laity, and both friends 'to revealed religion. Since their time, another 'writer aroſe, whoſe vein of thinking is alike original, and whoſe works, though he had neither the 'gift of eloquence, nor the art of expreſſing himſelf with grace or eaſe, have done honour to his country.——The method of reaſoning he chiefly adopts, 'is an appeal to facts, of which all men are judges; 'and even when moſt abſtruſe or abſtracted, it is not 'perplexed, or fallacious. For metaphyſics, which 'had nothing to ſupport it but mere abſtraction, or 'ſhadowy ſpeculation, Biſhop Butler hath placed 'on the firm baſis of obſervation and experiment: 'and, by purſuing preciſely the ſame mode of rea'ſoning in the ſcience of morals, as his great prede'ceſſor Newton had done in the ſyſtem of nature, 'hath formed and concluded a happy alliance be'tween *faith* and *philoſophy*. The Sermons he pub'liſhed, excepting ſome few of a more popular caſt, 'are deep diſquiſitions on the plan of his *Analogy*, 'well-ſuited to a learned audience, in an age ſo fond 'of enquiry, although the impropriety of preaching 'them appeared to him to require ſome apology. 'But ſurely ſuch an exerciſe of the underſtanding, 'if the hearers are capable of it, muſt meliorate the 'heart. Beſides, I cannot but wiſh, that, as there 'is ſo great an abundance of the practical ſort, *ſome* 'ſermons were written chiefly with a view to *readers*; 'and thoſe too perſons of improved taſte, and cultivated minds (16).

(16) Mainwaring's Diſſertation, prefixed to his Sermons on ſeveral occaſions; p. ix—xii.

K.

BYNG (GEORGE), Lord Viſcount Torrington, and Rear-Admiral of Great Britain, was deſcended from an ancient family in the county of Kent; an account whereof ſee in the note [*A*]. He was born in the year 1663; and in 1678, at the age of fifteen, went a volunteer at ſea, with the King's warrant, given him at the recommendation of the Duke of York (*a*). In 1681, he quitted the ſea-ſervice, upon the invitation of General Kirk, Governor of Tangier, and ſerved as a cadet in the grenadiers of that garriſon; till on a vacancy that quickly happened, the General, who always patronized him with great friendſhip, made him Enſign of his own company, and ſoon after a Lieutenant. In 1684, after the demolition of Tangier, the Earl of Dartmouth, General of the ſea and land forces, appointed him Lieutenant of the Orford; from which time he conſtantly kept to the ſea-ſervice, remaining likewiſe an officer in the army ſeveral years after. In 1685, he went Lieutenant of his Majeſty's ſhip the Phœnix, to the Eaſt-Indies, where engaging and boarding a Zinganian pirate, who maintained a deſperate fight, moſt of thoſe that entered with him were ſlain, himſelf greatly wounded; and, the pirate ſinking, he was taken out of the ſea, with ſcarcely any remains of life. In 1688, being Firſt-Lieutenant to Sir John Aſhby, in the fleet commanded by the Earl of Dartmouth, and fitted out to oppoſe the deſigns of the Prince of Orange, he was in a particular manner entruſted and employed in the intrigues then carrying on, amongſt the moſt conſiderable officers of the fleet, in favour of that Prince, and was the perſon confided in by them, to carry their ſecret aſſurances of obedience to

(*a*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. iv. p. 96.

[*A*] *An account whereof ſee in the note.*] It appears on record, that this family was a long time ſeated in Kent, as the viſitation of that country, in the office of Arms, ſhews. John Byng, Eſq; (ſon and heir of Thomas Byng, who was living in the reign of King Henry VII.) in the year 1535 (1), 28th of Henry VIII, having married Agnes, daughter to ——— Spencer, of the county of Eſſex, had iſſue, two ſons and three daughters. Robert, the eldeſt ſon, the direct anceſtor of the preſent Lord Viſcount Torrington, was ſeated at Wrotham in Kent; and Thomas, the youngeſt, was of St. Peter's College in Cambridge, Maſter of Clare-hall, and Doctor of the Civil Laws: in 1572, the 14th of Elizabeth, he was Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity of Cambridge, as alſo in 1578. In 18 Eliz. he was in commiſſion with William Lord Burleigh, Lord High-Treaſurer of England, Richard Biſhop of Ely, and others, to viſit St. John's College in Cambridge. In 36 Eliz. 1594, he was conſtituted Regius Profeſſor of the Civil Law in the ſame Univerſity: he was ſeated at Grandcheſter in Cambridgeſhire, and in 1571 was married to Catherine, daughter of ——— Randall, Eſq; by whom he had ſeveral ſons; of whom, Andrew the ſecond was Archdeacon of Norwich, the King's Hebrew Profeſſor at Cambridge, and was particularly recommended by King James I. to be Maſter of Corpus Chriſti College in that Univerſity, by his letter of the 26th of March, 1618, as knowing perſonally (he ſays) his great worth, and as he would be an honour and ornament to the Univerſity, if they made choice of him. Henry, the eldeſt ſon of Thomas, was Serjeant at Law, and Counſel to the Univerſity of Cambridge, as was alſo his ſon after him.

(1) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. iv. p. 94.

But to return to Robert Byng, Eſq; of Wrotham, anceſtor of Admiral Byng; he ſerved for the Borough of Abingdon, in the firſt Parliament of Queen Elizabeth, anno 1559, and, in the 34th year of her reign, was Sheriff of the county of Kent (2). He married to his firſt wife, Frances, daughter and heireſs of Richard Hill, Eſq; by whom he had iſſue three ſons, George, John, and Francis, whereof the two laſt died without iſſue; and by his ſecond wife, Mary, daughter of William Maynard, Eſq; he had iſſue three ſons, of which, William was Governor of Deal-Caſtle; and a daughter, Anne, married to David Polhill, of Orford in Kent, Eſq. The ſaid Robert Byng, Eſq; of Wrotham, died on the ſecond of September, 1595 (as appears by Inquiſition of the Court of Wards), ſeiſed of the manors of Wrotham, Charlton Ruſthale, in Spelhurſt, by Tunbridge; Stodmer-hill and Stock-hill, manors in Yalding; and Stanſtead manor, with Leybone Wood in Leybone, leaving iſſue, George Byng, his ſon and heir, who was choſen Member of Parliament for Rocheſter in Kent, 27 Eliz. and for the port of Dover, in the firſt year of King James I. He died in 1616, and was ſucceeded by George Byng his ſon and heir, born at Wrotham in 1594, who, in 1617, married Catharine, daughter of Sir John Hewett of Headly Hall, in the county of York, by whom he had iſſue, a ſon John, and a daughter, Elizabeth, married to —— Man, of the county of Kent, Eſq. John Byng, his ſon and heir, conveying away Wrotham, was the laſt of this family there. He married Philadelphia, the daughter of ——— Johnſon of Loans in Surry, by whom he had ſeveral children, of which, George, the Lord Viſcount Torrington, was the eldeſt.

(2) Fuller's Worthies of England, p. 93. in Com. Kent.

his

his Highneſs, to whom he was privately introduced at Sherborne, by Admiral Ruſſel, afterwards Earl of Orford. After his return to the fleet, the Earl of Dartmouth ſent him with Capt. Aylmer and Capt. Haſtings, to carry a meſſage of ſubmiſſion to the Prince at Windſor, and made him Captain of the Conſtant Warwick, a fourth rate man of war. In 1690, he commanded the Hope, a third rate, and was ſecond to Sir George Rooke in the battle of Beachy. In the years 1691 and 1692, he was Captain of the Royal Oak, and ſerved under Admiral Ruſſel, who commanded in chief his Majeſty's fleet. In 1693, that great officer diſtinguiſhed him in a particular manner, by promoting him to the rank of his firſt Captain, in which ſtation he ſerved in the years 1694 and 1695, in the Mediterranean, where the deſigns of the French againſt Barcelona were prevented; and alſo the next year 1696, in the channel, to oppoſe the intended invaſion of King James, with a French army from the coaſt of France, which upon the appearance of the fleet was laid aſide. In 1702, a war breaking out, he accepted the command of the Naſſau, a third rate, and was at the taking and burning the French fleet at Vigo. In the year 1703, he was made Rear-Admiral of the Red, and ſerved in the fleet commanded by Sir Cloudeſly Shovel in the Mediterranean, who detached him with a ſquadron of five men of war (*b*), to Algiers, where he renewed the peace with that government. In his return home he was in danger of being loſt, in the great ſtorm which he met with in the Channel. In 1704, he ſerved in the grand fleet ſent into the Mediterranean, under the command of Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, in ſearch of the French fleet; and it was he who commanded the ſquadron that attacked and cannonaded Gibraltar (*c*); and by landing the ſeamen, whoſe valour was very remarkably diſtinguiſhed on this occaſion, the garriſon capitulated the third day. He was in the battle of Malaga, which followed ſoon after; and for his behaviour in that action, Queen Anne conferred on him the honour of knighthood (*d*). Towards the latter end of this year, the French having had two ſtrong ſquadrons in the Soundings, beſides great numbers of privateers, which very much annoyed our trade, Sir George Byng ſailed the latter end of January from Plymouth, with a ſquadron of twelve men of war, and a great fleet of rich outward bound merchant ſhips; which after he had ſeen in ſafety out of their ſoundings, he directed the ſquadron as he judged beſt for (*e*) annoying the enemies privateers; in which he was ſo ſucceſsful, by his well ſtationing his cruizers, that he took twelve of their largeſt privateers in about two months time, with the Thetis, a French man of war of forty-four guns, and alſo ſeven French merchant ſhips, moſt of them richly laden from the Weſt-Indies (*f*). The number of men taken on board was 2070, and of guns 334. This remarkable ſucceſs made a great noiſe at that time, and was publiſhed by particular directions from the Court. It gave ſuch a blow to the French privateers, that they ſcarcely ventured into the Channel all the year after. In 1705, he was made Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and, upon the election of a new Parliament, was returned a Burgeſs for Plymouth; which place he repreſented in every ſucceeding Parliament, to the year 1721, when he was created a Peer; and one of his ſons was afterwards conſtantly choſen there. During this ſummer he commanded in chief a ſquadron in the Channel, and blocked up the French fleet in Breſt, with a much inferior ſtrength (*g*). In 1706, the Emperor being cloſely beſieged in Barcelona by ſea and land, by the Duke of Anjou, and the place reduced to great extremity, and our fleet in the Mediterranean being too weak to relieve it, Sir George Byng was appointed to command a ſquadron of twenty ſhips (*h*) from England, to go to its relief; in which ſervice he uſed ſuch diligence and activity, and joined our fleet with ſuch unexpected diſpatch, that the ſaving of that important place was entirely owing to it, the French having in three days afterwards raiſed the ſiege. He aſſiſted at the other enterpriſes of that campaign, and commanded the ſhips detached for the reduction of Carthagena and Alicant, which he accompliſhed, although at this laſt place there were above 160 guns facing the ſea, many of which our Admiral with only five ſhips diſmounted, and drove the enemy from them (*i*). After this, he was appointed to command a winter ſquadron, of eighteen men of war and two fire-ſhips, to guard the coaſt of Portugal, according to the treaty with that Prince, and to cruize in the propereſt ſtations for annoying the enemy. In the beginning of the year 1707, Sir George was ordered with a ſquadron to Alicant, with neceſſaries for the army in Spain; and having accordingly ſailed the thirtieth of March, when he arrived off Cape St. Vincent, he had the melancholy news of the defeat of our army at the battle of Almanza, under the command of the Earl of Galway, who ſent to the Admiral, to acquaint him with the diſtreſs he was in, and deſired, that whatever he brought for the uſe of the army, might be carried to Tortoſa in Catalonia, to which place his Lordſhip deſigned to retreat; and that, if poſſible, he would ſave the ſick and wounded men at Denia, Gandia, and Valencia, where it was intended every thing that could be got together, ſhould be got on board (*k*). This ſervice the Admiral performed; and having ſent the ſick and wounded to Tortoſa, and being ſoon after joined by Sir Cloudeſly Shovel from Liſbon, they proceeded together to the coaſt of Italy, with a fleet of forty-three men of war and fifty tranſports (*l*), to ſecond Prince Eugene and the Duke of Savoy in the ſiege of Toulon; at which Sir George Byng ſerved in the ſecond poſt under Sir Cloudeſly Shovel (*m*), and narrowly eſcaped

(*b*) Burchet's Naval Hiſt. p. 655.

(*c*) *Ibid.* p. 677.

(*d*) Peerage of England, Vol. iv. p. 98.

(*e*) Burchet, p. 685.

(*f*) London Gazette, April 22, 1705.

(*g*) Peerage of England, *ubi ſupra*.

(*h*) Burchet, p. 692.

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 694, 695.

(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 73[illegible]

(*l*) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. iv. p. 22.

(*m*) Peerage of England, *ut ſupra*.

eſcaped ſhipwreck in his return home, when that great officer was loſt; for the *Royal Anne*, in which Sir George Byng bore his flag, was within a ſhip's length of the Rocks called the *Biſhop and his Clerks*, upon which the Admiral ſtruck; yet he was providentially ſaved by his own and his officers preſence of mind, who in a minute's time ſet the ſhip's top-ſails, even when one of the rocks was under her main chains (*n*). In 1708, he was made Admiral of the Blue, and commanded the ſquadron that was fitted out to oppoſe the invaſion deſigned againſt Scotland by the Pretender, with a French army from Dunkirk. This ſquadron conſiſted of twenty-four men of war, with which Sir George Byng and Lord Durſley ſailed from Deal for the French coaſt, on the twenty-ſeventh of February, and having anchored in Gravelin pits, Sir George went into a ſmall frigate, and ſailed within two miles of the Flemiſh Road, and there learnt the ſtrength and number of the enemies ſhips (*o*). On the Admiral's anchoring before Gravelin, the French officers laid aſide their embarkation, but upon expreſs orders from Court, were obliged to reſume it; and on the ſixth of March, actually ſailed out of Dunkirk; but being taken ſhort by contrary winds, came to an anchor till the eighth, and then continued their voyage. Sir George Byng, at the time the French fleet ſet ſail, had been obliged, for ſecurity, to go to an anchor under Dungeneſs; and in his return to Dunkirk, was informed the French were ſailed, but could get no account where; though he was ſtrongly inclined to believe they were deſigned for Scotland. Upon this, it was reſolved in a Council of War, to purſue the enemy to the road of Edinburgh; and accordingly, having firſt detached Rear-Admiral Baker, with a ſmall ſquadron, to convoy the troops that were ſent from Oſtend, the Admiral proſecuted his expedition with the reſt (*p*). On the thirteenth of March, the French were diſcovered in the Frith of Edinburgh, where they made ſignals, but to no purpoſe, and then ſteered a N. E. courſe, as if they intended to have gone to St. Andrews. Sir George Byng purſued them, and took the Saliſbury, an Engliſh prize then in their ſervice, with ſeveral perſons of great quality on board, many land and ſea officers in the French ſervice, of very great diſtinction, five companies of the regiment of Bearn, and all the ſhip's company, conſiſting of 300 men (*q*). After this, Sir George Byng, finding it impoſſible to come up with the enemy, returned with the fleet to Leith, where he continued till he received advice of the French getting back to Dunkirk, and then proceeded to the Downs, purſuant to the orders he received from the Miniſtry. Before the Admiral left Leith Road, the Lord Provoſt and Magiſtrates of Edinburgh, to ſhew the grateful ſenſe they had of the important ſervice he had done them, by thus drawing off the enemy before they had time to land their forces, and thereby preſerving not only the city of Edinburgh, but even the whole kingdom, from the fatal effects of a rebellion and invaſion, reſolved to preſent him with the freedom of their city, by ſending, in their name, Sir Patrick Johnſton, their late Repreſentative in Parliament, with an inſtrument called a burgeſs ticket, incloſed in a gold box, having the arms of the city on the ſide, and theſe words engraved upon the cover: 'The Lord Provoſt, Baillies, and Town-Council of Edinburgh, did preſent theſe 'letters of Burgeoiſe, to Sir George Byng, Admiral of the Blue, in gratitude to him 'for delivering this iſland from a foreign invaſion, and defeating the deſigns of a 'French fleet, at the mouth of the Frith of Edinburgh, the thirteenth of March '1708.' This preſent was accompanied with a letter from the Lord Provoſt, wherein he deſired the Admiral to accept it as a mark of their high reſpect to him, who had delivered them from ſuch great fear and apprehenſions of danger, for which his memory ſhould be honoured by them (*r*). When Sir George Byng was afterwards created Lord Torrington, this action of his is particularly mentioned in the preamble to his patent of creation, much to his honour, as the reader will ſee hereafter. Upon Sir George Byng's arrival in London, he was moſt graciouſly received by the Queen his Sovereign, and by his Royal Highneſs Prince George of Denmark, Lord High-Admiral; and the Queen was pleaſed to offer him the place of one of the Prince's Council in the Admiralty, which, however, he then declined (*s*). One would have imagined, that this ſurpriſing ſucceſs muſt have ſatisfied every body; and that after defeating ſo extraordinary a ſcheme, as at that time this was allowed to be, and reſtoring public credit, as it were in an inſtant, there ſhould have been an univerſal tribute of applauſe paid to the Admiral, by all ranks and degrees of people. Yet this was ſo far from being the caſe, that Sir George Byng had ſcarcely ſet his foot in London, before it was whiſpered that the Parliament would enquire into his conduct; which took riſe from a very fooliſh perſuaſion, that having once had ſight of the enemy's fleet, he might, if he pleaſed, have taken every ſhip of them as well as the Saliſbury. The truth of the matter was, that the French having amuſed the Jacobites in Scotland, with a propoſal about beſieging the caſtle of Edinburgh, Sir George Byng was particularly inſtructed, by all means to prevent that, by hindering the French from landing in the neighbourhood. This he effectually did, and by doing it, anſwered the end for which he was ſent (*t*) [*B*]. But the ſame malicious people, who firſt propagated

(*n*) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. iv. p. 32. Burchet, p. 733.

(*o*) *Ibid* p. 68, 69. Burchet, p. 740, &c.

(*p*) Hiſt. of Europe for 1708, p. 150. Scott's Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 741. Oldmixon, Vol. ii. p. 404.

(*q*) Lives of the Admirals, *ubi ſupra*. Hiſt. of Europe for 1708, p. 1. &c.

(*r*) Scott's Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 742.

(*s*) Peerage of England, Vol. iv. p. 99.

(*t*) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. iv. p. 70. Hiſt. of Europe for 1708.

[*B*] *Anſwered the end for which he was ſent.*] To give a more particular and circumſtantial narration of this important affair, we muſt have recourſe to Sir George Byng's own account, contained in two letters written

gated this ſtory, invented alſo another, *viz.* that Sir George was hindered from taking the French fleet, by his ſhips being foul; which actually produced an enquiry in the Houſe of Commons, and an addreſs to the Queen, to direct that an account might be laid before them, of the number of ſhips that went on the expedition with Sir George Byng, and when the ſame were cleaned; which at laſt, however, ended in a reſolution, that the thanks of the Houſe ſhould be given to the Prince, as Lord High-Admiral, for his great care in ſo expeditiouſly ſetting forth ſo great a number of ſhips, whereby the fleet under Sir George Byng was enabled, ſo happily, to prevent the intended invaſion (*u*). This was a very wiſe and well concerted meaſure, ſince it fully ſatisfied the world of the falſehood of theſe reports, and, at the ſame time, gave great ſatisfaction to the Queen and her Royal Conſort, the Prince of Denmark, who both conceived that his Royal Highneſs's character was affected, as Lord High-Admiral. In the middle of the ſummer of the year 1708, a reſolution was taken, to make a deſcent on, or at leaſt to alarm, the coaſt of France, by way of retaliation for the affront ſo lately offered us; and Sir George Byng as Admiral, and Lord Durſley as Vice-Admiral of the Blue, were appointed to command the fleet deſtined for that purpoſe.

(*u*) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. iv. p. 71. Hiſt. of Europe for 1708.

written to the Miniſtry by him from on board the Medway, dated the 13th and 15th of March, and which, together with a letter written by the French General to the King his maſter, ſhew the real deſigns of the French, and the great judgment and foreſight of our Admiral in diſappointing them, and will make a complete journal of this famous expedition. We ſhall do this in as few words as poſſible.

'On the 13th of March, in the morning, the 'French fleet was diſcovered in the mouth of the 'Frith of Edinburgh, off of which place Sir George 'Byng anchored the night before, and ſent a boat 'on ſhore to the Iſle of May, from whence he had 'an account that they came to an anchor the 12th in 'the afternoon, and had ſent a ſhip up to Leith with 'a flag at main-top-maſt-head; but by that time ſhe 'could get before the town, they heard guns fired in 'the manner of ſalutes, which were ours, for coming to an anchor. This ſhip, judged to be about 'ſixty guns, came down in the morning, and was 'within two leagues of our ſquadron. The French 'ſquadron ſtanding from Sir George Byng, he purſued them with all the ſail he could, ſometimes 'with hopes of coming up with them, but they 'were lighter ſhips than ours: two of our ſhips indeed, the Ludlow-Caſtle and Dover, being cleaner 'and better ſailers than the reſt, came up with part 'of the enemy's ſquadron, paſſing by ſome of their 'ſmaller, to reach bigger ſhips, in hopes of ſtopping 'them till they could be ſtrengthened. They engaged two or three of the French, one of which 'was the Saliſbury, of fifty guns, formerly taken 'from us: theſe they endeavoured to cut off from 'the reſt of the fleet; but a very dark night coming 'on, they loſt ſight of all but the Saliſbury, and ſhe 'falling in amongſt the headmoſt of ours, was taken. 'The Admiral learned from the officers of this ſhip, 'that there were twelve battalions on board their 'ſquadron, commanded by the Count de Gace, and 'that the Pretender, the Lord Middleton, Lord 'Perth, the Macdonalds, Captain Trevannion, 'and ſeveral other officers and gentlemen, were on 'board the Mars, in which ſhip was Monſieur Fourbin, who commanded the ſquadron. The morning after this chaſe there were but eighteen of the 'enemy's ſhips ſeen, and they as far off as they could 'be diſcovered from the maſt-head; ſo that the Admiral having no proſpect of coming up with them, 'he lay off and on near Buchaneſs, all the day, to 'gather his ſhips together. The next morning it 'blew hard north-eaſterly, which made a great ſea, 'and he judging the French could not ſeize the ſhore 'to make any attempt, bore up for Leith, which 'was thought moſt reaſonable, not only to ſecure, 'but to give countenance and ſpirit to, her Majeſty's 'faithful ſubjects, and diſcourage thoſe who might 'have a deſign to join the enemy. The 16th, a 'Council of War was held in the road of Leith, 'when it was conſidered where the French might 'probably attempt to land, or which way our ſquadron might proceed, with moſt probability of preventing any deſign they might have. It was 'thought, that if our ſquadron ſhould go northward, 'and the wind come up ſtrong weſterly, it might 'hinder their gaining the Frith of Forth; and that 'ſince the enemy were probably driven to the ſouth-'ward of it (which they thought was of the greateſt 'conſequence to ſecure), and were at firſt found at 'anchor in the Frith, it was reaſonable to believe 'they intended for Edinburgh, the metropolis; ſo 'it was determined to remain in Leith road, until 'there ſhould be advice of their returning on the 'coaſt, or that an anſwer could be received to the 'expreſs diſpatched to the Lord High-Admiral; but 'that, in the mean while, ſcouts ſhould be kept out 'between the Frith and Aberdeen, and all poſſible 'means uſed to gain intelligence from the ſhore; for 'which purpoſe the Admiral deſired the Earl of Leven 'to ſend ſome truſty perſons northwards towards the 'Frith of Murray. The 23d of March he received 'orders to ſend five ſhips and the priſoners taken in 'the Saliſbury, into the river Humber, and the 'Downs, and with the ſquadron to proceed to ſea 'and guard the coaſt of Scotland; whereupon it was 'reſolved, that as ſoon as the priſoners could be 'removed, the ſquadron ſhould proceed off Buchaneſs, and that there the Admiral ſhould ſend on 'ſhore for intelligence of the enemy, and that if he 'could not get any, he ſhould ply it up again towards the Frith of Edinburgh. Not being able to 'get any advice, either by ſea or land, of the 'French ſquadron, and proviſions growing ſhort in 'his own, he received orders, in the beginning of 'April, to return to the Downs, but to leave three 'ſhips to cruize on the coaſt of Scotland, to prevent 'correſpondence between diſaffected perſons of that 'kingdom, and France. Accordingly the Admiral 'appointed the ſhips for that ſervice, and arrived in 'the Downs the 16th of April with three third rates, 'thirteen fourths, of which the Saliſbury prize was 'one, two fifths, a ſixth, and fire ſhip, having appointed ſome frigates to convoy recruits from Scotland to Holland (3).'

(3) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 747, 748.

The account which the French General, Monſieur de Gace, wrote the King his maſter, agrees pretty well with the above (4). He ſays, they ſailed from Dunkirk the 19th of March in the evening, and caſt anchor in the mouth of the Frith of Edinburgh the 23d in the afternoon, N. S. The next day, as they were ready to enter the Frith, they diſcovered our ſquadron; upon which the Admiral, M. Fourbin, reſolved to bear off by the favour of a land breeze, which (ſays he) 'very luckily carried us from the 'enemy:' That we purſued them pretty cloſe all that day, and that four of our beſt ſailers (we ſay only two) attacked ſome of their ſternmoſt ſhips, and took the Saliſbury, after a ſtout reſiſtance: That their fleet being diſperſed, and we near them, M. Fourbin ſteered falſe during the night; which had a good effect, for the next day they found themſelves with twenty ſail, at a good diſtance from us; whereupon it was propoſed, that ſince they had been prevented landing in the Frith of Forth, they ſhould try if they could reach Inverneſs and land there; to which the Pretender readily agreed, and they actually ſet ſail, and ſteered a whole day northwards, with a favourable wind; but at night there aroſe a ſtrong contrary wind, which continued all the next day, with great violence; and they, having no pilots to guide them, and fearing many other inconveniences, reſolved to return to Dunkirk, where they arrived the 7th of April, N. S. Thus ended this

(4) Appendix to Scott's Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 749.

purpoſe [C]. The ſame year, Sir George Byng had the honour of conducting the Queen of Portugal to Liſbon [D], where a commiſſion was ſent him, appointing him to be Admiral of the White (w); and her Portugueſe Majeſty preſented him with her picture ſet in diamonds, to a very great value (x). In the year 1709, he commanded, in chief, her Majeſty's ſquadron in the Mediterranean, during which he attempted the relief of the city and caſtle of Alicant, and, which was a greater enterpriſe, had a deſign upon Cadiz; in both which, it was very far from being his fault that he did not ſucceed, having himſelf done all that could be expected from him, or he had power to do, to render theſe important deſigns ſucceſsful [E]. After his return home from this command,

(w) Peerage of England, Vol. iv. p. 99.

(x) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. iv. p. 90. Hiſt. of Europe for 1708.

this affair of the invaſion, which made ſo great a noiſe at that time, and which has been handed down in ſo many different lights to poſterity; and which, though happily put an end to in time, yet had begun to have very bad effects, by ſinking our public ſecurities, occaſioning a prodigious run upon the Bank, and diſturbing our foreign remittances ſo much, that all thinking people were convinced of the great riſk a nation runs, that engages in a foreign war, while loaded with debts at home.

[C] *Sir George Byng was appointed to command the fleet deſtined for that purpoſe.*] Our Admiral ſailed on the 27th of July, from Spithead, with the fleet, and tranſports having the troops on board, intended for the deſcent, commanded by Lieutenant-General Erle, and came the next day to anchor off Deal. The 29th, they ſtood over to the coaſt of Picardy, as well to alarm, as to amuſe the enemy, and to be ready for farther orders. The firſt of Auguſt the fleet ſailed again, and anchored the next day in the bay of Boulogne, where they made a feint of landing their troops: the third, they ſtood in pretty nigh the ſhore, to obſerve the condition of the enemy. The fourth, they weighed, but anchored again about noon in the bay of Eſtaples. Here a detachment of troops was landed; but the project on ſhore, which this deſcent was to have ſeconded, being laid aſide, an expreſs brought new orders from England, upon which the troops were re-embarked. The ſeventh, they ſtood over again to the coaſt of England, and being joined by more tranſports in Dover road, arrived the eleventh in the bay of La Hogue. The twelfth, they deſigned to have landed; but upon viewing the coaſt, they found ſo many troops brought together, to oppoſe a deſcent, and ſo many forts and batteries on ſhore, that it was deemed impracticable. The fourteenth, the fleet ſet ſail again for the weſtward; but the wind coming about the next day, they altered their courſe, and lay before Cherbourg, but found no proſpect of doing any thing there. The ſame day the Lord Durſley, in the Oxford, with ſix other men of war, and marines, ſailed to the weſtward to cruize in the Soundings. The ſeventeenth, the reſt of the fleet returned to the bay of La Hogue; but the men growing ſickly, and proviſions falling ſhort, Sir George Byng returned to Spithead, on the 28th (5).—After thus alarming the French coaſts, and creating the enemy inexpreſſible trouble, the Duke of Marlborough deſired that the troops on board this ſquadron might be landed at Oſtend, which was accordingly performed on the 23d of September, at ſo critical a juncture, that it is thought if they had not arrived, the city of Liſle could ſcarcely have been taken (6). Many things were given out with relation to this expedition, the true deſign of which was, to diſturb the French naval armaments on their coaſts, and to oblige the French Court to march great bodies of men to protect their maritime towns, which neceſſarily occaſioned the diminiſhing their army in Flanders. The French Hiſtorians, however, magnify the great advantage they obtained, by repelling this invaſion.

(5) London Gazette, No. 4458, 4459, 4460, 4461, &c. Lives of the Admirals, Vol. iv. p. 86, 87.

(6) Lives of the Admirals, *ut ſup.*

[D] *Sir George Byng had the honour of conducting the Queen of Portugal to Liſbon.*] Her Majeſty was ſtyled, before her marriage, the Arch-ducheſs Mary-Anne of Auſtria, daughter of the Emperor Leopold, and ſiſter to the Emperor Joſeph. Her marriage with the King of Portugal was thought to be highly advantageous to the common cauſe, and was, therefore, very grateful to our Court, who readily offered to ſend her Majeſty to Liſbon, on board a Britiſh ſquadron, after having been firſt eſpouſed by proxy, at Vienna (*). In the beginning of the month of September, ſhe ſet out for Holland, where Rear-Admiral Baker attended, with a ſmall ſquadron, in order to bring her over; which he accordingly did, on the 25th of that month, and landed her at Portſmouth, where ſhe ſtaid ſome days at the houſe of Thomas Ridge, Eſq; and the Queen being then at Windſor, ſent inſtantly the Duke of Grafton to compliment her Majeſty, on her part; as his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Denmark did the Lord Delawar, on his. Colonel Godfrey, who had married the Duke of Marlborough's ſiſter, was ſent to Portſmouth, to defray the expences of the Queen of Portugal's houſehold, while ſhe continued there, and accordingly he kept eight tables all the time; and her Majeſty, in teſtimony of her grateful ſenſe of the honours paid her by our Court, beſides her preſent to Admiral Byng, made one to the Duke of Grafton of a diamond ring worth twelve thouſand crowns. On the 6th of October, about three in the afternoon, the Queen of Portugal went on board the Royal Anne, where her Majeſty was received by Sir George Byng, and on her going off, the Governor ſaluted her with all the cannon of the place; and the next morning at ſeven o'clock, the fleet weighed and put to ſea, when all the cannon of the town were again diſcharged. Sir George Byng proceeded with a fair wind, and, after a very quick and eaſy paſſage, brought her Majeſty ſafely into the river of Liſbon, on the 16th of the ſame month. The King of Portugal, with ſeveral magnificent barges, went on board the Royal Anne, to welcome the Queen; and returning from thence, their Majeſties landed at the bridge of the palace, under a magnificent triumphal arch, from whence they proceeded through a vaſt crowd of people, to the Royal Chapel, where they received the nuptial benediction. The Queen having generouſly expreſſed her great ſatisfaction as to the entertainment ſhe had received, during her ſtay in England, undoubtedly the King was very liberal in his magnificent preſents to the Admiral, and others, who conducted her (7). Sir George Byng, the very next day after his arrival at Liſbon, had intelligence that ſome French ſhips of conſiderable force had been ſeen upon the coaſt, which were ſuppoſed to be waiting for ſome of the homeward bound Brazil fleet, which were then miſſing. Upon this, he immediately ſailed in queſt of them, though without ſucceſs, excepting that the news of his being at ſea forced them to retire, and thereby ſecured the ſafe return of thirty-four ſhips, which dropped in by degrees. About the middle of November, Sir George received orders to proceed to Port-Mahon, in order to winter there, and to leave Sir John Jennings at Liſbon, with a ſmall ſquadron; but before he left that place, he received the Queen's orders to wear the Union Flag in the Mediterranean, the Prince of Denmark (through whoſe hands it ſhould otherwiſe have gone as Lord High-Admiral) being dead (8). He ſailed on the 27th of December with ſix ſhips of the line, two fire-ſhips, and three other attendants; and having ſent five ſhips to Alicant, to aſſure the Governor of the caſtle there, of his aſſiſtance, he arrived himſelf about Cape Palos the 3d of January, when ſtanding in for Alicant, the wind came off from the land ſo freſh, that he could not fetch the bay, ſo that he bore away to Port-Mahon; but when he had got within four leagues of that place, which was on the 5th, a ſtorm aroſe, which ſeparated moſt of the ſquadron, forcing him almoſt as high as Sardinia: but on the 12th he got into Port-Mahon, where he found moſt of the ſquadron (9).

(*) Hiſt. of Europe for 1708. p. 2, 3.

(7) *Ibid.* p. 313.

(8) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 737.

(9) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. iv. p. 91. Hiſt. of Europe for 1708.

[E] *Having done all in his power to render theſe deſigns ſucceſsful.*] There were many accidents which occurred to fruſtrate our Admiral's great deſigns, as will appear from a ſhort view of his proceedings during his command in the Mediterranean. In our laſt note, we

command, he was made one of the Commiſſioners for executing the office of Lord High-Admiral (y), in which poſt he continued till ſome time before the Queen's death; when not falling in with the meaſures of thoſe times, he was removed: but, on the acceſſion of his late Majeſty King George, he was reſtored to that employment (z). In the year 1715, upon the breaking out of the rebellion, he was appointed to command a ſquadron in the Downs, in that critical juncture, with which he kept ſuch a watchful eye along the French coaſt, by examining ſhips, even in their ports, and obtaining orders from the Court of France, for the putting on ſhore at Havre de Grace, great quantities of arms and ammunition which he had detected, were ſhipped there for the Pretender's ſervice (a); that, in reward of his ſervices, the King created him a Baronet, November 14, 1715 (b); gave him a ring of great value, and other marks of his royal favour (c). In the year 1717, a diſcovery having been made, of an invaſion intended againſt

(y) Peerage of England, Vol. iv. p. 99.

(z) *Ibid. ut ſup.*

(a) *Ibid. ut ſup.*

(b) Salmon's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 375.

(c) Peerage of England, *ut ſup.*

(f) Lives of Admirals, Vo iv. p. 400.

(g) Lives of Admirals, Vo iv. p. 401.

we left him in the harbour of Port-Mahon, where he was extremely diſtreſſed for want of naval ſtores, which were on board the Arrogant, a ſhip that had been miſſing from his arrival in that harbour, in queſt of which he detached ſhips to Majorca and Cagliari; and, at the ſame time, diſpatched orders to Sir Edward Whitaker, who was on the coaſt of Italy, to join him with his ſquadron, in caſe the Emperor's troops, that were deſigned for Catalonia, were not as yet ready. All the month of February 1709, was ſpent in tedious expectations; but at laſt, about the middle of March, Sir Edward Whitaker arrived with about 3500 men (10), to the great joy of Sir George Byng and General Stanhope, who had long waited for theſe forces, in order to attempt ſomething for the relief of Alicant, then beſieged by an army of 12000 men; and for the ſafety of which, King Charles had expreſſed unuſual concern (11). Accordingly, the ſquadron, conſiſting of eleven ſhips of the line of battle (12), having put to ſea, arrived before Alicant on the 5th of April in the morning, and ſtood into the bay, anchoring againſt the batteries and lines which the enemy had thrown up along the coaſt; and while the cannon were playing againſt thoſe works, General Stanhope intended to puſh on ſhore; but the wind blowing very ſtrong, occaſioned a great ſea, which rendered it impracticable; and the large ſhips being in leſs than four fathom water, were obliged to weigh their anchors, and make out of cannon-ſhot. The weather continuing very bad till the 7th, and it not being known what extremities the garriſon might be under, and the enemy increaſing conſiderably in ſtrength, the General ſent a flag of truce on ſhore, with propoſals for ſurrendering the caſtle, to which the garriſon had before retired; which being agreed to, and our men embarked, Sir George Byng proceeded with the troops towards Barcelona, having detached ſome ſhips to cruize for the Turkey fleet, others with tranſports for corn to Barbary, and three ſhips he left to clean at Port-Mahon. In his way to Barcelona, he landed General Stanhope with the troops at Tarragona, and returned with the garriſon of the caſtle of Alicant, to Port-Mahon (13). The whole ſquadron having joined at Barcelona, in June, a Council of War was held, in which it was determined, that ſince the King of Spain, as the poſture of affairs then was, could not come to any reſolution as to the fleet's aſſiſting in the reduction of thoſe parts of Spain ſtill in the poſſeſſion of the enemy, to ſail to a ſtation ten leagues off Cape Toulon, not only for intercepting their trade, but to alarm them as much as poſſible; and it being neceſſary that a ſquadron ſhould be on the coaſt of Portugal, Sir John Jennings was ſent with thirteen ſhips to Liſbon (14). Sir George Byng arrived before Toulon the 24th of June, in which harbour he ſaw only eight ſhips rigged, and one large man of war on the careen, the reſt being diſarmed. After thus inſulting Toulon, he returned to Barcelona road, where he found moſt of the ſhips arrived from the ſervices upon which he had ſent them; and ſome of them, particularly the Centurion and Dunkirk, had been ſo fortunate as to take a great many prizes. The Admiral, upon his arrival at Barcelona, found the Court of Spain, at the inſtance of Cardinal Grimani, very deſirous to have the reduction of Sicily attempted, and was informed by General Stanhope, that it was her Majeſty's pleaſure, that part of the fleet ſhould aſſiſt in the deſign upon Cadiz: but the Dutch ſhips having been ſeparated in bad weather, and ours being too few to anſwer theſe and other ſervices the Court propoſed, he ſuſpended, for ſome time, the coming to any reſolution, being every day in expectation of the ſhips of the States-General: but at length he formed a diſpoſition of her Majeſty's ſhips, and appointed Sir Edward Whitaker for the ſervice of Sicily, while he himſelf deſigned to proceed on the other with General Stanhope. The 26th of July, the Court of Spain having notice of the enemy's penetrating into the Lampourdan, with intention, as was apprehended, to beſiege Gironne; and there being a want of ſhips to protect the coaſts of Catalonia, and hinder the enemy having ſupplies by ſea, as alſo a ſquadron to bring over the prizes with corn from Porto Farina, which they were in great want of, and ſome ſhips to go to Italy for money to ſubſiſt the troops; the Court ſeemed to lay aſide the deſign on Sicily, and Sir George Byng ſent five ſhips for the aforeſaid veſſels with corn (15). Thus the warmth, impatience, and irreſolution of the Court of Spain, obliged the Admiral to drop his great deſigns; for, without regard to what had been reſolved, or even for what themſelves had demanded before, they were continually deſiring ſomething new to be done for them, without conſidering that it was impoſſible our ſhips could perform one ſervice, without neglecting another. Thus, upon an apprehenſion that the enemy would attack Gironne, the Engliſh ſhips were deſired to intercept their proviſions. Soon after they were diſtreſſed for want of proviſions themſelves, and then the moſt neceſſary thing that could be done, was to ſend for the prizes, laden with corn, from Port Farina. By that time this was reſolved on, money grew ſcarce, and then his Catholic Majeſty hoped that the Engliſh ſhips would go and fetch it immediately from Italy. The manner in which theſe demands were made, and the apprehenſions the officers were under, of complaints being ſent home, induced them to comply with every thing, as far as was in their power; ſo that, of neceſſity, the expedition againſt Sicily was laid aſide. Our Admirals, however, ſtill flattered themſelves, that ſomething might be done at Cadiz, where it was known the people were in want of bread, and were, beſides, highly diſcontented with the French government (16). On the 27th of July, the Dutch ſquadron arrived from Leghorn, upon which Sir George Byng called a Council of War, and laid before them, the Queen's orders, the deſires of his Catholic Majeſty, and the project formed by themſelves for attempting Cadiz: but the Commander in Chief of the Dutch ſhips excuſed himſelf, declaring, that they were victualled only till the end of Auguſt, which diſabled him from undertaking any ſervice beyond the 20th of that month. It was then agreed, that Sir George Byng ſhould proceed to Cadiz, and the Dutch be employed in ſuch other ſervices as the King of Spain might have for them. Sir George arriving at Gibraltar, expected to have found there Rear-Admiral Baker's ſquadron, and the troops deſigned for the attempt on Cadiz; but not gaining any intelligence of him, or of Sir John Jennings, and finding that important enterprize could not be executed, he reſolved to return to England, where he ſafely arrived on the 25th of September, leaving Sir Edward Whitaker with a ſquadron of ſixteen ſhips in the Mediterranean, to protect the coaſts of Catalonia, and cruize off the coaſt of Roſes, to prevent the carrying to the enemy any ſupplies of proviſions or ammunition, and to intercept

(10) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 754.

(11) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. iv. p. 115.

(12) Burchet, *ut ſup.*

(13) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 758. Lives of the Admirals, Vol. iv. p. 122.

(14) Burchet, *ut ſupra.* Hiſtoire Militaire, Tom. iv. p. 253.

(15) Burchet, p. 759, 760. Lives of the Admirals, Vol. iv. p. 123.

(16) Burchet, &c. *ubi ſupra.*

(17) Burchet *ut ſupra.* Lives of the mirals, Vol. p. 125.

againſt this kingdom, by Charles XII. King of Sweden [*F*], orders were iſſued for forming a ſquadron, conſiſting of twenty-one ſhips of the line *(d)*, beſides frigates, for the Baltic, the command of which was given to Sir George Byng, who was to have had two Admirals under him, with an additional force. But before thoſe ſhips were ready, the Miniſtry altered their deſign; and Sir George, in obedience to his freſh orders, ſailed on the thirtieth of March for Copenhagen (*e*), and on the eleventh of April arrived in the road of that place. The next day he had an audience of the King, and aſſiſted at ſeveral conferences which were held the ſucceeding week, in order to ſettle the operations by ſea, and the command of the confederate fleet, in caſe the ſeveral ſquadrons ſhould join *(f)*. Sir George next detached five ſhips of the line to cruize in the Categat, between Gottenburgh and the point of Schagen, to cover the trade from the Swediſh privateers. The Daniſh cruizers being, likewiſe, employed for the ſame purpoſe, the paſſage was ſo effectually ſecured, that no ſhips could paſs out of that port. Sir George himſelf only waited for a fair wind to ſail with the reſt of the Britiſh ſquadron into the Baltic, where the Swedes, however, had abſolutely laid aſide whatever deſign they had formed, either to our prejudice, or againſt the general peace of Europe. On the ſeventh of May, however, our Admiral ſailed from Copenhagen, having under his convoy a great number of merchant ſhips, bound for ſeveral ports of the Baltic, and being joined by the Daniſh fleet, commanded by Vice-Admiral Gabel, they ſailed together towards Carlſcroon, but were obliged by contrary winds to return. As no enemy appeared, and the ſeaſon began to advance, Sir George Byng thought of returning home with the fleet; and accordingly, on the ſecond of November, he paſſed the Sound, with nine Engliſh men of war, three frigates, and three veſſels of ſmall burthen, leaving behind him ſix men of war to act in conjunction with the Daniſh fleet; and on the fifteenth of the ſame month, arrived ſafe at the mouth of the Thames; where leaving his ſquadron, he came up to London, and was graciouſly received by his Majeſty *(g)*. We are now to enter upon the moſt important ſcene of action our Admiral was ever engaged in; and which he conducted with equal honour and reputation to himſelf, and the Britiſh Flag. This was the famous expedition of the Engliſh fleet to Sicily, in the year 1718, for the protection of the Neutrality of Italy, and the defence of the Emperor's poſſeſſions (according to the obligations England was under by treaty) againſt the invaſion of the Spaniards, who had the year before ſurpriſed Sardinia, and had this year landed an army in Sicily. It comes not within our province to enquire into the policy of the Councils which produced theſe meaſures: it is ſufficient for us to relate plain matters of fact, by which it will appear, that Sir George Byng performed, upon this occaſion, all that could be expected from the

(d) Lives of the Admirals. Vol. iv. p. 398.

(e) Chandler's Debates. Votes of the Houſe of Commons. Political State of England. Salmon's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 390.

(f) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. iv. p. 400.

(g) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. iv. p. 401.

tercept their veſſels of corn from the Levant, and the coaſt of Barbary. This wiſe diſpoſition of the Admiral's had the deſired effect; for in the bay of Roſes, our fleet diſcovered the grand convoy intended for the French ſervice in the Lampourdan, conſiſting of forty large veſſels laden with corn and other proviſions, of which we took thirty, and hindered the reſt from putting to ſea; by which the enemy was greatly diſtreſſed, and King Charles's army ſo happily ſupplied with proviſions, as to be able to keep the field, which otherwiſe they could not have done (17). Some Dutch accounts ſay, Sir Edward Whitaker actually went into the bay of Roſes, and took fifty corn veſſels, and offered King Charles to aſſiſt in reducing that port; but his advice was not followed.

(17) Burchet, *ut ſupra.* Lives of the Admirals, Vol. iv. p. 125.

[*F*] *It having been diſcovered that an invaſion was intended againſt this kingdom.*] This deſign was chiefly carried on between Baron Gortz, Miniſter and favourite of the King of Sweden, and Count Gyllemberg, the Swediſh Miniſter in England, who had lived here ſome years, and married an Engliſh lady. They had for ſome time carried on a correſpondence together, and concerted meaſures with the Engliſh rebels in France, and ſeveral perſons in England, for raiſing a rebellion, in favour of the Pretender, to be ſupported by foreign force. It is not certainly known how this conſpiracy came to be diſcovered: but on the 29th of January, Mr. Secretary Stanhope, by the King's command, communicated to the Privy Council the information his Majeſty had received concerning this plot; upon which ſeveral perſons were ſecured, and amongſt the reſt, Count Gyllemberg, with all his papers; and Baron Gortz was, at his Britannic Majeſty's requeſt, arreſted in Holland, where he acted as Miniſter from the King of Sweden. Mr. Secretary Stanhope laid before the Houſe of Commons, copies of letters that paſſed between Gyllemberg, Gortz, Baron Sparr, the Swediſh Ambaſſador at Paris, and others, by which it appeared, that their intention was to tranſport 12,000 men, a ſufficient train of artillery, arms for 10 or 12,000 men more, with requiſite ſtores of ammunition; that there had been remitted to them, ſeveral ſums of money from perſons in the deſign; that amongſt others, the Duke of Ormond was concerned, and had written to Gortz, that the King his maſter (meaning the Pretender) had ordered him to let Gortz know, that he expected ſhortly a ſupply of money, and would remit ſixty thouſand pounds to his Swediſh Majeſty, and begs him to look upon it only as a token of what was to come after, *&c.* The pretence for this invaſion was, to maintain the Engliſh liberties, and ſupport the Church of England. In order to ſatisfy the world of the truth of this affair, the letters and papers relating thereto were made public; and the Parliament ſoon after ſhewed the warmeſt reſentment and indignation at the inſolence of this attempt. It was indeed amazing, that a Prince, who was already overwhelmed by ſo many and ſo powerful enemies, ſhould think of adding to their number, by an attempt of this kind. But whoever conſiders the genius and ſpirit of the late Charles XII. will eaſily conceive, that it was natural enough for him to embrace any expedient which ſeemed to promiſe the diſſolving of that confederacy by which he was diſtreſſed. But his deſign was not only rendered abortive by this unexpected diſcovery, which put it abſolutely out of his power to carry it into execution, but it, likewiſe, brought upon him new difficulties, in conſequence of our King's reſentment of ſuch behaviour, which preſently diſcovered itſelf, by the vigorous reſolutions taken here: for a bill was brought to prohibit commerce with Sweden (18), during ſuch time as his Majeſty ſhould think it neceſſary, for the ſafety and peace of his kingdom (19), which paſſed both Houſes, and had the Royal Aſſent; and ſoon after a proclamation was publiſhed to the ſame end; and a formidable ſquadron was ſent into the Baltic under the command of Admiral Byng, which effectually removed all apprehenſions the nation was under from the Swedes.

(18) Chandler's Debates. Votes of the Houſe of Commons. Hiſtorical Regiſter for 1717.

(19) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. iv. p. 398.

wiſdom and ſkill of an Engliſh Admiral; and that this expedition effectually anſwered its end, which ought to be conſidered as an honour to his memory, whether that end ſhall be thought right or wrong; which is mere political diſpute, and neither can or ought to affect the character of the Admiral in the leaſt. It was about the middle of March, in the year 1717-18, that Sir George Byng was appointed Admiral and Commander in Chief of the ſquadron intended for the Mediterranean: in May following he received his inſtructions, which ſee in the note [*G*]. The ſhips being got to their rendezvous at Spithead, Sir George Byng repaired down to Portſmouth, to take them under his command; and on the fifteenth of June 1718, ſailed from thence with twenty ſhips of the line of battle, two fire-ſhips, two bomb-veſſels, an hoſpital-ſhip, and a ſtore-ſhip. Being got into the ocean, he ſent the Rupert to Liſbon for intelligence; and arriving the thirtieth off Cape St. Vincent, he diſpatched the Superb to Cadiz, with a gentleman who carried a letter from him to Colonel Stanhope (afterwards Earl of Harrington) the King's Envoy at Madrid, wherein he deſired that Miniſter to acquaint the King of Spain with his arrival in thoſe parts, in his way to the Mediterranean, and to lay before him the inſtructions he was to act under with his ſquadron; of which he gave a very ample detail in his letter [*H*]. The Admiral

[*G*] *He received his inſtructions, which ſee in the note.*] They were dated the 26th of May, and are to the following purpoſe (20): 'That he ſhould, upon his arrival in the Mediterranean, acquaint the Court of Spain, and likewiſe the Viceroy of Naples, and the Governor of Milan, that he was ſent into that ſea in order to promote all meaſures that might beſt contribute to the compoſing the differences ariſen between the two Crowns, and for preventing any further violation of the Neutrality of Italy, which he was to ſee preſerved. That he was to make inſtances with both parties, to forbear all acts of hoſtility, in order to the ſetting on foot, and concluding, the proper negociations of peace: But, in caſe the Spaniards ſhould ſtill inſiſt to attack the Emperor's territory in Italy, or to land in any part of Italy for that purpoſe, or ſhould endeavour to make themſelves maſters of the iſland of Sicily, which muſt be with a deſign to invade the kingdom of Naples, he was then, with all his power, to hinder and obſtruct the ſame. But if they were already landed, he was to endeavour amicably to diſſuade them from perſevering in ſuch an attempt, and to offer them his aſſiſtance to withdraw their troops, and put an end to further acts of hoſtility. But if his friendly endeavours ſhould prove ineffectual, he was then to defend the territories attacked, by keeping company with, or intercepting their ſhips or convoys, or (if neceſſary) by oppoſing them openly.' It is evident that theſe inſtructions were not of the cleareſt kind: but it ſeems, that they were explained to the Admiral before-hand, by thoſe who had then the direction of affairs, as appears by a letter written by Mr. Secretary Craggs to Sir George Byng, immediately before his embarkation. It is preſerved by the accurate Hiſtorian of this expedition, above cited, in his appendix, of his original edition; from whence we have tranſcribed it, as a full proof, that Sir George acted according to the verbal explication of his written orders by the Miniſters.

(20) See the Account of the Expedition of the Britiſh Fleet to Sicily, in the Appendix.

'SIR, Cockpit, May 27, O. S. 1718.

'I Incloſe to you his Majeſty's inſtructions, as well with relation to your conduct in the Mediteranean, as to the treaty with the Moors.

'After what paſſed yeſterday between my Lord Sunderland, my Lord Stanhope, you, and me, when we were together at Lord Stanhope's lodgings, there remains nothing for me, but to wiſh you a good voyage, and good ſucceſs in your undertakings: I do it very heartily, and am with great truth,

'SIR,

'Your moſt obedient

'Humble ſervant,

'J. CRAGGS.'

[*H*] *Of which he gave a very ample detail in his letter.*] This letter of Admiral Byng's, Mr. Stanhope ſhewed to the Cardinal Alberoni, who, upon reading it, told him with ſome warmth, 'That his maſter would run all hazards, and even ſuffer himſelf to be driven out of Spain, rather than recall his troops, or conſent to any ſuſpenſion of arms;' adding, 'That the Spaniards were not to be frighted; and that he was ſo well convinced of their fleet's doing their duty, that if the Admiral ſhould think fit to attack them, he ſhould be in no pain for the ſucceſs.' Mr. Stanhope, having in his hand a liſt of the Britiſh ſquadron, deſired his Eminence to peruſe it, and to compare its ſtrength with that of their own ſquadron; which the Cardinal took and threw on the ground with much paſſion. Mr. Stanhope, with great temper, intreated him, 'To conſider the ſincere attention the King his maſter had always had to the honour and intereſts of his Catholic Majeſty, which it was impoſſible for him to give greater proofs of than he had done, by his unwearied endeavours, through the whole courſe of the preſent negociation, to procure the moſt advantageous conditions poſſible for Spain, in which he had ſucceeded even beyond what any unprejudiced perſon could have hoped for; and that, though by the treaty of Utrecht for preſerving the Neutrality of Italy, which was entered into at the requeſt of the King of Spain himſelf; as alſo by that of Weſtminſter, the 25th of May, 1716, his Majeſty found himſelf obliged to defend the Emperor's dominions when attacked, he had hitherto acted only as a mediator, though even ſince the enterprize againſt Sardinia, by his treaties, he became a party in the war, and for this year laſt paſt, had been ſtrongly called upon by the Emperor to comply with his engagements; and that, even now, when it was impoſſible for him to delay any longer the ſending his fleet into the Mediterranean, it plainly appeared by the Admiral's inſtructions, which he communicated to his Eminence, and by the orders he had himſelf received, that his Majeſty had nothing more at heart, than that his fleet might be employed in promoting the intereſts of the King of Spain, and hoped his Catholic Majeſty would not, by refuſing to recall his troops, or conſent to a ceſſation of arms, put it out of his power to give all the proofs of ſincere friendſhip he always deſigned to cultivate with his Catholic Majeſty.' All that the Cardinal could be brought to promiſe, was, to lay the Admiral's letter before the King, and to let the Envoy know his reſolution upon it in two days: but it was nine before he could obtain and ſend it away; the Cardinal probably hoping, that the Admiral would delay, in expectation of it, in ſome of the ports of Spain, and thereby give time for their fleet and forces to ſecure a good footing in Sicily. The anſwer was written under the Admiral's letter, in theſe words: 'His Catholic Majeſty has done me the honour to tell me, that the Chevalier Byng may execute the orders which he has from the King his maſter.' 'Eſcurial, July 15th, 1718.' 'The Cardinal Alberoni.' Mr. Stanhope ſeeing things tending to a rupture, gave private and early notice of his apprehenſions to the Engliſh Conſuls and Merchants ſettled in the Spaniſh ſea-ports, adviſing them to ſecure their effects againſt the dangers that might ariſe from a breach between the two crowns; and ſet out himſelf for Madrid, in order to make new propoſitions to his Catholic Majeſty, to prevent things coming to extremities; in which negociation he actually laboured till very near the time that hoſtilities were begun; but to no purpoſe: for Cardinal Alberoni

Admiral purſuing his voyage with unfavourable winds, it was the eighth of July before he made Cape Spartel, where the Superbe and Rupert rejoined him, and brought him advice of the mighty preparations the Spaniards had made at Barcelona, and of their fleet ſailing from thence the eighteenth of June to the eaſtward. In paſſing by Gibraltar, Vice-Admiral Cornwall came out and joined him, with the Argyle man of war and Charles galley. The ſquadron wanting water, and the wind continuing contrary, they anchored off Cape Malaga; where having completed their watering in four days, they proceeded to Minorca, where the Admiral was to land four regiments of foot which he carried out from England, in order to relieve the ſoldiers there in garriſon, who were to embark and ſerve on board the ſquadron (*b*). On the twenty-third of July, he anchored with the ſquadron off Port Mahon. Here he received advice, that the Spaniſh fleet had been ſeen the thirtieth of June, within forty leagues of Naples, ſteering S. E. upon which he diſpatched away expreſſes to the Governor of Milan, and the Viceroy of Naples, to inform them of his arrival in the Mediterranean. From Port Mahon he ſailed the twenty-fifth of July, and arrived the firſt of Auguſt in the Bay of Naples (*i*); into which the fleet ſailing with a gentle gale, conſiſting of twenty-one ſail of the line of battle, moſt of them great ſhips, and three of them bearing flags, afforded ſuch a ſpectacle as had never been ſeen in thoſe parts before. The whole city was in a tumult of joy and exultation. The ſhore was crowded with multitudes of coaches and people; and ſuch an infinite number of boats came off, ſome with proviſions and refreſhments, others out of curioſity and admiration, that the ſea between the fleet at anchor and the ſhore, was, literally, covered. The Viceroy, Count Daun, being ill with the gout, and having ſent his compliments to the Admiral, he went on ſhore, attended by the Flag-officers and Captains, in their boats, and was ſaluted at his landing, by all the cannon round the city and caſtles, and was conducted to Court, through an infinite throng of people, with the greateſt acclamations of joy, and all the honours and ceremonies paid to a Viceroy [*I*]. Here the Admiral entered into a conference with Count Daun, from whom he learned that the Spaniſh army, conſiſting of about 30,000 men, commanded by the Marquis de Lede, had landed the ſecond of July in Sicily, and had ſoon made themſelves maſters of the city and caſtles of Palermo, and of great part of the iſland; that they had taken the town of Meſſina, and were then carrying on the ſiege of the citadel, *&c.* After the conference, the Admiral was ſplendidly entertained at dinner, and then lodged at the palace of the Duke de Matalona, which had been magnificently fitted up for his reception. The next morning Sir George Byng and Count Daun had another conference, on the meaſures to be taken in that conjuncture of affairs; when it was agreed, that the Viceroy ſhould ſend 2000 German foot, in tartans, to Meſſina, to relieve the citadel, and Fort St. Salvador, under the protection of the Admiral (*k*), who accordingly ſailed with them the ſixth of Auguſt from Naples, and arrived the ninth in view of the Fare of Meſſina. Here Sir George, deſirous of trying every method of negociation, before he proceeded to the extremity of his orders, diſpatched his firſt Captain to Meſſina, with a letter to the Marquis de Lede, wherein, after acquainting him upon what account he was ſent there, he propoſed a ceſſation of arms in Sicily for two months, in order to give time to the ſeveral Courts to conclude on ſuch reſolutions as might reſtore a laſting peace; but added, that if he was not ſo happy as to ſucceed in this offer of his ſervice, he ſhould then be obliged to uſe all his force, to prevent farther attempts to diſturb the dominions his Maſter ſtood engaged to defend. The General returned for anſwer, that he had no powers to treat, and conſequently could not agree to a ſuſpenſion of arms, but muſt follow his orders, which directed him to ſeize upon Sicily for his Maſter the King of Spain. According to the beſt accounts the Admiral could receive, he was led to conclude, that the Spaniſh fleet was ſailed from Malta, in order to avoid him; and, therefore, upon receiving the Marquis's anſwer, he immediately weighed, with intention to come with his ſquadron before Meſſina, in order to encourage and ſupport the garriſon in the citadel: but, as he ſtood about the Point of the Fare towards Meſſina, he ſaw two Spaniſh ſcouts in the Fare; and being informed at the ſame time by a felucca, which came off from the Calabrian ſhore, that they ſaw from the hills the Spaniſh fleet lying by; the Admiral altered his deſign, and ſending away the German troops to

(*i*) Annals of King George. Hiſtorical Regiſter for 1718.

(*b*) Account of the Expedition to Sicily, p. 15, 16. Lives of the Admirals, Vol. iv. p. 418. Hiſt. of the Revolutions of Spain, Vol. v. p. 521.

(*k*) Hiſt. of the Revolutions of Spain, Vol. v. p. 521.

(21) Hiſt. of the Revolutions of Spain, Vol. V. P. 519.

(22) Mercures Hiſtoriques & Politiques. Memoires de III. L. C. Alberoni, &c.

Lives of the Admirals, Vol. iv. P. 417.

(23) Lives of the Admirals, P. 418.

roni was ſo bent on executing his own ſcheme (21), that he rejected all propoſals that were made him, with great firmneſs (22), and reſolution.

[*I*] *He was conducted to Court through an infinite throng of people, with the greateſt acclamations of joy*, &c.] The imperial Viceroy of Naples preſented Sir George with a ſword ſet with diamonds, and a very rich ſtaff of command; and to the Admiral's ſon he alſo made a preſent of a very fine ſword; and likewiſe ſent refreſhments to the fleet, conſiſting of an hundred oxen, three hundred ſheep, ſix hundred pounds of ſugar, ſeventy hogſheads of wine, forty hogſheads of brandy, and ſeveral other things (23). We need not wonder, that the German government was extremely well pleaſed at the Admiral's arrival, or that they paid him every honour in their power, ſince it is very certain, that his coming ſo luckily preſerved that kingdom for the houſe of Auſtria, that had otherwiſe, in all probability, ſhared the fate of Sicily, which the Marquis de Lede had conquered, almoſt as ſoon as he landed (24): or rather his landing gave the people an opportunity of declaring for that power, which, though it had loſt its ſovereignty over them, had ſtill preſerved their affection. And at Naples, though the common people were generally in the intereſt of the houſe of Auſtria, there was a ſtrong party, among the Sicilian Nobility, for Spain; and the whole country was ill provided for defence.

(24) Hiſt. of the Revolutions of Spain, Vol. v. p. 529.

Reggio, under the convoy of two men of war, he ſtood through the Fare with his ſquadron, with all the ſail he could, after their ſcouts, imagining they would lead him to theirs, which accordingly they did; for before noon he had a fair view of their whole fleet lying by, and drawn into a line of battle, conſiſting of twenty-ſeven ſail of men of war, ſmall and great, beſides two fire-ſhips, four bomb-veſſels, ſeven gallies, and ſeveral ſhips laden with ſtores and proviſions, commanded by the Admiral Don Antonio de Caſtaneta, and under him four Rear-Admirals, Chacon, Mari, Guevara, and Cammock. On the ſight of the Engliſh ſquadron, they ſtood away large, but in good order of battle. The Admiral followed them all the reſt of that day, and the ſucceeding night, with calm and fair weather. The next morning early (the eleventh), the Engliſh being got pretty near up with them, the Marquis de Mari, Rear-Admiral, with ſix Spaniſh men of war, and all the gallies, fireſhips, bomb-veſſels, and ſtore-ſhips, ſeparated from their main fleet, and ſtood in for the Sicilian ſhore; upon which the Admiral detached Captain Walton, of the Canterbury, with five more ſhips after them; and the Argyle and Canterbury, getting within gun-ſhot of the headmoſt ſhip, about ſix in the morning, the Argyle fired a ſhot to bring her to; which ſhe not minding, the Argyle fired another, and the Canterbury being ſomewhat nearer, fired another, upon which the Spaniſh ſhip fired her ſtern chaſe guns at the Canterbury, and then the engagement began. The Admiral purſuing the main body of the Spaniſh fleet; the Orford, Cayt. Falkingham, and the Grafton, Capt. Haddock, came up firſt with them about ten of the clock, at whom the Spaniards fired their ſtern chaſe guns. The Admiral ſent orders to thoſe two ſhips not to fire, unleſs the Spaniards repeated their firing; which they doing, the Orford attacked the Santa Roſa, of ſixty guns, and took her. The St. Carlos, of ſixty guns, ſtruck next, without much oppoſition, to the Kent, Capt. Mathews. The Grafton attacked warmly the Prince of Aſturias, of ſeventy guns, formerly called the Cumberland, in which was Rear-Admiral Chacon; but the Breda and Captain coming up, Capt. Haddock left her much ſhattered, for them to take, and ſtretched a-head after another ſhip of ſixty guns, which had kept firing on his ſtarboard bow, during his engagement with the Prince of Aſturias. About one of the clock, the Kent, and ſoon after the Superbe, Capt. Maſter, came up with, and engaged the Spaniſh Admiral, of ſeventy-four guns, who, with two more ſhips, fired on them, and made a running fight, till about three; and then the Kent bearing down upon him, and under his ſtern, gave him her broadſide, and fell to leeward. Afterwards the Superbe putting for it to lay the Admiral aboard, fell on his weather quarter; upon which the Spaniſh Admiral ſhifting his helm, the Superbe ranged up under his lee quarter, on which he ſtruck to her. At the ſame time the Barfleur, in which was the Admiral, being a-ſtern of the Spaniſh Admiral within ſhot, and inclining on his weather quarter, Rear-Admiral Guevara and another ſixty gun ſhip, which were to windward, bore down upon him, and gave him their broadſides, and then clapt upon a wind, ſtanding in for the land. Admiral Byng immediately tacked and ſtood after them, until it was almoſt night; but it being little wind, and they galing away out of his reach, he left purſuing them, and ſtood into the fleet, which he joined two hours after night. The Eſſex took the Juno of thirty-ſix guns, the Montague and Rupert took the Volante of forty-four guns, and Rear-Admiral Delaval, in the Dorſetſhire, took the Iſabella of ſixty guns. This action happened off Cape Paſſaro, at about ſix leagues diſtance from the ſhore. The Engliſh received but little damage. The ſhip that ſuffered moſt was the Grafton, which being a good ſailer, her Captain engaged ſeveral ſhips of the enemy, always purſuing the headmoſt, and leaving thoſe ſhips he had diſabled or damaged, to be taken by thoſe that followed him. The Admiral lay by ſome days at ſea, to refit the rigging of his ſhips, and to repair the damages the prizes had ſuſtained; and the eighteenth, received a letter from Capt. Walton, who had been ſent in purſuit of the Spaniſh ſhips that eſcaped. The Captain was one whoſe natural talents were fitter for atchieving a gallant action, than deſcribing one, and his letter on this occaſion, is ſingular enough in its kind to deſerve notice. It runs thus:

'SIR,

'WE have taken and deſtroyed all the Spaniſh ſhips and veſſels which were upon the coaſt, the number as per margin.

'Canterbury, off Syracuſa, I am, &c.

'Auguſt 16, 1718. G. WALTON.'

Theſe ſhips that Capt. Walton thruſt into his margin, would have furniſhed matter for ſome pages, in a French relation: for, from the account they referred to, it appeared that he had taken four Spaniſh men of war; one of ſixty guns, commanded by Rear-Admiral Mari; one of fifty-four, one of forty, and one of twenty-four guns, with a bomb-veſſel, and a ſhip laden with arms; and burned four men of war, one of fifty-four, two of forty, and one of thirty guns, with a fire-ſhip and a bomb-veſſel. He was knighted for this action, and made a flag officer ſome time after. Such is the account of this famous action by our Admiral *(l)*. The Spaniards publiſhed, likewiſe, an account on their ſide, which was printed in Holland, and circulated with great induſtry

(l) This Account is taken from the ſeveral Letters written by the Admiral, or publiſhed with his authority.

duſtry throughout all Europe, in order to make ſuch impreſſions as might ſerve their purpoſe, and incline the world to believe, that their fleet had not been attacked and beaten fairly, but had been ſurpriſed and deſtroyed, without that kind of notice, which the laws of nature and nations require, to diſtinguiſh force of arms from piratical violence. It is but juſt in any caſe, to hear both parties; and as the Spaniſh relation contains many particulars that are wanting in the Admiral's, which is indeed too general, and as the Hiſtorian of this expedition has not taken notice of the account given by the Spaniards, it is, therefore, requiſite to give it a place here; for by a compariſon of it with our Admiral's account, many particulars come to be explained, which otherwiſe might have been buried in obſcurity. See, therefore, the note, where it comes more properly [*K*]. As ſoon as Admiral Byng had obtained a full account of the whole tranſaction,

[*K*] *See therefore the note, where it comes more properly.*] The account itſelf being very long, we ſhall ſhorten it as much as we can, by curtailing it of ſome particulars which are the ſame with the Admiral's. The ſubſtance, therefore, is as follows: 'The Spaniſh 'Admirals not knowing the intentions of the Engliſh, whether they came as friends or enemies, endeavoured to penetrate into their deſigns, and ſent two light frigates to get intelligence of them; and when the Engliſh ſquadron advanced into the Faro, it was ſaluted by all the Spaniſh ſhips and veſſels which were there. The officer ſent by Admiral Byng to the Marquis de Lede, with propoſals for a ceſſation of arms, affirming, that his fleet was not to commit any act of hoſtility, but only to ſecure the tranſports under the Admiral's protection from inſults; yet, though it was believed that a courier was ſent by the Marquis to Madrid, with the Admiral's propoſals, the Engliſh ſquadron took the opportunity of night to ſurpriſe the Spaniſh ſquadron, which had retired towards Cape Paſſaro, but did not make much ſail, that it might not be thought they ſuſpected any hoſtilities. During this a calm happened, by which the ſhips of both ſquadrons fell in one among another; and the Spaniſh Admiral perceiving this accident, cauſed the ſhips of the line to be towed, in order to ſeparate them from the Engliſh, and join them in one body, without permitting the gallies to begin any act of hoſtility, which they might have done to advantage, during the calm. The weather changed, when the Marquis de Mari was near land, and conſequently ſeparated from the reſt, making the rear-guard, with ſeveral frigates and other tranſport veſſels, which made up his diviſion, and endeavoured, though in vain, to join the main body of the Spaniſh ſquadron, while the Engliſh filled their ſails to gain the wind, and cut off the diviſion of the Marquis de Mari; and having at laſt ſucceeded in it, they attacked him with ſix ſhips, and obliged him to ſeparate from the reſt of the ſquadron, and to make towards the coaſt, where they ſtood it againſt ſeven ſhips of the line, as long as the ſituation permitted; and being no longer able to reſiſt, the Marquis de Mari ſaved his men, by running his ſhips a-ground, ſome of which were burned by his own order, and others taken by the enemy.— Seventeen ſhips of the line, the remainder of the Engliſh ſquadron, attacked ten Spaniſh ſhips, which continued making towards Cape Paſſaro; and as they retired in a line, becauſe of the inequality of their ſtrength, the Engliſh attacked thoſe that compoſed the rear-guard, with four or five ſhips, and took them: this happened ſucceſſively to others, which being attacked ſeparately by five, ſix, or ſeven of the enemy's, were taken after a bloody and obſtinate fight. Thus the Royal St. Philip, Admiral Caſtaneta, was attacked by the whole diviſion of the Engliſh Admiral, conſiſting of ſeven ſhips of the line, and a fire-ſhip. The fight began at two in the afternoon, by a ſhip of ſeventy guns, and another of ſixty, which gave him two broadſides; but he defended himſelf ſo well that they retired, and two other ſhips, one of eighty, the other of ſeventy guns, renewed the attack; and the eighty gun ſhip retired very much ſhattered, without going into the line: but the others making towards the Spaniſh Admiral, they fired upon him, while it was impoſſible for him to hurt them, and ſhot away all his rigging, without leaving him one entire ſail, while two others, one of ſixty, the other of thirty guns, attacked the ſtarboard of his ſhip, to oblige him to ſurrender, and the Engliſh Admiral carried a fire-ſhip to reduce him by the flames, which, however, the Spaniſh Commander prevented, and maintained the fight till towards night, having loſt two hundred men, and himſelf received a ſhot which pierced his left leg, and wounded his right heel: Yet he continued to defend himſelf till a cannon-bullet having cut a maſt in two, the pieces of which fell upon him and left him half dead, he was forced to ſurrender. While the Royal Philip was engaged with the Engliſh, Rear-Admiral Guevara came up, and attacked Admiral Byng's ſhips, and very much damaged them. The Prince of Aſturias, Rear-Admiral Chacon, was attacked at the ſame time by three ſhips of equal force, againſt which he defended himſelf valiantly, avoiding being boarded, till being wounded, and having loſt moſt of his men, he was obliged to ſurrender his ſhip, which was all ſhot through and through, after having ſhot down the maſts of an Engliſh ſhip that retired out of the fight. The St. Roſa frigate defended herſelf above three hours, againſt five Engliſh ſhips, who did not take her till they had broke all her ſails and maſts. The Volante fought three hours and an half, againſt three Engliſh ſhips, and having loſt her ſails, and put up others that were in ſtore, was juſt going to board one of the enemy's ſhips; but being ſhot through by ſix cannon-bullets, and the water coming in, the Captain was obliged to ſurrender, becauſe the ſhip's crew forced him. The Juno was engaged alſo by three Engliſh ſhips; yet maintained the fight above three hours, not ſurrendering till moſt of her men were killed, and the ſhip juſt falling in pieces. The Pearl fought three hours againſt three ſhips, and after having ſhot down the maſts of one of them, which immediately retired, was reſcued by Rear-Admiral Guevara. The Iſabella was purſued all night by ſeveral Engliſh ſhips, and after a defence of four hours, ſurrendered the next day. The Surprize frigate fought three hours againſt three Engliſh ſhips, when moſt of her men being killed, her Captain wounded, and all her rigging ſpoiled, ſhe was forced to ſurrender. The other light ſhips and frigates retired to Malta and Sardinia, as did alſo Admiral Guevara. The marines in every ſhip, who were compoſed of the nobility of Spain, ſignalized and diſtinguiſhed themſelves with great valour. The ſeven gallies having done all that was poſſible to join the Spaniſh ſhips, having a freſh gale of wind, retired to Palermo. Beſides the above ſhips which the Engliſh took out of the main body of the Spaniſh ſquadron, they alſo took the Royal, the St. Iſidore and the Eagle, two frigates. This is the account of the ſea-fight between the Spaniſh and Engliſh ſquadrons, the laſt of which by ill faith, and the ſuperiority of their ſtrength, had the advantage to beat the Spaniſh ſhips ſingly, one by one; and it is to be believed, by the defence the Spaniards made, that if they had acted jointly, the battle would have ended more happily for them. Immediately after the fight, a Captain of the Engliſh ſquadron came, in the name of Admiral Byng, to make a compliment of excuſe to the Marquis de Lede, giving him to underſtand, that the Spaniards had been the aggreſſors, and that this action ought not be looked upon as a rupture, becauſe the Engliſh did not take it as ſuch. To which it was anſwered, That Spain will reckon it as a formal rupture, and that they would do the Engliſh all the damages and hoſtilities imaginable.'

tranſaction, he diſpatched away his eldeſt ſon to England, who arriving at Hampton-Court in fifteen days from Naples, brought thither the agreeable confirmation of what public fame had before reported, and upon which, the King had already written a letter to the Admiral with his own hand, which the reader may ſee in note [*L*]. Mr. Byng met with a moſt gracious reception from his Majeſty, who made him an handſome preſent, and ſent him back with plenipotentiary powers to his father, to negociate with the ſeveral Princes and States of Italy, as there ſhould be occaſion; and with his royal grant to the officers and ſeamen, of all prizes taken by them from the Spaniards. The Admiral, in the mean time, proſecuted his affairs with great diligence, procured the Emperor's troops free acceſs into the fortreſſes that were ſtill held out in Sicily, ſailed afterwards to Malta, and brought out the Sicilian gallies, under the command of the Marquis de Rivaroles, and a ſhip belonging to the Turkey company, which had been blocked up there by Rear-Admiral Cammock, with a few ſhips which he had ſaved after the late engagement, and then ſailed back again to Naples, where he arrived on the ſecond of November; and ſoon after received a gracious letter from the Emperor, written with his own hand, accompanied with a picture of his Imperial Majeſty, ſet round with very large diamonds, as a mark of the grateful ſenſe he had of the ſervices rendered by his Excellency to the Houſe of Auſtria. See the letter in note [*M*]. As for

There are many things in this relation more agreeable to Spaniſh humour than to truth; and there is no queſtion to be made, but that both accounts retain ſome tincture of the paſſions and prejudices of thoſe who drew them up; and it is no leſs certain, that what was commonly reported at that time, of the bad behaviour of the Spaniards, and of their making but a weak defence, was but indifferently founded: For the truth is, that their fleet, though ſtrong in appearance, was every way inferior to ours; their ſhips being old, their artillery none of the beſt, and in number of guns, one hundred and ſixteen ſhort of ours, and their ſeamen moſt of them not to be depended upon (25). Yet it is agreed on all hands, that their Admirals defended themſelves very gallantly; and, indeed, their defeat may, in a great meaſure, be charged upon their irreſolution at the beginning, and their not taking good advice when it was given them, we mean that of Rear-Admiral Cammock, who was (to ſpeak impartially) a much better ſeaman than any who bore command in the Spaniſh fleet (26). He knew perfectly well the ſtrength of both parties, and ſaw plainly that nothing could ſave the Spaniards, but a wiſe diſpoſition; and, therefore, in the laſt Council of War held before the battle, he propoſed that they ſhould remain at anchor in the road of Paradiſe, ranging their ſhips in a line of battle, with their broadſides to the ſea; which meaſure would certainly have given the Admiral infinite trouble to attack them; for the coaſt there is ſo bold, that their biggeſt ſhips could ride with a cable a-ſhore; and farther out, the currents are ſo various and rapid, that it would have been hardly practicable to get up to them, but impoſſible to anchor, or lie by them in order of battle. Beſides, they lay ſo near the ſhore, and could have received ſuch aſſiſtance of ſoldiers from the army, to man and defend them; and the annoyance the Spaniards might have given them from the ſeveral batteries they could have planted along the ſhore, would have been ſuch, that the only way of attacking the ſhips, ſeemed to be by boarding and grappling with them at once, to prevent being caſt off by the currents, which would have been a very hazardo s undertaking, wherein the Spaniards would have had many advantages, and the Engliſh Admiral have run the chance of deſtroying his fleet, or buying a victory, if he ſucceeded, very dear (27). But the Spaniſh Admirals were too much perſuaded of their own ſtrength, and the courage of their ſeamen, or elſe they fooliſhly depended upon their not being attacked by our fleet. Whatever the motive was, they ſlighted this ſalutary counſel, and were thereby undone.

(25) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. iv. p. 438.

(26) Page 439.

(27) Account of the Expedition to Sicily, p. 36, 37.

[*L*] *Which the reader may ſee in the Note.*].

'Monſieur le Chevalier BYNG,

'QUOY que je n'ay pas encore reçeu de vos novelles en droiture, j'ay appris la victoire que 'la flotte a remportee ſous vos ordres, & je n'ay 'pas voulu vous differer le contentment que mon 'approbation de votre conduit vous pourroit donner. 'Je vous en remercie, & je ſouhait que vous en temoigniez dans cette occaſion. Le Secretaire d'Etat 'Craggs a ordre de vous informer plus au long de 'mes intentions; mais je voulu vous aſſurer moy 'même que je ſuis, Monſieur le Chevalier Byng,

'A Hampton Court, Votre bon amy,
'ce 23 d'Aout, 1718. GEORGE R.'

In Engliſh thus:

'Sir GEORGE BYNG,

'ALthough I have received no news from you directly, I am informed of the victory obtained 'by the fleet under your command; and would not 'therefore defer giving you that ſatisfaction which 'muſt reſult from my approbation of your conduct. 'I give you my thanks, and deſire you will teſtify 'my ſatisfaction to all the brave men who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion. Mr. Secretary Craggs has orders to inform you more fully of 'my intentions: but I was willing myſelf to aſſure 'you, that I am,

'Hampton Court, Your very good friend,
'Auguſt 23, 1718. GEORGE R.'

[*M*] *See the letter in the note.*]

'Monſieur Amiral & Chevalier BYNG,

'J'AY reçu avec beaucoup de ſatisfaction & de joye, par le porteur de celle cy la votre du 18me 'd'Aout. Quande je ſceus que vous etiez nomme de 'ſa Majeſte le Roy votre maitre pour commandez ſa 'flotte dans la Mediterranée je conceus d'abord toutes 'les bonnes eſperances. Le glorieux ſucceſs pourtant 'les a en quelque maniere ſurpaſſe. Vous avez en 'cette occaſion donne des preuves d'une valeur, conduit, & zele pour la commune cauſe très ſingulier; 'la gloire que vous en reſulte eſt bien grande, mais 'auſſi en rien moindre ma reconnoiſſance, comme 'vous l'expliquera plus le Comte de Hamilton. 'Comptez toujours ſur la continuation de ma reconnoiſſance & de mon affection envers vous, priant 'Dieu qu'il vous ait en ſa ſainte garde.

'A Vienne, ce 22me
'Octobre, 1718. CHARLES.'

In Engliſh thus:

'Admiral Sir GEORGE BYNG,

'I Have received with a great deal of joy and ſatisfaction by the bearer of this, your's, of the 18th 'of Auguſt. As ſoon as I knew you were named by 'the King your maſter, to command a fleet in the 'Mediterranean, I conceived the greateſt hopes imaginable from that very circumſtance. The glorious ſucceſs you have had ſurpaſſes, however, my 'expectations. You have given, upon this occaſion, 'very ſingular proofs of your courage, conduct, and 'zeal for the common cauſe: the glory you obtain 'from thence is indeed great, and yet my gratitude 'falls nothing ſhort thereof, as Count Hamilton will 'fully inform you. You may always depend upon 'the continuance of my thankfulneſs and affection towards you; may God have you always in his holy 'keeping.

'Vienna, September 22,
'O. S. 1718. CHARLES.'

The

for the prizes that had been taken, they were ſent to Port-Mahon, where, by ſome unlucky accident, the Royal Philip took fire, and blew up, with moſt of the crew on board; but the Spaniſh Admiral had been before ſet on ſhore in Sicily, with ſome other priſoners of diſtinction, where he ſoon after died of his wounds. The Spaniſh Court, exceſſively provoked at this unexpected blow, which had, in a manner, totally deſtroyed the naval force they had been at ſo much pains to raiſe, were not ſlow in expreſſing their reſentments. On the firſt of September, Rear-Admiral Guevara, with ſome ſhips, entered the Port of Cadiz, and made himſelf maſter of all the Engliſh ſhips that were there; and at the ſame time, all the effects of the Engliſh Merchants were ſeized in Malaga, and other ports of Spain, which, as ſoon as it was known here, produced repriſals on our part; and in December following, a declaration of war againſt Spain [*N*]. Sir George Byng ſtaid at Naples, adviſing and aſſiſting the Viceroy in concerting the neceſſary meaſures to be taken againſt the enemy, till the third of February following, and then ſailed to Port-Mahon, to refit his ſhips, and put them in a condition to go on early with the operations of the campaign; leaving his eldeſt ſon at Naples, to manage his correſpondence with the Viceroy, and to inform the Court of England of all occurrences in thoſe parts; and left Capt. Mathews with a ſquadron, at Pentemelia, to obſerve Rear-Admiral Cammock, and hinder his eſcaping out of Meſſina to the ſouthward [*O*]. The Admiral having refitted moſt of his ſquadron at Port-Mahon, ſailed early

The Admiral was alſo honoured with a letter of congratulation upon his victory, from the Queen of Denmark, written by her Majeſty's Great Maſter of the Houſehold, September 26, 1718.

[*N*] *And in December following, a declaration of war againſt Spain.*] As to the expediency of this meaſure, as well as of the Sicilian expedition, there were very warm debates in Parliament: and this laſt engroſſed all converſation, from the time of the ſtroke given to the Spaniſh fleet in the Mediterranean; ſome looking upon that as one of the nobleſt exploits ſince the Revolution. But the generality of people conſidered it in quite another light; and when an addreſs was moved for, to juſtify that meaſure, it was warmly oppoſed in both Houſes of Parliament, but without effect. Perhaps, there never was a meaſure more maliciouſly aſperſed, and miſrepreſented, than this of the attacking the Spaniſh fleet. It was confidently, and generally reported, and for many years believed, that Sir George Byng attacked and deſtroyed that fleet, without any orders or inſtructions for his ſo doing; and without giving the leaſt intimation to the Court of Spain: and under this heavy imputation did the Admiral lie, for ſeveral years, till the affair was cleared up, by publiſhing an authentic account of the whole, and the Admiral's orders and inſtructions, and the ſteps he took for giving notice of them to the Court of Spain; from whence it appears, that he had expreſs orders for what he did, and that all his meaſures were in purſuance of thoſe orders. As to the action itſelf, off Paſſaro, the following letter may be alone ſufficient to juſtify the Admiral. It was written by the Earl Stanhope, then Secretary, to Sir George Byng, and is as follows:

'Bayonne, September 2, 1718.

'BEING arrived here laſt night, in ſix days from 'Madrid, I do, in purſuance of the commands I 'have from his Majeſty, take this firſt opportunity of 'acquainting you, that nothing has paſſed at Ma'drid, which ſhould divert you from purſuing the 'inſtructions you have.

'If the news which I learn at Bayonne, that the 'Citadel of Meſſina is taken, be not true, or if, not'withſtanding the Spaniards have that port, their 'fleet, by contrary winds, or any other accident, 'ſhould not have got into the harbour, and that you 'have an opportunity of attacking them, I am per'ſuaded you will not let ſuch an occaſion ſlip; and 'I agree perfectly in opinion with what is recom'mended to you by Mr. Secretary Craggs, that the 'firſt blow you give ſhould, if poſſible, be deciſive.'

[*O*] *To obſerve Rear-Admiral Cammock, and hinder his eſcaping out of Meſſina to the ſouthward.*] Captain Mathews ſucceeded in this command; for he had the good fortune to run one of Cammock's ſhips a-ſhore, of ſixty-four guns, called the St. Roſelia; and another called the St. Pedre of ſixty guns, was caſt away in Tarento Bay. Admiral Cammock himſelf, endeavouring to get away to Spain in a ſmall frigate of twenty-two guns, was chaſed the 6th of February by a ſhip of Captain Mathews's ſquadron; and eſcaped with much difficulty in his boat to Catalonia; but the frigate was taken, with all his effects and papers, amongſt which was a commiſſion from the Pretender, appointing him Admiral of the white ſquadron.

This unhappy man was a native of Ireland, and being bred at ſea, had raiſed himſelf to the poſt of a Captain, and ſerved in our navy in Queen Anne's war, with a good character: but aſſociating himſelf with thoſe who were enemies to the houſe of Hanover, and becoming obnoxious to the government, on the acceſſion of that family to the crown, he abandoned his country, and entered into the ſervice of Spain, where he was promoted to the rank of a Rear-Admiral, and ſerved in that poſt in the expedition againſt Sicily. He was a man of a bold, enterprizing genius, of which he gave a remarkable inſtance or two, in the courſe of this expedition, which, as they are not at all foreign to our purpoſe, we ſhall relate, eſpecially as they were the actions of a native of this kingdom, though a degenerate one. The Germans being beſieged in Melazzo, a town in Sicily, and having no proviſions but what came by ſea from Calabria and other ports of Naples, Admiral Byng appointed Captain Walton to cruize with a ſquadron upon that ſtation, to hinder Rear-Admiral Cammock from coming out of the Fare, and to ſecure the paſſage of the veſſels with proviſions from the German camp, to which none had then arrived in a month; and Captain Walton being blown off his ſtation, Cammock took hold of this opportunity to get out of Meſſina, as the weather abated; and appearing before Tropea, with Engliſh colours, ſent a letter on ſhore to the Governor, under a fictitious name of one of the Engliſh Captains, acquainting him that he was come there by Admiral Byng's orders, to convoy the embarkations with proviſions to Melazzo; and preſſed him to diſpatch them away, the place being in the utmoſt diſtreſs. Had this ſtratagem ſucceeded, it would have entirely ruined the Emperor's affairs in Sicily: but the Governor happening to be a wary man, and obſerving the letter to be written on Genoa paper, from that ſingle circumſtance conceived a ſuſpicion, which made him refuſe to ſend the embarkation out to him. In the mean time, Admiral Byng, then at Naples, being made ſenſible of the extremities the Germans were reduced to, had no other way left, than to fill four men of war with proviſions, directing their Captains to attempt at all hazards to get to Melazzo, which three of them did, with much difficulty and danger (the fourth being diſabled by bad weather), and came providentially to the relief of the garriſon, at a time they muſt have otherwiſe ſurrendered to the enemy, or periſhed by famine. A few days after, Captain Walton recovered his ſtation, upon the ſight of whom Admiral Cammock retired into Meſſina.

The other project of Admiral Cammock's ſeemed leſs likely to ſucceed than the former: for after the deſtruction of the Spaniſh fleet, he aſſured Don Joſeph Patinho, who had the abſolute direction and management of the Spaniſh expedition, excepting the military

early in the ſpring from thence to Naples [*P*], where he adjuſted every thing with the Viceroy, and the German General, for the reduction of Sicily; in which he acted with ſuch zeal, and with ſuch ſucceſs, that the Imperial army was tranſported into the iſland, and ſo well ſupplied with all things neceſſary, from our fleet (which at the ſame time attended the motions of the enemy's army ſo cloſely), that it may be truly ſaid, the ſucceſs of that expedition was as much owing to the Engliſh Admiral, as to the German General; and that the Engliſh fleet did no leſs ſervice than the army. It was entirely owing to the Admiral's advice, and to his aſſiſtance, and ſupplies of cannon, powder, and ball, from his own ſhips, that the Germans retook the city of Meſſina, in the ſummer of the year 1719; after which the Admiral landed a body of Engliſh grenadiers, who very quickly made themſelves maſters of the Tower of Faro, by which having opened a free paſſage for their ſhips, he came to an anchor in Paradiſe-Road. This was a ſtep of great conſequence; for the officers of the Spaniſh men of war, which were in the Mole, perceiving this, began to deſpair of getting out to ſea, and unbent their ſails, unrigged their ſhips, and reſolved to wait their fate with that of the citadel; which gave the Admiral great ſatisfaction, who now found himſelf at liberty to employ his ſhips in other ſervices, which had been for a long time employed in blocking up that port. But while things were in this proſperous condition, a diſpute aroſe among the Allies, about the diſpoſition of the Spaniſh ſhips, when, after the citadel's being taken, they ſhould of courſe fall into their hands. This diſpute was happily ended [*Q*], by the Admiral's propoſing to erect a battery, and deſtroy them as they lay in the baſon; which was done accordingly, and thereby the ruin of the naval power of Spain completed. The Imperial Court had formed a deſign of conquering Sardinia, out of which they had been driven by the Spaniards: but our Admiral judged it more for the ſervice of the Houſe of Auſtria, that the army ſhould be immediately tranſported into Sicily, which might expedite the conqueſt of both iſlands; and according to his adtary part, that he could put moſt of the Engliſh fleet into his hands, in lieu of that he had loſt; in confidence of which, he wrote a letter to Sir George Byng, to let him know, that he had the Pretender's commands to aſſure him, if he would bring over the greateſt part of his fleet to Meſſina, or to any port in Spain, he would create him Duke of Albemarle, with a royal bounty of one hundred thouſand pounds to ſupport the honour and dignity of that rank; and that every Captain ſhould have ten thouſand pounds, and the ſeamen a gratuity of two months wages; that Signor Patinho would ſatisfy him of the King of Spain's ſecurity for the performance of this agreement, and that no body elſe but the Dukes of Ormond and Mar were in the ſecret.—Whether he wrote by direction or not, does not appear, but the letter met with the contempt it deſerved.——He likewiſe ſent another letter to Captain Walton, with the promiſe of a reward of ten thouſand pounds, a commiſſion of Admiral of the Blue, and to be made an Engliſh Peer, if he would bring his ſhips into Meſſina; which the honeſt Captain brought to the Admiral, with vehement expreſſions of abhorrence and indignation.

[*P*] *The Admiral ſailed early in the ſpring to Naples.*] During the Admiral's ſtay at Naples, an accident happened, ſingular enough to deſerve notice. The Viceroy of Naples, who ſtudied every way to make the place agreeable to the Admiral, on the feſtival of St. Januarius, had appointed him a box near his own, to behold that famous ceremony. The blood continued a long time without liquifying, at the approach of the head of that ſaint. The vaſt concourſe of people began to ſhew ſigns of concern: they fell firſt to praying, afterwards proceeded to groans and lamentations; and, at length, ſuch a confuſed murmuring and uneaſineſs were perceived among them, that the Viceroy, being apprehenſive of ſome bad conſequences, ſent Count Hamilton to the Admiral, to beg he would not take it ill, if he deſired him to retire, not knowing what effect it might have upon the populace, if they ſhould take it into their heads to attribute the failing of the miracle to the ſaint's being diſpleaſed at his preſence: the Admiral had no ſooner quitted his box, and was ſtepping into the Viceroy's coach, but he heard a prodigious ſhout of, *é falto, é falto, it is done, it is done*, and ſuch joy and exultation appeared in every countenance, as if they had been delivered from ſome terrible calamity.

[*Q*] *This diſpute was happily ended*, &c.] Signor Scarampi began the diſpute, and firſt ſtarted the queſtion, claiming the two beſt, of ſixty and ſixty-four guns, new ſhips, which had belonged to his maſter, the King of Sardinia, and were ſeized by the Spaniards in the port of Palermo. He grounded his right on the Convention made at Vienna, the 29th of December, 1718, in which it was ſaid, 'That as 'to the ſhips belonging to the King of Sardinia, if 'they had been taken in port, they ſhall be reſtored 'him; but that this ſhall be referred to Admiral 'Byng to anſwer.' To this the Admiral replied, 'That this Convention having been only a ground-'work for another to be made at Naples, he could 'be directed by none, but that which had been made, 'in conſequence thereof, in April 1719, between 'the Viceroy of Naples, the Marquis de Breille, 'Miniſter of Sardinia, and himſelf, in which no 'mention is made of thoſe ſhips; and as for the re-'ference to his opinion, he did freely declare, he 'could not think the King of Sardinia had any ſha-'dow of title to them; that they had been taken by 'the enemy, were now fitted and armed at their ex-'pence, and under their colours; that they would 'put out to ſea, if he did not hinder them, and at-'tack all the Engliſh ſhips they met with, and, if 'ſtronger, take them; ſo that they could not con-'ſider them in any light than that which they 'were, the ſhips of an enemy.' Count de Mercy next put in his claim for the Emperor, alleging, 'That as thoſe ſhips would be found within the port 'of a town taken by his maſter's arms, according to 'the right of nations they belonged to him.' The Admiral replied, 'That it was owing to his keeping 'two ſquadrons on purpoſe, and at a great hazard, 'to watch and obſerve thoſe ſhips, that they were 'now confined within the port, which if he was to 'withdraw, they would ſtill be able to get to ſea, 'and he ſhould have a chance of meeting with, and 'taking them.' But, reflecting afterwards with himſelf, that poſſibly the garriſon might capitulate for the ſafe return of thoſe ſhips into Spain, which he was determined never to ſuffer: that, on the other hand, the right of poſſeſſion might breed an inconvenient diſpute among the Princes concerned: and if it ſhould prove, that they did not belong to England, it were better they belonged to no body; he propoſed to Count Mercy to erect a battery, and deſtroy them as they lay in the baſon; who urged, that he had no orders concerning thoſe ſhips, and muſt write to Vienna for inſtructions about it. The Admiral replied, with ſome warmth, that he could not want a power to deſtroy every thing that belonged to the enemy; and inſiſted on it with ſo much firmneſs, that the General being concerned in intereſt, not to carry matters to a diſagreement, cauſed a batttery to be erected, notwithſtanding the proteſtation of Signor Scarampi, which in a little time ſunk and deſtroyed them.

vice, the expedition againſt Sardinia was laid aſide, and the reduction of Sicily firſt attempted. At Meſſina, the Admiral received another moſt gracious letter from the Emperor, wherein he ſignified to him, 'his approbation of a project that was the effect 'of his zeal and activity; the ſatisfaction he had in his wiſe conduct, and for his love 'and attachment to his Imperial perſon and auguſt houſe; and on all occaſions he 'ſhould give him marks of his affection and eſteem, and of his good remembrance of 'the ſervices he had done him.' The Admiral, in order to ſucceed in his ſcheme, and at the ſame time to procure artillery for carrying on the ſiege of the citadel of Meſſina, went over to Naples in Auguſt, and finding that the government was abſolutely unable to furniſh the military ſtores that were wanting, he very generouſly granted the cannon out of the Britiſh prizes, and procured, upon his own credit, and at his own riſk, powder and other ammunition from Genoa; and ſoon after went thither himſelf, in order to haſten the embarkation of the troops intended for Sicily, which was made ſooner than could have been expected, merely by his incredible labour and diligence, and in ſpite of the delays affected by the Count, afterwards Baſhaw, Bonneval, who was appointed to command them. At Genoa alſo, the Admiral received great honours and reſpect. At his arrival, the town ſaluted his flag with twenty-one guns, and his perſon with ten guns; and the Republic ſent off ſix Deputies, three of the old, and three of the new nobility, to compliment him upon his arrival. After a ſtay of about three weeks, he ſailed with the tranſports for Sicily, and arrived before Meſſina October the eighth, which ſo elevated the ſpirits of the army then beſieging the citadel, that upon the firſt ſight of the fleet, they made a vigorous attack upon a half-moon, and carried it. The admiral repairing a-ſhore to the General's quarters, was embraced by him and all the general officers, with the moſt tender marks of affection and gratulation; the whole army being overjoyed to ſee a man who always brought them relief and ſucceſs, and every good that attended them. In ten days after the Admiral's arrival at Meſſina, the citadel ſurrendered to the Germans; after which, Sir George Byng re-embarked a great part of the army, and landed them upon another part of the iſland [*R*], by which means they diſtreſſed the enemy to ſuch a degree, that the Marquis de Lede, commander of the Spaniſh forces, propoſed to evacuate the iſland; to which the Germans were very well inclined, and ſent to Vienna for inſtructions: but the Admiral proteſted againſt it, and declared, that the Spaniſh troops ſhould never be permitted to quit Sicily and return home, till a general peace was concluded; and ſent his eldeſt ſon to Vienna, with inſtructions, if the Imperial Court liſtened to the propoſals of the Spaniſh General, to declare, that his father could never ſuffer any part of the Spaniſh army to depart out of the iſland, till the King of Spain had acceded to the Quadruple Alliance, or till he received poſitive inſtructions from England for doing ſo. In this, Sir George Byng certainly acted as became a Britiſh Admiral; who, after having done ſo many ſervices for the Imperialiſts, might ſurely inſiſt on their doing what was juſt with reſpect to us, and on holding the Spaniſh troops in the uneaſy ſituation they now were, till they gave ample ſatisfaction to the Court of London, as well as to that of Vienna. The Admiral had the detention of the Spaniards in his own hands, ſince the Germans could do nothing in that matter without him; and our demands on the Court of Spain were as much for the intereſt of the common cauſe as for our own; ſo that though the ſteadineſs of Admiral Byng deſerves commendation, yet there ſeemed to be no great praiſes due to the German complaiſance. After this, the Spaniſh General laid a ſnare to ſeparate the Admiral from the Germans, by propoſing an agreement with him, for a ſeparate ceſſation of hoſtilities, but without effect [*S*]. But ſoon afterwards, when the Germans, with the aſſiſtance of the

[*R*] *And landed them upon another part of the iſland.*] Here the Admiral once more ſaved the Imperial army, by his admirable foreſight, judgment, and thought, in which he ſhewed a great ſuperiority over the Generals of the allies, who, even after the reduction of Meſſina, finding they could not ſubſiſt their army, nor undertake any action where they were, went to the Admiral, their old deliverer, and told him in a very deſponding manner, that they had reſolved to tranſport the army to Calabria and Syracuſa, for ſubſiſtence during the winter, and prayed his aſſiſtance. The Admiral replied, 'He hoped their affairs were 'not ſo deſperate as they apprehended; that he had 'been employing his thoughts for their ſervice, and 'believed he ſhould be able to extricate them out of 'their preſent circumſtances; that he was for tranſporting their army to Trapani, which would be 'turning the difficulty upon the Spaniards, by obliging the Spaniards to make uneaſy marches, and to 'keep the field in the winter; that they would 'thereby be able to enlarge their quarters, the granaries of corn would fall into their hands, and they 'would keep the city of Palermo in awe, till the 'ſeaſon would permit their attempting to reduce it, 'which would bring the war to a ſpeedy iſſue: That 'as the whole army could not be tranſported at once, 'he would ſend his Secretary to Tunis, the neareſt 'African port to Trapani, and employ him and the 'Engliſh Conſul there, to buy up whatever corn 'was neceſſary for ſubſiſting one part of the army 'at Trapani, till the reſt was arrived, for which 'ſervice, as he knew they had no money, he would 'employ his own caſh and credit, depending upon 'their honour for repayment.' Count de Mercy penetrating immediately into the facility and advantageous conſequences of this ſcheme, roſe up, and embracing the Admiral in a kind of tranſport, acknowledged, 'That he had hit upon the only method 'practicable, not only for the preſervation of the 'army, but even for puſhing on the war with ſucceſs.' And the ſcheme was accordingly executed ſucceſsfully.

[*S*] *Propoſing an agreement for a ſeparate ceſſation of hoſtilities, but without effect.*] The affair was this: The Marquis de Lede ſent to the Admiral a Spaniſh Gazette, wherein was publiſhed a treaty of ſuſpenſion of arms at ſea, concluded at the Hague, between the Miniſters of Great Britain, France, and Spain; and, therefore,

the Admiral, had begun the ſiege of Palermo, before which the Spaniards lay encamped, and juſt as the two armies were upon the point of engaging, a courier arrived in that lucky inſtant, from Spain, with full powers for the Spaniſh General to treat and agree about the evacuation of Sicily and Sardinia, in conſequence of the King of Spain's acceſſion to the Quadruple Alliance; upon which the two armies were drawn off, a ſuſpenſion of arms agreed on, the Germans put into the poſſeſſion of Palermo, and the Spaniards embarked for Barcelona; and the Admiral, after he had ſettled all affairs in Sicily, ſailed in Auguſt 1720, to Cagliari in Sardinia, where he aſſiſted at the conferences, with the Miniſters and Generals of the ſeveral powers concerned, wherein was regulated the manner of ſurrendering the iſland by the Spaniſh Viceroy to the Emperor, and the ceſſion of the ſame from the Emperor to the Duke of Savoy: and at the inſtance of this Prince, the Admiral did not depart, till he had ſeen the whole fully executed, the Spaniſh troops returned into Spain, and the Duke of Savoy put into quiet poſſeſſion of his new kingdom of Sardinia, in exchange for Sicily, according to the Quadruple Alliance; in all which affairs, the Admiral arbitrated ſo equally between them, that even the King of Spain expreſſed his great ſatisfaction in his conduct, to the Britiſh Court; and his behaviour was ſo acceptable to the Duke of Savoy, that his acknowledgments to him were accompanied with his picture ſet in diamonds. Thus ended the war of Sicily, wherein the fleet of Great Britain bore ſo illuſtrious a part, that the fate of the iſland was wholly governed by its operations; both competitors agreeing, that the one could not have conquered, nor the other have been ſubdued, without it. Never was any ſervice conducted, in all its parts, with greater zeal, activity, and judgment, nor was ever the Britiſh Flag in ſo high reputation and reſpect in thoſe diſtant parts of Europe. King George the Firſt, who had named the Admiral for that expedition, and knew his abilities, uſed to ſay to his Miniſters, when they applied for inſtructions to be ſent to him for his guidance on certain important occaſions, That he would ſend him none, for he knew how to act without any; and, indeed, all the meaſures which he took abroad were ſo exact and juſt, as to ſquare with the councils and plan of policy at home. In our relation of this expedition, we have entirely followed the account of it publiſhed in 1739, and have, by a bare recital of facts, without farther enquiries, ſhewn how well Sir George Byng executed his inſtructions: for in this conſiſts the merit of an Admiral, and for which alone he is anſwerable, and not at all for the rectitude of thoſe inſtructions. If this be not granted, we muſt never expect to be well ſerved at ſea: ſince the Admiral who takes upon him to interpret his inſtructions, will never want excuſes for his conduct, be it what it will; and if this be once granted, Sir George Byng muſt be allowed to have done his duty as well as any Admiral ever did; for to his conduct it was entirely owing that Sicily was ſubdued, and his Catholic Majeſty forced to accept the terms preſcribed him by the Quadruple Alliance. He it was, who firſt enabled the Germans to ſet foot in that iſland; by him they were ſupported in all they did; and by his counſels they were directed, or otherwiſe they had been expelled the iſland, even after the taking of Meſſina, as we have ſhewn above (*m*). The cauſe of the Emperor being become the cauſe of his Maſter, he ſerved the intereſt of that Prince, with a zeal and fidelity that ſtood a pattern to his own ſubjects. He lived in ſuch harmony with the Imperial Viceroys and Generals, as has been ſeldom ſeen among fellow-ſubjects united in command, the want of which has proved the ruin of many important expeditions. He was incapable of performing his duty in a cold or negligent manner, and when any ſervice was committed to his management, he devoted his whole time and application to it: nor could any fatigue or indiſpoſition of body, ever divert or interrupt his attention from any point that required preſent diſpatch. To this it might be in a great meaſure owing, that he was never unfortunate in any undertaking, nor miſcarried in any ſervice that was entruſted to his direction. For whoever will trace upwards to the ſprings and cauſes of public or private events, will find (excepting where the immediate finger of Providence is viſible)

(*m*) See note [S]. Lives of the Admirals, Vol. iv. p. 462.

therefore, he propoſed a ſeparate ceſſation of arms, and proteſted againſt any violences the Admiral ſhould commit, contrary to the plain inſtructions of their ſovereign. But the Admiral replied, that he could pay no regard to a pretended convention publiſhed in a foreign news-paper, and even in which there was a clauſe, that nothing in it ſhould derogate from what ſhould be agreed between him and the Marquis, for what concerns the Mediterranean-ſea: That as the Spaniſh Miniſter had ſigned the Quadruple Alliance ever ſince the 17th of February laſt, it was ſtrange the Marquis had received no orders for treating about the evacuation of the iſland, which was the neceſſary conſequence of it; and that as the time for doing this was elapſed, till he had ſecurity that the Marquis really intended it, he could not agree to a ſuſpenſion of arms. This was an adventurous proceeding in the Admiral: for his inſtructions from England directed him to come to a ſuſpenſion of arms with Spain, without ſtaying for ſettling the terms of evacuation, which might take up time. But his penetration ſhewed him, that if a ſuſpenſion took place at ſea, the Spaniards might introduce what ſuccours and troops they pleaſed into the iſland, which would unravel all they had been doing, and if any interruption happened in the negociations on foot, put the Spaniards in a better ſtate of proſecuting the war, and perhaps protracting it another year. He was jealous of their artifices, and found they took every advantage to evade the evacuation of the iſland; and, therefore, as the convention for a ceſſation of arms at ſea, ſigned at the Hague, February 29th, left him at liberty of treating as he thought proper, he determined to remain united with the Germans, which he prudently ſaw was the quickeſt way to bring the Spaniards to a compliance, and to come into real meaſures for evacuating the iſland. The event juſtified his precaution, and his conduct received at home the approbation it deſerved.

that

that what is uſually called ill-luck, is generally the effect of negligence or imprudence. He always proceeded upon ſolid principles, and left nothing to Fortune that could be accompliſhed by foreſight and application. His firmneſs and plain dealing were ſo apparent to the foreigners who treated with him upon buſineſs, that it contributed much to the diſpatch and ſucceſs of his tranſactions with them: for they could depend upon wha the ſaid; and as they ſaw he uſed no arts or chicanery himſelf, and had too diſcerning a ſpirit to ſuffer them to paſs unobſerved in others, they often found it their beſt policy to leave their intereſts in his hands and management, being very ſure of a moſt impartial and punctual performance of whatever he engaged in. His reputation was ſo thoroughly eſtabliſhed in this particular, that in the frequent diſputes and altercations which aroſe between the Savoyards and Germans in the courſe of the war, and between the latter and the Spaniards at the concluſion of it, wherein little faith or confidence was given to the promiſes or aſſeverations of each other, he was the common umpire between them, always ſhunning and oppoſing any extravagant or unjuſt demands (which the over-bearing temper of the German General was apt to ſuggeſt, where he had the ſuperior hand) and reconciling, as much as poſſible, the violences of war with the rules of honour and juſtice (*n*). After performing ſo many ſignal ſervices, when the Admiral departed from Italy to attend King George the Firſt, by his own command, at Hanover, his Majeſty, among many moſt gracious expreſſions of favour and ſatisfaction, told him, That he had found out the ſecret of obliging his enemies as well as friends, and that the Court of Spain had mentioned, with great acknowledgment, his fair and friendly behaviour, in the proviſion of tranſports and other neceſſaries for the embarkation of their troops, and in protecting them from many vexations and oppreſſions that had been attempted. No wonder that a man endowed with ſuch talents, and ſuch a diſpoſition, left behind him, in Italy and other foreign parts, the character of a great Soldier, an able Stateſman, and an honeſt Man. During his Majeſty's ſtay at Hanover, he began to reward the eminent ſervices of Sir George Byng, by making him Treaſurer of the Navy, and Rear-Admiral of Great Britain; and, on his return to England, one of his moſt honourable Privy-Council (*o*): and ſoon after, in 1721, he was created a Peer of Great Britain, by the Title of Viſcount Torrington, and Baron Byng of Southill in Bedfordſhire (*p*) [*T*]; and, in 1725, he was made one of the Knights of the Bath, upon the revival of that Moſt Ancient and Honourable Order. When his late Majeſty came to the Crown, he was pleaſed to place him at the Head of his naval affairs, as Firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, in which high ſtation he died at his houſe in the Admiralty, of an aſthma, in January 1733, in the ſeventieth year of his age, and lies buried at Southill in Bedfordſhire. His Lordſhip was but of a tender conſtitution, though well ſupplied with ſpirits, which did not diſplay themſelves ſo much in gaiety of converſation (for he was modeſt in his nature) as in activity in all the

(*n*) Account of the Expedition to Sicily, p. 195, 196.

(*o*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. iv. p. 100.

(*p*) Peerage of England, *ut ſupra*.

[*T*] *By the title of Viſcount Torrington*, &c.] The preamble to his Lordſhip's patent is as follows, greatly to the honour of his memory: 'As the grandeur and 'ſtability of the Britiſh empire depend chiefly upon 'knowledge and experience in maritime affairs, we 'eſteem thoſe worthy of the higheſt honours, who, 'acting under our influence, exert themſelves in 'maintaining our dominion over the ſea. It is for 'this reaſon that we have determined to advance to 'the dignity of Peerage, our truſty and well beloved 'Counſellor, Sir George Byng, Knight and Baronet, 'who being deſcended from an ancient family in 'Kent, and educated from his youth in the ſea ſervice, hath through ſeveral poſts arrived at the high'eſt ſtation and command in our navy, by the ſtrength 'of his own abilities, and a merit diſtinguiſhed by 'our predeceſſors and ourſelves, in the many import'ant ſervices, which he has performed with remark'able fidelity, courage, and ſucceſs. In the late vi'gorous wars, which raged ſo many years in Europe; 'wars fruitful of naval combats and expeditions, 'there was ſcarcely an action of any conſequence 'wherein he did not bear a principal part, nor were 'any dangers or difficulties ſo great, but he ſur'mounted them by his exquiſite conduct, and a good 'fortune that never failed him. Particularly, when 'a ſtorm was gathering in France, and it was un'certain upon what part of the coaſt it ſhould fall, 'with the greateſt ſagacity and diligence, he flew to 'the very place of danger, reſcuing our capital city 'of Scotland, from the threatened attack of a French 'ſquadron, which had many rebels and numerous 'forces on board; and by his very appearance, de'feated the vain hopes of the enemy, compelling 'them to relinquiſh their enterprize, and to ſeek 'their ſafety by a flight towards their own ports, not 'without loſs. With no leſs vigilance he repreſſed 'not long ſince the like machinations of the ſame 'traitors in the ports of France, who were ſo diſ'concerted at his preſence, as to abandon the ſchemes 'they had projected; for which ſervice we conferred 'on him the dignity of a Baronet, the firſt mark of 'our royal favour. Moreover, lately, when new 'contentions were ſpringing up in Italy, and the diſ'cord of Princes was on the point of embroiling Eu'rope again in a war, he did, with ſingular felicity 'and conduct, interpoſe with our ſquadron, cruſhing 'at one blow the laboured efforts of Spain, to ſet up 'a power at ſea, and advanced the reputation of our 'arms in the Mediterranean to ſuch a pitch, that our 'flag gave law to the contending parties, and enabled 'us to reſettle the tranquillity that had been diſ'turbed. It is juſt, therefore, we ſhould diſtinguiſh 'with higher titles, a ſubject who has ſo eminently 'ſerved us and his country, both as monuments of 'his own merit, and to influence others to a love 'and purſuit of Virtue. *Know ye therefore*, &c.'

B——M.

*** [In the two laſt editions of Collins's Peerage (28), it is ſaid, that Sir George Byng was born at Wrotham, in Kent, on the 27th of January, 1663. Upon what authority this additional circumſtance, of the place of his birth, is grounded, we cannot tell; as no ſuch aſſertion occurs in the early editions of Collins. Smith, the Author of the ancient and preſent State of the City and County of Cork in Ireland, and who is generally eſteemed an accurate Writer, ſays, that Sir George Byng, Viſcount Torrington, was born at Weſt Carbery in that County (29). It is certain that John Byng, Eſq; his Lordſhip's father, diſpoſed of the family eſtate at Wrotham; nor doth it appear where he afterwards ſettled. It is poſſible that he might be one of the adventurers who, before the Reſtoration, purchaſed forfeited eſtates in Ireland, or he might have ſome other reaſon for removing to that kingdom; which will account for what Smith relates concerning the birth of Sir George Byng.] K.

(28) Vol. vi. p. 306. edition of 1768. Vol. vi. p. 102. edition of 1779.

(29) Vol. ii. p. 422, 423. This circumſtance was pointed out to us by Mr. Reed.

duties and functions of life or buſineſs, in which he was indefatigable; and, by a continued habit of induſtry, he had hardened and inured a body, not naturally ſtrong, to patience under any fatigue. He had made no great proficiency in ſchool-learning (which the early age of going to ſea ſeldom admits of); but his great diligence, joined with excellent natural parts, and a juſt ſenſe of honour, made him capable of conducting difficult negociations and commiſſions, with proper dignity and addreſs. During the time he preſided in the Admiralty, he laboured in improving the naval force of this kingdom, in procuring encouragement for ſailors, who, in him, loſt a true friend; and in promoting the ſcheme for eſtabliſhing a corporation for relief of widows and children of commiſſion and warrant officers in the Royal Navy; and in every other ſervice to his country that he was capable of. His Lordſhip married, in 1691, Margaret, daughter of James Maſter, of Eaſt Langden in the county of Kent, Eſq; by whom he had eleven ſons and four daughters, of which there ſurvived him, Pattee, George, Robert, John, Edward, and Sarah married to the eldeſt ſon of Sir John Oſborne of Chickſand in Bedfordſhire, Bart. and mother of the late Sir Danvers Oſborne. The Lord Torrington was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Pattee, who was abroad with his father in the expedition to Sicily, and after his death was continued Treaſurer of the Navy, and appointed one of his Majeſty's Moſt Honourable Privy-Council. He was afterwards made Vice-Treaſurer of Ireland, and Captain of the Yeomen of the Guards: and dying, in 1746, without iſſue, was ſucceeded by his brother the Honourable Brigadier George Byng, the late Lord Viſcount Torrington.

*** [BYROM (John), a poetical Writer, and the inventor of a new Short Hand, was born at Kerſall, near Mancheſter, in 1691; and was a younger ſon of Mr. Edward Byrom, a Linen-draper; who was deſcended from a genteel family in Lancaſhire. Young Byrom having received the firſt rudiments of his education at his native place, was removed to Merchant Taylors School in London, in which excellent ſeminary his genius ſoon began to diſplay itſelf, and where he made ſuch an extraordinary progreſs in claſſical learning, that he was deſtined for the univerſity. Accordingly, at the age of ſixteen, he was ſent to Cambridge, and, on the 6th of July 1708, was admitted a Penſioner of Trinity College, under the tuition of Mr. Baker (*a*). In the Univerſity, he gave no greater ſhare of attention to logic and philoſophy than was neceſſary to qualify him for his degrees. The bent of his inclination was to poetry; and the firſt public ſpecimen of his talents in this way, appeared in his beautiful and natural Paſtoral, 'Colin to Phœbe [*A*], which was printed in the eighth volume of the Spectator, and has

(*a*) Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Baker was many years Vice-maſter of the College.

[*A*] *His beautiful and natural Paſtoral, 'Colin to Phœbe.'*] It is inſerted in the Spectator, No. 603, for October 6, 1714. Though it is ſo well known, it would be doing injuſtice to the Author not to introduce it in this place.

I.

'My time, O ye Muſes, was happily ſpent,
'When Phebe went with me wherever I went;
'Ten thouſand ſweet pleaſures I felt in my breaſt:
'Sure never fond ſhepherd like Colin was bleſt!
'But now ſhe is gone, and has left me behind,
'What a marvellous change on a ſudden I find!
'When things were as fine as could poſſibly be,
'I thought 'twas the Spring; but alas! it was ſhe.

II.

'With ſuch a companion to tend a few ſheep,
'To riſe up and play, or to lie down and ſleep:
'I was ſo good-humour'd, ſo cheerful and gay,
'My heart was as light as a feather all day;
'But now I ſo croſs and ſo peeviſh am grown,
'So ſtrangely uneaſy, as never was known.
'My fair one is gone, and my joys are all drown'd,
'And my heart——I am ſure, It weighs more than a pound.

III.

'The fountain, that wont to run ſweetly along,
'And dance to ſoft murmurs the pebbles among;
'Thou know'ſt, little Cupid, if Phebe was there,
'Twas pleaſure to look at, 'twas muſic to hear:
'But now ſhe is abſent, I walk by its ſide,
'And ſtill, as it murmurs, do nothing but chide;
'Muſt you be ſo cheerful, while I go in pain?
'Peace there with your bubbling, and hear me complain.

IV.

'My lambkins around me would oftentimes play,
'And Phebe and I were as joyful as they,
'How pleaſant their ſporting, how happy their time,
'When ſpring, love, and beauty were all in their prime!

V.

'My dog I was ever well pleaſed to ſee
'Come wagging his tail to my fair one and me;
'And Phebe was pleas'd too, and to my dog ſaid,
'Come hither, poor fellow; and patted his head.
'But now, when he's fawning, I with a ſour look
'Cry, Sirrah! and give him a blow with my crook:
'And I'll give him another; for why ſhould not Tray
'Be as dull as his maſter, when Phebe's away?

VI.

'When walking with Phebe, what ſights have I ſeen!
'How fair was the flower, how freſh was the green!
'What a lovely appearance the trees and the ſhade,
'The corn-fields and hedges, and ev'ry thing made!
'But now ſhe has left me, tho' all are ſtill there,
'They none of them now ſo delightful appear:
'Twas naught but the magic, I find, of her eyes,
'Made ſo many beautiful proſpects ariſe.

VII.

'Sweet muſic went with us both all the wood thro',
'The lark, linnet, throſtle, and nightingale too;
'Winds over us whiſper'd, flocks by us did bleat,
'And chirp went the graſshopper under our feet.
'But now ſhe is abſent, though ſtill they ſing on,
'The woods are but lonely, the melody's gone:
'Her voice in the concert, as now I have found,
'Gave ev'ry thing elſe its agreeable ſound.

VIII.

'Roſe, what is become of thy delicate hue?
'And where is the violet's beautiful blue?
'Does ought of its ſweetneſs the bloſſom beguile?
'That meadow, thoſe daſies, why do they not ſmile?

'Ah!

has always been very much admired. It is, indeed, the beſt of his poems, and has been the chief ground of his poetical reputation. He is ſaid, likewiſe, to have written, in the ſame volume of the Spectator, two ingenious letters on dreams (*b*). At Cambridge, Mr. Byrom proceeded to take both his Degrees in Arts;—and, in 1714, he was choſen Fellow of his College, the pleaſantry and ſweetneſs of his temper, and the general ſobriety and modeſty of his manners, having recommended him to the particular notice and favour of Dr. Bentley, the Maſter. His Fellowſhip, however, he did not long hold; being obliged to quit it, by the ſtatutes of the college, in 1716, on account of his not having entered into holy orders. Not long after, being indiſpoſed, he went to Montpelier, for the recovery of his health. During his reſidence in France, he met with Father Malebranche's 'Search after Truth,' and ſome pieces of Mademoiſelle Antoinette Bourignon; the conſequence of which was, that he came home ſtrongly poſſeſſed with the viſionary philoſophy of the former, and the enthuſiaſtic extravagances of the latter. He was particularly fond of Malebranche's notion of ſeeing all things in God (*c*); and it is evident, from his poems, that, in the latter part of his life, he was attached to Jacob Behmen. Upon his return to London, he had thoughts of applying to the practice of phyſic, but did not proceed ſo far as to take a degree in that ſcience; though, from that time, he uſually went, among his acquaintance, under the title of Dr. Byrom. Whilſt Mr. Byrom was in this undetermined ſtate with regard to his choice of a profeſſion, his mind was rendered ſtill more unſettled by a love affair. Two daughters of his uncle, Mr. Joſeph Byrom, a mercer at Manchеſter, having occaſion to viſit London, our poet became deeply enamoured of the younger of them, Miſs Elizabeth Byrom. He made known his paſſion to her before ſhe left London, and ſoon after followed her to Manchеſter, where, for a conſiderable length of time, he proſecuted his addreſſes with ſo much ardour, as to obtain the lady's conſent. But he was not equally ſucceſsful with her parents, who, being in opulent circumſtances, were extremely averſe to the match. Notwithſtanding this, he ventured to marry his couſin; and receiving no ſupport from her father, what little fortune he had of his own was ſoon exhauſted. In this exigence he had recourſe to his new Method of writing Short-hand [*B*], which he had invented when he reſided at Cambridge. He firſt taught it at Manchеſter; and, after ſome time, leaving his wife, by her own conſent, to the care of her relations in that place, he came to London, where he continued his inſtructions in the ſame art, for ſeveral years, by which means he obtained a competent ſubſiſtence. What rendered his ſituation leſs diſagreeable was, that his buſineſs being chiefly confined to the winter months, he had leiſure to ſpend the ſummer ſeaſon at Manchеſter with his family, which uſually received an annual increaſe. On the 29th of March, 1723-4, Mr. Byrom, under the title of M.A. was choſen a Fellow of the Royal Society. At length, the family eſtate at Kerſall devolved to him, by the death of his elder brother, Mr. Edward Byrom, without iſſue. After this acceſſion of fortune, the buſineſs of teaching ſhort-hand was not ſo aſſiduouſly purſued; and our author was at liberty fully to enjoy that conjugal felicity for which he had the higheſt reliſh, and which was rendered exquiſite by the undeviating fidelity of his wife, whoſe affection had never been leſſened by any events (*d*). During the latter part of his life, he

(*b*) They are in No. 586, and 593.

(*c*) Supplement to Biogr. Brit. p. 26, 27.

(*d*) *Ibid. ubi ſupra.*

'Ah! Rivals, I ſee what it was that you dreſt,
'And made your ſelves fine for—a place in her
'breaſt:
'You put on your colours to pleaſure her eye,
'To be pluckt by her hand, on her boſom to die.

IX.

'How ſlowly time creeps, till my Phebe return!
'While amidſt the ſoft zephyr's cool breezes I burn;
'Methinks if I knew whereabouts he would tread,
'I could breathe on his wings, and 'twould melt
'down the lead.
'Fly ſwifter, ye minutes, bring hither my dear,
'And reſt ſo much longer for't when ſhe is here.
'Ah Colin! old Time is full of delay,
'Nor will budge one foot faſter for all thou canſt
'ſay.

X.

'Will no pitying pow'r, that hears me complain,
'Or cure my diſquiet, or ſoften my pain?
'To be cur'd, thou muſt, Colin, thy paſſion remove;
'But what ſwain is ſo ſilly to live without love?
'No, deity, bid the dear nymph to return,
'For ne'er was poor ſhepherd ſo ſadly forlorn.
'Ah! what ſhall I do? I ſhall die with deſpair;
'Take heed, all ye ſwains, how you part with your
'fair (1).'

(1) Byrom's Miſcellaneous poems, vol. i. p. 1, 4.

[*B*] *He had recourſe to his new Method of writing Short-hand.*] This invention was owing to the following incident: Some manuſcript ſermons being communicated to him, written in ſhort-hand, he eaſily diſcovered the true reading; but obſerving the method to be clumſy and ill contrived, he ſet about inventing a better. The reſult of this was, his own method, which is very beautiful and eaſy, and is uſually known by the title of Byrom's Short-hand. Whilſt he was employed in teaching it, he received a challenge from *Weſton*, a famous competitor in the ſame art, the irregularity and defects of whoſe method he had often humorouſly expoſed. This challenge to a trial of ſkill was accepted; and in the conteſt, Mr. Byrom came off completely victorious, which increaſed the number of his pupils, among whom were ſeveral gentlemen of rank and quality; and particularly Lord Stanhope, afterwards the famous Earl of Cheſterfield. Our author occaſionally read a lecture to his ſcholars, upon the hiſtory and utility of ſhort-hand; which, being interſperſed with the ſtrokes of wit that were natural to him, was very entertaining. About the ſame time he became acquainted with that irregular genius, Dr. Byfield, with whom he uſed to have ſkirmiſhes of humour and repartee, at the Rainbow coffee-houſe, near Temple-Bar. Upon that chymiſt's deceaſe, who was the inventor of the *Sal volatile oleoſum*, Mr. Byrom wrote the following ſhort epitaph, *impromptu:*

Hic jacet Dr. Byfield, diu volatilis, tandem fixus.

Our author uſed to be called 'Grand Maſter,' by his ſhort-hand ſcholars (2).

(2) Supplement to Biogr. Brit. p. 27. Note. B. Byrom's Miſcellaneous Poems, vol. i. p. 16, 17. Notes.

employed himſelf almoſt entirely in writing a variety of pieces in verſe [C]; ſome of which are of a witty and humorous nature, but ſtill more are on ſerious ſubjects. Many of them are diſcuſſions of learned and critical queſtions. It was remarkable in Mr. Byrom, that he had ſo accuſtomed himſelf to the language of poetry, that he always found it the eaſieſt way of expreſſing his ſentiments upon every occaſion. He himſelf uſed to give this reaſon to his friends, for treating ſuch ſubjects in ſo uncommon a method; 'and it is to be preſumed, ſays the editor of his poems, that, if they are not 'found deficient in other reſpects, the novelty of the manner will rather be a recommendation than otherwiſe (e).' It may, however, be greatly doubted, whether our author's

(e) Preface to Byrom's Poems, p. ii.

[C] *Employed himſelf in writing a variety of pieces in verſe.*] Theſe were collected together in 1773, and printed at Mancheſter, in two volumes, 12mo. The firſt piece in the Collection, is 'Colin to 'Phœbe;' our opinion of which we have already given. There is another poem, entitled, 'Careleſs Content,' which partakes ſomething of the elegant ſimplicity and beauty of the 'Colin to 'Phœbe.' In general, Mr. Byrom deſerves rather the character of a ready verſifier, than of a poet; and many of his pieces are ſuch indifferent performances, that the ſuppreſſion of them would have been no loſs to the world. Some of his humorous copies of verſes are agreeable and pleaſing. As one ſpecimen of them, we ſhall inſert part of his Tale of the 'Three Black Crows.'

'Two honeſt tradeſmen, meeting in the Strand,
'One took the other, briſkly, by the hand;
'Hark-ye, ſaid he, 'tis an odd ſtory this
'About the crows!—I don't know what it is,
'Replied his friend.—No! I'm ſurpriſed at that;
'Where I come from it is the common chat;
'But you ſhall hear; an odd affair indeed!
'And, that it happen'd, they are all agreed:
'Not to detain you from a thing ſo ſtrange,
'A Gentleman, that lives not far from Change,
'This week, in ſhort, as all the Alley knows,
'Taking a puke, has thrown up three black crows.
'Impoſſible!—Nay but it's really true;
'I have it from good hands, and ſo may you——
'From whoſe, I pray—So having nam'd the man,
'Straight to enquire his curious comrade ran.
'Sir, did you tell—relating the affair——
'Yes, Sir, I did; and if it's worth your care,
'Aſk Mr. Such-a-one, he told it me,
'But, by the bye, 'twas *two* black crows, not *three*—
'Reſolv'd to trace ſo wond'rous an event,
'Whip, to the third, the Virtuoſo went,
'Sir—and ſo forth—Why yes; the thing is fact,
'Tho' in regard to number not exact;
'It was not *two* black crows, 'twas only *one*,
'The truth of *that* you may depend upon.
'The Gentleman himſelf told me the caſe——
'Where may I find him?—Why in ſuch a place.
'Away goes he, and having found him out,
'Sir, be ſo good as to reſolve a doubt——
'Then to his laſt informant he referr'd,
'And begg'd to know, if *true* what he had heard;
'Did you, Sir, throw up a black crow—Not I——
'Bleſs me! how people propagate a lie!
'Black crows have been thrown up, *three*, *two*, and *one*;
'And here, I find, all comes, at laſt, to *none!*
'Did you ſay *nothing* of a crow *at all?*——
'Crow—crow—perhaps I might, now I recall
'The matter over—And, pray Sir what was't?
'Why I was *horrid* ſick, and, at the laſt,
'I did throw up, and told my neighbour ſo,
'Something that was—*as black*, Sir, as a crow (3).'

(3) Byrom's Miſcellaneous Poems, vol. i. p. 49—51.

We ſhall add the 'Paſſive Participle's Petition,' originally addreſſed to the Printer of the Gentleman's Magazine, as it contains ſome uſeful hints, pleaſantly expreſſed.

'Urban, or Sylvan, or whatever name
'Delight thee moſt, thou foremoſt in the fame
'Of Magazining Chiefs, whoſe rival page
'With monthly medley courts the curious age;
'Hear a poor paſſive *Participle's* caſe,
'And, if thou can'ſt, reſtore me to my place.
'Till juſt of late, good Engliſh has thought fit
'To call me *written*, or to call me *writ*;
'But what is writ, or written, by the vote
'Of writers now, hereafter muſt be *wrote*:
'And what is *ſpoken* too, hereafter *ſpoke*;
'And meaſures never to be *broken*, *broke*.
'I never could be *driven*, but, in ſpite
'Of Grammar, they have *drove* me from my right.
'None could have *riſen* to become my foes;
'But what a world of enemies have *roſe!*
'Who have not *gone*, but they have *went* about,
'And, *torn* as I have been, have *tore* me out.
'Paſſive I am, and would be, and implore
'That ſuch abuſe may be henceforth *forbore*,
'If not *forborn*, for, by all Spelling Book,
'If not *miſtaken*, they are all *miſtook*:
'And, in plain Engliſh, it had been as well
'If what has *fall'n* upon me, had not *fell*.
'Since this attack upon me has *began*,
'Who knows what lengths in language may be *ran?*
'For if it once be *grew* into a law,
'You'll ſee ſuch work as never has been *ſaw*;
'Part of our ſpeech, and ſenſe, perhaps, beſide,
'Shakes when I'm *ſhook*, and dies when I am *di'd*.
'Then let the præter, and imperfect tenſe
'Of my own words to me remit the ſenſe:
'Or, ſince we two are oft enough agreed,
'Let all the learned take ſome better heed;
'And leave the vulgar to confound the due
'Of Præter Tenſe, and Participle too (4).'

(4) *Ibid.* p. 106, 107.

Our author's Epilogue to Hurlothrumbo, has much wit in it. It was compoſed with the friendly intention of pointing out to Mr. Johnſon * the extravagance and abſurdity of his play. But Mr. Johnſon was ſo far from perceiving the ridicule, that he received it as a compliment, and had it both ſpoken and printed (5). Mr. Byrom's Epigram on the feuds between Handel and Bononcini, was greatly admired; and Mr. Melmoth, who erroneouſly aſcribes it to Dr. Swift, has ſpoken of it with applauſe (6). The Epigram is as follows:

* A Dancing-Maſter, the writer of Hurlothrumbo.

(5) Poems, *ubi ſupra*, p. 215. Note.

(6) Fitzoſborne's Letters, p. 323, 324. 7th edit.

'Some ſay, compar'd to Bononcini,
'That Mynheer Handel's but a ninny;
'Others aver, that he to Handel,
'Is ſcarcely fit to hold a candle:
'Strange all this difference ſhould be,
'Twixt tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee!' (7).

(7) Poems, *ubi ſupra*, p. 343, 344.

It is ſaid that our author, before his death, committed his lighter verſes to the flames, among which might probably be ſome that were better than many of his pieces which have been preſerved (8). A pleaſant poem, not printed in his works, on his purchaſing, at an auction, a picture of Father Malebranche, is inſerted by Mr. Nichols, in one of the volumes of his Supplement to Johnſon's Poets (9). Among Mr. Byrom's critical diſſertations in verſe, is a Letter to Lord Willoughby, late Preſident of the Society of Antiquaries, concerning the patron of England. In this Letter our author contends, that we are all miſtaken in taking St. George of Cappadocia, or even any George, whether real or emblematical, for the patron of the Order of the Garter, or of the kingdom of England in general; ſince, in all probability, Pope Gregory the Great, under whoſe auſpices the Engliſh Saxons were converted to Chriſtianity by St. Auguſtine of Canterbuty, is our true and proper patron, and not St. George, whoſe name, by ſome means or other, has crept into the books, and into the patronage of the kingdom, to the

(8) From information of Mr. Nichols.

(9) The Volume was not publiſhed when this Note was written.

author's mode of carrying on religious controverſies, and writing literary diſſertations in verſe, will, on a peruſal, give much ſatisfaction to a judicious mind. Mr. Byrom died at Mancheſter, on the 28th of September, 1763, in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age. As the general tenor of his life was innocent and inoffenſive, ſo he bore his laſt illneſs with reſignation and chearfulneſs. The great truths of Chriſtianity had made, from his earlieſt years, a deep impreſſion upon his mind; and hence it was, that he had a peculiar pleaſure in employing his pen upon ſerious ſubjects. With reſpect to his lighter pieces, he might juſtly apply to them that diſtich of Ovid, which is made the motto to Mr. Waller's works,

'*Non ego mordaci diſtrinxi carmine quenquam*;
'*Nulla venenato eſt litera mixta joco (f).*']

K.

(f) *Ibid.* Supplement, *ubi ſupra*, p. 28.

(10) Poems, *ubi ſupra*, p. 100—104. Archæologia, vol. v. p. 12, 13.

the excluſion of that of St. Gregory (10). At the end of his Diſſertation, Mr. Byrom calls upon a *Willis*, a *Stukeley*, an *Ames*, or a *Pegge*, to conſider the matter. Accordingly, Mr. Pegge, in his obſervations on the Hiſtory of St. George, has fully examined, and, indeed, entirely confuted our poet's hypotheſis (11). His character is thus delineated by Mr. Pegge. 'My late worthy friend, Mr. Byrom, 'whoſe memory I ſhall always revere, was undoubt-'edly a man of parts and learning, but rather too 'fond ſometimes of a paradox, Amongſt his other 'qualifications, he had a particular knack at verſi-'fication, and has accordingly delivered his ſenti-'ments on this ſubject, as well as on all others, in 'a metrical garb; for, I preſume, we can ſcarcely 'call it a poetical one (12).

(11) Archæologia, vol. v. p. 12—32.

(12) *Ibid.* p. 13.

In the Gentleman's Magazine for September, 1780, is a curious original letter of Mr. Byrom's, in which he vindicates Monſ. Poiret againſt Mr. Leſley, and ſtrongly diſplays his own attachment to Madam Bourignon, and to the myſtics in general (13).

(13) Gent. Mag. vol. l. p. 423, 424.

C.

C.

***[CABOT (SEBASTIAN), a navigator of great eminence and abilities, was born at Briſtol about the year 1477 (*a*). He was ſon of John Cabot, a Venetian pilot [*A*], who reſided much in England, and particularly in the city of Briſtol; and who was greatly celebrated for his ſkill in navigation. Young Cabot was early inſtructed by his father in arithmetic, geometry, coſmography, and thoſe branches of knowledge which were beſt calculated to form an able and ſkilful ſeaman: and by the time he was ſeventeen years of age, he had already made ſeveral trips to ſea, in order to add to the theoretical knowledge which he had acquired, a competent ſkill in the practical part of navigation (*b*). The firſt voyage of any importance in which he was engaged, appears to have been that made by his father, for the diſcovery of unknown lands; and alſo, as it is ſaid, of a north-weſt paſſage to the Eaſt Indies. John Cabot was encouraged to this attempt by the diſcoveries of Columbus. It was in 1493, that Columbus returned from his firſt expedition; and in 1495, John Cabot obtained from King Henry VII. letters patent, empowering him and his three ſons, Lewis, Sebaſtian, and Sanctius, to diſcover unknown lands, and to conquer and ſettle them, for which they were to be admitted to many privileges; the king reſerving to himſelf one-fifth part of the neat profits; and with this ſingle reſtraint, that the ſhips they fitted out ſhould be obliged to return to the port of Briſtol (*c*). It was not till the year after theſe letters patent were granted, that any preparations were made for fitting out veſſels for the intended voyage; and then John Cabot had a permiſſion from his Majeſty, to take ſix Engliſh ſhips in any haven of the realm, of the burden of two hundred tons and under, with as many mariners as ſhould be willing to go with him. Accordingly, one ſhip was equipped at Briſtol, at the King's expence; and to this the merchants of that city, and of London, added three or four ſmall veſſels, freighted with proper commodities (*d*).

(*a*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, vol. i. p. 310. edit. 1779. and Grafton's Chronicle of the Affairs of England, folio 1569, p. 1323.

(*b*) Campbell, *ut ſupra*.

(*c*) *Ibid.* p. 258, 259.

(*d*) *Ibid.*

John Cabot, attended by his ſon Sebaſtian, ſet ſail with this fleet in the ſpring of the year 1497. They ſailed happily on their north-weſt courſe, till the 24th of June in the ſame year, about five in the morning, when they diſcovered the iſland of Baccalaos [*B*], now much better known by the name of Newfoundland. The very day on which they made this important diſcovery, is known by a large map, drawn by Sebaſtian Cabot, and cut by Clement Adams, which hung in the privy gallery at Whitehall; whereon was this inſcription under the author's picture: "Effigies Seb. Caboti, "Angli, Filii Jo. Caboti, Venetiani, Militis aurati, &c." and on this map was likewiſe the following account of the diſcovery, the original of which was in Latin: "In the year of "our Lord 1497, John Cabot, a Venetian, and his ſon Sebaſtian, with an Engliſh "fleet, ſet out from Briſtol, and diſcovered that iſland which no man before had at- "tempted. This diſcovery was made on the four and twentieth of June, about five "o'clock in the morning. This land he called *Prima Viſta* (or Firſt Seen), becauſe it "was that part of which they had the firſt ſight from the ſea. The iſland, which lies

[*A*] *Son of John Cabot, a Venetian pilot.*] Dr. Campbell obſerves, that 'the Venetians, throughout this whole century, and indeed for ſome ages before, were by far the moſt general traders in Europe; and had their factories in moſt of the northern kingdoms and ſtates, for the better managing their affairs. In England, eſpecially, many of them ſettled, at London and Briſtol particularly; and, in this laſt place, dwelt John Gabota, Gabot, or, as our writers uſually call him, John Cabot.—He had been long in England, ſince his ſon Sebaſtian, who was born at Briſtol, was old enough to accompany him in his firſt voyage: he was, it ſeems, a man perfectly ſkilled in all the ſciences requiſite to form an accompliſhed ſeaman, or a general trader; and having heard much of Columbus's expedition, he addreſſed himſelf to the King, with propoſals for making like diſcoveries, in caſe he met with due encouragement (1).'

(1) Lives of the Britiſh Admirals, vol. i. p. 258. edit. 1779.

John Cabot had other ſons beſides Sebaſtian, who were likewiſe inſtructed in the art of navigation, and became alſo eminent men, and ſettled abroad, one in Genoa, the other at Venice (2).'

(2) *Ibid.* p. 310.

John Cabot appears to have received the honour of knighthood from King Henry VII. (3).

(3) *Ibid.* p. 259.

[*B*] *They diſcovered the iſland of Baccalaos.*] They are ſaid to have given it this name, from a ſpecies of fiſh which was found on its coaſt in great abundance, and which the natives called *Baccalaos* (4).

(4) Campbell, *ubi ſupra*, p. 212. and Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 86.

"out

" out before the land, he called the iſland of St. John, probably becauſe it was diſ-
" covered on the feſtival of St. John the Baptiſt. The inhabitants of this iſland wore
" beaſts ſkins [*C*], and eſteemed them as the fineſt garments." To this Purchas adds, " In their wars they uſed bows, arrows, pikes, darts, wooden clubs, and ſlings.
" They found the ſoil barren in ſome places, and yielding little fruit; but it was full
" of white bears and ſtags, far larger than thoſe of Europe. It yielded plenty of fiſh,
" and thoſe of the larger kind, as ſeals and ſalmon. They found ſoles there above a
" yard in length, and great abundance of that kind of fiſh which the ſavages called
" baccalaos. They alſo obſerved there partridges, as likewiſe hawks and eagles; but
" what was remarkable in them, they were all as black as ravens (*e*)."

(*e*) Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 86.

The accounts of this voyage made by John Cabot, accompanied by his ſon Sebaſtian, are, in ſome reſpects, involved in much obſcurity; and Sebaſtian is ſuppoſed to have made ſome voyages of diſcovery without his father, in the reign of Henry VII. of which no narrations have been preſerved [*D*]. However, it appears that John Cabot, after the diſcovery of Newfoundland, ſailed down to Cape Florida, and then returned with three Indians, and a good cargo to England, where he was well received (*f*). The diſcovery that he and his ſon had made was, indeed, as Dr. Campbell obſerves, very important; " ſince, in truth, it was the firſt time the continent of America had been
" ſeen; Columbus being unacquainted therewith till his laſt voyage, which was the
" year following, when he coaſted along a part of the iſthmus of Darien (*g*)."

(*f*) Campbell, *ubi ſupra*, p. 259, 260.

(*g*) *Ibid.* p. 260.

After the voyage in which Newfoundland was diſcovered, there is a conſiderable chaſm in the life of Sebaſtian Cabot; for we have no diſtinct accounts of what he performed for the ſpace of twenty years together, though he probably performed ſeveral voyages during that period. Nor have we any account at what time, or in what place, his father, John Cabot, died; though it is ſuppoſed to have been in England (*h*). The next tranſaction concerning Sebaſtian Cabot, of which we meet with any mention, was in the eighth year of the reign of King Henry VIII. and our accounts relative to this are not very clear. But it ſeems he had entered into a cloſe connexion with Sir Thomas Pert, then vice-admiral of England, and who procured him a good ſhip of the king's, in order to make diſcoveries. It is ſuppoſed, however, that he had now changed his route, and intended to have paſſed by the South to the Eaſt Indies; for he ſailed firſt to Brazil, and, miſſing there of his purpoſe, ſhaped his courſe for the iſlands of Hiſpaniola and Porto Rico, where he carried on ſome traffic, and then returned, failing abſolutely in the deſign upon which he went; not through any want either of courage, or of conduct in himſelf, but from the timidity of his coadjutor [*E*] Sir Thomas Pert (*i*).

(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 261.

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 313.

It was this diſappointment which is ſuppoſed to have induced Sebaſtian Cabot to leave England, and go over into Spain. There he was treated with great reſpect, and appointed Pilot-major, or chief Pilot of Spain; and by his office entruſted with the reviewing of all projects for diſcovery; which, at that period were numerous and important. His great capacity and reputation as a navigator, induced many opulent merchants to treat with him, in the year 1524, about a voyage to be undertaken at their expence,

[*C*] *The inhabitants of this iſland wore beaſts ſkins.*] Fabian ſays, in his Chronicle, that there were brought unto King Henry VII. 'three men taken 'in the new 'found iſland: theſe, ſays he, were cloathed in 'beaſts ſkins, and did eat raw fleſh, and ſpake ſuch 'ſpeech that no man could underſtand them, and in 'their demeanor like brute beaſts, whom the king 'kept a time after; of the which, upon two years 'after, I ſaw two apparelled after the manner of 'Engliſhmen, in Weſtminſter palace, which that 'time I could not diſcern from Engliſhmen, till I 'learned what they were; but as for ſpeech, I heard 'none of them utter one word (5).'

(5) Campbell, *ubi ſupra*, p. 261.

[*D*] *Is ſuppoſed to have made ſome voyages of diſcovery without his father, in the reign of Henry* VII. *&c.*] Dr. Campbell obſerves, that 'a very intelligent Spaniſh writer, who is very exact in his chronology, tells us, that when Cabot ſailed at the expence of King Henry VII. in order to make diſcoveries towards the north, he paſſed beyond cape Labrador, ſomewhat more than fifty-eight degrees 'north latitude, then turning towards the weſt, he 'ſailed along the coaſt to thirty-eight degrees; 'which agrees very well with our accounts of John 'Cabot's voyage: but Ramuſio, the Italian collector, who had the letter of Sebaſtian Cabot before 'him when he wrote, ſpeaks of a voyage wherein he 'ſailed north and by weſt to ſixty-ſeven degrees and 'an half, and would have proceeded farther, if he 'had not been hindered by a mutiny among his 'ſailors. The writers in thoſe days had no preciſion; they ſet down facts very confuſedly, without 'much attending to circumſtances; and were ſtill 'leſs ſolicitous about dates, which gives thoſe who 'come after them much trouble, and yet ſeldom 'attaining any certainty; which, I muſt acknowledge, is the caſe here. It is, however, probable, 'that Sebaſtian made more than one, perhaps more 'than two voyages into theſe parts, by virtue of 'King Henry VIIth's commiſſion (6).' Whatever voyages he made during this period, no account of them is preſerved: though Mr. Lediard obſerves, that 'it is not to be doubted, but a man ſo curious, and of ſo much knowledge and experience, as 'it appears Sebaſtian was, kept a particular detail 'of what he had ſeen, and what had happened to 'him during his voyages. But by what accident, 'or neglect, the world has been deprived of it, is 'unknown (7).'

(6) Lives of the Admirals, *ubi ſupra*, p. 311.

(7) Naval Hiſtory, *ut ſupra*.

[*E*] *From the timidity of his coadjutor.*] 'If manly courage had not been wanting in theſe our 'days, at ſuch time as our Sovereign Lord, of noble 'memory, King Henry VIII. about the ſame year 'of his reign, furniſhed and ſent out certain ſhips 'under the governance of Sebaſtian Cabot, yet living, and one Sir Thomas Pert, whoſe faint heart 'was the cauſe that the voyage took none effect: if, 'I ſay, ſuch manly courage had not at that time 'been wanting, it might happily have come to paſs, 'that the rich treaſury called Perularia, (which is 'now in Spain, in the city of Seville, and ſo named, for that in it is kept the infinite riches brought 'thither from the new-found land of Peru) might 'long ſince have been in the Tower of London, to 'the King's great honour, and wealth of this 'realm (8).'

(8) Hakluyt's principal Navigations, Voyages, and Diſcoveries of the Engliſh nation, edit. 1589. p. 515.

by the new found paſſage of Magellan to the Moluccos; and Cabot accordingly agreed to engage in the voyage (*k*). He ſet ſail from Cadiz, with four ſhips, about the beginning of April 1525, firſt to the Canaries, then to the Cape Verd Iſlands, and from thence to Cape St. Auguſtine, and the iſland of Patos, or Geeſe; and near *Bahia de Todos los Santos*, or the bay of All Saints, he met a French ſhip. When he came to the iſland juſt mentioned, he was in great want of proviſions; but the Indians treated him with much kindneſs, and ſupplied him with proviſions for all his ſhips. This he returned by an act of baſe ingratitude, carrying off with him by force four ſons of the principal perſons of the iſland (*l*). He then proceeded to the river of Plate, having left aſhore, on a deſart iſland, Martin Mendez, his Vice-admiral, Captain Francis de Rojas, and Michael de Rojas, becauſe they cenſured his conduct (*m*). He was now prevented from proſecuting his original deſign, of going to the Spice Iſlands, both by a ſcarcity of proviſions, and a mutiny among his men (*n*). He ſailed, however, up the river of Plate; and, about thirty leagues above the mouth, he found an iſland which he called St. Gabriel, about a league in compaſs, and half a league from the continent towards Brazil. There he anchored; and, rowing with the boats three leagues higher, diſcovered a river he called San Salvador, or St. Saviour, very deep, and a ſafe harbour for the ſhips on the ſame ſide; whither he brought up his veſſels, and unloaded them, becauſe there was not much water at the mouth of the river. Having built a fort, and left ſome men in it, he determined to proceed up that river with boats, and a flat-bottomed caravel, in order to make diſcoveries; for he thought his voyage might thereby be rendered beneficial, though he did not paſs through the Straits to the Spice Iſlands. When he had advanced thirty leagues, he came to a river called Zarcarana; the inhabitants in the neighbourhood of which he found to be intelligent, and not unfriendly; and here he erected another fort, calling it *Santi Spiritus*, i. e. of the Holy Ghoſt, and his followers by another name, *viz.* Cabot's Fort. He then diſcovered the ſhores of the river Parana, where he found ſeveral iſlands and rivers, and at length came to the river Paraguay, in the neighbourhood of which he found people tilling the ground; a circumſtance which had not occurred to him before in that part of the world. But here the natives oppoſed him with ſo much vigour, that he advanced no farther, though he had killed many of the Indians; but they ſlew twenty-five of his Spaniards, and took three of them, who went out to gather palmetos (*o*).

While Sebaſtian Cabot was thus employed, James Garcia, with the ſame view of making diſcoveries, had entered the river of Plate, without knowing that the other was there before him. He had been ſent from Galicia with two veſſels, and came to an anchor in the ſame place where Cabot's ſhip lay, about the beginning of the year 1527. Directing his courſe towards the river Parana, he arrived at the fort built by Cabot; and about one hundred and ten leagues from this fort, he found Cabot himſelf in the port of St. Anne. After a ſhort ſtay there, they returned together to the fort of the Holy Ghoſt, from whence they ſent meſſengers into Spain. Thoſe who were diſpatched by Cabot, were Francis Calderon and George Barlow, who gave a very favourable account of the fine countries bordering on the river La Plata, ſhewing how large a tract of land he had not only diſcovered, but ſubdued; and producing gold, ſilver, and other valuable commodities, as evidences in favour of their commander's conduct. They then demanded on his behalf, that a ſupply ſhould be ſent of proviſions, ammunition, goods proper to carry on a trade, and a competent recruit of ſeamen and ſoldiers. But the merchants, by whom Cabot's ſquadron was fitted out, would not agree to theſe requiſitions, rather chooſing to reſign their rights to the crown of Caſtile. The King then took the whole upon himſelf; but was ſo dilatory in his preparations, that Cabot, who had been five years employed in this expedition, being quite tired out, determined to return home; which he accordingly did, embarking the remainder of his men, and all his effects, on board the largeſt of his ſhips, and leaving the reſt behind him. He arrived at the Spaniſh court, where he gave an account of his expedition, in the ſpring of the year 1531. But he was not well received: for he had created himſelf enemies, by the rigour with which he had treated his Spaniſh mutineers; and he had alſo diſappointed the expectations of his owners, by not proſecuting his voyage to the Moluccos. Notwithſtanding theſe unfavourable circumſtances, he found means to keep his place, and continued in the ſervice of Spain many years after, till at length he reſolved to return again to England (*p*). What were his particular inducements to this, we meet with no certain account.

It is conjectured, that it was about the latter end of the reign of King Henry VIII. when Cabot returned to England, where he reſided at Briſtol. In the beginning of the following reign, he was introduced to the Duke of Somerſet, then Lord Protector, who received him into great favour, and by whom he was made known to King Edward VI. That young prince, who was very ſolicitous to acquire knowledge, and who had much more ſkill in maritime affairs than could have been expected from his years, took great pleaſure in the converſation of Cabot, to whom a penſion was granted, by letters patent, dated January 6, 1549, of 166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* a year (*q*): and, according

(*k*) Campbell, *ubi ſupra*, p. 314.

(*l*) *Id. ibid.*

(*m*) *Id. ibid.*

(*n*) Introductory Diſcourſe to Churchill's Collection of Voyages and Travels, p. 45. edit. 1732.

(*o*) Campbell, *ubi ſupra*, p. 315.

(*p*) *Ibid.* p. 316.

(*q*) *Ibid.* p. 317.

according to Hakluyt, this annuity was allowed him as Grand Pilot of England. From this time he continued highly in the King's favour, and was conſulted upon all affairs relative to trade, and particularly in the great caſe of the merchants of the Steel-yard [*F*], in 1551 (*r*).

(*r*) Campbell, *ubi ſupra*, p. 317.

In May 1552, the King granted a licence, together with letters of ſafe conduct, to ſuch perſons as ſhould embark on board three ſhips, to be employed for the diſcovery of a paſſage, by the North, to the Eaſt-Indies. Sebaſtian Cabot was at that time Governor of the company of Merchant-adventurers: and this enterprize was undertaken by his advice, and the countenance of the Court obtained for it by his intereſt (*s*). When the neceſſary preparations were made for this voyage, Cabot delivered to the commander in chief thoſe directions, by which he was to regulate his conduct; the title of which ran thus: "Ordinances, inſtructions, and advertiſements, of and for the direc-"tion of the intended voyage for Cathay; compiled, made, and delivered by the right "worſhipful Sebaſtian Cabot, Eſq; Governor of the myſtery and company of the "Merchant-adventurers for the diſcovery of regions, dominions, iſlands, and places "unknown, the 9th of May, in the year of our Lord God 1553 (*t*)." Theſe inſtructions are preſerved in Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages; and Dr. Campbell obſerves, that they "are the cleareſt proofs of Cabot's ſagacity and penetration, and the fulleſt "juſtification of ſuch as did repoſe their truſt in him (*u*):" and it appears, that in conſideration of his expence and trouble in this affair, his Majeſty made him a preſent of two hundred pounds (*w*).

(*s*) *Ibid* p. 319.

(*t*) *Id. ibid.*

(*u*) *Id. ibid.*

(*w*) *Id. ibid.*

It has been ſuppoſed, that there were two undertakings of this kind; "one under "the immediate protection of the Court, which did not take effect; and the other by "a joint ſtock of the merchants, which did (*x*)." But this ſeems hardly probable; for we meet with no diſtinct account of any other expedition to the northern ſeas being undertaken at this time, but that in which Sir Hugh Willoughby commanded, which produced the important diſcovery of the trade to Archangel; and this voyage was evidently undertaken under the direction of Sebaſtian Cabot [*G*].

(*x*) *Id. ibid.*

He

[*F*] *The great caſe of the merchants of the Steel-yard.*] Dr. Campbell ſays, 'Theſe merchants are 'ſometimes called of the Hanſe, becauſe they came 'from the Hanſe-towns, or free cities in Germany; 'ſometimes Almains, from their country: they ſet-'tled here in or before the reign of Henry III. and 'imported grain, cordage, flax, hemp, linen cloth, 'wax, and ſteel; whence the place in Dowgate-'ward, where they dwelt, was called the Steel-'yard, which name it ſtill retains. The Kings of 'England encouraged them at firſt, and granted 'them large privileges; amongſt others, that of ex-'porting our woollen cloths: they had likewiſe an 'Alderman, who was their chief magiſtrate; and in 'conſideration of various grants from the city, 'they ſtood bound to repair Billingſgate, and were 'likewiſe under other obligations. By degrees, 'however, the Engliſh coming to trade themſelves, 'and importing many of the commodities in which 'theſe Germans dealt, great controverſies grew 'between them; the foreigners, on all occaſions, 'pleading their charter, which the Engliſh mer-'chants treated as a monopoly, not well warranted 'by law.

'At laſt the company of Merchant-adventurers, 'at the head of which was our Sebaſtian Cabot, on 'the 29th of December, 1551, exhibited to the 'Council an information againſt theſe merchants of 'the Steel-yard, to which they were directed to put 'in their anſwer. They did ſo; and after ſeveral 'hearings, and a reference to the King's Solicitor-'General, his counſel learned in the law, and the 'Recorder of London, a decree paſſed on the 24th 'of February, whereby theſe merchants of the Steel-'yard were declared to be no legal corporation: yet 'licences were afterwards granted them from time 'to time, for the exportation and importation of 'goods, notwithſtanding this decree, which remain-'ed ſtill in full force and virtue. The great offence 'objected to them was, that whereas, by their char-'ter, they were allowed to export goods at one and 'a quarter *per cent.* cuſtom, which gave them a great 'advantage, they, not content with this, in direct 'violation of that charter, covered other foreign 'merchants ſo, that in one year they exported forty-'four thouſand cloths, and all other ſtrangers but 'one thouſand one hundred. Theſe merchants of 'the Steel-yard being immenſely rich, ventured 'now and then upon ſuch tricks as theſe; and 'then, by paying a round ſum, procured a renewal 'of their charter (9).'

(9) Lives of the Admirals, *ubi ſupra*, p. 318, 319.

[*G*] *This voyage was evidently undertaken under the direction of Sebaſtian Cabot.*] Sir William Monſon ſays, that Cabot 'gave the only information 'and inſtruction to the new-began voyage and diſ-'covery of Sir Hugh Willoughby, in 1553 (10).'

(10) Naval Tracts, publiſhed in Churchill's Collection of Voyages, vol. iii. p. 409.

Three ſhips had been equipped for this expedition, and they ſailed for Graveſend on the 18th of May, 1553. They were 'under the command of 'Sir Hugh Willoughby, an Engliſh knight, and 'Richard Chancellor, Vice-commodore, with or-'ders to endeavour to find out a paſſage to the 'north-eaſt, through the Tartarean ſea to China. 'Thoſe three ſhips purſued their voyage together, 'without any ſiniſter accident, till they came to the 'height of Wardhuys and Lapland, where Richard 'Chancellor being ſeparated from the reſt by foggy 'and ſtormy weather, he cruiſed up and down on 'thoſe ſeas, in hopes to meet with them again, till 'at laſt he arrived accidentally in the bay of St. 'Nicholas, under the Muſcovite juriſdiction, but 'unfrequented by any Europeans before. Being got 'into the acquaintance of ſome Muſcovites, he re-'ſolved to wait in perſon on the then great Duke 'John Baſilovitz; who being then engaged in the 'Livonian war, which had much interrupted the 'Eaſtland trade, was very willing to encourage the 'Engliſh, by granting them conſiderable privileges 'for the promoting of trade, which has been ſince 'carried on by the Engliſh to their no ſmall ad-'vantage.'

'Sir Hugh Willoughby, after he had been toſſed 'up and down for a long time, did at laſt (accord-'ing to the Diary writ by his own hand) *viz.* on 'the 14th of Auguſt, come to an anchor near a 'country ſituate under the ſeventy-ſecond degree; 'which country ſince has been ſtiled in many maps, '*Sir Hugh Willoughby's country*. From thence he 'purſued his voyage along thoſe coaſts, till the ſud-'den approaching winter obliged him to enter a cer-'tain harbour, where to paſs the winter. He ſent 'abroad three of his men to the ſouth-weſt, to view 'the country, and to endeavour to diſcover ſome of 'the inhabitants: but thoſe returning without ſuc-'ceſs, within three days after, he ordered three 'others to the weſt ſide; but theſe alſo failing in their

He was alſo Governor of the Ruſſia Company. A charter was granted by King Philip and Queen Mary, in the firſt year of their reign, to the merchants of Ruſſia, ſince ſtiled the Ruſſia Company; whereby Cabot was made Governor for life, on account of his being principally concerned in fitting out the firſt ſhips employed in that trade. Letters patent were likewiſe iſſued, dated St. James's, November 27, 1555, in the ſecond and third years of Philip and Mary; wherein their Majeſties granted him an annuity of one hundred ſixty-ſix pounds thirteen ſhillings and four-pence, during his natural life (*y*). He was very active in the affairs of the Ruſſia Company; and in the Journal of Stephen Burroughs, it is obſerved, that on the 27th of April, 1556, he went down to Graveſend, and there going on board the Serch-thrift, a ſmall veſſel fitted out under the command of Mr. Burroughs for Ruſſia, he gave generouſly to the ſailors; and, on his return to Graveſend, he extended his alms very liberally to the poor, deſiring them to pray for the ſucceſs of this voyage. It is alſo mentioned, as an evidence of his chearful temper, that he cauſed a grand entertainment to be made at the ſign of the Chriſtopher, at Graveſend, on this occaſion; and, as Mr. Burroughs ſays, "for the "very joy he had to ſee the towardneſs of our intended diſcovery, he entered into "the dance himſelf (*z*)" This is the laſt circumſtance related of Cabot; who is ſuppoſed to have died ſome time in the following year, when he was probably near eighty; though his age cannot now be exactly aſcertained. He was a very able and ſkilful navigator, and had a very high reputation in his own time: and Dr. Campbell obſerves of him, that "by his capacity and integrity, he contributed not a little to the ſervice of "mankind in general, as well as of this kingdom; for it was he who firſt took notice "of the variation of the compaſs, which is of ſuch mighty conſequence in navigation, "and concerning which the learned have buſied themſelves in their inquiries ever "ſince (*a*)."] T.

(*y*) Campbell, *ubi ſupra*, p. 320.

(*z*) *Ibid.* p. 321.

(*a*) *Id. ibid.*

'their hopes, three more were diſpatched towards 'the ſouth-eaſt, who likewiſe returned without having been able to find out any inhabitants. Thus 'far Sir Hugh Willoughby's Diary. He himſelf 'was found frozen to death, with the crew of his 'two ſhips, conſiſting of ſeventy perſons, in an obſcure harbour of Lapland, called *Areina Kacea*, 'being diſcovered by ſome Ruſſian fiſhermen, who 'accidentally came that way (11).']

(11) Churchill's Collection of Voyages, vol. i. p. 439.

CÆSAR (JULIUS), a learned Civilian in the end of the XVIth, and beginning of the XVIIth century, was born near Tottenham in Middleſex (*a*) in the year 1557 [*A*]. His father was Cæſar Adelmar (*b*), phyſician to Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth; lineally deſcended from Adelmar Count of Genoa, and Admiral of France, in the year of Chriſt 806, in the reign of Charles the Great. This Cæſar Adelmar's mother was daughter to the Duke *de Ceſarini*, from whom he had the name of Cæſar (*c*); which name, Mary I. Queen of England, ordered to be continued to his poſterity [*B*]: and his father was Peter Maria Dalmarius, of the city of Trevigio in Italy, Doctor of Laws, ſprung from thoſe of his name living at Cividad del Friuli (*d*). Julius, who is the ſubject of this article, had his education in the univerſity of Oxford, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, May 17, 1575, as a Member of Magdalen-Hall (*e*). Afterwards he went and ſtudied in the Univerſity of Paris; where, in the beginning of 1581, he was created Doctor of the Civil Law, and had letters teſtimonial for it, under the ſeal of that Univerſity (*f*), dated the 22d of April, 1581 [*C*]. He was admitted to the ſame degree at Oxford, March the 5th, 1583; and alſo became Doctor of the Canon Law (*g*). In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, he was Maſter of Requeſts, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, and Maſter of St. Catherine's Hoſpital near the Tower (*h*). On the 22d of January 1595, he was preſent at the confirmation of Richard Vaughan Biſhop of Bangor, in the church of St. Mary le Bow, London (*i*). Upon King James's acceſſion to the throne, having before diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his merit and abilities, he was knighted by that Prince, at Greenwich, May 20, 1603 (*k*). He was alſo conſtituted Chancellor and Under-Treaſurer of the Exchequer (*l*); and on the

(*b*) Or *Dalmarius*, Dalmare, or Athelmer.

(*c*) From the inſcription under his picture at Benington in Hertfordſhire. Hiſt. of Hertfordſhire, by N. Salmon, edit. 1728, fol. p. 367.

(*f*) *Id. ibid.* col. 125.

(*g*) *Ibid.*

(*h*) From an inſcription under his picture at Benington. See Salmon, as above, p. 367. See alſo his epitaph below.

(*l*) See the inſcription under his picture, as above. Chauncy calls him only Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaſter.

(1) Fuller's Worthies, *ubi ſupra*, p. 186.

(2) See Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Addit. London, 1720, vol. i. Book iii. p. 100—104. and Wood, Faſti, vol. i. col. 125.

(*a*) J. Norden, in Deſcript. of Middleſex: and T. Fuller's Worthies of England, in Middleſex, p. 179, edit. 1662. His father had a houſe near Tottenham.

(*d*) Wood, Faſti, vol. i. edit. 1721, col. 111.

(*e*) *Ibid.*

(*i*) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, Lond. 1718, fol. p. 487.

(*k*) Stow's Annals, edit. 1631, fol. p. 824. Sir Hen. Chauncy ſays it was the 11th. Hiſt. of Hertfordſhire, p. 369.

(3) Hiſt. of Hertfordſhire, by N. Salmon, &c.

[*A*] *Was born ——— in the year* 1557.] As is evident from his age, at the time of his death. For we are informed (1), that he was in the ſeventy-ninth year of his age, in 1636, when he died.—His father died in 1569, and was buried in the Church of Great St. Helen's, in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, of which Queen Elizabeth had granted him a leaſe, on the 27th of May, 1564, together with the rectory, tithes, &c. for twenty-one years (2).

[*B*] *Which name, Mary* I. *Queen of England ordered to be continued to his poſterity.*] This is atteſted by a memorandum, in the laſt page of one of Sir Julius Cæſar's manuſcripts at Benington, written with his own hand; and containing the ſame in ſubſtance as is related above. Julius Adelmarius *filius* Cæſaris Adelmarii, *qui ſemper durante vita cognitus publice & appellatus* Cæſar, *per illuſtriſſimas Reginas* Mariam & Elizabetham, *tranſmiſit eandem Appellationem, idemque nomen ad Poſteritatem ſuam, quæ tamen Poſteritas* Adelmarii *nomen non dereliquit; cum illud ab illuſtri Comite* Genuæ *in* Italiæ, *Dno Admirallio* Galliæ *tempore* Caroli M. *Imperatoris* Germaniæ *in continua ſtirpe maſculina ad illam deſcenderit; idque jure hæreditario.* Jul. Adelmarius, *alias* Cæſar, *ætatis ſuæ* an. 77, 1634 (3).

[*C*] *And had letters teſtimonial for it, under the ſeal of that Univerſity.*] Wherein he was ſtiled, Julius Cæſar, *alias* Dalmarius, *Dioc.* London, *in* Anglia, *filius excellentiſſimi in Art. & Med. Doctoris* Cæſar Dalmarii, *in Univerſitate* Paris, *&c. i. e.* 'Julius Cæſar, *&c.* of the dioceſe of London, in 'England, ſon of the moſt excellent Doctor Cæſar 'Dalmarius, *&c.* of the Univerſity of Paris, *&c.*'

5th

5th of July 1607, ſworn of his Majeſty's Privy Council (*m*). January 16th, in the eighth of King James I. he obtained a reverſionary grant of the office of Maſter of the Rolls after Sir Edward Phillips, Knight (*n*); who departing this life, September 11, 1614 (*o*), was ſucceeded accordingly by Sir Julius, on the 1ſt of October following (*p*); and he thereupon reſigning his place of Chancellor of the Exchequer, had for ſucceſſor in it, Sir Fulk Greville, Knight (*q*). In 1613, he was one of the Commiſſioners, or Delegates, employed in the buſineſs of the divorce, between the Earl of Eſſex and his Counteſs (*r*); and gave ſentence for that divorce. About the ſame time, he built a chapel at his houſe, on the north ſide of the Strand in London, which was conſecrated, May 8, 1614 (*s*). As he had been Privy Counſellor to King James I. ſo was he alſo to his ſon, King Charles I. (*t*); and appears, moreover, to have been *Cuſtos Rotulorum* of the county of Hertford (*u*). We are likewiſe informed by one author (*w*), that he was Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaſter. After having thus paſſed through many honourable employments, and continued, in particular, Maſter of the Rolls for above twenty years, he departed this life, April 28, 1636, in the ſeventy-ninth year of his age (*x*). He lies buried in the church of Great St. Helen's within Biſhopſgate, London (*y*), under a fair, but uncommon monument, deſigned by himſelf; being in form of a deed, and made to reſemble ruffled parchment (*z*), in alluſion to his office, as Maſter of the Rolls [*D*]. With regard to his character; he was a man of great gravity and integrity, and remarkable for his extenſive bounty and charity to all perſons of worth, or that were in want (*a*): ſo that he might ſeem to be Almoner-general of the nation [*E*]. He entertained for ſome time in his houſe the moſt illuſtrious Francis, Lord Bacon, Viſcount St. Albans [*F*]. He made his grants to all perſons double kindneſſes by expedition, and cloathed (as one expreſſes it) (*b*), his very denials in ſuch robes of courtſhip, that it was not obviouſly diſcernible, whether the requeſt or denial were moſt decent. He had alſo this peculiar to himſelf, That he was very cautious of promiſes, leſt falling to an incapacity of performance, he might forfeit his reputation, and multiply his certain ene-

(*m*) Stow, *ubi ſupra*, p. 890.

(*n*) See Mr. Newcourt's Repertorium Eccleſiaſticum, &c. vol. i. p. 341.

(*o*) Camden's Annals of King James I.

(*p*) Pat. 12 Jac. p. 5.

(*q*) Camden, *ibid.*

(*r*) Truth brought to light by time, &c. Lond. 1651, 4*to*. p. 79, 107. and *Aulicus Coquinariæ*, &c. Lond. 1650, 8*vo*. p. 115, &c.

(*s*) Stow's Annals, as above, p. 996.

(*t*) Wood, Faſti, vol. i. col. 125.

(*u*) From the inſcription under his picture, as above.

(*w*) Fuller, in his Hiſt. of the Worthies of England in Middleſex, p. 179: it ſhould be 185, for it is wrong paged.

(*x*) *Ibid.* p. 186. and Lloyd's State Worthies, edit. 1679, p. 935. Wood ſays in one place, that it was April 12 (Athen. vol. i. col. 619) and in another that it was the 16th (Faſti, as above).

(*y*) *Ibid.* and Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Addit. edit. 1720. b. ii. p. 104. In p. 102. he ſays he died April 18, aged 75.

(*z*) Fuller, *ubi ſupra*.

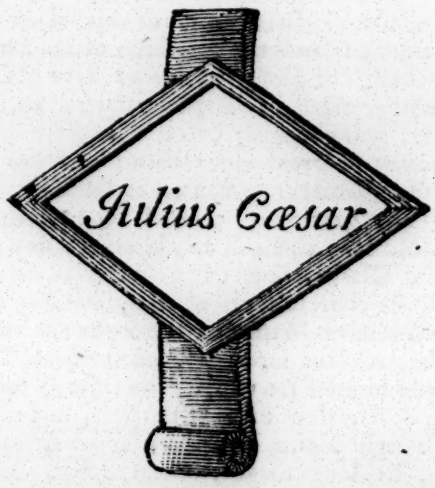
(*a*) Fuller, *ibid.*

(*b*) Lloyd, in State Worthies, *ubi ſupra*, p. 937.

[*D*] *He lies buried ——— under a fair, but uncommon monument ——— in form of a deed,* &c.] The contents of which deed, or epitaph, are as follows:

To all Chriſtian people to whom this preſent writing ſhall come; Know ye, that I Julius Dalmare, alias Cæſar, Knight, Doctor of Laws; Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, and one of the Maſters of Requeſts to Queen Elizabeth; Privy Counſellor to King James, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Maſter of the Rolls, have confirmed or granted by this my preſent writing, that I will, with the Divine Aſſiſtance, willingly pay my debt to nature, whenever it ſhall pleaſe God. In witneſs whereof, I have ſet my hand and ſeal. Dated the 27th of February, 1635.

Omnibus Chriſti fidelibus ad quos hoc præſens ſcriptum pervenerit; Sciatis, me Julium Dalmare, alias Cæſarem, Militem, utriuſque Legis Doctorem; Elizabethæ *Reginæ Supremæ Curiæ Admiralitatis Judicem, & unum è Magiſtris Libellorum*; Jacobo *Regi à Privatis Conciliis, Cancellarium Scaccarii, Scriniorum Magiſtrum, hac præſenti Charta mea confirmaſſe. Me annuente Divino Numine, naturæ debitum libentur ſolviturum, quam primum Deo placuerit. In cujus rei memoriam, Manum meam, & Sigillum appoſui. Datum 27 Februari*, 1635.



Here his Seal, or Coat of Arms, is affixed, and beneath is written.

Irrotulatur Coelo (4),

It is enrolled in Heaven.

(4) Fuller's Worthies, p. 185, 186. and Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 936.

[*E*] *So that he might ſeem to be Almoner-General of the nation.*] Dr. Fuller gives the following inſtance of his uncommon charity. 'A gentleman once borrowing his coach (which was as well known to poor people as any hoſpital in England) was ſo rendezvouzed about with beggars in London, that it coſt him all the money in his purſe to ſatisfy their importunity, ſo that he might have hired twenty coaches on the ſame terms (5).'

(5) Worthies of England, *ubi ſupra*.

[*F*] *He entertained for ſome time in his houſe the Lord Francis Bacon*, &c.] We are told by an ill-natured writer (6), That the Lord Bacon, 'after he was out of his place, pinned himſelf for very ſcraps on that noble gentleman, Sir Julius Cæſar's hoſpitality, ſo that at laſt he was forced to get the King's warrant to remove him out of his houſe; yet in his proſperity, the one being Chancellor, and the other Maſter of the Rolls, did ſo ſcorne and abuſe him, as he would alter any thing the other did.' But Mr. Stephens aſſures us (7), that the Lord Bacon was not reduced to ſuch low circumſtances, as is commonly imagined, but had ſomething conſiderable even at the time of his death.

(6) Sir Anthony Weldon, Court and Character of King James, Lond. 1650, 8*vo*. p. 133, 134.

(7) Account of the Life of the Lord Bacon, in his *Letters and Remains*, Lond. 1734, 4*to*. p. 25, 26, 29. and Introd. p. 58.

mies; by his deſign of creating uncertain friends. Beſides, he obſerved a ſure principle of riſing, namely, that great perſons eſteem better of ſuch they have done great courteſies to, than thoſe they have received great civilities from; looking upon this as their diſparagement, the other as their glory. Sir Julius Cæſar's manuſcripts, bound up in ſeveral volumes, were long preſerved at Benington in Hertfordſhire, the ſeat of his poſterity (*c*). The Lord Clarendon mentions a ſtory that has relation to him (*d*), which the reader may not perhaps be diſpleaſed to ſee in the note [G]. Beſides Sir Julius; Cæſar Adelmare had two ſons, that were eminent in their way. His ſecond ſon, Sir THOMAS CÆSAR, was one of the Barons of the Exchequer (*e*). And his third ſon, HENRY CÆSAR, educated in Baliol College, and St. Edmund Hall, Oxon, became Prebendary of Weſtminſter in the ſecond ſtall, in September 1609, [which he reſigned the latter end of the year 1625] (*f*); and Dean of Ely, in 1614. He died at Ely the 27th of June, 1636, aged ſeventy-two, and was buried on the north ſide of the Preſbytery of the

(*c*) Hiſt. of Hertfordſhire, by N. Salmon, p. 367. He printed 'A 'Catalogue of the 'Books, Parch-'ments, and Pa-'pers, belonging 'to the Court of 'Requeſts,' 4to, now very ſcarce.

(*d*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, in 6 volumes, 8*vo*. Oxford, 1732, vol. i. p. 52, 53.

(*e*) Wood, Faſti, vol. i. col. 150.

(*f*) Newcourt, Repertor. Eccleſ. &c. vol. i. p. 924.

[G] *The Lord Clarendon mentions a ſtory that has a relation to him*, &c.] It is as follows: "Sir *Julius* "*Cæſar* was then Maſter of the Rolls, (in the reign "of King Charles I.) and had inherent in his office "the indubitable right and diſpoſition of the Six "Clarks places, all which he had for many years, "upon any vacancy, beſtowed to ſuch perſons as he "thought fit. One of thoſe places was become void, "and deſigned by the old man to his ſon *Robert* "*Cæſar*, a Lawyer of a good name, and exceeding-"ly beloved. The Lord Treaſurer * (as he was "vigilant in ſuch caſes) had notice of the Clark's "expiration ſo ſoon, that he procured the King to "ſend a meſſage to the Maſter of the Rolls, expreſſ-"ly forbidding him to diſpoſe of that Six Clark's "place, till his Majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be further "made known to him. It was the firſt command "of that kind that had been heard of, and was felt "by the old man very ſenſibly. He was indeed very "old, and had out-lived moſt of his friends; ſo that "his age was an objection againſt him; many per-"ſons of quality being dead, who had, for recom-"pences of ſervice, procured the reverſion of his "office. The Treaſurer found it no hard matter ſo "far to terrify him, that for the King's ſervice, (as "was pretended) he admitted for a Six Clark a per-"ſon recommended by him (Mr. *Fern*, a dependant "upon him) who paid ſix thouſand pounds ready "money; which, poor man! he lived to repent in a "jayl. This work being done at the charge of the "poor old man, who had been a Privy Counſellor "from the entrance of King *James*, had been Chan-"cellor of the Exchequer, and ſerved in other of-"fices; the depriving him of his right made a "great noiſe: and the condition of his ſon (his fa-"ther being not likely to live to have the diſpoſal "of another office in his power) who, as was ſaid "before, was generally beloved, and eſteemed, was "argument of great compaſſion; and was livelily, "and ſucceſsfully repreſented to the King himſelf; "who was graciouſly pleaſed to promiſe, that," 'If the old man chanced to die before any other of 'the ſix Clarks, that office, when it ſhould fall, 'ſhould be conferred on his ſon, whoſoever ſhould 'ſucceed him as Maſter of the Rolls; which might 'well be provided for:' "And the Lord Treaſurer "obliged himſelf (to expiate the injury) to procure "ſome declaration to that purpoſe, under his Ma-"jeſty's ſign manual; which, however eaſy to be "done, he long forgot, or neglected. One day, "the Earl of *Tullibardin*, who was nearly allied to "Mr. Cæſar, and much his friend, being with the "Treaſurer, paſſionately aſked him, Whether he had "done that buſineſs? To whom he anſwered with a "ſeeming trouble," 'That he had forgotten it, 'for which he was heartily ſorry; and if he would 'give him a little note in writing, for a memorial, 'he would put it amongſt thoſe which he would 'diſpatch with the King that afternoon.' "The "Earl preſently writ in a little paper, *Remember* "*Cæſar*; and gave it to him; and he put it into "that little pocket, where, he ſaid, he kept all his "memorials which were firſt to be tranſacted. "Many days paſſed, and *Cæſar* never thought of. "At length, when he changed his cloaths, and he "who waited on him in his chamber, according to "cuſtom, brought him all the notes and papers "found in thoſe he had left off, which he then com-"monly peruſed; when he found this little billet, "in which was only written, *Remember Cæſar*, and "which he had never read before, he was exceed-"ingly confounded, and knew not what to make, "or think of it. He ſent for his boſom-friends,— "and after a ſerious and melancholic deliberation, "it was agreed, that it was the advertiſement of "ſome friend, who durſt not own the diſcovery; "that it could not ſignify nothing, but that there "was a conſpiracy againſt his life, by his many and "mighty enemies: and they all knew *Cæſar*'s fate, "by contemning or neglecting ſuch animadverſions." Therefore they adviſed him to pretend to be indiſpoſed, that he might not ſtir abroad all that day, and that none might be admitted to him, but perſons of undoubted affection: and that at night ſome ſervants ſhould watch with the porter.—"Shortly after, the "the Earl of Tullibardin aſking him, Whether he "had remembered *Cæſar?* The Treaſurer quickly "recollected the ground of his perturbation, and "could not forbear imparting it to his friends, and "ſo the whole jeſt came to be diſcovered." M.

(*) Weſton, Earl of Portland.

*** [Iſaac Walton, ſpeaking of Sir Julius Cæſar, ſays, 'He was grown ſo old, that he was ſaid to be 'kept alive beyond nature's courſes, by the prayers 'of thoſe many poor whom he daily relieved (8).'

(8) From a Correſpondent.

The benefactions which Dr. Henry Cæſar left by his will were, a thouſand pounds towards augmenting the places of the Minor Canons, Singing-men, Choriſters, Schoolmaſters, &c. of the Church of Ely, and a thouſand pounds more, to found two Fellowſhips, and four Scholarſhips, in *ſome* College in Cambridge. It was Sir Charles Cæſar, nephew and ſole executor to the Dean, who made choice of Jeſus College for the foundation, and there placed the Fellows and Scholars. In 1639, he was prevailed upon by Archbiſhop Laud, to lend the two thouſand pounds to his Majeſty King Charles the Firſt, for which he had a privy ſeal, and a tally for repayment of principal and intereſt, out of the Augmentation Office. Neither the intereſt nor principal were ever paid. Notwithſtanding this, Sir Charles Cæſar, his relict, Dame Jane Cæſar, and his eldeſt ſon, Sir Henry Cæſar, generouſly continued, during their lives, to pay the annuities at Ely and Cambridge. But upon the death of Sir Henry, in 1668, all attempts to recover the money being found ineffectual, Dean Cæſar's noble and piouſly intended benefaction came to nothing (9).

(9) Bentham's Hiſtory and Antiquities of the Church of Ely, p. 230, 231.

In December 1757, Sir Julius Cæſar's Collection of Manuſcripts, which till that time had been preſerved in the family, was ſold by public auction. The produce of the ſale was three hundred and fifty-ſix pounds and ſix-pence. In one of the lots was a paper, entitled, 'A ſhort Memorial, or Chronicle, 'concerning Sir Julius Cæſar, his father, mother, 'wives, and children, from his birth, *anno* 1557 to '1635, the ſeventy-ninth year of his age, written 'by himſelf (10).' The lot now mentioned was thought to have been purchaſed for the Britiſh Muſeum; but this doth not appear to have been the caſe; for, upon the moſt diligent enquiry, we find that there is no ſuch manuſcript as Sir Julius Cæſar's Chronicle in that noble Repoſitory.] K.

(10) From information of Mr. Reed.

Cathedral

Cathedral there. He gave to Jeſus College in Cambridge two Fellowſhips of twelve pounds a year a piece, and five Scholarſhips of five pounds a year each; upon condition, that the Fellows and Scholars ſhould be elected from the King's Free-ſchool at Ely (*g*).

(*g*) Wood, as above.

CALAMY (EDMUND) an eminent Nonconformiſt Divine, in the XVIIth century. He was the ſon of a Citizen of London, and born there in February 1600. July 4, 1616, he was admitted of Pembroke-hall, in the Univerſity of Cambridge (*a*). In 1619, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and, in 1632, that of Bachelor of Divinity (*b*). He ſhewed himſelf pretty early no friend to the Arminian party, which was the reaſon, that he could not obtain a Fellowſhip in that Society, even when he ſeemed to be entitled to it from his ſtanding, as well as from his learning and unblemiſhed character. At laſt, however, he ſo far conquered all prejudices, that he was elected Tanquam Socius of that Hall (*c*) [*A*]. Dr. Felton, the pious and learned Biſhop of Ely, had ſo great a regard to his diligence in ſtudy, and unaffected zeal for religion, that he made him his Chaplain (*d*), and paid him, during his reſidence in his family, uncommon marks of reſpect [*B*]. His Lordſhip gave him likewiſe as a mark of his favour, the Vicarage of St. Mary's in Swaffham-Prior, in Cambridgeſhire, in which capacity of Vicar he did much good, though he did not reſide on his cure by reaſon of its ſmall diſtance from the Epiſcopal place (*e*). But after the death of the Biſhop, in 1626, Mr. Calamy being choſen one of the Lecturers of St. Edmund's-Bury, in Suffolk, he reſigned his Vicarage, and applied himſelf wholly to the diſcharge of his function at Bury (*f*). He continued there ten years, and, as ſome writers ſay, was during the greateſt part of that time a ſtrict Conformiſt (*g*). Others, and indeed himſelf, ſay the contrary [*C*]. The truth ſeems to be, that he was unwilling to oppoſe ceremonies, or to create a diſturbance in the Church about them, ſo long as this might be avoided with a ſafe conſcience (*h*); but when Biſhop Wren's articles, and the reading of the book of Sports, came to be inſiſted on, he thought himſelf obliged to alter his conduct, and not only avoid conforming for the future, but alſo to apologize publicly for his former behaviour, which he did with equal modeſty

(*a*) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, vol. ii. p. 4.

(*b*) From the Univerſity Regiſter.

(*c*) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, *ubi ſupra*.

(*d*) *Ibid.*

(*e*) Continuation of the Account of ſilenced and ejected Miniſters, vol. i. p. 8.

(*f*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. vol. i. col. 281.

(*g*) *Id. ibid.*

(*h*) See his juſt and neceſſary Apology, &c. Lond. 1646, 4*to*.

with the utmoſt reverence of his memory after his deceaſe (3).

[*A*] *Elected Tanquam Socius of that Hall.*] This was peculiar to Pembroke-hall. The reader may ſee the occaſion of erecting it in another place (1). Beſides the Society of the Fellows, the *Tanquam Socius* had *Poma, i. e.* his dividend in the garden; *Pupilli, i. e.* leave to take pupils: and *Pileus, i. e.* the honour of the cap; together with a certain ſtipend, but no ſhare in the government of the houſe. Yet take it altogether, though there was leſs profit, there was at leaſt as much honour in being *Tanquam Socius*, as in being Fellow; for it was an evident ſign, that, though the College conferred only this, they thought him on whom they conferred it worthy of the other, ſince they might otherwiſe have ſaved themſelves this expence. The *Tanquam Socius* held his office but for three years, unleſs he was rechoſen (2). As for our author, he was within that ſpace, better provided for.

(1) See the article ANDREWS (LANCELOT) note [*B*].

(2) Extract from Sampſon's Hiſt. of the Nonconformiſts, MS.

[*B*] *Uncommon marks of reſpect.*] The Biſhop gave directions, that Mr. Calamy ſhould not be called down to family prayers, or upon any other occaſion, without half an hour's notice, that his ſtudies might not be abruptly interrupted. That there was good reaſon for this, the reader muſt admit, when he is told, that during the whole time Mr. Calamy lived with this Prelate, he ſtudied at the rate of ſixteen hours a day. He read over the controverſies of Bellarmine entirely, and all the anſwers written by Chamier, Whitaker, Raynolds, and others, who, by parts, undertook the refuting his voluminous work. Mr. Calamy likewiſe peruſed many of the Schoolmen, particularly Thomas Aquinas, whoſe ſums he had read with diligence and thoroughly maſtered: he went through the works of St. Auguſtine five times, beſides peruſing many other eminent writers, ancient and modern, and excluſive of the daily ſtudy of the Holy Scriptures and the Commentators upon them. This laborious courſe acquired him a large fund of ſolid and uſeful learning, and enabled him to diſcharge with great ability, the ſeveral offices to which he was afterwards called; and yet he never affected quotations, but contented himſelf with a plain and familiar manner of ſpeaking, which ſavoured not at all of the ſchools. He was always extremely grateful towards his patron while living, and ſpoke

(3) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, vol. ii. p. 4.

[*C*] *And indeed himſelf, ſay the contrary.*] The famous Anthony Wood, has taken pains to ſhew, that our author altered his opinion as to Church-government and ceremonies (4); and Mr. Walker hints, that he was once as high in his opinions as Archbiſhop Laud (5): their teſtimonies however, will not affect his character much, if the authorities they produce be fairly anſwered. The author of a quarto pamphlet, printed at Oxford, in 1643, entituled, *Sober ſadneſs; or Hiſtorical Obſervations upon the Pretences, Proceedings, and Deſigns of a prevailing Party, in both Houſes of Parliament*, &c. ſays, 'That 'Mr. Calamy complied with Biſhop Wren, his Dioceſan, preached in his ſurplice and hood, read 'prayers at the rails, bowed at the name of JESUS, 'and undertook to ſatisfy and reduce ſuch as ſcrupled 'thoſe ceremonies (6).' One Mr. Henry Burton, in a quarto pamphlet, printed at London, in 1646, aſſerts pretty nearly the ſame. The title of his pamphlet was, '*Truth ſtill Truth, though ſhut out of doors*; in anſwer to which, Mr. Calamy publiſhed *A juſt and neceſſary Apology againſt an unjuſt Invective, publiſhed by Mr. Burton, in a late book of his, entituled*, &c. wherein he affirms, 'That during the 'time he was at St. Edmund's-Bury, he never bow-'ed to or towards the Altar, to or towards the Eaſt, 'never read that wicked book of Sports upon the 'Lord's day, never read prayers at the high altar, 'at the upper end of the church where the people 'could not hear. I have often, continued he, preach-'ed againſt innovations; and once I did it at a 'public viſitation, and was called in queſtion for 'my labour: I never juſtified the oath *ex officio*, nor 'ever proſecuted any man or woman at the high 'commiſſion; I never to my beſt remembrance 'preached at any time for the juſtification of any in-'novations. In ſome few things, I did, I confeſs, 'conform, according to the light I then had, out 'of the uprightneſs of my heart, &c. (7).' Whoever conſiders this, and that Mr. Calamay was only Lecturer at St. Edmund's-Bury, will readily incline to think, that theſe writers were miſtaken as to his Conformity, or might perhaps be miſled by repreſentations

(4) Faſti Oxon. vol. i. col. 281.

(5) Walker's Attempt to recover the Names and Sufferings of the Clergy, part ii. p. 255.

(6) Page 5.

(7) Page 8.

modeſty and freedom (*i*) [*D*]. He came now to be conſidered as an active Nonconformiſt, and being in great favour with the Earl of Eſſex, he preſented him to the living of Rochford in Eſſex, a Rectory of conſiderable value, and yet it proved a fatal preſent to Mr. Calamy; for removing from one of the beſt and wholeſomeſt airs in England, that of St. Edmund's-Bury, into the hundreds of Eſſex, he contracted ſuch an illneſs as broke his conſtitution, and left behind it a dizzineſs in his head, which he complained of as long as he lived (*k*). Upon the death of Dr. Stoughton, he was choſen miniſter of St. Mary Aldermanbury, which brought him up to London, 1639 (*l*). The controverſy concerning Church-government was then at its greateſt height, in which Mr. Calamy had a very large ſhare. In the month of July 1639, he was incorporated of the Univerſity of Oxford, which, however, did not take him off from the party in which he was engaged (*m*). In 1640, he was concerned in writing that famous book, called Smectymnuus, which himſelf ſays, gave the firſt deadly blow to Epiſcopacy (*n*). It was indeed, though a warm, a very well written piece, and therefore we find frequent references thereto in all the defences and apologies for Nonconformity, which have been ſince publiſhed [*E*]. In 1641, he was appointed by the Houſe of Lords a member of the Sub-committee for Religion (*o*), which conſiſted of very eminent Divines, whoſe conduct however has been differently cenſured [*F*]. He made a great figure in the Aſſembly

(*i*) Continuation of the Account of ſilenced and ejected Miniſters, vol. i. p. 8.

(*k*) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, vol. ii. p. 5.

(*l*) Newcourt's Repert. Eccleſ. vol. i. p. 918.

(*m*) Wood's Faſt. Oxon. vol. i. col. 281.

(*n*) Juſt and neceſſary Apology, p. 13.

(*o*) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. cent. xvii. p. 174.

ſentations made in his favour to Biſhop Wren by ſome kind friends, who were willing to preſerve him in his dioceſan's good graces.

[*D*] *With equal modeſty and freedom.*] With this view he tells us himſelf, he made a recantation and retractation ſermon at Bury, in the hearing of thouſands; and afterwards ſpeaking of the countenance he gave to the legal applications, againſt what was eſteemed tyranny in the Biſhops of thoſe times, he ſays, 'My houſe was the retreat of godly miniſters 'in the worſt of times. Here was the Remonſtrance 'framed againſt the Prelates; here were all meet-'ings; I was the firſt that openly before a Com-'mittee of Parliament, did defend, that Biſhops 'were not only not an order diſtinct from Preſby-'ters, but that in Scripture, a Biſhop and Preſby-'ter were all one (8).' In the ſame piece he takes abundance of pains to ſhew, that all this was from conſcientious motives, not from any pique to particular perſons, or prejudice ariſing from his own diſappointments, or deſpair of preferment. He likewiſe aſſerts, that it was before the turn of the times, and conſequently flowed not from a ſpirit of popularity. Others, however, have not ſcrupled to affirm the contrary, and that Robert, Earl of Eſſex, ſaid he would be loſt, if he was not taken off, and therefore gave him the Rectory of Rochford (9). Yet Mr. Calamy muſt be allowed to know himſelf as well as his patron; but it is our buſineſs to report all things fairly.

(8) Page 9.

(9) Wood's Faſti Oxon. vol. i. col. 281.

[*E*] *Which have been ſince publiſhed.*] The title of the book, at length, runs thus. *An Anſwer to a book, entituled,* AN HUMBLE REMONSTRANCE; *in which the Original of Liturgy and Epiſcopacy is diſcuſſed, and Queries propounded concerning both: The Parity of Biſhops and Preſbyters in Scripture demonſtrated, the Occaſion of their Imparities in Antiquity diſcovered; the Diſparity of the ancient and our modern Biſhops manifeſted; the Antiquity of Ruling Elders in the Church vindicated: The Prelatical Church bounded. Written by* SMECTYMNUUS. *London*, 1641, 4*to.* containing with the Appendix ninety-four pages. The word Smectymnuus is compoſed of the initial letters of its authors names, which were Stephen Marſhal, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurſtow. This piece, which is certainly written with great fierceneſs of ſpirit, and much aſperity in language, contains eighteen ſections, in the laſt of which, the differences between the Prelatiſts and Puritans, are aggravated with great bitterneſs. Then follow ſixteen queries, the laſt of which runs thus. 'Whether, having proved, 'that God never ſet ſuch a government in his 'Church as our Epiſcopal government is, we may 'lawfully any longer be ſubject to it, be preſent at 'their courts, obey their injunctions, and eſpecially 'be inſtruments in publiſhing and executing their 'Excommunications and Abſolutions (10).' The book is ſhut up by an Appendix, wherein is contained an Hiſtorical Narration of thoſe bitter fruits, Pride, Rebellion, Treaſon, Unthankfulneſs, &c. which have iſſued from Epiſcopacy, while it hath ſtood under the continual influences of ſovereign goodneſs. The whole ends thus. 'The inhuman 'butcheries, blood-ſheddings, and cruelties of Gar-'diner, Bonner, and the reſt of the Biſhops in 'Queen Mary's days are ſo freſh in every man's 'memory, as that we conceive it a thing altogether 'unneceſſary to make mention of them. Only 'we fear leaſt the guilt of the blood then ſhed 'ſhould yet remain to be required at the hands of 'this nation, becauſe it hath not publickly endea-'voured to appeaſe the wrath of God, by a ſolemn 'and general humiliation for it. What the practices 'of the Prelates have been ever ſince, from the be-'ginning of Queen Elizabeth to this very day, 'would fill a volume like Ezekiel's roll, with la-'mentation, mourning, and woe to record. For it 'hath been their great deſign to hinder all further 'Reformation; to bring in doctrines of Popery, Ar-'minianiſm, and Libertiniſm; to maintain, pro-'pagate, and much increaſe the burden of human 'ceremonies; to keep out and beat down the preach-'ing of the word, to ſilence the faithful preachers 'of it, to oppoſe and perſecute the moſt zealous 'profeſſors, and to turn all religion into a pompous 'outſide: and to tread down the power of godli-'neſs. Inſomuch, as it is come to an ordinary pro-'verb, that when any thing is ſpoiled, we uſe to 'ſay, *The Biſhop's foot is in it:* And in all this, and 'much more which might be ſaid, fulfilling Biſhop 'Bonner's prophecy, who, when he ſaw, that in 'King Edward's Reformation, there was a reſerva-'tion of Ceremonies and Hierarchy, is credibly re-'ported to have uſed theſe words; *Since they have 'begun to taſte our broth, it will not be long ere they 'will eat of our beef* (11).' Dr. Joſeph Hall, Biſhop of Exeter, who wrote the Humble Remonſtrance, publiſhed a Vindication of it in anſwer to this book; and to this the Smectymneans replied. Now to ſhew the credit of this work, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that Dr. Wilkins, afterwards the famous Biſhop of Cheſter, in his Eccleſiaſtes, or a Diſcourſe concerning the Gift of Preaching, ſets down this as a capital work againſt Epiſcopacy (12). As ſuch it is mentioned by Dr. Calamy, in his Poſtſcript to the Preface of his Abridgment of Baxter's Life, in which Poſtſcript, he profeſſes to inſtruct the inquiſitive reader as to the books moſt proper to be read, in order to have a true notion of the merits of Nonconformity; and in the ſame light we find this work conſidered by Mr. Neal, in his Hiſtory of the Puritans (13).

(10) Smectymnuus, p. 82.

(11) *Ibid.* p. 93.

(12) Page 51.

(13) Vol. ii. p. 398.

[*F*] *Has been differently cenſured.*] Dr. Calamy gives this account of the matter. 'He was, ſays he, one 'of thoſe Divines, who, *anno* 1641, met by order 'of Parliament in the *Jeruſalem Chamber*, with ſe-'veral Biſhops and Doctors, in order to the *accom-'modating Eccleſiaſtical matters*; in which meeting, 'by mutual conceſſions, things were brought into a 'very

Assembly of Divines, though he is not mentioned in Fuller's catalogue (*p*), and distinguished himself therein, both by his learning and moderation. He likewise preached several times before the House of Commons, for which his memory has been very severely treated (*q*) [*G*]. He was at the same time one of the Cornhill Lecturers, and no man had a greater interest in the city of London, in consequence of his ministerial abilities, than he (*r*). He preached constantly in his own parish church for twenty years, not only to a numerous but most worthy audience, composed of the most eminent citizens, and even persons of great quality. He steadily and strenuously opposed the sectaries, and gave many pregnant instances of his dislike to those violences which were committed afterwards, on the King's being brought from the Isle of Wight (*s*). He opposed the beheading of his Sovereign King Charles I. with constancy and courage [*H*]. Under the usurpation of Cromwell, he was passive, and lived

(*p*) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, vol. iii. p. 5.

(*q*) Wood's Fasti Oxon. vol. i. col. 281. Echard's Hist. of England, vol. iii. p. 178.

(*r*) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, vol. ii. p. 5.

(*s*) *Ibid.*

'very hopeful posture; but the whole design was 'spoiled by the bringing into the House the bill 'against Bishops (14).' In this he agrees with the Church Historian, Fuller (15), and other writers of those times. What Archbishop Laud thought of this project may be gathered from this remark in his Diary. 'A Committee for Religion settled in the Upper 'House of Parliament. Ten Earls, ten Bishops, ten 'Barons. So the lay votes will be double to the 'Clergy. This Committee will meddle with doctrine 'as well as ceremonies, and will call some Divines to 'them to consider of the business, as appears by a 'letter hereto annexed, sent by the Lord Bishop of 'Lincoln to some Divines, to attend this service. 'Upon the whole matter, I believe this Committee 'will prove the national synod of England, to the 'great dishonour of the Church. And what else 'may follow upon it, God knows (16).' Dr. Heylyn gives us a farther account of this matter (17). 'Though a Convocation were at that time sitting, 'yet to increase the miseries of a falling Church, 'it is permitted, that a private meeting should be 'held in the Deanry of *Westminster*, to which some 'orthodox and conformable Divines were called, as a 'foil to the rest, which generally were of *Presbyterian* 'or *Puritan* principles. By them it was proposed, 'that many passages in the Liturgy should be ex-'punged, and others altered for the worse: That 'decency and reverence in officiating God's public 'service should be brought within the compass of 'innovations: That doctrinal *Calvinism* should be 'entertained in all parts of the Church; and all their 'sabbath speculations, though contrary to *Calvin*'s 'judgment, superadded to it. But before any thing 'could be concluded in those weighty matters, the 'Commons set their bill on foot against *root* and '*branch*, for putting down all Bishops and Cathedral 'Churches, which put a period to that meeting 'without doing any thing.'

(14) Abridgment of the Life of Baxter, vol. ii. p. 5.

(15) Cent. xvii. p. 175.

(16) Page 24. Monday, March 21, 1640-1.

(17) Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 430, 431.

[*G*] *Very severely treated.*] Mr. Archdeacon Echard, in his History of England, in giving our author's character, speaks thus, *That he was so much an incendiary, and promoter of the rebellion and Scots invasion, that his actions cannot be vindicated* (18). This gave such offence to his grandson, Dr. Edward Calamy, that he wrote and published a letter to the Archdeacon, wherein he observes, that our author was no Chaplain in the army; no enemy to a Liturgy, freed from passages liable to just objections; and was rather for reforming Episcopacy, according to Archbishop Usher's platform, than eradicating it. He then objects to what Mr. Echard says, as to our author's being a frequent Preacher before the House of Commons; for, says Dr. Calamy, there are but three sermons of his preached before that House. 'The first is intituled, '*England's Looking-Glass*, on *Jerem.* xviii, 7, 8, 9, '10. preached on a solemn fast, December 22, 1641. 'Printed at London, in 4*to*. The design of which 'sermon is to shew, that national repentance will 'divert, and national sins draw down, national 'judgments. The second was intituled, *God's free 'Mercy to England*, on *Ezek.* xxxvi. 32. at a solemn 'fast, February 23, 1641. Printed at London 1642, 'in 4*to*. the intent of which is to represent England's 'mercies, as a motive and means of England's humi-'liation and reformation. His third was intituled, '*England's Antidote against the Plague of Civil War*, 'on *Acts* xvii. 30. preached October 22, 1644; 'and printed at London 1645, in 4*to*.' These three sermons the Doctor farther affirms to be *plain practical sermons*; and adds that, 'Though there are 'some complaints intermingled of several hardships, 'which many worthy persons met with before this 'Parliament, and motions made for further rectify-'ing things that were amiss; yet there is nothing 'tending to inflame and widen the differences 'between King and Parliament: no pushing them 'on to rigour and severity; no inclination discovered 'to have the Constitution altered, or any of our 'foundations overthrown (19).' After producing this defence, it is but just to observe, that some passages have been taken notice of in these very sermons, which have been considered as exceptionable. As for instance. 'But now mark the doctrine; 'when God begins to build and plant, if that 'nation do evil, God will unbuild what he has 'built, and pluck up what he has planted, and 'repent of the good, *&c.* For you must know, that 'God repents as well of his mercies, as of his judg-'ments: when God made *Saul* King, and he proved 'stubborn and disobedient, he repented that he had 'made him King (20).' And again, in the following passage: 'If there be found any amongst you 'that drive on the designs of *Oxford*, and are found 'at *Westminster* only to betray their country, the 'Lord unmask such, and the Lord give them repent-'ing hearts: this is to build up houses with the 'blood of three kingdoms, this is to sell your souls 'for preferment; and it is just with God, that such 'not only lose their souls, but lose their preferments 'also, as *Judas*, that sold his master, hung him-'self (21).' And as to the Scots invasion, the reader may consider the following paragraph from Mr. Calamy's speech at Guildhall, October 6, 1643. 'If 'you would have a peace with *Popery*, a peace with 'slavery, if you would have a *Judas* peace, or a '*Joab* his peace, you know the story. He kissed '*Amasa*, and then killed him: If you would have a 'peace, that may bring a massacre with it, a *French* 'peace; if you would have such a peace, it may be 'had easily. But if you would have a peace that 'may continue the Gospel among you, such as the 'godly in the kingdom desire, I am confident such a 'peace cannot be had, without contributing towards 'bringing in the Scots (22).' Besides these, Anthony Wood mentions two other sermons, the first intituled, *The Nobleman's Pattern of true and real Thankfulness*, preached at a solemn Thanksgiving, June 15, 1643, on Joshua xxiv. 15. and printed the same year at London, in 4*to*. The second intituled, *An Indictment against England, because of herself-murdering Divisions*, preached before the House of Lords at their fast, December 25, (so that they fasted upon Christmas-day) 1644, on Matth. xii. 25. printed at London, in 1645, in 4*to* (23).

(19) See his Letter to Archdeacon Echard, p. 87.

(20) Sermon before the Commons, Dec. 22, 1641, p. 34.

(21) Fast Sermon before the Commons, Oct. 22, 1644, p. 25.

(22) Examination of the second vol. of Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, by Dr. Grey, p. 391.

(23) Fasti Oxon. vol. i. col. 281.

[*H*] *With constancy and courage.*] There is a famous paper often referred to, in order to shew the innocency of the Presbyterians, with respect to the beheading of the King, which is intituled, *A serious and faithful Representation of the Judgments of Ministers of the Gospel within the Province of London, contained in a Letter from them to the General and his Council of War, delivered to his Excellency by some of the Subscribers, January* 18, 1648. To this piece there are between forty and fifty subscribers, but the name of Mr. Calamy is not among them; the reason of which was,

(18) Vol. iii. p. 137. *Ibid.* p. 93.

lived as privately as he could; yet he gave no reaſon to ſuſpect, that he was at all a well wiſher to that government (*t*) [*I*]. When the times afforded a favourable opportunity, he neglected not promoting the return of King Charles II. and actually preached before the Houſe of Commons on the day they voted that great queſtion (*u*), which, however, has not hindered ſome from ſuggeſting their ſuſpicions of his Loyalty [*K*]. After this ſtep was taken, he, Mr. Aſh, and other eminent Divines, were ſent over to compliment the King in Holland, by whom they were extremely well received (*w*). When his Majeſty was reſtored, Mr. Calamy retained ſtill a conſiderable ſhare in his favour, and in June 1660, was appointed one of his Chaplains in Ordinary, and was offered the Biſhoprick of Coventry and Litchfield, which he refuſed (*x*) [*L*]. When the Convocation came to be choſen, he and Mr. Baxter were elected, May 2, 1661, for London; but the Biſhop of that dioceſe having the power of chuſing two out of four, or four out of ſix, elected within a certain circuit, Dr. Sheldon, who was then Biſhop, was ſo kind as to excuſe both of them; which, perhaps, was owing to the ſhare they had in the Savoy Conference (*y*). After the miſcarrying of that deſign, Mr. Calamy made uſe of all his intereſt to procure the paſſing of an act agreeable to the King's declaration at Breda: but when this was fruſtrated, and the Act of Uniformity paſſed, he took a reſolution of ſuffering for his conſcience rather than ſuffer in it, and accordingly preached his farewel ſermon at Aldermanbury, Auguſt 17, 1662 (*z*). He made, however, a laſt effort three days afterwards, by preſenting a petition to his Majeſty to continue in the exerciſe of his miniſterial office. This petition was ſigned by many of the London Clergy, and Dr. Manton and Dr. Bates aſſiſted at the preſenting it, when Mr. Calamy made a long and moving ſpeech; but neither it nor the petition had any good effect, though the King expreſſed himſelf in favour of Toleration [*M*]. He remained in his pariſh, and came conſtantly to church,

(*t*) See the Life of Cromwell, p. 133.

(*u*) Baxter's Narrative of the memorable Paſſages of his Life, P. ii. p. 217.

(*w*) *Id. ibid.* p. 218.

(*x*) Kennet's Compleat Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 234.

(*y*) Continuation of the Account of ſilenced and ejected Miniſters, vol. i. p. 9.

(*z*) *Ibid.*

was, that this Repreſentation was drawn up to enforce what he and ſome other miniſters of the ſame perſuaſion had delivered in two conferences; the firſt, with the General and his Council; the ſecond, with the chief officers of the army, as the paper itſelf recites (24). This evidently ſhews, that whatever warm expreſſions might eſcape our author in his ſermons, he was undoubtedly loyal. Some indeed have affected to treat this paper, as a matter of no great ſignificancy: but Mr. Collier in his Church Hiſtory (25), after making a very faithful extract of it, ſays very honeſtly and fairly, that it was an inſtance of *handſome plain dealing, and a bold reprimand of a victorious army*.

(24) See this Pamphlet printed at London in 4*to*, 1649, p. 1.

(25) Eccleſiaſtical Hiſt. of Great Britain, vol. ii. p. 859, 860.

[*I*] *A well wiſher to that government.*] The following ſtory, which Harry Neville, who was one of the Council of State, aſſerted of his own knowledge, is a full proof of this, and at the ſame time a very curious paſſage in itſelf. 'Cromwell having a deſign 'to ſet up himſelf, and bring the crown upon his 'own head, ſent for ſome of the chief city Divines, 'as if he made it a matter of conſcience to be deter-'mined by their advice. Among theſe was the 'leading Mr. *Calamy*, who very boldly oppoſed the 'project of *Cromwell*'s ſingle government, and offered 'to prove it both *unlawful* and *impracticable*. 'Cromwell anſwered readily upon the firſt head of 'unlawful, and appealed to the ſafety of the nation 'being the ſupreme law: but, ſays he, pray Mr. 'Calamy, why *impracticable?* He replied; Oh it is 'againſt the voice of the nation, there will be nine 'in ten againſt you. Very well, ſays *Cromwell*; 'but what if I ſhould diſarm the nine, and put the 'ſword in the tenth man's hand, would not that do 'the buſineſs (26)?'

(26) See the Life of Cromwell, p. 133.

[*K*] *Their ſuſpicions of his Loyalty.*] Dr. Calamy in his letter to Archdeacon Echard, juſtified his grandfather's Loyalty very warmly: but in anſwer to that letter, it is aſſerted, that in 1659, Mr. Calamy, Mr. Baxter, and five or ſix more of the ſame character, made the following ſpeech, by one of their number to General Monk. 'I hear a report, Sir, 'that you have ſome thoughts of calling back the 'King. But it is my ſenſe, and the ſenſe of theſe 'gentlemen here with me, that it is a thing you 'ought not to do upon any terms: for prophaneneſs 'is ſo inſeparable from the royal party, that if ever 'you bring the King back, the power of godlineſs 'will moſt certainly depart from this land (27).' This is a little improbable in itſelf, and it muſt be owned, that there is no conſiderable authority to juſtify this ſtory. On the other hand, Mr. Baxter tells us, that the chief men who turned the General's reſolution to reſtore his Majeſty, were Mr. Clarges and Sir William Morris; the firſt his brother-in-law, the latter his kinſman, together with the petitions and affections of the city, principally moved by Mr. Calamy and Mr. Aſh, two ancient, leading, able Miniſters, with Dr. Bates, Dr. Manton, Dr. Jacomb, and other Miniſters of London, who concurred; and theſe were encouraged by the Earl of Mancheſter, the Lord Hollis, the Earl of Angleſey, and many of the then Council of State (28).

(27) Page 27.

(28) Narrative of the moſt remarkable Paſſages of his Life and Times, Part ii. p. 214.

[*L*] *Which he refuſed.*] The account given us of this matter by his grandſon, is to this purpoſe. He refuſed a Biſhoprick, becauſe, he could not have it upon the terms of the King's declaration; but kept his temper and moderation after he was ejected. I have been credibly informed, that Biſhop Wilkins had ſuch an opinion of his inſight into the controverſy about Church-government, that he heartily wiſhed he could have conformed, that he might have confronted the bold and confident aſſertors of the *Jus Divinum* of Epiſcopacy in the Convocation, in which he was not allowed to ſit, tho' he was choſen one of the Clerks for the city (29). And yet the author of the Modern Pleas, *&c.* ſays, 'I have been credibly 'informed (not to ſay, that I am able to make it 'good) that Mr. Calamy did, before his Majeſty 'and diverſe Lords of the Council, profeſs, that 'there was not any thing in the Conſtitution of the 'Church, to which he could not conform, were it 'not for the ſcandalizing of others (30).' But Mr. Baxter anſwers, we muſt teſtify, ſome of us that were in his company, from firſt to laſt, we heard him over and over proteſt, That he took ſeveral things in Conformity to be intolerable ſins. And he wrote the Preface to our Reply; he may be judged of by that (31).

(29) Calamy's Abridgment of the Life of Baxter, vol. ii. p. 6.

(30) Page 12.

(31) Apology for Nonconformity, p. 152.

[*M*] *In favour of Toleration.*] The whole of this tranſaction does extraordinary honour to the memory of our author. In his ſpeech he intimated, that thoſe of his perſuaſion were ready to enter the liſt with any for their fidelity to his Majeſty, and did little expect to be dealt with as they had been; and they were now come to his Majeſty's feet, as the laſt application they ſhould make, *&c.* His Majeſty promiſed he would conſider of their buſineſs; and the very next day the matter was fully debated in Council, his Majeſty himſelf being preſent, who was pleaſed to declare, that he intended an indulgence, if it were at all feaſible. The great friends of the ſilenced Miniſters,

church, though another was in the pulpit, which proved an occaſion of much trouble to him; for on December 28, 1662, the expected Preacher not coming in time, ſome of the principal perſons in the pariſh prevailed upon Mr. Calamy to ſupply his place, which, with ſome importunity, he did; but delivered himſelf with ſuch freedom, that he was ſoon after, by the Lord Mayor's warrant, committed to Newgate for his ſermon (*a*). But the caſe itſelf being thought hard, and ſome doubt ariſing how far the commitment was legal, his Majeſty in a few days diſcharged him (*b*). As this affair has made a great noiſe, and much has been ſaid on both ſides, we will give the reader an opportunity of informing himſelf with what degree of juſtice [*N*]. He lived to ſee London in aſhes, the ſight of which broke his heart. He was driven through the ruins in a coach to Enfield, and was ſo ſhocked at the diſmal appearance, that he could never wear off the impreſſion, but kept his chamber ever after, and died October 29, 1666, within two months after this accident happened (*c*). He was, though a very learned man, yet a plain and practical Preacher, and one who was not afraid to ſpeak his ſentiments freely of and to the greateſt men, and of this the reader will meet with

(*a*) Compleat Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 262.

(*b*) Continuation of the Account of ſilenced and ejected Miniſters, vol. i. p. 11.

(*c*) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, vol. ii. lib. xiv. p. 39.

Miniſters, who had encouraged their hopes by a variety of ſpecious promiſes, were allowed, upon this occaſion, freely to ſuggeſt their reaſons againſt putting the act in execution, and they argued very ſtrenuouſly. But Dr. Sheldon, Biſhop of London, in a warm ſpeech, declared, That it was now too late to think of ſuſpending that law, for that he had already, in obedience to it, ejected ſuch of his Clergy as would not comply with it, on the Sunday before; and ſhould they now be reſtored, after they were thus exaſperated, he muſt expect to feel the effects of their reſentment, and ſhould never be able to maintain his epiſcopal authority among ſuch a Clergy, who would not fail to inſult him as their enemy, being countenanced by the Court; nor could the reſolutions of the Council-board juſtify his contempt of a law, which had paſſed with ſuch an unanimous conſent, and upon ſuch mature deliberation, of both Houſes: Should the ſacred authority of this law be now ſuſpended, it would render the Legiſlature ridiculous and contemptible; and if the importunity of ſuch diſaffected people were a ſufficient reaſon to humour them, neither the Church nor State would ever be free from diſtractions and convulſions. So that, upon the whole, it was carried, that no indulgence at all ſhould be granted (32). Dr. Samuel Parker, Biſhop of Oxford, has given us a farther account of this matter, which cannot be diſagreeable to the reader. 'By this ſeaſonable interpoſition, ſays his Lordſhip, 'the Biſhop freed the Church of England from theſe 'plagues for many years. For thus it happened 'luckily, happily, and proſperouſly, and, indeed, 'very providentially, that the Schiſmaticks entan-'gled themſelves in their ſchiſm by covenant and 'agreement, entering into a new aſſociation, being 'deceived by the large promiſes of the London 'Teachers, that they would not obey the law, and 'thence imagining that they ſhould defend them-'ſelves by their multitude. And whereas the 'Courtiers would have perſuaded the King, that 'there would be Preachers wanting in the city of 'London upon that Sunday, the very prudent 'Biſhop of that Dioceſe, who had computed the 'number of the faction, had ready at hand an equal 'number of orthodox Divines, and thoſe eloquent 'and learned, who, the ſign given, did, as it were, 'come out of ambuſh, and take poſſeſſion of the 'pulpits. And though from that time the Schiſ-'maticks tried all their art, that they might be re-'ceived again into the boſom of the Church, yet he 'guarded every paſs and avenue with ſuch diligence, 'that when they ſaw their attempts ſo often baffled, 'they at length ſat down, being no farther trouble-'ſome with their ſchiſm, than barely that they were 'Schiſmaticks as long as he lived (33).'

(32) Continuation of the Account of ſilenced and ejected Miniſters, vol. i. p. 11.

(33) Hiſt of his own Times, p. 83.

[*N*] *With what degree of juſtice*] The account given of this matter by Dr. Calamy runs thus. 'He 'was impriſoned *in terrorem*, for preaching occaſion-'ally after *Bartholomew* day; but ſoon releaſed, 'when it was ſeen what a reſort of perſons of all 'qualities there was to him in Newgate, and how 'generally the ſeverity was reſented. Our late 'Hiſtorian repreſents his preaching, at that time, as '*ſeditious*. But it was purely occaſioned by a diſap-'pointment, as to the Preacher expected; and the 'diſcourſe, as I have been informed by thoſe that 'very well knew it to be true, was unpremeditated. 'That hard word, therefore, might have been ſpared. 'As circumſtances then were, there might well be a 'concern ſtirring for ſerious religion, which was in 'no ſmall danger. And had this author waved that 'reflection, his work would not have loſt any of its 'beauty (34).' This reflection of Biſhop Kennet's the reader will the better judge of when he ſees it in his own words. 'Had he taken a practical ſubject, 'and kept to it, no notice would have been taken of 'that one occaſional neceſſity, as it were, of preach-'ing. But it looked like a plot, or formed deſign, 'that he ſhould chuſe a ſubject of Eli's *Concern for* '*the Ark of God*; and ſo applied the danger of the 'Church and Religion to the preſent times, that he 'could not be thought leſs a *ſeditious*, than a *diſ-*'*abled* Preacher (35).' It appears from hence, that it was not either the occaſion of his preaching, or the ſubject, ſtrictly ſpeaking, which induced the Biſhop to make uſe of ſo harſh a word, but the application. Now to judge of this, recourſe muſt be had to the ſermon, which has been printed, and therein two paſſages have been taken notice of as ſufficient to excuſe Biſhop Kennet's cenſure. The firſt paſſage is this: *You have had*, ſays Mr. Calamy, *three famous ſucceſſors; Dr. Taylor for ſeven years, Dr. Stoughton for ſeven years, and myſelf, I have been with you almoſt four and twenty years, and may not God now unchurch you, by ſuffering you to want a faithful Miniſter to go in and out before you. This is one reaſon, upon which account I may ſafely ſay, the Ark of God is in danger; and* Aldermanbury *may truly fear the loſs of the Ark* (36). The ſecond paſſage runs thus: *I read that among the Romans, when any man was accuſed for his life, all his relations put on mourning apparel, and they followed him to his trial in mourning, thereby to ſhew their love to the party in danger. Now did you love the Goſpel, the Miniſters of the Goſpel, and the ordinances of Chriſt, you would all put on mourning, and lament for the Goſpel, the Ark of God, that is in danger; and becauſe you do not, it is a ſign you have no love for the Goſpel* (37). But the thing did not end here; for as this commitment was ill taken on one ſide, ſo his diſcharge, by the King's expreſs command, was as warmly reſented by the other: For in the next ſeſſions of Parliament, complaint thereof was made in the Houſe of Commons; upon which it was ſignified to the Houſe, that his releaſe from impriſonment was not owing to the ſole command of the King, but to a deficiency in the act of Parliament, that had not fully provided for his longer reſtraint. Whereupon there was this entry made in their Journal. *Die Jovis, Febr.* 19, 1662. *Upon complaint made to this Houſe, that Mr.* Calamy *being committed to priſon, upon breach of the act of Uniformity, was diſcharged upon pretence of ſome defect in the act:*—Reſolved, *That it be referred to a Committee to look into the Act of Uniformity, as to the matter in queſtion, and to ſee whether the ſame be defective, and wherein.* And ſoon after a Committee was appointed, *to bring in the reaſons of the Houſe for their advice to the King againſt a Toleration, with an addreſs to his Majeſty.* And ſo an effectual door was opened to all the rigour and ſeverity that followed (38).

(34) Calamy's Abridgment of the Life of Baxter, vol. ii. p. 7.

(35) Compleat Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 262.

(36) Sermon at Aldermanbury church, Dec. 28, 1662, printed at Oxford, 1663, p. 12.

(37) *Ibid.* p. 14.

(38) Continuation of the Account of ejected and ſilenced Miniſters, vol. i. p. 12.

a re-

a remarkable inſtance in the notes [O]. His writings, though they were not numerous, are ſufficient to ſupport his reputation, and to make his abilities known to poſterity [P]. He was twice married. By his firſt wife he had a ſon and daughter; and by his ſecond ſeven children, ſome of whom we ſhall have occaſion to mention in ſucceeding articles.

[O] *A remarkable inſtance in the notes.*] Dr. Calamy tells us, that our author, at the time of the Reſtoration, had the greateſt intereſt in court, city, and country, of any of the Miniſters, and, therefore, was extremely careſſed at firſt; but he ſoon ſaw whither things were tending. Among other evidences of it, this is one: That having General Monk for his auditor in his own church, a little after the Reſtoration, on a ſacrament-day, he had occaſion to ſpeak of *filthy lucre:* 'And why, ſaid he, is it called '*filthy*, but becauſe it makes men do baſe and *filthy* 'things? Some men, ſaid he, will betray three 'kingdoms for *filthy lucre's* ſake.' Saying which, he threw his handkerchief, which he uſually waved up and down while he was preaching, towards the General's pew (39).

(39) Calamy's Abrigment of the Life of Baxter, vol. ii. p. 6.

[P] *His abilities known to poſterity.*] As we have already mentioned ſeveral pieces written by him, this note ſhall only ſerve as a ſupplement, and take in thoſe that we have had no opportunity to account for, *viz. The great Danger of Covenant refuſing and Covenant-breaking*, &c. preached before the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen, Miniſters, &c. of London, on 2 Tim. iii. 3. printed at London 1646, in 4to. Another preached before the Lord Mayor, entituled, *The Monſter of Self-ſeeking anatomized.* Sermon at St. Giles's Morning Exerciſes on Acts xxvi. 8. Funeral Sermons upon Dr. Samuel Bolton, Robert Earl of Warwick, in 1658, Mr. Simeon Aſhe in 1662. A Sermon to the native citizens of London, entituled, *The City Remembrancer.* A Farewel Sermon on 2 Sam. xxiv. 14. to his pariſh of St. Mary Aldermanbury, Aug. 17, 1662. And five Sermons, entituled, *The Godly Man's Ark, or a City of Refuge in the Day of his Diſtreſs*, the 8th edition of which was printed at London, 1683, in 12mo. He had a hand in drawing up the *Vindication of the Preſbyterian Government and Miniſtry*, printed at London 1650; and the *Jus Divinum Miniſterii Evangelici Anglicani*, printed in 1654. Since his death, there was a treatiſe of Meditation printed in a clandeſtine way, not by his ſon, nor from his manuſcript, but from ſome imperfect notes taken by an auditor. C.

*** [We never read the famous book called Smectymnuus; controverſies of the kind to which it relates being now little attended to, and eſpecially thoſe controverſies that, in the earlier part of the laſt century, were carried on with ſo much bitterneſs of ſpirit. It was, however, a production of no ſmall importance in its day; and, if we may judge from the ſhort extract given of it in note E, it was drawn up in a ſtile of compoſition ſuperior to what was poſſeſſed by the Puritans in general, and, indeed, by many other Writers, at that period.

Mr. Beardmore, a pupil of Dr. Tillotſon's, who wrote ſome Memorials of that excellent Prelate, ſays, that Mr. Tillotſon told him, in the year 1661, that the good old man, Mr. Calamy, deliberated about the Biſhoprick offered him by King Charles the Second a conſiderable time, profeſſing to ſee the great inconvenience of the Preſbyterian parity of Miniſters (40).

(40) Birch's Life of Tillotſon, p. 388.

Mr. Calamy's popularity was ſo great, that his impriſonment in Newgate made no ſmall noiſe. Dr. Wilde, a Nonconformiſt Poet of that period, publiſhed a Copy of Verſes upon the occaſion, which was ſpread through all parts of the kingdom. A certain Popiſh lady happening to paſs through the city during Mr. Calamy's confinement, found it difficult to get along Newgate-ſtreet, on account of the many coaches that attended there. Being ſurprized at this incident, curioſity led her to enquire into the occaſion of the ſtoppage, and the appearance of ſuch a number of coaches, in a place where ſhe thought nothing of that kind was to be expected. The ſtanders by, who ſeemed greatly concerned and diſturbed, informed her, that one Mr. Calamy, a perſon generally beloved and reſpected, was impriſoned there for a ſingle ſermon. This ſo ſtruck the lady, that ſhe took the firſt opportunity of waiting upon the King at Whitehall, and frankly told him the whole affair; expreſſing, at the ſame time, her apprehenſions, that, if ſuch ſteps were taken, his Majeſty would loſe the affections of the city, which might be attended with very ill effects. It was partly in conſequence of this repreſentation that Mr. Calamy was ſoon diſcharged from priſon, by the King's expreſs order (41).] K.

(41) From a Manuſcript of Dr. Edmund Calamy's.

CALAMY (EDMUND) eldeſt ſon to the Reverend Mr. Edmund Calamy, of whom in the preceding article, was born at Sir Edmund's-Bury, in Suffolk, about the year 1635. In his junior years he was carefully inſtructed by his father, and when he had acquired a ſufficient fund of learning, he was transferred to the Univerſity of Cambridge, where he was entered of Sidney-College, March 28, 1651. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1654-5. Then he removed to Pembroke-Hall, where he took the degree of Maſter of Arts, in 1658 (*a*). He became afterwards Fellow of that College; and on April 20, 1659, was preſented to the living of Moreton in Eſſex, which he held till he was removed by the Act of Uniformity in 1662 (*b*) [*A*]. After his ejectment he retired to London, and kept a Meeting privately in his houſe in Aldermanbury. When King Charles II. publiſhed his declaration for Indulgence, he ſet up a public Meeting in Currier's Hall, near Cripplegate. But when the Diſſenters were again perſecuted, he had recourſe to his former method; and though he was very

(*a*) From the Univerſity Regiſter.

(*b*) Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. ii. p. 424.

[*A*] *By the Act of Uniformity in* 1662.] We have ſome very curious particulars in relation to this gentleman's acquiring, holding, and loſing this living. He was admitted to it by an inſtrument dated at Whitehall the 20th of April, 1659, ſetting forth, That he had been preſented to the rectory of Moreton, in the county of Eſſex, by the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Mancheſter, John Lord Roberts, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Bart. Anthony Tuckney, Doctor in Divinity, Maſter of St. John's College, in Cambridge, Simeon Aſh, Clerk, and Edmund Calamy, the elder, Clerk, Feoffees in truſt of Robert Earl of Warwick, deceaſed, the patron thereof, and that he had a teſtimonial of his holy life and good converſation: wherefore he was admitted as the legal incumbent by the Commiſſioners for approbation of public Preachers; which inſtrument is ſigned by Philip Nye, Regiſter, and ſealed with the common ſeal of the Board before-mentioned. He afterwards gave four bonds to the Protector Richard, for the payment of the firſt fruits and tenths, each bond for nine pounds, the firſt payable October 1, 1659, and the laſt April 1, 1661. He ſhewed his loyalty to King Charles II. by contributing freely to the bene volence in 1661, yet this did not hinder his being turned out, in the year following, for Nonconformity (1).

(1) Calamy's Continuation of the Account of ejected and ſilenced Miniſters, vol. i. p. 461, 462, 463, 464.

aſſiduous

aſſiduous in his duty, yet he eſcaped impriſonment, notwithſtanding warrants were frequently out againſt him; but he had the misfortune, with ſeveral other of his brethren, to fall under a Crown-Office proſecution, which put him to a great deal of trouble and expence (*c*). As he was a perſon of much learning and unaffected piety, ſo he was very careful to avoid whatever might draw upon him the imputation of party. In the earlier part of life he declined taking the Covenant, and through the whole courſe of it ſhewed a ſpirit of moderation and charity agreeable to his calling. He was, though a Nonconformiſt, a man of very free notions, and one who never pretended to confine the Church of Chriſt within the bounds of any particular ſect. He had a great contempt for the goods of this world, and was ſuch a lover of obſcurity and retirement, that though he was a very able as well as painful Preacher, and was known to have done much good in the ſpace of three and twenty years that he exerciſed the Miniſtry in London, yet he would never be prevailed on to appear in print, but ſatisfied himſelf with the conſciouſneſs of having performed his duty (*d*). Having thus led a private and peaceable, though not a quiet life, he exchanged it for a better in the month of May 1685, being taken off by a conſumption. He left behind him a ſon and four daughters (*e*).

(*c*) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, vol. ii. p. 301.

(*d*) Continuation of the Account of ejected and ſilenced Miniſters, vol. ii. p. 464.

(*e*) From particular information.

CALAMY (BENJAMIN) an eminent Divine of the Church of England, in the XVIIth Century. He was the ſon of the famous Mr. Edmund Calamy, Miniſter of Aldermanbury before-mentioned, by a ſecond wife, and received the firſt tincture of learning at St. Paul's School, from whence he was ſent, when very young, to the Univerſity of Cambridge, and there entered of Catherine-Hall. In the year 1664-5, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; in 1668, that of Maſter of Arts, and became alſo Fellow of that Hall, and a very eminent Tutor there. April 25, 1677, he was choſen in the room of Dr. Simon Ford, Miniſter of St. Mary Aldermanbury; and ſoon after appointed one of his Majeſty's Chaplains in Ordinary. In 1680, he took his degree of Doctor in Divinity (*a*). In 1683, he preached in that church his famous ſermon, which he afterwards publiſhed under the title of, *A Diſcourſe about a ſcrupulous Conſcience*, of which we may truly ſay, that never any piece of its kind or ſize, gained more credit to its author, or was more taken notice of by the public (*b*) [*A*]. This ſermon

(*a*) From the University Regiſter.

(*b*) The title at large ran thus: A Diſcourſe about a doubting Conſcience, preached at the pariſh church of St. Mary Aldermanbury, London, by Benjamin Calamy, D. D. one of his Majeſty's Chaplains in Ordinary, London, 1683, 4to.

[*A*] *More taken notice of by the public.*] This ſermon is in every reſpect very extraordinary. In the title page, we have this motto from a piece of Mr. Baxter's. 'Conſider this, it is the judgment of ſome, 'that thouſands are gone to hell, and ten thouſands 'upon their march thither, that in all probability 'had never come there, if they had not been tempted 'from the pariſh churches, for the enjoyment of 'communion in a purer Church (1).' It was dedicated to Sir George Jefferies, Knight and Baronet, Chief Juſtice of Cheſter, afterwards Lord Jefferies and High-Chancellor of England. And in this dedication there are ſome very ſingular paſſages. In the firſt place, he acknowledges Sir George for his patron, and profeſſes, that it was by his intereſt and favour he was placed in this pariſh. He then proceeds thus. 'Upon how many this plain, homely 'diſcourſe may have good effect, I cannot gueſs: 'how many it will anger and diſpleaſe, I am not at 'all concerned: and though I may be thought by 'ſome ill adviſed, in publiſhing ſuch a ſermon, yet 'every one will commend and juſtify my diſcretion 'in prefixing your name before it; for ſo great an 'awe have the enemies of our Church and government of your Loyalty and fidelity to both, of 'your undaunted zeal and activity for both, that 'they will not dare loudly to condemn what you are 'pleaſed to protect. They will be juſtly afraid of 'quarrelling with me, when they know I have engaged you on my ſide. I am very ſenſible, that in 'the age we live, ſome are ſo extraordinary wiſe and 'wary, as to cenſure and diſcourage all men that 'ſpeak roundly and act vigorouſly for the King and 'Church, as being more forward and buſy than is 'needful; but I am alſo as ſenſible, that if ſome 'men had not ſhewn more courage and honeſty than 'thoſe prudent perſons, both would have been by 'this time in far greater danger, than at this preſent, thanks be to God, they are. For my own 'part no one is more favourable to a truly tender 'conſcience than myſelf, let it be as nice and ſcrupulous as it can well, ſo it be about the ſubſtantial 'matters of piety towards God, juſtice between man 'and man, due obedience to ſuperiors, and when 'it makes us more exactly careful of our undoubted 'duty in all inſtances: but when men are ſcrupulous 'only on one ſide, about things commanded by lawful authority, and make no ſcruple of diſobedience, 'ſchiſm, faction, and diviſion; when men ſet up 'their private humour, fancy, or opinion, in oppoſition to eſtabliſhed laws; when they become peeviſh, 'pragmatical, and ungovernable; nay, when men's 'conſciences prove ſo generally tender and ſcrupulous, as to doubt of and ſuſpect the rights of the 'Crown (for that conſcience that is ſo tender againſt 'the Church, is alſo uſually as tender againſt the 'King) ſuch wayward, ſkittiſh conſciences ought to 'be well bridled and reſtrained, or elſe they will be 'not only intolerably troubleſome, but extreamly 'miſchievous, both to Church and State.' The ſermon itſelf is very warm in the cauſe of Conformity, and, perhaps, there never were more arguments uſed, or thoſe better proſecuted, than we meet in this diſcourſe. At the end of it, we find the following quotation, from a book of his father's, to ſhew, that ſuch as were Nonconformiſts then, were zealous for Conformity, when themſelves were in poſſeſſion of the churches: the paſſage is this. 'Take heed of 'ſeparating from the public aſſemblies of the Saints. 'I have found by experience, that all our Church 'calamities have ſprung from this root. He that 'ſeparates from the public worſhip, is like a man 'tumbling down a hill, and never leaving till he 'comes to the bottom of it. I could relate many 'ſad ſtories of perſons profeſſing godlineſs, who out 'of diſlike to our Church-meetings, began at firſt 'to ſeparate from them, and after many changes and 'alterations, are turned, ſome of them Anabaptiſts, 'ſome Quakers, ſome Ranters, ſome direct Atheiſts. 'But I forbear: you muſt hold communion with all 'thoſe Churches with which Chriſt holds communion. 'You muſt ſeparate from the ſins of Chriſtians, but 'not from the ordinances of Chriſt. Take heed of 'unchurching the Churches of Chriſt, leſt you prove 'Schiſmatics inſtead of being true Chriſtians (2).' Whoever peruſes this diſcourſe, and conſiders the time

(1) Ep. to ſeparate Congregation.

(2) Godly Man's Ark in the Ep. Ded. to the pariſh of Aldermanbury.

ſermon he preached a ſecond time at Bow Church with great effect, and this excited a zealous Nonconformiſt, one Mr. Thomas De Laune, who had been formerly a ſchool-maſter, to write againſt it; which he did in ſuch a manner as drew upon him a fatal impriſonment, which he endeavoured by all means to aſcribe to Dr. Calamy, though his complaints on this head had little or no foundation (*c*) [*B*]. In 1683, Dr. Calamy was admitted to the Vicarage of St. Lawrence Jewry, with St. Mary Magdalen Milk-ſtreet annexed, to which he was collated by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, in the room of Dr. Benjamin Whichcot. June 18, 1685, he was, on the deceaſe of Dr. John Wells, inſtalled into the Prebend of Harleſton, in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul (*d*). Theſe preferments are abundant proofs of his merit, and of his great intereſt in the city of London, which he maintained not by attaching himſelf to any party, but by living in great intimacy with the beſt men of all parties. He was particularly acquainted with Alderman Corniſh, who was his pariſhioner, and for whom he had ſo great a reſpect, that he gave teſtimony in his favour when he was tried for High-Treaſon, October 16, 1685, which was no ordinary mark of friendſhip in thoſe times (*e*) [*C*]. It is thought, that a ſenſe of public calamities had a great ſhare in

(*c*) See De Laune's Narrative mentioned in note [*B*].

(*d*) Newcourt's Repert. Eccleſ. vol. i. p. 155, 388.

(*e*) See the caſe of Alderman Corniſh.

time in which it was publiſhed, and the nature of theſe arguments from their own writers, will eaſily diſcern the cauſes of that ſpirit which was raiſed againſt Dr. Calamy, on account of his preaching it: a ſpirit, perhaps, that nothing could have overcome but the innocency of his life, his readineſs to converſe with the worthieſt men of all parties, and his willingneſs to do good to ſuch as differed from him in opinion.

[*B*] *Had little or no foundation.*] The title of this book runs thus, De Laune's *Plea for the Nonconformiſts; ſhewing the true State of their Caſe, and how far the* Conformiſt's *Separation from the Church of Rome, for their Popiſh Superſtitions*, &c. *introduced into the Service of God, juſtifies the* Nonconformiſt's *Separation from them for the ſame. In a Letter to Dr.* Benjamin Calamy, *upon the Sermon called*, Scrupulous Conſcience, *inviting hereto. To which is added*, A PARALLEL SCHEME OF THE PAGAN, PAPAL, AND CHRISTIAN RITES AND CEREMONIES. To this there is added, another piece, intituled, *A Narrative of the Tryal and Sufferings of* Thomas De Laune, *for writing, printing, and publiſhing a late book called*, A Plea for the Nonconformiſts, *with ſome modeſt Reflections thereon. Directed to Dr. Calamy; in obedience to whoſe Call that work was undertaken. By* Thomas De Laune. *Printed for the Author* 1683. In this warm book, the author takes it all along for granted, that Dr. Calamy's printing his ſermon, was a challenge to the Nonconformiſts in general, and to every man who thought himſelf able to defend Nonconformity in particular, though there is certainly nothing in the ſermon which can warrant ſuch an opinion. The book is written too in very fierce language, and a high charge of idolatry is brought againſt the Church. After the letter, follows another ſhort treatiſe, bearing the title of, *The Image of the Beaſt; ſhewing by a parallel or ſcheme, what a Conformiſt the Church of Rome is to the Pagan, and what a Nonconformiſt to the Chriſtian Church, in its Rites, Service, and Ceremonies, the better to exemplify the true and falſe Church. By T. D.* For the publiſhing this book, he was taken into cuſtody, on November 29, 1683, and the next day committed to Newgate by a warrant from Sir Thomas Jenner, then Recorder of London. After his commitment, he wrote a long letter to Dr. Calamy, wherein, after having often told him, that he wrote in obedience to his call, and that he was impriſoned entirely on his account, he concludes thus. 'As truth ſeeks no corners, nor ſuborners, and as 'real beauty will not be beholden to the artificial 'dawbings of a pencil; ſo the Chriſtian Religion '(where profeſſed in its naked ſimplicity) needs no 'other argument to beget proſelytes, than its own 'lovely and illuſtrious features, altogether plain, 'honeſt, and every way amiable, void of all mere-'tricious gawdery, or that majeſtical pomp, which 'pleaſes only the external ſenſe. I have no malig-'nity againſt any perſon whatſoever, much leſs 'againſt your Church, or any of its members: all 'I deſire is, that ſcrupulous conſciences, who trouble 'not the peace of the nation, ſhould be dealt withal '(at leaſt) as weak brethren, according to Rom. 'xiv. 1. and not ruined by penalties, for not ſwal-'lowing what is impoſed under the notion of de-'cency and order, though excentric to the ſcheme 'we have of it in our only rule of faith. Sir, I 'entreat you to excuſe this trouble from a ſtranger, 'who would fain be convinced by ſomething more 'like Divinity than Newgate, where any meſſage 'from you ſhall be welcome to your humble ſer-'vant, T. D. (3).' To this epiſtle, Mr. De Laune tells us, Dr. Calamy anſwered, if he has been impriſoned on account of anſwering my book, I will do him any ſervice that becomes me. Some other letters he ſent him, to pretty near the ſame purpoſe, which did not hinder his being tried at the Old Baily for a Libel, on the 16th of January following, and upon conviction he was fined one hundred marks, ordered to find ſecurity for a year, and his book to be burnt before the Royal Exchange. By this fatal ſentence, himſelf, his wife, and children periſhed in Newgate, no body caring to lay down ſeventy-five pounds for him, though he was a man of much knowledge and learning (4). His ſufferings gave very great concern to Dr. Calamy, who was a man of much humanity, and he did all he could to ſerve him; but it not appearing that his book was more an anſwer to Dr. Calamy than to Dr. Stillingfleet, or any other writer in defence of Conformity, and as the Doctor's words were ſtrangely wreſted and abuſed in his Narrative, Dr. Calamy's charitable applications, which were hearty and frequent, had the leſs weight.

(3) De Laune's Narrative, p. 59.

(4) Obſervator, vol. ii. No. 69.

[*C*] *No ordinary mark of friendſhip in thoſe times.*] The caſe of Alderman Corniſh is very well known, and the violence with which he was treated even at his trial. He thought it neceſſary there to prove his being a Churchman, and not an Occaſional Conformiſt. With this view he would have called Dr. Sharp, then Dean of Norwich, or Dr. Tillotſon, then Dean of Canterbury, but neither thought proper to appear; he had then recourſe to Dr. Calamy. The circumſtances of the thing are very remarkable, and therefore we will inſert the whole paſſage as it ſtands in the printed trial.

'*Mr. Corniſh.* My Lord, I deſire I may have the 'Miniſter of the pariſh, *Dr. Calamy*, for my con-'ſtancy at my pariſh-church, and receiving the Sa-'crament, according to the rites of the Church of '*England*; that I am, to all appearance, a perſon 'that does as well affect the government as any man. 'L. C. J. *Jones.* I doubt you are all appearance. 'Dr. *Calamy.* My knowledge of Mr. *Corniſh* hath 'been ſince I came to be Miniſter of the pariſh, 'which is about two years; a little above two years: 'whenever he was in town he did uſe to come to 'church as conſtantly as any one, and come with 'his family to prayers, and did come to the Sacra-'ment; and he did not only come at *Eaſter*, to ſave 'himſelf from a preſentment, but at our monthly 'communion; and ſince I have been Miniſter of the 'place, I have often converſed with him: All that 'I can ſay, is, that I never heard him ſay a diſre-'ſpectful word of the government. L. C. J. *Jones.* I 'hope

in bringing his laſt illneſs upon our author, who fell into a declining ſtate in the autumn of the year laſt mentioned, and died of a pleuritic fever in the month of January 1686. He was a man equally valuable for the abilities which he poſſeſſed, and the uſes to which he applied them. He was a ſincere ſon of the Church of England, and very intent on gaining over Diſſenters of all ſorts to her communion; but withal he had an extenſive charity, and a juſt averſion to perſecution. He was heartily loyal, but without bitterneſs or paſſion; and his loyalty occaſioned his grief, when he ſaw thoſe ſteps taken which could end in nothing but public confuſion. His own virtues, however, exempted him in a great meaſure from envy and ſcandal, even in the worſt of times; inſomuch, that the greateſt men of all ſects and all parties amongſt us, readily joined in paying a juſt tribute of praiſe to his memory (*f*) [*D*]. Though few in his ſituation were either better or more frequent Preachers, yet he left behind him very little in print. Some ſermons of his were after his deceaſe publiſhed by his brother, which ſerved only to raiſe a greater regret in the world for the loſs of ſo worthy a perſon, and of ſo many of his excellent performances as were buried in oblivion. His ſermons are ſtill valued as well for the beauty of their language as the excellent ſentiments contained in them [*E*].

(*f*) Appendix to the third vol. of Echard's Hiſt. p. 21.

CALAMY

'hope he took you to be a man of another kidney?
'Dr. *Calamy*. I marked his words, becauſe of the
'character I had heard of him. Mr. *Att. Gen.* Pray
'what was the character he had before thoſe two
'years? Dr. *Calamy*. That was what was pub-
'lick (5).' The Chief Juſtice, in ſumming up this part of the evidence, obſerved to the Jury, that Mr. Corniſh laid great ſtreſs on his being a Churchman, of which he had given no evidence beyond two years, which being ſince the trial of the Lord Ruſſel, it was to be preſumed he took up this character as a thing neceſſary then to purge off ſuſpicions. Mr. Corniſh objected to this, that he had been a conſtant Churchman for ſeven years, but that Dr. Calamy could ſpeak only ſince the time of his coming into the pariſh, his predeceſſor, Dr. Whichcot, being dead. After Mr. Corniſh received ſentence of death, Dr. Calamy viſited him in Newgate, but excuſed himſelf from attending him at the place of execution, by ſaying plainly, that, *He could as well die with him, as behold his death in ſuch circumſtances*. Dr. Calamy forbore not uſing all the intereſt he had to ſave him, to the very laſt, and upon this occaſion it is reported, that Sir George Jefferies ſhould have given him this anſwer: *Dear Doctor, ſet your heart at reſt, and give yourſelf no further trouble, for I can aſſure you, that if you could offer a mine of gold as deep as the Monument is high, and a bunch of pearls as big as the flames at the top of it, it would not purchaſe his life* (6).

(5) Trial of Hen. Corniſh, Eſq; &c. London, printed for Geo. Groom, 1685. Collection of State Trials, vol. iv. p. 153.

(6) General Dict. vol. iv. p. 27.

[*D*] *A juſt tribute of praiſe to his memory.*] His Funeral Sermon was preached by Dr. William Sherlock, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's, January 7, 1685-6. In this ſermon the Doctor tells us that, 'when a prevailing faction threatened both Church
'and State, and the fears of Popery were thought a
'ſufficient juſtification of the moſt illegal and irre-
'ligious methods to keep it out; when it was ſcan-
'dalous to ſpeak a word either for the King or the
'Church; when cunning men were ſilent; and
'thoſe, who affected popularity, ſwam with the
'ſtream; then this great and good man durſt reform
'Schiſm and Faction; durſt teach men to conform
'to the Church, and to obey and honour the King;
'durſt vindicate the deſpiſed Church of England,
'and the hated doctrine of Paſſive Obedience, though
'one was thought to favour Popery, and the other
'to introduce ſlavery. But he was above the power-
'ful charms of names, and liked truth never the
'worſe becauſe it was miſcalled. His public ſer-
'mons preached in thoſe days, and printed by
'public authority, are laſting proofs of this; and
'yet he was no Papiſt neither, but durſt reprove
'the errors of Popery, when ſome others, who
'made the greateſt noiſe and outcry about it, grew
'wiſe and cautious. This was like a truly honeſt
'and faithful ſervant, to oppoſe the growing diſ-
'tempers of the age, without any regard either to
'unjuſt cenſures, or apparent danger (7). And yet
'he did not needleſly provoke any man: he gave
'no hard words, but thought it ſevere enough to
'confute mens errors, without upbraiding or re-
'proaching their perſons. His converſation was
'courteous and affable to all men; ſoft and eaſy,
'as his principles were ſtubborn. He could yield
'any thing but the truth, and bear with any thing
'but the vices of men. He would, indeed, have
'been the wonder of his age, had he not lived in
'ſuch an age, as, thanks be to God, can ſhew many
'ſuch wonders; and yet, in ſuch an age as this,
'he made an illuſtrious figure. Though he had his
'equals, he had not many ſuperiors (8). Thus he
'lived, and thus this good man died, for thus was
'he found doing when his Lord came.' Dr. Baſil Kennet, in his Preface to the Tranſlation of the Critical Works of M. Rapin, gives us, at once, a fine panegyric on our author and Dean Sherlock. He is ſpeaking there of the eloquence of the Engliſh pulpit, which leads him to this obſervation. 'As
'this age applauds the unexhauſted ſtore of things
'and words in Dr. Barrow, the next will acknow-
'ledge that one of his learned ſucceſſors began the
'reputation of Mr. Boyle's Lecture. The refined
'thought, and choice manner, which we admire in
'the writings of the late Dean of Sarum, thoſe who
'come after us will affirm to have been continued in
'other ornaments of the ſame Church. Nor will
'the reſpect which is ſo juſtly paid to the clear vein
'of argument, and excellent ſpirit of Dr. Calamy,
'be denied to the natural perſuaſiveneſs, the eaſy
'and popular reaſon, of the friend who performed
'the good office at his funeral.' The celebrated Mr. Anthony Wood ſtyles Dr. Calamy *a loyal perſon, an excellent preacher, and a zealous man for the Church of England* (9). Archdeacon Echard ſpeaks of him thus: 'His ſermons ſeem to have been com-
'poſed for the generality of mankind, in which
'there is both ſtrength and perſpicuity, and diſco-
'ver a genius able to penetrate into the ſecret re-
'ceſſes of human nature, for which he was particu-
'larly obſerved by King Charles's Court, when he
'preached at Newmarket. Wherefore it is a pity
'that we have no more of them in print (10).' Biſhop Burnet reckons him with Teniſon, Sharpe, Patrick, Sherlock, Fowler, Scot, Clagget, Cudworth, Williams, and many others, of whom he ſays, that 'though he knew them not ſo particularly as to
'give all their characters, yet they deſerved a
'high one, and were, indeed, an honour both to
'the Church, and to the age in which they liv-
'ed (11).' In the *Hiſtory of Paſſive Obedience* we find a great variety of paſſages from his ſermons (12); and as that book is compoſed chiefly from the works of our moſt eminent Divines, it proves him to be ſuch in the opinion of its compilers.

(7) Page 30, 31.

(8) *Ibid.* p. 31.

(9) Faſti Oxon. vol. i. col. 282.

(10) Appendix to the three volumes of his Hiſtory of England, p. 21.

(11) Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 462.

(12) Said to be printed at Amſterdam, 1689, 4to. p. 122.

[*E*] *As the excellent ſentiments contained in them.*] The pieces printed in his life-time were theſe. 1. A Sermon preached at Guildhall, on Tit. iii. 8, 9. London 1673, in 4to. 2. A Sermon preached at Guildhall, on John v. 14. before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, May 29, London 1682, in 4to. 3. A Diſcourſe about a ſcrupulous Conſcience, preached at St. Mary Aldermanbury, on Luke xi. 41. London 1683, in 4to. 2d edit. 4. A Sermon preached before the Lord

CALAMY (JAMES), ſon to Edmund Calamy, B. D. before-mentioned, by a ſecond wife, and younger brother to Dr. Benjamin Calamy, of whom in the preceding article. He was educated at Catherine-Hall, in the Univerſity of Cambridge, where, in 1672, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and in 1676, that of Maſter (*a*). Having received holy Orders, and being highly conſidered on account of his father's reputation, he was preſented to the Rectory of Northill, in Bedfordſhire, where he continued till the year 1707, when he was preſented by his intimate friend, Dr. Blackall, Biſhop of Exeter, to that of Cheriton-Biſhops in Devonſhire; and had at the ſame time a Prebend in the Church of Exeter beſtowed on him. He was a man of great learning, but much greater modeſty, which is the reaſon that he left nothing behind him in print, except his Dedication of his brother's ſermons. He led a ſingle life, and on December 14, 1714, was ſurprized by a ſudden death (*b*). C.

(*a*) From the University Regiſter.

(*b*) From particular information.

CALAMY (EDMUND), a very eminent divine among the Nonconformiſts, grandſon to Mr. Edmund Calamy, Miniſter of Aldermanbury, by his eldeſt ſon, Mr. Edmund Calamy, Miniſter of Moreton in Eſſex (*a*). He was born at his father's houſe in Aldermanbury, April 5, 1671, and after acquiring a competent portion of learning in ſeveral private ſchools, and at Merchant-Taylors, under the celebrated Mr. Hartcliffe, he removed to a private Academy at Wickham-Brook in Suffolk. There he was under the tuition of Mr. Samuel Cradock, a very eminent and worthy perſon, who had been Fellow of Emanuel College in Cambridge, and by whoſe aſſiſtance Mr. Calamy went through a courſe of Logic, Natural Philoſophy, and Metaphyſics (*b*). He ſtudied with ſuch diligence as to merit particular marks of favour from Mr. Cradock, as before from Mr. Hartcliffe; and by his natural ſweetneſs of temper, and great candour in converſation, he eſtabliſhed ſuch friendſhips with his contemporaries, as were both uſeful and honourable to him in the ſucceeding part of his life (*c*) [*A*]. In March 1688, being juſt turned of ſeventeen, he went over to the Univerſity of Utrecht, where he ſtudied Philoſophy under De Vries, Civil Law under Vander Muyden, both celebrated Profeſſors, and attended the Lectures of the moſt learned Grævius, upon Sophocles and Puffendorf's Introduction. Here Mr. Calamy purſued his ſtudies with ſtill greater diligence than before, making it a rule to ſpend one whole night in a week amongſt his books (*d*). His application and proficiency recommended him to the favour of all who knew him there, and eſpecially to the notice and friendſhip of two of his countrymen, who came afterwards to fill very high ſtations, both in Church and

(*a*) As appears by the foregoing article.

(*b*) Funeral Sermon upon the Death of Edmund Calamy, D. D. with ſome Account of his Life and Character by Daniel Mayo, M. A. p. 20.

(*c*) See theſe points more fully explained in the notes.

(*d*) Funeral Sermon before cited, p. 21.

Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen at Guildhall chapel, Sept. 30, 1683, on Rom. iii. 8. London 1683, in 4to. 5. A Sermon preached at St. Mary le Bow, before the Artillery Company, on Matt. xxvi. 52. London 1684, in 4to. 6. A Sermon preached at St. Mary le Bow before the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, Sept. 2, 1684, being the Anniverſary-faſt for the fire of London, on Iſa. lvii. 21. 7. A Thankſgiving-ſermon, on Eccleſ. x. 20. There was a volume of poſthumous Sermons, in number thirteen, publiſhed by his brother, of whom we are to ſpeak in the next article, with his Funeral Sermon, by Dr. Sherlock, prefixed. This volume has run through many editions, and at this day continues to be read and admired.

*** [It is evident from Dr. Benjamin Calamy's Dedication to Sir George Jefferies, that the Doctor was not only a warm ſon of the Church of England, but that he did not underſtand the principles of Toleration. The language he uſes, of pretending to be favourable to truly tender conſciences, provided they do not go certain lengths, is the language of all bigots. Neither do his compliments to Sir George Jefferies reflect any great credit upon our author: for, though Sir George had not then been guilty of thoſe enormous actions, which afterwards rendered his character ſo eminently diſgraceful, he had always ſhewn himſelf to be a violent and unworthy man. The advantage which Dr. Calamy took of his father's reaſoning was fair enough, as an *argumentum ad homines*. The Preſbyterians, when in power, uſed the ſame intolerant language, which, before and afterwards, was done by ſome members of the eſtabliſhed Church.

Though Mr. De Laune was, in certain reſpects, a warm man, what he wrote to Dr. Calamy ſhews him to have had ſome degree of temper; and his requeſt was undoubtedly reaſonable. That himſelf, his wife, and his children, (if the fact be ſtrictly true) ſhould periſh in Newgate, for want of ſeventy-five pounds, is not only a diſgrace to the general ſpirit of the times, but caſts peculiar diſhonour on the Nonconformiſts of that period. Though there was probably ſomething in his diſpoſition which occaſioned his having but few friends, a man of his knowledge, learning, and integrity, ought not to have been ſo fatally neglected. Perhaps the only apology which can be made for the Diſſenters of King Charles the Second's reign is, that whilſt ſo many of their miniſters were in a perſecuted ſtate, it was impoſſible for every caſe of diſtreſs to be duly regarded.

Dr. Edmund Calamy (13) gives a good character of his uncle Benjamin, and repreſents him as having behaved with great reſpect and kindneſs to his brother and nephew, notwithſtanding the difference of their opinions. From the ſame authority we learn, that Dr. Benjamin Calamy became more moderate in his ſentiments, towards the cloſe of his life.] K.

(13) In a Manuſcript.

[*A*] *In the ſucceeding part of his life.*] At Merchant-Taylors ſchool he entered into a cloſe friendſhip with Mr. Dawes (1), afterwards Sir William Dawes, and Archbiſhop of York; as alſo with Mr. Hugh Boulter, afterwards Primate of Ireland, and a moſt worthy perſon. At Wickham-Brook he became acquainted with Mr. Timothy Godwin, one eminent in all kinds of learning, but eſpecially for his knowledge of the Greek tongue. At that time Mr. Godwin was deſigned for the ſtudy of Phyſic; but his inclinations took afterwards another turn, and he applied himſelf ſo happily to Divinity, that he roſe by degrees to the Archbiſhopric of Caſhel. With theſe great men Mr. Calamy ever after maintained his friendſhip as long as he, and they, lived; which is a very full proof of his merit, as the contracting ſuch acquaintances is a high inſtance of his penetration and judgment. A perſon of leſs ſagacity would not have diſcovered theſe ſeeds of worth in them; and a man of leſs honour or integrity would have forfeited their eſteem, eſpecially if the wide difference in their opinions be conſidered.

(1) From the Funeral Sermon cited in the laſt, p. 20.

State.

State [*B*]. By degrees his abilities gained him ſo great reputation, that the famous Mr. William Carſtairs, Principal of the College of Edinburgh, invited him to accept of a Profeſſor's chair in that kingdom, having himſelf been ſent over to Holland on purpoſe to find a perſon qualified for ſuch an office. But Mr. Calamy declined this offer, and ſoon after returned into England (*e*). On his arrival, he went firſt to Oxford, carrying with him, letters from Profeſſor Grævius to Dr. Pocock, Regius Profeſſor of Hebrew, and to Dr. Edward Bernard, Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy in that Univerſity. Theſe worthy perſons received him with great civility, and obtained leave for him to proſecute his ſtudies in the Bodleian library. He made the utmoſt uſe of this and all the other advantages he enjoyed at Oxford, particularly the improving converſation of the moſt learned Mr. Henry Dodwell, with whom he was intimately acquainted (*f*). Mr. Calamy had by this time determined to apply himſelf particularly to Divinity, which he did with great ſteadineſs and induſtry. After ſtudying the Scriptures thoroughly, and acquiring conſiderable knowledge in Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and the works of the primitive Fathers, he began to enquire into later controverſies, particularly, that between the Church of England and the Nonconformiſts; and after a long and ſober examination of what had been written on both ſides, he reſolved to join himſelf to the latter. In conſequence of this choice, he preached ſometimes in Oxford, and more frequently in the adjacent villages, till in the year 1692, he was invited to aſſiſt Mr. Matthew Sylveſter at his Meeting-houſe in Black-Friars (*g*). There he continued to preach two years before he received Preſbyterian Ordination. At length, on June 22, 1694, he was ordained at Dr. Anneſley's Meeting-houſe in Little St. Helen's (*h*). He was ſoon after invited to become aſſiſtant to Mr. Daniel Williams in Hand-alley. October 20, 1702, he was appointed one of the Lecturers at Salter's-Hall; and in 1703, he was choſen to ſucceed Mr. Vincent Alſop, as Paſtor of a great congregation in Weſtminſter (*i*). He had recommended himſelf in a very particular manner to the whole Diſſenting intereſt, firſt by the care he had taken in publiſhing Mr. Baxter's Hiſtory of his Life and Times, and then in making a very uſeful Abridgment of it, which he afterwards improved into a much larger and more valuable work [*C*]. This, however, expoſed him to ſome attacks, in which his book was treated with great marks of deference and reſpect. In his anſwers, Mr. Calamy ſhewed the higheſt regard to decency, and to the dignity of his ſubject, ſo that very few diſputes of this nature have been managed with greater clearneſs and ſtrength of argument, or with leſs offence [*D*]. His

(*e*) From the Account given by Mr. Carſtairs himſelf.

(*f*) See the article DODWELL (HENRY) in this Dictionary.

(*g*) Funeral Sermon before recited, p. 23.

(*h*) See his Abridgment of the Life of Baxter, vol. iv. p. 635.

(*i*) Funeral Sermon before cited, p. 24.

[*B*] *Very high ſtations in Church and State.*] Theſe were Charles Lord Spencer, afterwards the famous Earl of Sunderland, who was long Secretary of State in the reign of Queen Anne, and afterwards held the ſame poſt in the reign of King George I. till he was made Preſident of the Council, Firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, and Prime Miniſter; and Mr. Charles Trimnell, then tutor to Lord Spencer, and afterwards ſucceſſively Biſhop of Norwich and Wincheſter. With theſe he maintained his friendſhip as long as they lived (2).

(2) From the Funeral Sermon cited in the text, p. 21.

[*C*] *A much larger and more valuable work.*] The Hiſtory of this celebrated performance runs thus. In 1696, it was thought proper to put to the preſs Mr. Baxter's Narrative of the moſt memorable paſſages of his Life and Times, a large folio; to render which more uſeful, our author drew up the Table of Contents, made ſome remarks on the work itſelf, and added to it an Index. This led him to reflect ſeriouſly on the authority and uſefulneſs of the book; and to ſee the expediency of continuing it; for Mr. Baxter's Hiſtory came no lower than 1684. Upon this plan Mr. Calamy, with great induſtry and labour, compoſed the piece of which we are now ſpeaking, and publiſhed it under the following title; *An Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's* Hiſtory of his Life and Times. *With an Account of many others of thoſe worthy Miniſters who were ejected after the Reſtoration of King Charles* II. *Their Apology for themſelves and their Adherents; containing the Grounds of their Nonconformity and Practice, as to ſtated and occaſional Communion with the Church of England; and a Continuation of their Hiſtory till the year* 1691. By Edmund Calamy, *Edm. Fil. & Nepos.* London 1702, 8vo. This work made a great noiſe in the world, and as it gave offence to ſome, ſo it gave great ſatisfaction to others, inſomuch that, as its author tells us, he received thanks for it from ſeveral quarters, and ſuch notices and helps towards compleating his deſign, that he had quickly materials enough for a ſecond edition, which he afterwards publiſhed, and in the Preface thereto, gives us the following account of the alterations and additions. 'In this ſecond edition, beſides ſeveral not 'inconſiderable marginal additions all along by way 'of confirmation and elucidation; and an account 'of ſeveral controverſial writings on both ſides, in'ſerted in their proper places, and remarks on thoſe 'paſſages in the third volume of *the Complete Hiſtory 'of* England, in folio, which unkindly reflect on 'the perſons, or cauſe, of the Nonconformiſts, there 'is a continuation of the Hiſtory through King William's reign, and Queen Anne's, down to the paſſing the *Occaſional Bill* the laſt year. Theſe additions make up a full third part of the preſent 'volume. They contain, among other things, 'ſome account of the conceſſions of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners in 1689; the carriage of the 'Diſſenters after their liberty, their differences 'among themſelves, and their treatment from their 'brethren of the *Church of England:* The whole 'controverſy about *Occaſional Conformity:* The differences of thoſe of the eſtabliſhed Church among 'themſelves, about the nature, power, and privileges of convocations, &c. with a faithful repreſentation of the ſubſtance of ſeveral treatiſes about '*Toleration*, *Church-power*, *Liberty*, and divers *Eccleſiaſtical Matters*, that were publiſhed from 1688 'to 1711. And, in the cloſe, I have ſubjoined 'the *Reformed Liturgy*, which was drawn up and 'preſented to the Biſhops in 1661; that the world 'may judge how fairly the ejected miniſters have 'been often repreſented as irreconcileable enemies 'to all *Liturgies*.' This edition he publiſhed in 1713, in two volumes 8vo. and dedicated it to the then Duke of Devonſhire, to whom, when Marquis of Hartington, he had dedicated the firſt edition.

[*D*] *Or with leſs offence.*] 'Mr. Ollyffe in 1703, 'publiſhed his *Defence of Miniſterial Conformity to the 'Church of England, in anſwer to the Miſrepreſentations of the Terms thereof*, by Mr. Calamy, *in the*

His reputation being much increaſed by the ſkill and learning he had ſhewn in this diſpute, he was invited into Scotland, whither he went in 1709, and was entertained wherever he came with the higheſt marks of reſpect, and had the dignity of Doctor in Divinity conferred on him by the Univerſities of Aberdeen, Edinburgh, and Glaſgow (*k*). In 1718, he wrote a Vindication of his grandfather, and ſeveral other worthy perſons, againſt the reflections thrown upon them by Mr. Archdeacon Echard, in his Hiſtory (*l*) [*E*]. In 1728, he completed his great deſign of preſerving the Hiſtory of ſuch Miniſters, Lecturers, Maſters, and Fellows of Colleges, &c. as were ejected and ſilenced after the Reſtoration: a work of prodigious induſtry and labour, and which is alone ſufficient to tranſmit his memory with honour to poſterity, as it has ſupplied the learned world with a noble collection of memoirs, which otherwiſe in all probability had been diſſipated and loſt (*m*) [*F*]. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf by many other learned and uſeful

(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 26.

(*l*) See a farther Account of this Work in the notes.

(*m*) See his Prefaces to the firſt and third volume of his Abridgment of the Life of Baxter.

'10*th chapter of his* Abridgment of the Hiſtory of 'Mr. Baxter's Life and Times. London, 8vo. 'pag. 147. And the ſame year Mr. Hoadly 'publiſhed his *Reaſonableneſs of Conformity to the 'Church of England, repreſented to the diſſenting Mi'niſters; in anſwer to the* 10*th chapter of Mr.* Cala'my's Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's Hiſtory of his 'Life and Times. London 1703, 8vo. pag. 160. 'And ſoon after appeared the *Second Part of his Rea'ſonableneſs of Conformity.* London 1703, 8vo. pag. '232. In anſwer to theſe treatiſes, Mr. Calamy 'publiſhed the ſame year, *A Defence of moderate Non'conformity; in anſwer to the Reflections of Mr.* 'Ollyffe *and Mr.* Hoadly, *on the* 10*th chapter of 'the* Abridgment *of the* Life *of the Reverend Mr.* 'Richard Baxter, *Part* I. *with a Poſtſcript, contain'ing ſome Remarks on a Tract of Mr.* Dorrington's, 'entitled, The Diſſenting Miniſtry in Religion cen'ſured and condemned from the Holy Scriptures. 'London 1703, 8vo. pag. 261. Some paſſages 'in this book, relating to re-ordination, were a'nimadverted upon, in a *Preſervative againſt Sepa'ration from the Church of England, wherein the un'lawfulneſs of it is proved, and the chief objections of 'the Diſſenters anſwered. Directed to his Pariſhion'ers. By* Solomon Pagis, *Rector of Farnborow in 'Somerſetſhire.* London, 1704, 8vo. Soon after 'appeared Mr. Hoadly's *Serious Admonition to Mr.* 'Calamy, *occaſioned by the* firſt part *of his* Defence 'of moderate Nonconformity. London 1703, 8vo. 'pag. 54. The year following Mr. Calamy publiſh'ed the *Second Part* of his *Defence of moderate Non'conformity*, &c. *with an Introduction about the true 'State of the preſent Controverſy between the Church 'and Diſſenters; and a Poſtſcript, containing an An'ſwer to Mr.* Hoadly's Serious Admonition, *and 'ſome Remarks on a Letter of a nameleſs Author, ſaid 'to be* a congregational Miniſter in the country. 'Lond. 1704, 8vo. pag. 414. and afterwards the '*third part* of his *Defence; to which are added, Three 'Letters, one to Mr.* Ollyffe, *in anſwer to his* Second 'Defence on Miniſterial Conformity: *Another to 'Mr.* Hoadly, *in anſwer to his* Defence of the Rea'ſonableneſs of Conformity; *and a third to the au'thor from Mr.* Raſtrick *of Lynn in Norfolk, giving 'an account of his Nonconformity.* London 1705, '8vo. In 1707, Mr. Hoadly publiſhed his *Defence 'of Epiſcopal Ordination,* in 8vo.' To this piece our author drew up a Reply, both as to the argumentative and hiſtorical part of it, but forbore printing it, as himſelf tells us (3), that he might not give his antagoniſt any diſturbance in the purſuit of that political conteſt, in which he was ſo happily engaged, and ſo much to the ſatisfaction of the true lovers of his country.

(3) Abridgment of Baxter's Life vol. i. p. 715.

[*E*] *By Mr. Archdeacon Echard, in his Hiſtory.*] The title of this piece at large runs thus. *A letter to Mr. Archdeacon* Echard, *upon occaſion of his* Hiſtory of England; *wherein the true Principles of the Revolution are defended; the Whigs and Diſſenters vindicated; ſeveral perſons of diſtinction cleared from aſperſions; and a number of hiſtorical miſtakes rectified.* London 1718, 8vo. To this piece there was an anſwer written, which, however, did not appear weighty enough to make a reply neceſſary, and ſo the diſpute dropt.

[*F*] *Had been diſſipated and loſt.*] The entire title of this great work is this. *A Continuation of the Account of the Miniſters, Lecturers, Maſters, and Fellows of Colleges, and Schoolmaſters, who were ejected and ſilenced after the Reſtoration in* 1660, *by, or before, the Act for Uniformity. To which is added, the Church and Diſſenters compared as to Perſecution, in ſome Remarks of Dr.* Walker's *attempt to recover the names and ſufferings on the Clergy that were ſequeſtered,* &c. *between* 1640 *and* 1660. *And alſo ſome free Remarks on the twenty eighth chapter of Dr.* Bennet's *Eſſay on the* XXXIX. *Articles of Religion.* In two volumes. London 1727. C.

*** [Dr. Calamy left behind him a Manuſcript, entitled, 'An hiſtorical Account of my own Life, 'with ſome Reflections on the Times I have lived 'in.' This Manuſcript, which conſiſts of three volumes in folio, we have had the opportunity of peruſing, by the favour of Edmund Calamy, of Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, Eſq; Barriſter at Law, the Doctor's grandſon. In the Introduction, the Author gives a copious and learned Diſſertation on thoſe who had written works of the ſame kind before him, and explains the reaſons of his own undertaking, leaving his Narrative as a legacy to thoſe who came after him, to be received and diſpoſed of as they ſhould think fit. The Hiſtory commences with an account of his grandfather, and of the reſt of his family, and is carried on to the end of 1731, which was the year preceding Dr. Calamy's death. In the courſe of the work, the Doctor intermixes public affairs with thoſe of a more private nature. In his relation of public affairs, he is often large and particular, though little could be extracted from this part which is new; as it belongs to a period that has been ſo diligently inveſtigated, and concerning which we have had, of late years, ſuch a variety of publications. Under the head of more private affairs, are included many things reſpecting the Diſſenters, and the perſons with whom the Author was particularly acquainted and connected; nor doth he omit taking ſome notice of almoſt every man of conſequence and literature in his time. He relates, likewiſe, ſeveral ſtories that appeared to him to be curious, or which he thought might be uſeful in a religious view.

From this work a much larger Life of Dr. Calamy might he compoſed, than is given by our learned predeceſſor. But as the article contains an accurate narration of the main facts relative to the Doctor, and is drawn up with great juſtice and candour, we ſhall content ourſelves with adding a few occaſional circumſtances, and with inſerting a complete liſt of our Author's writings.

The firſt public event that made an impreſſion upon him, when a boy, was the Popiſh Plot; and he gives a lively account of the terror with which the inhabitants of London were ſeized at that time, People who were obliged to go out upon buſineſs, and eſpecially at night, did it under the moſt alarming apprehenſions, that they ſhould be murdered before their return. Dr. Calamy afterwards ſaw Dr. Titus Oats whipped in King James the Second's reign; and having celebrated Oats's invincible reſolution, and his having been an inſtrument in the hand of God, for the preſervation of the nation, he adds, 'And yet after all, he was but a ſorry 'foul-mouthed wretch, as I myſelf can atteſt, from 'what I once heard from him, when I was in his 'company.

useful writings, as well as by a constant and painful Ministry, which made his loss greatly regretted, not only by the Dissenters, but also by the moderate members of the established Church, both clergy and laity, with many of whom he lived in great intimacy. He

'company. And I have been informed at West-'minster, that he was a frequent auditor of my 'predecessor, Mr. Alsop, and moved for leave to 'come to the Lord's Table with his Society; but 'that an honest man of the Congregation, upon 'that occasion, spoke freely against him, as one so 'irregular in his life, as to be very unfit for Church 'Communion. The Doctor, afterwards meeting 'Mr. Alsop, told him that that man had sadly abus-'ed him; and, upon that account, he vehemently 'complained, as one that was injuriously dealt with. 'And Mr. Alsop cried out, "Prove him a liar, "Doctor, prove him a liar;" which it would have 'been well for him if he could have done. But he 'really bore a very indifferent character at West-'minster. And, notwithstanding all the service he 'had done, there were so many things concurring 'to lessen his credit, that I must confess I am the 'less surprised that the Parliament after the Revolu-'tion should leave him under a brand, and incapa-'citate him for being a witness for the future.'

Our Author's Ordination in 1694, was the first *public* transaction of that kind which had taken place amongst the Dissenters since the passing of the Act of Uniformity. Hitherto these services had been carried on in the presence only of the ordainers, and the ordained. Mr. Calamy, who was determined that his own Ordination should be conducted as publicly as possible, found a considerable difficulty in executing his design. The famous Mr. John Howe declined engaging in it, from the fear of giving offence to Government; and Dr. Bates excused himself, for some other reason. At length, however, the matter was accomplished, and six young ministers besides were ordained at the same time. These were Mr. Joseph Bennet, Mr. Thomas Reynolds, Mr. Joseph Hill, Mr. William King, Mr. Ebenezer Bradshaw, and Mr. Joshua Bayes. The ordainers were Dr. Samuel Annesly, Mr. Vincent Alsop, Mr. Daniel Williams, Mr. Thomas Kentish, Mr. Stretton, and Mr. Matthew Sylvester. The whole service lasted from ten o'clock in the morning till past six in the evening. The dissenting Clergy have since found out the means of reducing these solemnities within a much shorter compass.

In Dr. Calamy's Manuscript a good deal is said concerning the French Prophets, who made so great a noise in the beginning of the present century, and a very particular account is given of John Lacy, Esq; a Gentleman of the Doctor's Congregation, who became a noted follower of these enthusiasts, and who himself pretended to divine inspiration. Our Author had an opportunity of seeing Mr. Lacy in one of his fits; part of the description of which we shall transcribe. 'I went into the room 'where he sat, and walked up to him, and asked 'him how he did, and took him by the hand, and 'lifted it up, and it fell down flat upon his knees, 'as it lay before. He took no notice of me, nor 'made me any answer; but I observed the humming noise grew louder and louder by degrees, 'and the heaving in his breast increased, till it came 'up to his throat, as if it would have suffocated 'him, and then he at last proceeded to speak, or as 'he would have it taken, the spirit spake in him. 'The speech was syllabical; and there was a distinct 'heave and breath between each syllable: but it 'required attention to distinguish the words. I shall 'here add it, as far as my memory serves.

'Thou—hast—been—my—faith—ful—Ser—'vant:—And—I—have—ho—nou—red—Thee:—'But—I—do—not—take—it—well—that—Thou 'sligh—test—and—op—po—sest—my—Ser—vants '—and—Mes—sen—gers.—If—Thou—wilt—fall '—in—with—these—my—Ser—vants,—Thou—'shalt—do—great—Things—in—this—Dis—pen—'sa—ti—on:—And—I—will—use—Thee—as—'a—glo—ri—ous—In—stru—ment—to—my—'praise;—and—I—will—take—care—of—Thee—'and—Thine.—But—if—Thou—go—est—on—to '—op—pose—my—Ser—vants,—Thou—wilt—fall '—un—der—my—se—vere—Dis—plea—sure.—'When the Speech was over, the humming and 'heaving gradually abated; and I again took him 'by the hand, and felt his pulse, which moved 'pretty quick; but I could not perceive by his 'hands any thing like sweating, or more than com-'mon heat.'

Some time after this, Mr. Lacy, without giving the least notice, got up one morning, left his Lady in bed, quitted his house and children, and, taking a few necessaries with him, went to live among the Prophets. Here he took to himself for a wife, one Betty Grey, who had been a snuffer of candles in the playhouse, but now passed for a person inspired. This transaction, in one of his inspirations, which Dr. Calamy saw, he called a quitting *Hagar*, and betaking himself to *Sarah*; and declared, that he did it by the order of the Spirit. At length, Mr. Lacy retired with this woman, by whom he had several children, into Lancashire, where he died in 1730. He persisted in his prophetic notions to the last, and never discovered any concern for his wife and children whom he had deserted. It appears, from the account of a law-suit, in which Mr. Lacy was concerned, that he was a great rogue, as well as a great enthusiast. But the union of roguery and enthusiasm is no surprizing thing; the History of the World proving, that such an union hath subsisted in a multitude of instances.

There was another person deeply engaged with the French Prophets, whose abilities and character were far superior to those of Mr. Lacy; and of whom, therefore, we doubt not, but that it will be agreeable to our readers that we should take some notice; which we are the better enabled to do, by a very seasonable communication from our learned and worthy friend, Dr. Johnstone, of Kidderminster, in Worcestershire. The person we mean was, Nicolas Fatio Duilier, a native of Switzerland, who was born about the year 1662; and who, in early youth, became as remarkable for his proficiency in literature, as he was afterwards for his enthusiasm. Bishop Burnet, in the first letter of his Travels, dated September, 1685, speaks of him as an incomparable mathematician and philosopher, who, though only twenty-two years old, was already become one of the greatest men of his age, and seemed born to carry learning some sizes beyond what it had hitherto attained. Whilst Dr. Calamy studied at the University of Utrecht, Monsr. Fatio resided in that city, as Tutor to two young Gentlemen, Mr. Ellys and Mr. Thornton, and conversed freely with the English. At this time he was generally esteemed to be a Spinozist; and his discourse, says Dr. Calamy, very much looked that way. Afterwards, it is probable, that he was Professor of Mathematics at Geneva. About the latter end of the last, or the beginning of the present century, he came into England, and was honoured with the Friendship of the most eminent mathematicians of that age. Sir Isaac Newton, in particular, was intimately acquainted with him. Dr. Johnstone has in his possession a manuscript, written by Fatio, containing Commentaries and Illustrations of different parts of Sir Isaac's Principia. When Monsr. Fatio attached himself to the new Prophets, he became their chief secretary, and committed their warnings to writing, many of which were published. The connection of such a man with these enthusiasts, and their being supported, likewise, by another person of reputed abilities, Maxamilian Misson, a French Refugee, occasioned a suspicion, though without reason, that there was some deep contrivance and design in the affair. On the second of December, 1707, Monsr. Fatio stood in the pillory at Charing-Cross, with the following words affixed to his hat: 'Nicolas Fatio, convicted 'for abetting and favouring Elias Marion, in his 'wicked

He died, June 3, 1732, in the ſixtieth year of his age, having been twice married, and leaving ſix children behind him (*n*). His funeral ſermon was preached by Mr. Daniel Mayo (*o*), in which he has given us a great and very deſerved character of Dr. Calamy, *viz.*

(*n*) Funeral Sermon before cited, p. 28, 29.

(*o*) Printed at London, 1732, in October.

'wicked and counterfeit prophecies, and cauſing 'them to be printed and publiſhed, to terrify the 'Queen's people.' Nearly at the ſame time, a like ſentence was executed upon Elias Marion, one of the pretended Prophets, and John d'Andè, another of their abettors (4). This mode of treatment did not convince Monſ. Fatio of his error; and, indeed, the deluſion of a man of ſuch abilities, and ſimplicity of manners, was rather an object of compaſſion than of public infamy and puniſhment. Oppreſſed with the deriſion and contempt thrown upon himſelf and his party, this worthy enthuſiaſt retired, at laſt, into the country, and ſpent the remainder of a long life in ſilence and obſcurity. He died at Worceſter in 1753, being upwards of ninety years of age. When he became the dupe of fanaticiſm, he ſeems to have given up his philoſophical ſtudies and connections. Monſ. Fatio, beſides being deeply verſed in all branches of Mathemical Literature, was a great proficient in the learned and oriental languages. He had read much, alſo, in books of Alchymy. To the laſt, he continued a firm believer in the reality of the inſpiration of the French Prophets. Dr. Wall of Worceſter, who was well acquainted with him, communicated many of the above particulars to Dr. Johnſtone, in whoſe hands are ſeveral of Fatio's fanatical Manuſcripts and Journals.

(4) Annals of Queen Anne's Reign, vol. vi. p. 371.

After the firſt proſecution of the French Prophets, and when Mr. Emms, one of their followers, had not riſen from the dead, as they had foretold, that he would do in a particular day, Government determined to proceed more ſeverely againſt them. Accordingly, orders were given to the Attorney General to proſecute Sir Richard Bulkeley, and others, who were ringleaders in the affair. However, before any farther meaſures were purſued, Lord Godolphin and Mr. Harley ſent a Gentleman to Dr. Calamy, to conſult him upon the ſubject. The Doctor anſwered, that he was abundantly convinced, after having fully conſidered the matter, that it was much the beſt for Government to ſit ſtill, and not give the leaſt diſturbance to the new Prophets, or their abettors. This advice he enforced by ſuch ſtrong reaſons, that it was attended to and followed; the conſequence of which was, that, in a little time, theſe enthuſiaſts ſunk into contempt, and dwindled away to nothing. Sir Richard Bulkeley, who was very ſhort and crooked, expected, under the new diſpenſation, to be made ſtrait and handſome in a miraculous way; but, to his great diſappointment and mortification, he died before the miracle was accompliſhed. Sir Richard, like Monſ. Fatio, was a man of learning, though not in an equal degree.

Dr. Calamy, in his Manuſcript, gives a large and entertaining account of his journey to Scotland, and mentions moſt of the Profeſſors and Literary Men who flouriſhed in North Britain at that period. He was treated with diſtinguiſhed honour wherever he came, and was highly pleaſed with his Tour, and with the Scotch nation. Being at Edinburgh during the meeting of the General Aſſembly, and hearing one day the Caſe of an Appeal from a Miniſter againſt the Synod of Aberdeen, who had condemned the Appellant of inſufficiency in his anſwers to a great number of queſtions that had been propoſed to him, the following little incident occurred, which we ſhall relate in Dr. Calamy's own words. 'The Aſſembly ſeemed to be at a loſs what to do with this man. 'The Moderator, ſtooping down, and whiſpering 'me in the ear, as the queſtions were read over, aſked me, What my apprehenſions were as to this 'affair? I frankly anſwered him, that we in England ſhould reckon this way of proceeding *the Inquiſition revived*; at which he could not help ſmiling. Lord Forbes, who ſat on the bench above 'me, aſked me, what that was that paſſed between 'the Moderator and me, at which he ſmiled? and I 'freely told him, and he immediately fell to laughing. The Lord Preſident, who ſat in the ſeat 'above *him*, enquiring of him what he laughed at, 'and he giving him an account, he joined alſo in 'the laugh. And at laſt the Commiſſioner, who 'could not help obſerving this, ſtooped down, and 'whiſpered the Lord Preſident of the Seſſion, and 'aſked him what was the occaſion of all this laughing; and being told it, could not forbear joining in it himſelf. In ſhort, it was whiſpered from 'one to another, till it went round the whole Aſſembly: and I heard of it afterwards at Aberdeen.' Mr. Whiſton, in the Memoirs of his own Life and Writings, gives an imperfect relation of this incident (5).

(5) P. 274.

In the great diſputes which were carried on among the Diſſenters in 1718, and the following years, concerning Subſcription to the First Article of the Church of England, relative to the Doctrine of the Trinity, Dr. Calamy acted a neutral part. He diſtinctly foreſaw the quarrel, and its conſequences; and, before it roſe to an height, took up a reſolution to have no hand in it. He was, indeed, at one private meeting; but ſaw ſo much there, as determined him to engage no farther, though he was earneſtly preſſed, both by the Subſcribers, and thoſe who were afterwards called the Non-ſubſcribers, to give them his company. We believe that moſt of the preſent race of Diſſenting Clergy, will think that Dr. Calamy loſt ſome credit, by not being one of the ſeventy-three miniſters who carried it againſt ſixty-nine, for the Bible, in oppoſition to human formularies.

Our Author's publications, of which he hath given a diſtinct account in his Manuſcript, were as follows: 1. A Funeral Sermon for Mr. Samuel Stephens, a young Miniſter, 4to. 1694. 2. A practical Diſcourſe on Vows, with a ſpecial Reference to Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper, 8vo. 1694. Reprinted in a ſmaller form in 1704. 3. A Funeral Sermon for Mrs. Williams, wife of the Reverend Mr. Daniel Williams, 8vo. 1698. 4. A Sermon to the Society for the Reformation of Manners, 12mo. 1699. 5. A Diſcourſe concerning the Riſe and Antiquity of Cathedral Worſhip, in a Letter to a Friend. This piece, which was afterwards inſerted in the Phœnix, was publiſhed without the Author's name. 6. Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's Hiſtory, mentioned in the article. Biſhop Burnet, in a converſation with Mr. Calamy, thanked him for this work, and told him that he had read it with pleaſure. 7. Divine Mercy exalted, or Free Grace in its Glory. A Sermon at Salter's Hall, 1702. 8. Firſt Part of the Defence of moderate Nonconformity, 1703. 9. Second Part of the Defence of moderate Nonconformity, 1704. The Introduction, which was concerning the true ſtate of the Controverſy between the Church and the Diſſenters, was ſo much approved of by Mr. Locke, that he ſent a meſſage to our Author, informing him, that he thought it ſuch a Defence of Nonconformity as could not be anſwered; and that, in adhering to the principles there laid down, he had no occaſion to be afraid of any antagoniſt. 10. Third Part of the Defence of moderate Nonconformity, 1705. 11. A Caveat againſt the new Prophets, with a ſingle ſheet, in Anſwer to Sir Richard Bulkeley's Remarks on the ſame, 1707-8. Queen Anne ſent her thanks to Mr. Calamy for this Tract, and for the ſervice he had done the public by it. The piece happening to be preſented to her Majeſty by Mrs. Hill, afterwards Lady Maſham, the Ducheſs of Marlborough took offence at it, and was not ſatisfied till the Author had convinced her that his book's paſſing into the hands of the Queen, through that Lady's conveyance, was entirely without his deſign or knowledge. 12. A Funeral Sermon for the Reverend Mr. Matthew Sylveſter, 1707-8. 13. Ditto, for Mrs. Frances Lewis, 1707-8. 14 Ditto, for Mr. Michael Watts, 1707-8. 15. A Sermon at Salter's-Hall, on occaſion of the many late Bankrupts, 1708. 16. The Inſpiration

of

viz. that he was a perſon of ſound judgment, extenſive learning, ſincere piety, of a candid and benevolent temper, and very moderate with regard to differences in point of Religion.

of the Holy Writings of the Old and New Teſtament conſidered and improved, in fourteen Sermons; to which is added, a Sermon in Vindication of the divine Inſtitution of the Office of the Miniſtry, 1710. Dedicated to the Queen. 17. Comfort and Counſel to Proteſtant Diſſenters. In two Sermons, 1712. 18. The Prudence of the Serpent, and Innocence of the Dove. A Sermon preached at Exeter, 1712. 19. Obadiah's Character. A Sermon to young People, 1713. 20. Second Edition, greatly enlarged, of the Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's Hiſtory, and of the Account of the ejected Miniſters, 1713. 21. Queries concerning the Schiſm Bill, 1714, without his name. 22. The Seaſonableneſs of religious Societies. A Sermon, 1714. 23. God's Concern for his Glory in the Britiſh Iſles. In three Sermons, 1715. 24. The Principles and Practice of Moderate Nonconformiſts with reſpect to Ordination exemplified. An Ordination Sermon. To which is added, a Letter to a Divine in Germany, giving a brief, but true Account of the Diſſenters in England, 1717. 25. Sober-mindedneſs recommended. A Sermon to young People, 1717. 26. The Repeal of the Act againſt Occaſional Conformity conſidered, 1717. 27. A Letter to Mr. Archdeacon Echard, upon occaſion of his Hiſtory of England, 1718. 28. The Church and Diſſenters compared as to Perſecution, in ſome Remarks on Dr. Walker's Attempt to recover the Names and Sufferings of the ſequeſtered Clergy, from 1640 to 1660. 1719. 29. Diſcontented Complaints of the preſent Times proved unreaſonable. A Sermon, 1720. 30. A Charge. At the Ordination of ſeveral young Miniſters, 1720-21. 31. Thirteen Sermons concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity, preached at the Merchant's Lecture in Salter's-Hall: together with a Vindication of that celebrated Text, 1 John v. 7. from being ſpurious, and an Explication of its being genuine; in four Sermons, preached at the ſame Lecture, *anno* 1719 and 1720, 8vo. 1722. This book was dedicated to the King, who gave Dr. Calamy, when he preſented it, a moſt gracious reception, and afterwards ordered him a gratuity of fifty pounds. He received likewiſe the thanks of ſeveral Dignitaries of the Church of England, ſome of whom were Biſhops and Deans. 32. The Miniſtry of the Diſſenters vindicated. An Ordination Sermon, 1724. 33. Memoirs of the Life of the Reverend Mr. John Howe, prefixed to Mr. Howe's Works, and publiſhed ſepatately in a ſmall volume 8vo. 1724. 33. The Word of God the young Man's beſt Directory. A Sermon, 1725. 34. A Charge, at Mr. William Hunt's Ordination, at Newport Pagnell, Bucks, 1725. 35. A Funeral Sermon for the Reverend Mr. John Sheffield, 1725-6. 36. Ditto for the Reverend Mr. Joſeph Bennet, 1725-6. 37. Continuation of the Account of the ejected Miniſters, 1727. 38. A Funeral Sermon for the Reverend Mr. Motterſhed, 1728.

In 1775, the Reverend Mr. Samuel Palmer of Hackney, publiſhed, in two large volumes, 8vo. under the title of the 'Nonconformiſts Memorial,' an Abridgment, with Corrections, Additions, and new Anecdotes, of Dr. Calamy's four volumes, concerning the ejected and ſilenced Miniſters.] K.

CALDERWOOD (David), a very famous Divine of the Church of Scotland, and an eminent writer in behalf of the Preſbyterians, in the beginning of the XVIIth century. It is not a little ſtrange, conſidering the great figure our author made in his own time, and the high reputation his writings have been in ſince his death, that we find no mention made of him by ſuch as have profeſſed a deſire of preſerving the memories of eminent men of that country. All we are able to learn of him is, that he was deſcended from a very good family in that kingdom, and being from his youth deſigned for the Miniſtry, he applied himſelf with great diligence to the ſtudy of Divinity, more eſpecially to that of the Scriptures in their original tongues, with the aſſiſtance of the beſt commentaries, the works of the Fathers, the Councils, and the beſt writers on Church Hiſtory, ancient and modern (*a*). His great learning, even when he was but a young man, rendered him highly eſteemed, as his warm zeal for the eſtabliſhed Church of Scotland, as it then ſtood without Biſhops, made him extremely welcome to moſt of the Miniſters; ſo that he was ſettled about the year 1604, at Crelling, not far from Jedburgh, in the South of Scotland (*b*), where, by a very regular and unblameable life, as well as a very pious and diligent application to the duties of his function, he became much beloved, and greatly reverenced by all ſuch as concurred with him in opinion. King James the VIth of that country, and Firſt of Great-Britain, being inclined to bring the Church of Scotland to a conformity with that of England, at leaſt as near as poſſible, laboured earneſtly to reſtore the epiſcopal authority, and to enlarge the power of the Biſhops that were then in that kingdom (*c*). Againſt this many of the Miniſters ſet themſelves with great heat and vehemence, and none more earneſtly than Mr. David Calderwood, who at the time Mr. James Law, then Biſhop of Orkney, came to viſit the Preſbyteries of the Merſe and Tiviotdale, declined his juriſdiction, by a paper under his hand, dated May 5, 1608 (*d*), which was the firſt public mark he gave of that oppoſition, which he afterwards ſupported with ſo much warmth, and which was the occaſion of all his ſubſequent troubles and misfortunes. The King, who was ſtrongly bent on carrying his deſign into execution, made uſe, for that purpoſe, of the Earl of Dunbar, then Lord High-Treaſurer of Scotland, whom he ſent into that kingdom, attended by Dr. Abbot, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and two other Divines, with inſtructions to take all imaginable pains, to perſuade both the Miniſtry and Laity, of his Majeſty's ſincere deſire to promote the good of the Church, and of his zeal for the Proteſtant Religion (*e*). The Divines, before mentioned, diſcharged their duty with all the induſtry imaginable, and the Lord-Treaſurer ſhewed his fidelity to his Maſter, by doing all that was poſſible for him to do in promoting this great work,

(*a*) See the Epiſtle to the Reader, prefixed to Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland.

(*b*) Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 491, 573.

(*c*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 500. Hiſtory of the Preſbyterians, p. 280, 281.

(*d*) Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 573.

(*e*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 510.

for which he hath been tranſmitted in very different lights to poſterity (*f*) [*A*]. It does not appear that Mr. Calderwood aſſiſted at the General Aſſemby held at Glaſgow, June 8, 1610, in which the Earl of Dunbar preſided as Commiſſioner; but it appears plainly from his own writings, that he looked upon every thing tranſacted there as null and void (*g*). Another General Aſſembly was held on the thirteenth of Auguſt, 1616, with great ſolemnity, at Aberdeen, where many things were done, againſt which exceptions were taken by Mr. Calderwood and his party. In May 1617, King James went to Scotland, and on the ſeventeenth of June following, the Parliament met at Edinburgh, and at the ſame time the Clergy had their meeting in one of the churches, to hear and adviſe with the Biſhops; which kind of aſſembly it ſeems was contrived in imitation of the Convocation in England, with which Mr. David Calderwood was ſo little ſatisfied, that he declared his mind there publickly, which was, that he did not take any ſuch meetings to reſemble a Convocation; and finding himſelf oppoſed by Dr. Whitford and Dr. Hamilton, who were friends to the Biſhops, he took his leave of them in theſe words: 'It is abſurd to ſee men ſitting in ſilks and ſattins, and 'to cry poverty in the Kirk, when purity is departing (*h*).' In the mean time the Parliament proceeded in diſpatching ſeveral matters relating to eccleſiaſtical as well as civil concerns; upon which many of the Miniſters reſolved to form a proteſtation, which was ordered to be put into writing by Mr. Archibald Simpſon. This was accordingly done, and the paper was ſigned by him on the behalf of the Miniſters, who ſigned another ſeparate roll, which was delivered to him as his juſtification. The proteſt was then put into the hands of Mr. Peter Hewat, who had a ſeat in Parliament, and was to preſent it; but another copy of it remained in the hands of Mr. Archibald Simpſon, to be preſented in caſe any accident happened to the former. This affair ſoon made a great noiſe, and Dr. Spotſwood, Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, ſeeing Mr. Hewat at Court, deſired to look upon the proteſt, and upon ſome diſpute between them it was torn. The other copy was actually preſented, by Mr. Simpſon, to the Clerk Regiſter, who refuſed to read it before the States in Parliament. Soon after, that aſſembly was diſſolved, and Mr. Simpſon was ſummoned before the High Commiſſion Court, where the roll of names, which he had received for his juſtification, was demanded from him; and upon his declaring that he had given it to Mr. Harriſon, who had ſince delivered it to Mr. David Calderwood, he was ſent priſoner to the Caſtle of Edinburgh, and Mr. Calderwood ſummoned to appear before the High Commiſſion Court at St. Andrew's, on the eighth of July following, there to exhibit the ſaid roll, and to anſwer for his mu-

(*f*) See this point fully explained in the notes.

(*g*) Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 636, &c.

(*h*) *Id. ibid.* p. 676.

[*A*] *For which he hath been tranſmitted in very different lights to poſterity.*] This great Stateſman, and able Miniſter, George Hume Earl of Dunbar, was not only in great favour with the King his maſter, but ſtood much better with the Engliſh nation than almoſt any of the King's countrymen beſide. It was for this reaſon that the King created him, firſt, Baron Hume of Berwick, which was an Engliſh honour (1), and afterwards Earl of Dunbar in Scotland; and as he was Lord High-Treaſurer of this kingdom, ſo he was, at the ſame time, Chancellor of the Exchequer in England (2). He was looked upon as the only man capable of managing Church affairs in Scotland, and was therefore ſent down Commiſſioner, in 1606, to the Aſſembly that was held at Linlithgow. He alſo held a Parliament at Perth, and his conduct there is, by a Reverend Prelate (3), much commended. At this time he procured the ſettling conſtant Moderators, which was a great ſtep to the reſtoring of epiſcopal authority: but Sir James Balfour (4) tells us, that his Lordſhip diſtributed the ſum of forty thouſand marks amongſt the moſt needy, and the moſt clamorous, of the miniſters, and thereby carried this point, as appeared afterwards in his accounts. But however he carried it, it highly recommended him to his maſter, who ſent him down again to Scotland in 1608, where he did him farther ſervice, for which he was, on his return, made Knight of the Garter. In 1610, he went down the third time to complete his work, and upon his coming back to Court, had many acknowledgments made him, both by the King and by the Clergy. But if we may truſt Mr. Calderwood, in the midſt of all his proſperity, one of the great men of his party foretold his end: his account of the matter runs thus (5). 'A little after the Aſ-'ſembly holden at Glaſgow, James Colvine, a Scot-'tiſh gentleman, viſiting Mr. Andrew Melvine in 'the Tower, found him ſo penſive and melancholy, 'that he got no ſpeech of him for a ſpace: at length 'he brake forth in theſe words. *That man* (meaning *Dunbar*) *that hath overthrown that Kirk, and 'the liberties of Chriſt's kingdom there, ſhall never 'have that grace to ſet his foot in that kingdom again.* 'As he foretold ſo it came to paſs, and Dunbar end-'ed his life the next January following at White-'hall.' The Lord-Treaſurer was in a very bad ſtate of health when he came back from Scotland, and continued declining till the 29th of January 1611, when he departed this life; and his body being carried down to Scotland, was buried in the collegiate church of Dunbar, where a magnificent monument was erected to his memory (6). Our author's character of him, and account of his deceaſe, is very ſingular. 'The Earl of Dunbar, ſays he, a chief 'inſtrument employed for the overthrow of the diſ-'cipline of our Kirk, departed this life at White-'hall, the penult of January. So he was pulled 'down from the height of his honour, when he was 'about to ſolemnize magnificently his daughter's 'marriage with the Lord Walden. He purpoſed to 'keep St. George's day after in Berwick, where 'he had almoſt finiſhed a ſumptuous and glorious 'palace, which ſtandeth yet as a monument to 'teſtify, that the curſe which was pronounced againſt 'the rebuilders of Jericho was executed upon him. 'Of all that he conquered in Scotland, there is not 'left to his poſterity ſo much as a foot breadth of 'land (7).' We have a very different character of this nobleman from the pen of an eminent prelate (8). 'He was a man, ſays that learned author, 'of deep wit, few words, and, in his Majeſty's ſer-'vice, no leſs faithful than fortunate: the moſt 'difficult affairs he compaſſed without any noiſe, and 'never returned, when he was employed, without 'the work performed he was ſent to do.' The reader will judge from hence, of the difficulties that occur in writing Scotch lives.

(1) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 419.

(2) Crawfurd's Lives of the Great Officers of State, p. 397.

(3) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 496.

(4) Manuſcript Annals of the Hiſtory of Scotland, preſerved in the Library of the Univerſity of Glaſgow, vol. i. p. 335.

(5) Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 639.

(6) Crawfurd's Lives of the Great Officers of State in Scotland, p. 399.

(7) Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 644.

(8) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 516.

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tinous and ſeditious behaviour (*i*) [*B*]. He accordingly went thither, and on the twelfth of July, the King came to that city in perſon, and ſoon after Mr. Peter Hewat and Mr. Archibald Simpſon, were deprived and impriſoned for the ſhare they had in this tranſaction. After this Mr. Calderwood was called upon, to anſwer for the concern he had in this affair, and as we have his own account of the matter, it is probable that the reader will be better pleaſed to ſee it in his own words, than in any dreſs we can give it [*C*]. The iſſue of this buſineſs was, that the King being provoked by the inflexible

(i) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 534.

[*B*] *To anſwer for his mutinous and ſeditious behaviour.*] It is neceſſary to give the reader, though in as few words as poſſible, an account of the reaſon of this proteſt. The Miniſters had an account that a bill was depending in Parliament, by which, power was given to the King, with the advice of the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and ſuch a competent number of the Miniſtry, as his Majeſty in his wiſdom ſhould think expedient, to conſider and conclude, as to matters decent for the external policy of the Church, not repugnant to the word of God, and that ſuch concluſions ſhould have the ſtrength and power of the eccleſiaſtical laws. Againſt this, the Miniſters proteſted for four reaſons. Firſt, Becauſe their Church was ſo perfect, that inſtead of needing reformation, it ought to be a pattern to others. Secondly, General Aſſemblies, as now eſtabliſhed by law, and which ought always to continue, might, by this means, be overthrown. Thirdly, Becauſe it might be a means of creating ſchiſm, and diſturbing the tranquillity of the Church. Fourthly, Becauſe they had received aſſurances, that no attempts ſhould be made to bring them to a conformity with the Church of England. They deſired therefore, that for theſe, and other reaſons, all thoughts of paſſing any ſuch law may be laid aſide; but in caſe this be not done, they proteſt for themſelves, and their brethren who ſhould adhere to them, that they can yield no obedience to this law when it ſhall be enacted, becauſe it is deſtructive of the liberty of the Church, and therefore ſhall ſubmit to ſuch penalties, and think themſelves obliged to undergo ſuch puniſhments, as may be inflicted for diſobeying that law. This was the foundation of the proſecution againſt Mr. Calderwood: but, however, this proteſtation, though not read, had its effect; for notwithſtanding the bill, or, as the Scottiſh phraſe is, the article before-mentioned, had the conſent of Parliament, yet the King thought fit to cauſe it to be laid aſide, that there might be no foundation for receiving or reading the Miniſters proteſtation, and ſoon after called a General Aſſembly at St. Andrew's (9).

(9) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 535, 535.

[*C*] *In his words, than in any dreſs we can give it.*] We have this conference between our author and King James, largely and fully ſtated by him; and it gives a very clear view of the conduct of the Miniſters in Scotland at that time, of which we have only ſhort hints in our hiſtories; ſo that we cannot well judge who is in the right, or who in the wrong; and therefore it is hoped the length of this paſſage will not render it tedious to the reader. ‘ Mr. David Cal-
‘ derwood was called on, and the concluſion of the
‘ libels, or indictments, were read. To the firſt head he
‘ anſwered, That underſtanding that Mr. Archibald
‘ Simpſon was warded, or impriſoned in the caſtle
‘ of Edinburgh, for not preſenting the roll of the
‘ names, he delivered it to him again. Neither had
‘ he time to ſeek any new ſubſcriptions, nor could
‘ he, becauſe he had not the proteſtation to preſent
‘ to the ſubſcriber. The King demanded, what he
‘ had to anſwer to the other point, the aſſiſting of
‘ that mutinous meeting? He anſwered, Sir, when
‘ that meeting ſhall be condemned as mutinous, then
‘ it is time for me to anſwer for my particular aſſiſt-
‘ ance. The Secretary ſaid unto him, Mr. David,
‘ acknowledge your own raſhneſs. In the mean
‘ time, thoſe that were ſtanding about put upon
‘ him, and buzzed in his ear, ſaying, Do this;
‘ come in the King's will, you will find it beſt; his
‘ Majeſty will pardon you. He anſwered to the Se-
‘ cretary, That which they had done, was done
‘ with deliberation. What moved you to proteſt?
‘ ſaid the King. An article concluded among the
‘ the Lords of the articles, anſwered Mr. David.
‘ But what fault was there in it? aſked the King. It
‘ cutteth off our General Aſſemblies, anſwered Mr.
‘ David. After the King had enquired how long he
‘ had been a Miniſter, he ſaid to him, Hear me,
‘ Mr. David, I have been an older keeper of Gene-
‘ ral Aſſemblies than you. A General Aſſembly
‘ ſerveth to preſerve doctrine in purity, from error
‘ and hereſy, the Kirk from ſchiſm, to make con-
‘ feſſions of faith, to put up petitions to the King in
‘ Parliament. But as for matters of order, rites,
‘ and things indifferent in Kirk policy, they may be
‘ concluded by the King with advice of Biſhops, and
‘ a choice number of Miniſters. Next, what is a
‘ General Aſſembly but a convened number of Mi-
‘ niſters? He anſwered, as to the firſt point, Sir,
‘ a General Aſſembly ſhould ſerve, and our General
‘ Aſſemblies have ſerved theſe fifty-ſix years, not on-
‘ ly from preſerving doctrine from error and hereſy,
‘ &c. but alſo to make canons and conſtitutions of
‘ all rites and orders belonging to the Kirk. As for
‘ the ſecond point, as by a competent number of
‘ Miniſters may be meant a General Aſſembly, ſo
‘ alſo may be meant a fewer number of Miniſters
‘ than may make up a General Aſſembly. It was
‘ ordained in the General Aſſembly, with your Ma-
‘ jeſty's own conſent, your Majeſty being preſent,
‘ that there ſhould be Commiſſioners choſen out of
‘ every Preſbytery, not exceeding the number of
‘ three, to be ſent to a General Aſſembly, and ſo
‘ the competent number of Miniſters is already de-
‘ fined. What needeth farther then, ſaid the King,
‘ but to have proteſted for a declarature, what was
‘ meant by a competent number? He anſwered, in
‘ pleading for the liberty of the General Aſſembly,
‘ we did that in effect. Then the King having the
‘ proteſtation in his hand, challengeth him for ſome
‘ words of the laſt clauſe. He anſwered, Whatſoever
‘ was the phraſe of ſpeech, they meant no other
‘ thing but to proteſt, that they would give paſſive
‘ obedience to his Majeſty, but could not give active
‘ obedience to any unlawful thing which ſhould flow
‘ from that article. Active and paſſive obedience!
‘ ſaith the King. That is, we will rather ſuffer
‘ than practiſe, ſaid Mr. David. I will tell thee
‘ what is obedience, man, ſaid the King. The
‘ Centurion, when he ſaid to his ſervants, To this
‘ man, go, and he goeth; to that man, come, and
‘ he cometh: That is obedience. He anſwered, To
‘ ſuffer, Sir, is alſo obedience, howbeit not of that
‘ ſame kind; and that obedience alſo was not abſo-
‘ lute, but limited with exception of a countermand
‘ from a ſuperior power. Mr. David, let alone;
‘ confeſs your error, ſaid the Secretary. He an-
‘ ſwered, My Lord, I cannot ſee that I have com-
‘ mitted any fault. Then ſaid the King, Well,
‘ Mr. Calderwood, I will let you ſee that I am
‘ gracious and favourable: That meeting ſhall be
‘ condemned before ye be condemned; all that are
‘ in the roll ſhall be filed before ye be filed, provid-
‘ ing ye will conform. Sir, I have anſwered my li-
‘ bel; replied Mr. David, I ought to be urged with
‘ no farther. The King ſaid, It is true, man, ye
‘ have anſwered to your libel; but conſider I am
‘ here, I may demand of you when and what I will.
‘ He anſwered, Surely, Sir, I get great wrong if I
‘ be compelled to anſwer here in judgment to any
‘ more than my libel. Anſwer! Sir, ſaid the King,
‘ ye are a refractor: the Biſhop of Glaſgow your
‘ Ordinary, and Biſhop of Cathneſs the Moderator
‘ of your Preſbytery, teſtify ye have keeped no or-
‘ der, ye have repaired neither to Preſbyteries nor
‘ Synods, and in no wiſe conform? He anſwered,
‘ Sir, I have been confined theſe eight or nine years;
‘ ſo my conformity or not conformity, in that point,
‘ could

flexible temper and ſharp anſwers of Mr. Calderwood, firſt committed him priſoner; and then the Privy Council, according to the power which at that time they exerciſed, directed him to baniſh himſelf out of the King's dominions before Michaelmas following, and not to return without licence; and upon his giving ſecurity for this purpoſe, he was diſcharged out of priſon, and ſuffered to return to his pariſh, but he was forbidden to preach (*k*). He followed the King however to Carliſle, to obtain a prorogation of the time of his baniſhment, which he could not do, and then he applied to the Council, and to the Biſhops, who promiſed to write in his favour; but, as he would not acknowledge his offence, or promiſe conformity for the future, he was obliged to quit the kingdom, which he accordingly did, and retired to Holland; but Mr. Archibald Simpſon made his ſubmiſſion, and was reſtored. We have no account of the manner in which he paſſed his time in Holland, or how our author was provided for there; but, it is certain, that he adhered to his former principles ſteadily, and in the year 1623, he publiſhed his famous book, intituled, *Altare Damaſcenum* (*l*) [*D*]. This made a great

(*k*) Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 686.

(*l*) Pierce's Vindication of the Diſſenters, p. 175.

account, is pleaſed to add, that his Majeſty was not out in his judgment, the patrons of Epiſcopacy having never yet anſwered it, how much ſoever their cauſe requires it (12).

(12) Pierce's Vindication of the Diſſenters, p. 175, 176.

The old edition of this celebrated Treatiſe being become extremely ſcarce, and being withal, from the manner in which it was printed, very imperfect and incorrect, a new one was publiſhed above ſixty years ago, under the following title: *ALTARE DAMASCENUM: ſeu Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Politia, Eccleſiæ Scoticanæ obtruſa, a Formaliſta quodam delineata; illuſtrata & examinata, ſub nomine olim* Edwardi Didoclavii, *Studio & Opera* Davidis Calderwood. *Cui locis ſuis interſerta Confutatio Paræneſeos* Tileni *ad* Scotos *Genevenſis ut ait Diſciplinæ Zelotas. Et adjecta Epiſtola Hieronymi Philadelphi de Regimine Eccleſiæ Scoticanæ ejuſque, Vindiciæ contra Calumnias* Johannis Spotſvodi *Fani Andreæ Pſeudo-Archi-Epiſcopi per Anonymum. Editio priori longe elegantior & emendatior* Lugduni Batavorum *apud* Cornelium Boteſteyn, 1708, 4*to*. i. e. 'The *ALTAR* at *DAMASCUS*: or, the Policy of the Church of England, intended to be obtruded on the Church of Scotland, delineated by ſome Lover of Ceremonies, illuſtrated and examined by the ſtudy and care of David Calderwood, heretofore publiſhed by him under the name of Edward Didoclavius. With a Confutation of the Admonition of Tilenus to the Scots, whom he ſtiles bigots to the diſcipline of Geneva, interſperſed in their proper places. To which is added, the Epiſtle of Jerom Philadelphus, of the Government of the Church of Scotland, with a Vindication thereof againſt the Calumnies of John Spotſwood, pretended Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, written by an anonymous author. More elegant and correct than the former edition.' In this large work, the Deſcription of the Policy of the Engliſh Church, the author of which Mr. Calderwood does not pretend to know, is made the text, and his own diſcourſes are digeſted into the form of notes, by which means the reader has the whole controverſy in one view, and in as regular a method as could well be contrived. This work is divided into fifteen chapters: 1. Of the King's Supremacy, and of the Juriſdiction of the Royal Commiſſioners in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical. 2 Of the Ranks of Biſhops. 3. Of the Dignity and Power of Archbiſhops in England. 4. That a Biſhop and a Preſbyter are one and the ſame Order. 5. Of the Dignity and Power of Biſhops in the Engliſh Church. 6. Of Vicar-Generals, Officials, and Archdeacons. 7. Of Suffragans and Rural Deans. 8. Of Deans and Chapters. 9. Of Rites and Ceremonies. 10. Of the Calling and Function of Preſbyters, or Prieſts, in the Church of England. 11. Of the Calling and Function of Deacons. 12. Of Lay-Adminiſtrators in the Church of England. 13. Of Poſſeſſions. 14. Of Conſtitutions. 15. Againſt the Injuries and Calumnies vented by Tilenus. Some of theſe chapters are entirely of Mr. Calderwood's writing, particularly the fourth, and theſe are thrown in as ſupplements to the diſcourſes of the author whom he examines; and the great thing aimed at by this way of writing, is to ſhew his impartiality, by bringing to the view of the reader, the repreſentation of the policy of the Church

'could not be well known. Good faith! thou art 'a very knave, ſaid the King: See theſe ſame falſe 'Puritans, they are ever playing with equivocations. 'Mr. David had alledged his confinement to avoid 'a direct anſwer, becauſe he was urged with other 'points than was contained in the libel. The 'Biſhop of Glaſgow, thinking to catch him in a 'ſnare, aſked him, If he was confined, how were 'ye at the meeting in the ſong-ſchool where ye ſubſcribed the proteſtation? He anſwered, Since I 'was confined I obtained liberty, which was granted with exception of Preſbyteries and Synods: 'that meeting was neither a Preſbytery nor a Synod. 'Then ſome ſpeeches paſſed betwixt him and Glaſgow about the relaxation, which was proclaimed 'for the confined within the dioceſe of Glaſgow. 'Then the King aſked, If ye were relaxed will ye 'obey or not? He anſwered, Sir, I am wronged, in 'that I am forced to anſwer ſuch queſtions which 'are beſide the libel: yet, ſeeing I muſt anſwer, I 'ſay, Sir, I ſhall either obey you, or give a reaſon 'wherefore I diſobey; and if I diſobey, your Majeſty knows I am to lie under the danger as I do 'now. Then ſaid the King, remembering of his 'anſwer before, That is, to obey either actively or 'paſſively. I can go no farther, ſaid Mr. David: 'and ſo he was removed (10).' Upon his being called in again, he was ſuſpended till October, and threatened with deprivation; but Mr. Calderwood queſtioning the power of the Biſhops to ſuſpend him in the High Commiſſion Court, the King ordered him to be ſent priſoner to the Tolbooth of St. Andrew's, from whence he was afterwards removed to Edinburgh.

(10) Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 682.

[*D*] *Intituled,* Altare Damaſcenum.] We have a particular detail of the ſubject of this treatiſe, and the reaſon and manner of its being publiſhed by the author of the Preface prefixed to the true Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland: his words are theſe, 'Mr. 'David Calderwood, whoſe praiſe is in the Churches 'of Chriſt, as otherwiſe, ſo particularly upon the 'account of his being, but under another and borrowed name of *Edwardus Didoclavius*, the author 'of that very learned and elaborate treatiſe, intituled, *Altare Damaſcenum*, wherein he doth by Scripture, Reaſon, and Fathers, irrefragably and unanſwerably (and indeed for any thing we know it 'hath not been anſwered to this day, nor belike 'will afterward) demonſtrate the iniquity of deſigning, and endeavouring to model and conform the 'divinely ſimple worſhip, diſcipline, and government of the Church of Scotland, to the pattern of 'the pompouſly prelatic and ceremonious Church 'of England: under ſome conviction whereof, it 'ſeems King James himſelf was, though implacably 'diſpleaſed with it, when, being after the reading 'of it ſomewhat penſive, and being aſked the reaſon 'by an Engliſh Prelate ſtanding by, and obſerving 'it, told him, he had ſeen and read ſuch a book; 'whereupon the Prelate willing his Majeſty not to 'ſuffer that to trouble him, for they would anſwer 'it: he replied, not without ſome paſſion, *What— 'will you anſwer, man? There is nothing here than 'Scripture, Reaſon, and Fathers* (11).' A very well known writer, after citing the greateſt part of this

(11) See the Preface prefixed to Calderwood's true Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland.

a great noiſe, and was ſoon brought to the hands of King James, who is ſaid to have expreſſed a high opinion of it, though he was extremely diſpleaſed with it. It is certain that it made a great impreſſion in England, and was very much admired by all the declared Puritans, and by ſuch as were well-wiſhers to their opinions. It was probably the great reputation of this book, that put one Mr. Patrick Scot, if Mr. Calderwood himſelf may be believed, upon a very ſtrange undertaking. Our author, it ſeems, had been afflicted in the year 1624 with a long fit of ſickneſs, and nothing being heard of him for ſome time, Scot took it for granted that he was dead, and thereupon wrote a Recantation in his name, as if before his deceaſe he had changed his ſentiments: but this impoſture being detected, he went over in the month of November to Holland, and ſtaid three weeks at Amſterdam, where he made diligent ſearch for our author, with a deſign, as Mr. Calderwood believes, to have diſpatched him (*m*). This Scot had the boldneſs to give out, that the King furniſhed him with the matter for his pretended recantation, and that he only put it in order: but ſurely a man, who could have the impudence to write a death-bed recantation, for a reverend Miniſter, and publiſh it in his name, deſerves no credit, when he endeavours to faſten ſuch an aſperſion upon a Sovereign Prince (*n*). It ſeems the reaſon that he did not meet with Mr. Calderwood in Holland, was, becauſe he privately returned into his own country, where he remained for ſeveral years; and as a man of his temper and talents could not be idle, it is very likely that he wrote ſeveral other books againſt the proceedings of the Clergy in Scotland (*o*) [*E*]. But it is very certain, that he collected with extraordinary diligence, all the memorials relating to the eccleſiaſtical affairs of that kingdom, from the beginning of the Reformation there down to his own time, which he digeſted with much accuracy, according to the order of time; and theſe collections of his are ſtill in being, though an extract only from them has been publiſhed, under the title of *The true Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland* (*p*) [*F*]. How long after this he ſurvived does not appear,

(*m*) Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 802.

(*n*) Remarks on the Conduct of the Scotch Preſbyterians, during the Reigns of Queen Mary, King James, and King Charles, p. 327.

(*o*) Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 814.

(*p*) Printed in the year 1618, fol. without the Printer's name or the place.

Church of England, in the words of a friend to, and advocate for, that kind of eccleſiaſtical government. It muſt be admitted, that though there is ſomething very ſingular in this manner of writing, yet it is not without its conveniencies, as it gave Mr. Calderwood an opportunity of bringing the whole controverſy within a reaſonable compaſs, and diſcuſſing every part of it methodically and perſpicuouſly. But by purſuing this plan, he has certainly made it very difficult to refute his book; for whoever attempts that, muſt not write by way of anſwer but of reply, and in that caſe he is under a neceſſity of building upon another man's foundation; that is to ſay, the author of the Deſcription of the Policy of the Church of England, which Calderwood made it his buſineſs to refute: and, perhaps, this may be one reaſon, why this treatiſe was never anſwered in form by any of the Divines of the Eſtabliſhed Church. But the ſeveral points which are therein handled, have been diſcuſſed over and over, and moſt of the arguments made uſe of by Mr. Calderwood, have been employed for the ſame purpoſe by the moſt eminent among the modern Engliſh Nonconformiſts. One thing more it will be neceſſary to remark, before we part with this celebrated work, and it is this, that the Nomme de Guerre our author made uſe of, *viz.* EDWARDUS DIDOCLAVIUS, is no more than a tranſpoſition of the letters of his own name, DAVIDUS CALDERWODIUS, ſo that if he might be ſaid in one ſenſe to diſguiſe, he might in another be affirmed to divulge, its falling from his pen.

[*E*] *Wrote ſeveral other books againſt the proceedings of the Clergy in Scotland.*] I muſt confeſs, that this is no better than conjecture, grounded upon the following paſſage in his Hiſtory, which ſeems to hint, that the ſame perſon who wrote the Altar of Damaſcus, was the author of ſome, if not all the treatiſes that are mentioned therein; but in reſpect to this, I leave every reader to judge for himſelf: 'Upon the fourth 'of January 1625, there was a proclamation made 'at the Croſs of Edinburgh, making mention, that 'there were ſundry ſeditious perſons who had written 'certain pamphlets and books tending to treaſon and 'ſedition againſt the King, which were printed in the 'Low-Countries, and were to be brought to Scotland. 'Therefore commanding all Magiſtrates of ſea-ports, 'Cuſtomers, Searchers, and other officers, to ſuffer 'no ſhips coming forth of the Low-Countries to 'come within the harbours, or any Merchant or paſſenger to come on land till the ſhips were firſt 'ſearched, for theſe ſeditious writs, pamphlets and books, and that the ſame be preſented to the Lords 'to be ſearched by ſuch as were appointed for that 'effect. But by the providence of God the books 'were brought out of the ſhip a day or two before 'it was ſearched, and were keeped cloſe till the approaching of Eaſter Communion; *to wit*, *An 'Epiſtle to a Chriſtian Brother*, *An Exhortation to the 'Kirk of Edinburgh*, *A Diſpute againſt communicating, 'where there was Kneeling*, *Confuſion of Geſtures and 'Actions*. The *courſe of Conformity* was ſet forth 'two years before, and the Latin book, intituled, '*Altare Damaſcenum*; and two other years before, '*The Speech of the Kirk to her beloved Children, the 'Altar of Damaſcus*, in Engliſh, and *The Confutation of Doctor Mitchelſon's Reaſons for kneeling*. '*The Antitheſis between the Paſtor and the Prelate*, 'came not to light, till four or five years after 'this (13).'

(13) Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 814.

[*F*] *Under the title of the true Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland.*] The entire work of Mr. David Calderwood, very neatly tranſcribed in ſix fair volumes in folio, by the care of Mr. William Dunlopp, Principal of the College of Glaſgow, is preſerved in the public library of that Univerſity. In the firſt volume, immediately after the title page, there is the following note. 'This work, comprehended in —— 'pages, is collected out of Mr. Knox's Hiſtory and 'his Memorials, gathered for the continuation of his 'Hiſtory out of Mr. James Melvil's Obſervations, 'Mr. John Davidſon his Diary, the Acts of the 'General Aſſemblies, and Acts of Parliament, and 'out of ſeveral Proclamations, and Scroles of diverſe: 'and comprehendeth an Hiſtory from the beginning 'of the reign of King James V. to the death of 'King James VI. but is contracted and digeſted in 'a better order, in a work of three volumes, bound 'in parchment, and is comprehended in 2013 pages. 'Out of which work contracted, is extracted another 'in leſſer bounds, but wanting nothing in ſubſtance, 'and comprehended in —— pages, which the author 'deſireth only to be communicated to others, and 'this with the other, contracted into three volumes 'to ſerve only for the defence of the third, and 'preſervation of the Hiſtory, in caſe it be loſt.' The firſt of the ſix volumes, gives a large introduction, wherein the author undertakes to inform us of the time when, and the perſons by whom the iſland of *Great-Britain* was firſt inhabited: and afterwards brings down the *Scottiſh* Civil Hiſtory as well as the Eccleſiaſtical, from the firſt planting of Chriſtianity to the end of *James* IVth's reign. After his account

appear, for his hiſtory reaches no lower than the death of King James; but, it ſeems probable, from his mentioning the death of Mr. Robert Bruce, which happened in 1631 (*q*), that he lived pretty far in the reign of King Charles I; and this we find confirmed by what is ſaid in the advertiſement prefixed to the laſt edition of the *Altare Damaſcenum*, of his being Miniſter at Pencaithland near Edinburgh in 1638, but neither there or elſewhere can we find any notice of the time of his deceaſe. He was certainly a man of quick parts and profound learning, as fully appears from his conduct in his writings; and therefore it is but juſt that an account ſhould be given of him in a collection of this nature, more eſpecially as this article will inform the Engliſh reader of the nature of thoſe diſputes in Scotland, which, though he had ſo large a ſhare in them, are but very briefly repreſented by Archbiſhop Spotſwood, and are far from being fairly or diſtinctly treated by the famous Dr. Heylyn. It is not neceſſary that we ſhould attempt to give any character of this extraordinary perſon, ſince the Reader will be abundantly able to frame one for himſelf, from the matters of fact which we have delivered, and therefore we ſhall content ourſelves with adding, that all the writers on the ſide of Nonconformity, have ſet a very high value upon his performances; and the judicious Mr. Calamy (*r*), has particularly pointed out his *Altare Damaſcenum* as a capital work on that ſide of the queſtion.

(*q*) Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 816.

(*r*) See his Advertiſement prefixed to the firſt vol. of his Abridgment of the Life of Baxter.

account of the affairs of the State and the Church, we have a view of all the moſt conſiderable wars and battles (domeſtic and foreign) wherein the people of *Scotland* have been engaged before the ſaid period, as alſo of the ancient honorary titles, and their inſtitution. On this laſt head he quotes an old manuſcript, ſent from *Icolmkill* to Mr. *George Buchanan*, which teſtifies that a Parliament was held at *Forfar*, in the year 1061, wherein ſurnames are appointed to be taken, and ſeveral Earls, Barons, Lords, and Knights, were created. After this general Preface, he begins his proper work, The Hiſtory of the *Scottiſh* Reformation. And in this volume, advances as far as the marriage of Queen *Mary*, with the Lord *Darnley*, in the year 1565. In his ſtory of Mr. *Patrick Hamilton*, the protomartyr in this cauſe, he gives a copy of the ſentence pronounced againſt him, together with a congratulatory letter from the Doctors at *Louvain* to the Archbiſhop of *St. Andrew*'s, on the occaſion of his death. Amongſt thoſe learned men, who upon the firſt perſecution fled into *Germany*, he reckons Mr. *George Buchanan*. In his large account of the Diſputes and Sufferings of the Reformers, under the Adminiſtration of Cardinal *Beaton*, and the Queen Regent, we have the particulars of the contentions at *Frankfurt*, which are moſtly taken out of a book, intituled, *A Brief Diſcovery of the Troubles of Mr.* John Knox, *for oppoſing the* Engliſh *Service Book, in* 1554. After which we have *Knox*'s Appeal, from the ſentence of the Clergy, to the Nobility, Eſtates, and Community of *Scotland*, with a great many letters from the Nobility to the Queen-Regent and him, on the ſubject of Religion. All this part of the Hiſtory, which in the printed book makes no more than thirteen pages, ends at pag. 571; from whence (to the end of the book at pag. 902) there is a good collection of curious Letters, Remonſtrances, &c. which are not in the prints, either of *Knox* or *Calderwood*. The ſecond volume contains the Hiſtory from 1565, to the arraignment of the Earl of *Moreton* for treaſon, in December 1580, and contains 614 pages, wherein are many valuable diſcoveries relating to the practices of *David Rizzio*, the King's murder, *Bothwell*'s marriage and flight, &c. and a more perfect Narrative of the proceedings in the General Aſſemblies, than the printed Hiſtory will afford us. The third volume, comprehends the entire Hiſtory of both Church and State, from the beginning of January 1581 to July 1586, when Queen *Mary*'s Letter to *Babington* was intercepted. Under the year 1584, there is a ſevere character of Mr. *Patrick Adamſon*, Archbiſhop of *St. Andrew*'s (14); which in the concluſion refers us for a farther account of him, to a poem made by one *Robert Semple*, and intituled, *The Legend of the Limmer's Life*. Here is alſo *An Account of the State and Church of* Scotland *to the Church of* Geneva, which was written by *Andrew Melvil*, in anſwer to the miſrepreſentations of the Scottiſh Diſcipline ſcattered in foreign Countries, by the ſaid Archbiſhop *Adamſon*. The fourth gives the like mixt hiſtory of affairs, from July 1586 to the beginning of the year 1596. Here we have a full collection of papers relating to the trial, condemnation, and execution, of the unfortunate Queen *Mary*, with abundance of others, touching the moſt remarkable tranſactions of this *Decennium*. In the year 1587, there is a large account of the coming of the *Sieur du Bartas* into *Scotland*; of his being carried by King *James* to the Univerſity of *St. Andrew*'s, his hearing of the Lectures of Mr. *A. Melvil* there, and the great opinion he had of the abilities of that Profeſſor, &c. In 1590, there are ſome ſmart reflections on Dr. *Bancroft*'s Sermon at *Paul*'s Croſs, cenſuring the proceedings of *J. Knox*, and others of the Northern Reformers, with the Aſſembly's Letter to Queen *Elizabeth* about that ſermon. The fifth volume reaches from the beginning of January 1596, to the ſame month in 1607. After the accounts of the proceedings of the Aſſembly in 1596, the author ſubjoins this pathetic *Epiphonema: Here end all the ſincere Aſſemblies General of the Kirk of Scotland, enjoying the liberty of the Goſpel under the free government of Chriſt.* The *new and conſtant Platt of Planting all the Kirks of Scotland* (written by Mr. *David Lindſay*, one of the *Octavians*) is here inſerted at large, as it was preſented to the King and States in the ſaid year 1596. The Hiſtory of the Conſpiracy of the *Gowries*, and the manner of its diſcovery is likewiſe here recorded at length, in the ſame order, wherein the King commanded it to be publiſhed. The new form of Nomination to Biſhopricks, the Proteſtation in Parliament againſt the Reſtitution of Epiſcopacy, and the Reaſons offered againſt it by others, are the remaining matters of conſideration in this book. The ſixth concludes with the death of King *James* VI. (15) C.

(14) See the article ADAMSON (PATRICK) Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's.

(15) Biſhop Nicholſon's Scottiſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 70, 71.

*** [Whatever merit Calderwood's true Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland may have in point of authenticity and information, it is written in a way, both with reſpect to the ſpirit and ſtile of it, which renders it very unpleaſant in the peruſal. Neither can the manners of the Scotch Preſbyterian Clergy of that period be contemplated, by a liberal mind, without ſome degree of diſguſt. It will not appear ſurprizing, that King James the Sixth of Scotland, and the Firſt of England, contracted a diſlike to them; when we conſider that, beſides their rudeneſs in general, they were too deficient in that perſonal reſpect which is always regarded as due to a Sovereign.

When it is ſaid, with particular reference, we ſuppoſe, to Calderwood's 'Altare Damaſcenum,' that all the writers on the ſide of Nonconformity have ſet a very high value upon his performances, the aſſertion muſt be reſtricted to the older writers among the Engliſh Preſbyterians. Few of the modern Diſſenters, we believe, have read the 'Altare Damaſ-'cenum;' and if they had read it, would probably differ from the author in many points. The *Jus Divinum* of Preſbyterianiſm would not now be contended for; and Diſſenting Miniſters, who ſhould at preſent engage in vindicating their ſeparation from the Eſtabliſhed Church, might not think of looking into Mr. Calderwood's Works.] K.

CALFHILL or CALFILL (JAMES) a learned Divine of the XVIth Century, otherwiſe named *Calfield*, *Cawfield*, *Chalfhill* (*a*), or *Calfed* (*b*), was born in Shropſhire [*A*], in the year 1530 (*c*). He received his education at Eaton School, and from thence was ſent, in 1545, to King's College in Cambridge. But he was removed, with many other Cambridgemen, in 1548, to Chriſt-Church in Oxford, newly founded by King Henry VIII (*d*). Here he ſhewed himſelf to be a perſon of quick wit, and great capacity; being an excellent Poet and author of a Tragedy, with other Theatrical performances (*e*). In 1549, he took his degree of Bachelor of Arts (*f*); and that of Maſter, in 1552 (*g*), being junior of the Act celebrated in St. Mary's Church, July 18 (*h*). He was made, in 1560, Canon of the ſecond Canonry in Chriſt-Church Cathedral Oxon; and, on the 12th of December 1561, took the Degree of Bachelor of Divinity (*i*). In 1562, he was Proctor for the Clergy of London, and the Chapter of Oxford, in the Convocation that made the XXXIX Articles (*k*): and on the 16th of May, the ſame year, was admitted to the Rectory of St. Andrew Wardrobe, London (*l*). The 4th of October following, he was preſented by the Crown to the Prebend of St. Pancras, in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul (*m*): and May 4, 1565, was collated by Matthew Parker, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to the Rectory of Bocking, in Eſſex (*n*): as he was alſo, July the 16th following, to the Archdeaconry of Colcheſter in Eſſex, by Edmund Grindal, Biſhop of London (*o*). The ſame year, on the 17th of December, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity (*p*). In 1568, he preached two ſermons in Briſtol-Cathedral, on purpoſe to confute ſome opinions of Dr. Cheney [*B*], who held that See *in commendam* (*q*). In the year 1569, he made application to Secretary Cecil, Chancellor of the Univerſity of Cambridge, for the Provoſtſhip of King's College, but Dr. Goad's intereſt prevailed (*r*). Upon the tranſlation of Dr. Edwin Sandys from the Biſhoprick of Worceſter to that of London, in 1570, Dr. Calfhill was nominated by Queen Elizabeth to ſucceed him (*s*); but, before his conſecration thereto, he died, about the beginning of Auguſt, (having a little before reſigned his Canonry of Chriſt-Church, and Rectory of St. Andrew Wardrobe) and was buried in the Chancel of Bocking Church (*t*). His works were as follow: I. *Querela Oxonienſis Academiæ ad Cantabrigiam*; i. e. 'The complaint of the Univerſity of Oxford to Cambridge.' Lond. 1552, 4*to*. A Latin Poem on the death of Henry and Charles Brandon, ſons of Charles, Duke of Suffolk, who died of the ſweating-ſickneſs in the Biſhop of Lincoln's houſe at Bugden, July 14, 1551. II. *Hiſtoria de exhumatione Catherinæ nuper uxoris Pet. Martyris*. i. e. 'The Hiſtory of the digging up the body of Catherine late 'wife of Peter Martyr.' Lond. 1562, 8*vo*. III. Anſwer to John Martiall's *Treatiſe of the Croſs, gathered out of the Scriptures, Councils, and ancient Fathers of the primitive Church* (*u*). Lond. 1565, 4*to*. IV. *Progne*, a Tragedy, in Latin; which probably was never printed. V. *Poemata varia*; ſeveral Poems (*w*). As to his character, we are informed, That he was in his younger days a noted Poet and Comedian; and in his elder, an exact diſputant, and had an excellent faculty in ſpeaking and preaching (*x*). One who had heard him preach, gives this account of him: 'His excellent tongue, 'and rhetorical tale, filled with good and wholeſome doctrine, ſo raviſhed the minds 'of the hearers, that they were all in admiration of his eloquence (*y*).'

(*a*) So it is written in the Annals of the Reformat. &c. by J. Strype, vol. i. ſecond edit. 1725, p. 236, 237, 562.

(*b*) Newcourt, Repertorium, &c. vol. i. p. 196.

(*c*) He was 18 years of age in 1548. See Wood, Athenæ, edit. 1721, vol. i. col. 163.

(*d*) *Ibid.* and Strype's Annals, *ubi ſupra*, p. 330.

(*e*) Wood, *ibid.*

(*f*) *Idem*, Faſti, vol. i. col. 73.

(*g*) *Ibid.* col. 77.

(*h*) *Idem*, Athen. *ubi ſupra*.

(*i*) *Ibid.* and Faſti, col. 90. He was alſo ſome time Sub-Dean of Chriſt-church. Strype, *ubi ſupra*, p. 237.

(*k*) Strype's Ann. *ubi ſupra*, p. 327.

(*l*) Newcourt's Repertorium, &c. vol. i. p. 92, 272.

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 92, 196.

(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 92. and vol. ii. p. 69.

(*o*) *Ibid.* p. 92.

(*p*) Wood, Faſt. vol. i. col. 95.

(*q*) Strype's Ann. *ubi ſupra*, p. 559, 560, 562.

(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 331.

(*s*) Wood, Athen. *ubi ſupra*, and Hiſt. & Antiq. Univerſ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 263, edit. Oxon. 1674.

(*t*) *Ibid.* and Newcourt, *ubi ſupra*, vol. i. p. 92.

(*u*) See Wood, Athen. vol. i. col. 288.

(*w*) Wood, Ath. vol. i. col. 163.

(*x*) *Ibid.*

(*y*) Strype's Ann. vol. i. p. 237.

[*A*] *Was born in Shropſhire.*] Mr. Strype affirms (1), That he was a Scotchman born; and couſin to Toby Matthew, afterwards Archbiſhop of York, whom he perſuaded to take holy Orders, even againſt the inclination of his father and mother, and other friends.

(1) Annals, *ubi ſupra*.

[*B*] *On purpoſe to confute ſome opinions of Dr. Cheney.*] Dr. Richard Cheney was Biſhop of Glouceſter, and held with it the See of Briſtol in Commendam. By ſome perſons he had been accuſed of ſpeaking irreverently of Calvin and Luther, on account of their notions of Free-will, &c. and of preferring much the ancient Fathers to them (2). Dr. Calfhill, therefore, who was very orthodox, and a great admirer of all Calvin's opinions, was employed to confute him in his own Cathedral; and uſed in his ſermons the new coined phraſe of *Free-willers*. The Biſhop deſired to confer with him, but he never would wait upon him; which does not redound much to his credit (3).

M.

(2) See Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 559, 565.

(3) *Ibid.* p. 564.

CALVERT (GEORGE) deſcended from the ancient and noble houſe of Calvert in the Earldom of Flanders (*a*), and afterwards created Lord Baltimore, was born at Kipling in the North-riding of Yorkſhire (*b*), about the year 1582 (*c*); being the ſon of Leonard Calvert, and Alice his wife, daughter of John Croſtland, of Croſtland, in the ſame county. In the beginning of the year 1593, he became a Commoner of Trinity-College in Oxford, being then very young (*d*); and on the 23d of February 1596-7, took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*e*): after which leaving the college, he travelled beyond the ſeas for a time. At his return, in King James Iſt's reign, he was made Secretary to Robert Cecil, then one of the chief Secretaries of State, being eſteemed a very knowing perſon in ſtate-affairs (*f*). And ſo well ſatisfied was Sir Robert with his faithfulneſs and diligence, that when he was raiſed to the office of Lord High-Treaſurer, he continued him in his ſervice, and employed him in ſeveral weighty matters (*g*). On the 30th of Auguſt 1605, when King James I. was entertained by the Univerſity of Oxford, he was created Maſter of Arts, with ſeveral Noblemen, Knights, and Eſquires (*h*). Afterwards, by the intereſt of his Patron Robert, Earl of Saliſbury, he was made one of the Clerks of the Privy-Council; and in 1617, September

(*a*) Irish Compendium, third edit. 1735, 12*mo*. p. 42.

(*b*) Fuller's Worthies in Yorkſhire, p. 201. Wood, Athen. edit. 1721, vol. i. col. 565.

(*c*) Mr. Wood ſays, he was fifteen years old when he took his degree, and therefore muſt have been born about the time here aſſigned, Athen. *ibid.* But Fuller ſays, he was in the fifty-third year of his age when he died; and if ſo, muſt have been born about 1580. Worthies, *ubi ſupra*.

(*d*) Wood, *ibid.*

(*e*) *Idem*. Faſti, vol. i. col. 151.

(*f*) Athen. *ibid.*

(*g*) *Ibid.*

(*h*) *Idem*. Faſti, vol. i. p. 172, 173.

tember the 29th, received the honour of Knighthood from his Majeſty at Hampton-Court (*i*). On the 15th of February 1618-19, he was appointed one of the Principal Secretaries of State, in the room of Sir Thomas Lake; and the King made great uſe of him, becauſe he was better acquainted with State-affairs, and more diligent in diſpatching buſineſs, than his partner and fellow-ſecretary Sir Robert Naunton (*k*). He was ſworn, the ſeventeenth of the ſame month, into this important office (*l*); which he diſcharged with great truſt and induſtry [*A*]. As a reward for it, the King granted him, May 2, 1620, a yearly penſion of a thouſand pounds, out of the cuſtoms (*m*). But, after having enjoyed that place about five years, he willingly reſigned it in 1624; freely owning to his Majeſty, That he was become a Roman Catholic; ſo that he muſt either be wanting to his truſt, or violate his conſcience in diſcharging his office. This ingenuous confeſſion ſo affected King James, that he continued him Privy-Counſellor all his reign (*n*); and on the ſixteenth of February (*o*) 1624-5, created him (by the name of Sir George Calvert, of Danbywiſke in Yorkſhire, Knight) Baron of Baltimore, in the county of Longford, in Ireland. He was at that time one of the Repreſentatives in Parliament for the Univerſity of Oxford (*p*). While he was Secretary, he obtained a Patent, for him and his heirs, to be abſolute Lord and Proprietor (with the royalties of a Count-Palatine) of the province of Avalon, in Newfoundland: Which was ſo named by him, from Avalon, in Somerſetſhire, wherein Glaſtonbury ſtands, the firſt-fruits of Chriſtianity in Britain, as the other was in that part of America. Here he built a fine houſe in Ferryland, and ſpent twenty-five thouſand pounds in advancing this new Plantation. After the death of King James, he went twice in perſon to Newfoundland; and when Monſieur de l'Arade, with three men of war ſent from the King of France, had reduced our Engliſh fiſhermen to great extremity, this Lord, with two ſhips manned at his own expence, chaſed away the French, relieved the Engliſh, and took ſixty of the French priſoners (*q*). However, finding his plantation very much expoſed to the inſults of the French, he was, at laſt, forced to abandon it (*r*). Upon this he went over to Virginia, and, after having viewed thoſe parts, came to England, and obtained from King Charles I. (who had as great a regard and affection for him as King James) a patent, to him and his heirs, for Maryland on the north of Virginia [*B*]; with the ſame title and royalties as had been conferred upon him with reſpect to Avalon aforementioned (*s*). He died in London, April 15, 1632, in the fifty-firſt year of his age, and was buried in the chancel of the church of St. Dunſtan's in the Weſt, in Fleet-ſtreet (*t*). As to Sir George Calvert's character; One hiſtorian (*u*), who hardly ſpeaks well of any body, calls him an Hiſpaniolized Papiſt. But others (*w*) tell us in his praiſe, That though he was a Roman Catholic,

(*i*) Athenæ, *ubi ſupra.*

(*k*) *Ibid.* and Camden's Annals of King James I. under the year 1619.

(*l*) Stowe's Annales, edit. 1631, fol. p. 1031.

(*m*) Camden, *ubi ſupra*, under the year 1620. See Complete Hiſt. of England, edit. 1706, vol. ii. p. 654.

(*n*) Fuller's Worthies, *ubi ſupra*, p. 202.

(*o*) In the Irish Compendium it is ſaid, that it was Feb. 20, edit. 1735, p. 327.

(*p*) Wood, Ath. *ubi ſupra.*

(*q*) Fuller's Worthies, *ubi ſupra.*

(*r*) See Collier's Great Hiſtorical Dictionary, in the article CALVERT (GEORGE).

(*s*) Fuller, *ubi ſupra*; and Lloyd's State Worthies, edit. 1679, p. 751.

(*t*) Fuller, *ubi ſupra.*

(*u*) Arthur Wilſon, in Life and Reign of King James I. in Complete Hiſt. of England, edit. 1706, vol. ii. p. 795.

(*w*) Particularly Dr. Lloyd, in State Worthies, edit. as above, p. 752.

[*A*] *Which he diſcharged with great truſt and induſtry.*] We are informed, that he, thinking the Duke of Buckingham had been highly inſtrumental in his preferment, made him a preſent of a jewel of great value: But the Duke returned it him, acknowledging, he had no hand in his advancement, but that his Majeſty alone had made choice of him, on account of his great abilities (1).

(1) Lloyd's State Worthies, ſecond edit. 1679, 8*vo.* p. 750. H. Holland, p. 39. and Fuller's Worthies, *ubi ſupra*, p. 202.

[*B*] *King Charles* I. *granted him a patent, to him and his heirs, for Maryland.*] That country was firſt diſcovered by Sebaſtian Cabot in 1497, but more perfectly in 1584, by Sir Walter Raleigh, and always paſſed for part of Virginia, till the year 1631, when King Charles I. made a grant of it to George Calvert, Baron of Baltimore. This Lord not living to ſee his grant made out, his ſon Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore (who had been at Virginia, and had looked out for a proper place to fix a new plantation of his own) took it out in his own name, and the Patent bears date June 20, 1632. The bounds of that country are thus aſcertained therein; namely—All that part of a peninſula lying between the ocean on the Eaſt, and the bay of Cheſepeak on the Weſt, and divided from the other part [or Accomac belonging to Virginia] by a right line drawn from Watkin's point on the Weſt, to the main ocean on the Eaſt; and between that bound on the South, to that part of Delaware-bay on the North, which lies under the 40th degree of northern latitude. And all that tract of land, from the foreſaid bay of Delaware, in a right line, by the degree aforeſaid, to the true meridian of the firſt fountain of the river Patowmeck, and from thence tending towards the South to the farther bank of the foreſaid river, and following the weſt and ſouth-ſide of it to a place called Cinquack, ſituate near the mouth of the ſaid river, where it falls into the bay of Cheſepeak, *&c.* On the Weſt it is bounded, at preſent, by the Aſpalathean mountains: And is in length, from North to South, 140 miles; but the breadth of it, from Eaſt to Weſt, is not ſo much. The Lord Baltimore was to hold it of the Crown of England in common ſocage, as of the manor of Windſor; paying yearly, on Eaſter-Tueſday, two Indian arrows of thoſe parts at the caſtle of Windſor, and the fifth part of the gold and ſilver ore that ſhall be found there. King Charles himſelf was pleaſed to give that province the name of Maryland, in honour of his beloved Queen Henrietta Maria. Cecil Lord Baltimore intended to go thither in perſon; but afterwards, changing his mind, he appointed his brother, Leonard Calvert, Eſq; to go Governor in his ſtead, with whom he joined in commiſſion Jeremy Hawley, and Thomas Cornwallis, Eſqrs. The firſt colony ſent thither, conſiſted of about two hundred people, Roman Catholics, the chief of whom were gentlemen of good families. They ſailed from Cowes, in the Iſle of Wight, November 22, 1633, and arrived at Point Comfort, in the bay of Cheſepeak, February the 24th following; and continuing their voyage, went northward as far as the river of Patowmeck. Since that time, this colony has become very conſiderable and flouriſhing, being chiefly peopled with Roman Catholics, who have tranſplanted themſelves thither, in order to avoid the penal laws made againſt them in England. At the Revolution, the Lord Baltimore was deprived of the power of appointing a Governor, and other officers; and the government of that province fell under the ſame regulation as other plantations, which are immediately ſubject to the Crown. Before the confuſions in America, the Baltimore family, as Proprietors of Maryland, derived a large revenue from it; being entitled to a duty on every hogſhead of tobacco exported; enjoying ſeveral manors, which might be ſtyled their demeſne lands, and having a rent paid them by every planter, beſides other perquiſites. The chief product of the country is tobacco: and it is divided into ten counties (2).

(2) British Empire in America, vol. i. p. 183, &c. Hiſt. of Virginia, p. 47. Salmon's Modern Hiſtory, edit. 1739, 4to. vol. iii. p. 504, 510, 511.

yet

yet he kept himſelf ſincere and diſengaged from all intereſts; and was the only ſtateſman, that being engaged to a decried party, managed his buſineſs with that great reſpect for all ſides, that all who knew him applauded him; and none that had any thing to do with him, complained of him. He was a man of great ſenſe, but not obſtinate in his ſentiments, taking as great pleaſure in hearing others opinions, as in delivering his own. Whilſt he was Secretary of State, he carried every night to the King a digeſted and exact account of affairs, and took the pains to examine himſelf the letters that were of any conſequence (*x*). Judge Popham and he agreed in the public deſign of foreign plantations, but differed in the manner of managing them (*y*). The first was for extirpating the original heathen inhabitants, the ſecond for converting them: the former ſent the lewdeſt people to thoſe places, the latter was for the ſobereſt: the one was for preſent profit, the other for a reaſonable expectation; liking to have but few Governors, and thoſe not intereſted merchants, but unconcerned gentlemen; granting liberties with great caution; and leaving every one to provide for himſelf by his own induſtry, and not out of a common ſtock [*C*].

(*x*) Dr. Lloyd, in State Worthies, edit. 1679, p. 752.

(*y*) Lloyd, *ibid*

[*C*] *And not out of a common ſtock.*] The Lord Baltimore was author of the following pieces. I. *Carmen funebre in D. Hen. Untonum ad Gallos bis legatum, ibique nuper fato functum:* i. e. Verſes on the death of Sir Henry Unton, twice Embaſſador in France, who died there. Printed in 1596, 4to. II. Speeches in Parliament. III. Various Letters of State. IV. The anſwer of Tom Tell-troth. The practice of Princes, and the Lamentation of the Kirk. Lond. 1642, 4to. He alſo wrote ſomething about Maryland, but it does not appear that it was ever printed (3). M

(3) See Wood, Ath. *ubi ſupra.*

CAMDEN (WILLIAM) one of the moſt learned Writers, moſt diligent Antiquaries, and moſt impartial Hiſtorians, that the laſt age, or this country, produced, was deſcended from honeſt and reputable parents. His father, Samſon Camden, was a native of Litchfield in Staffordſhire, but, ſettling in London, became a member of the company of Painter-Stainers (*a*). His mother was of a very antient and worthy family, as himſelf hath recorded, *viz.* the Curwens of Wirkington, in the county of Cumberland (*b*). He was born May 2, 1551, at his father's houſe in the Old Bailey (*c*). He received the firſt tincture of letters in Chriſt's Hoſpital (*d*), erected the year after his birth, by that learned and pious young Prince, Edward VI. but at what time he was ſent thither does not appear, the records of that Hoſpital being deſtroyed in the fire of London, 1666. In the year 1563 he was removed to Iſlington, being infected with the plague, and remained there ſome time, which retarded his progreſs in learning (*e*). He was afterwards ſent to St. Paul's ſchool (*f*), where the pregnancy of his parts, and his aſſiduous application, diſtinguiſhed him to ſuch a degree, that in 1566 he was removed to the univerſity of Oxford, where he was entered a Servitor in Magdalen-college, being then about fifteen years old (*g*), and perfected himſelf in grammar learning in the ſchool adjoining, of which Dr. Thomas Cooper, afterwards Biſhop of Lincoln, was Maſter (*h*). Upon his miſſing a Demy's place in his college, he removed from thence to Broadgate-Hall, now Pembroke-College, in the ſame univerſity (*i*), where he remained two years and a half, under the tuition of Dr. Thomas Thornton, Canon of Chriſt-church, and his great patron. He left behind him here a ſignal mark of the reſpect paid him by his contemporaries, in the ſhort Latin Graces of his compoſition, which, for many years after, were uſed by the Scholars of this Society (*k*). He removed from hence to Chriſt-Church, where he was provided for by the kindneſs of Dr. Thornton, during the time he continued at the univerſity (*l*) [*A*]. It was about

(*a*) Gul. Camdeni Vita, ſcripſit Thoma Smitho, Lond. 1691, 4to. p. 1.

(*b*) Britan. in Cambriâ, edit. Londinenſ. 1607, p. 633.

(*c*) Parentatio Hiſtorica: ſive Commemoratio Vitæ & Mortis V. C. Gulielmi Camdeni Clarentii facta Oxonia in Schola Hiſtorica, per Degoreum Wheari, Hiſtoricarum Prelectorem. ap. Bateſii Vit. ſelect. p. 591.

(*d*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 2.

(*e*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo.

(*f*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 269.

(*g*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 111. Memorabil. de ſeipſo.

(*h*) Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 480.

(*i*) V. Parentationem Hiſtorica Degorei Wheari, p. 591. Athen. Oxon. col. 480.

(*k*) V. Parentationem Hiſtoricam Degorei Wheari, p. 591.

(*l*) Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 480.

[*A*] *By the kindneſs of Dr. Thornton, during the time he continued at the univerſity.*] There are very few lives that have been written with greater care than that of our author by different pens; and yet there have been ſome miſtakes committed, of which it is neceſſary to take notice, that things may not be cenſured as deficiencies in this article, which, when explained, we hope will appear corrections. Degory Wheare, who was Camden's Profeſſor of Hiſtory at Oxford, in his Oration on the death of that great man, which he pronounced very ſoon after his deceaſe, places his birth in 1550, but without naming the day (1). It is in conſequence of this that he brings him to Oxford in 1565, and very probably his authority might have paſſed, if Camden himſelf had not ſettled both theſe dates, in a paper of memoranda which we find publiſhed by Dr. Smith; and theſe leading dates are of very great conſequence towards ſettling all the reſt (2). The time of his being ſeized by the plague is alſo fixed by Camden; but he ſays nothing of his being at the Hoſpital of Chriſt-Church, which one may preſume is the reaſon that a judicious Prelate treats it as a ſtory founded only on tradition (3). But this tradition muſt have been early, ſince we find the fact very poſitively mentioned in Wheare's Oration (4), nor do I know that it has been queſtioned by any author. What ſeems to confirm it is the lowneſs of his circumſtances at the time he was ſent to Oxford, where he depended on the kindneſs of Dr. Cooper, and his removal to Broadgate-Hall, which was the effect of Dr. Thornton's kindneſs for him (5). At the ſame time that theſe circumſtances demonſtrate his neceſſities, they carry along with them teſtimonies of unuſual vigour and firmneſs of mind, in the purſuit of knowledge under ſuch difficulties, and of his pregnant parts and happy diſpoſition, that before he was twenty, he could raiſe himſelf ſuch powerful patrons from his perſonal merit. This laſt protector being advanced to a canonry of Chriſt-Church, carried him along with him, and entertained him in his own lodgings (6). At this time it was, that his friendſhip commenced with the two Carews, Richard and George, the latter of whom was afterwards raiſed by King James to the title of Earl of Totneſs; and it has been ſuppoſed, that, as they were both Antiquaries, their converſation might give Mr. Camden a turn that way (7). This is the more probable, becauſe we learn from himſelf that before

(1) V. Parentationem Hiſtoricam Degori Wheari, p. 591.

(2) Memorabilia de ſeipſo.

(3) Biſhop Gibſon's Life of Camden, prefixed to his Britannia.

(4) Parentationem Hiſtoricam Degori Wheari, p. 591.

(5) Smith, Vita Camden. p. 3, 4.

(6) Britannia in Comitatu Berchierenſi in Deſcriptione Wallingfordiæ, p. 204.

(7) Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. III. p. 410. Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. col. 384.

about this time, that, by the encouragement of his friends, he became a candidate for a fellowſhip in the college of All-Souls, and which he loſt by the intrigues of the Popiſh party, on account of his zeal for the Church of England as by law eſtabliſhed (*m*). In 1570, he ſupplicated the venerable Congregation of Regents of that univerſity, that he might be admitted Bachelor of Arts (*n*), but in this alſo he miſcarried. The year following he came up to London, and proſecuted his ſtudies under the patronage, and by the aſſiſtance, of Dr. Gabriel Goodman, and Dr. Godfrey Goodman, his brother, who ſupplied him both with money and books for that purpoſe (*o*). In 1573, he returned to Oxford, where he ſupplicated again, in the beginning of the month of March, for the degree that had been refuſed him; and his requeſt being now granted, he took, but did not compleat, it by determination (*p*). In 1575, by the intereſt of his friend Dean Goodman, he was made Second Maſter of Weſtminſter-ſchool, which office he executed with great diligence, capacity, and ſucceſs (*q*); ſo that his reputation daily increaſed, and he became known to, and admired by, the great ornaments of the literary world, both at home and abroad [*B*]. As much of his time as he could ſpare from the duties of his arduous employment, he beſtowed on the ſtudy of Antiquities, to which he had addicted himſelf while at Oxford; to the proſecution of which he was excited by Godfrey Goodman, nephew to the Dean of Weſtminſter (*r*), Dr. Gabriel Goodman, and much encouraged by the famous Sir Philip Sidney (*s*), whoſe reputation for learning, and being the patron of learned men, our author gratefully celebrated (*t*). He at this time meditated the great work he afterwards compoſed in honour of his native country, and with equal care and diligence peruſed all that the Antients have left in their writings concerning Britain; with indefatigable induſtry ſearched out and examined the Hiſtorical Writers of our own country, of which very few at that time had been publiſhed; and with equal ſkill and labour viſited the records, and other repoſitories of that kind of learning which ſuited his purpoſe (*u*). In 1581, the learned Preſident Briſſon, being employed here by the French Court, in a negociation of great importance, he entered into a ſtrict friendſhip and cloſe correſpondence with Mr. Camden (*w*), which continued to the deplorable death of that eminent Magiſtrate [*C*]. In 1582, he took a journey through Suffolk into Yorkſhire, and returned

(*m*) Smith, Vit. Camden, p. 5.

(*n*) Faſti Oxon. vol. i. col. 104.

(*o*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 6. Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 480.

(*p*) Faſti Oxon. vol. i. col. 108.

(*q*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 8.

(*r*) Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 480.

(*s*) See Brooke's Reply to Camden's Apology, p. 7.

(*t*) Britan. in Cantio, p. 233.

(*u*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 11.

(*w*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo. Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 480.

before he left Oxford, he had a ſtrong inclination to theſe ſtudies, and that he could never hear any thing mentioned relating to that ſubject (8), without more than ordinary attention. After he quitted the univerſity, and before he was ſettled at Weſtminſter, he made frequent excurſions for the ſake of informing himſelf in matters of this nature, and began very early to form thoſe collections (9), out of which he afterwards drew his learned and laborious performance.

(8) Anſwer to Brooke, p. 1.

(9) See his Preface to the folio edition of his Britannia, which was the laſt publiſhed in his life-time.

[*B*] *By the great ornaments of the literary world, both at home and abroad.*] There appears to be ſome confuſion in the accounts that are given us of Mr. Camden's patrons, the three Goodman's; and a very accurate French writer, who has written a very good account of our author, mentions it as an error in Bayle, that he took Dr. Godfrey Goodman for the brother of Dr. Gabriel, which, if it be an error, he certainly copied from Smith (10). Mr. Camden himſelf acknowledges very handſomely, the favours he received from Dr. Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Weſtminſter; and Anthony Wood poſitively aſſerts, that Godfrey Goodman, who was the Dean's nephew, and, as I take it, the ſon of Dr. Godfrey Goodman, ſupplied our author with books and money, and defrayed the expences of his journies (11), which account he borrowed from a MS. in the Bodleian Library (12), written by a third Godfrey Goodman, ſome time Biſhop of Glouceſter, ſon to the ſecond, and grandſon to the firſt, and who was himſelf ſcholar to Camden, ſo that he might be very well acquainted with the acts of friendſhip he received from his family. It is more probable that Mr. Godfrey Goodman, the Biſhop of Glouceſter's father, and nephew to the Dean of Weſtminſter, was our author's great patron; becauſe, in the ſpace of between four and five years, which elapſed between Mr. Camden's coming from Oxford to his being ſettled as Second Maſter of Weſtminſter ſchool, by the intereſt of Dean Goodman, he had no employment, and in this time it was, that he made moſt of thoſe journies (13). Beſides theſe he had many other friends and patrons, ſuch, particularly, as Mr. Thomas Savile, brother to the learned Sir Henry Savile, and, as plainly appears by his letters to Camden himſelf, one of the learneſt men of his time, and as ſuch, celebrated by Mr. Camden and others (14); and Mr. Edward Stradling, who was alſo a man of rank and diſtinguiſhed knowledge. Amongſt foreigners, Abraham Ortelius, the moſt able Geographer of his age, coming over to England made an acquaintance with Camden, and correſponded with him conſtantly. He was alſo very intimate with the famous Hotman, who had been Secretary to the Great Earl of Leiceſter; Juſtus Lipſius, Janus Douſa the younger, Janus Gruter, and many others (15). The reader will obſerve, that this account of his friends relates to the time while he was compoſing, and before he publiſhed, his *Britannia*; for after that came abroad, the number of his domeſtic and foreign patrons became much more numerous.

(10) Niceron Memoires des Hommes Illuſtres, vol. XXIII. p. 87.

(11) Ath. Oxon. vol. i. col. 480. Britan. in Middleſexia, p. 409.

(12) Review of the Court of King James, MS. p. 19.

(13) Anſwer to Brooke, p. 1.

(14) Britan. in Brigant. See Biſhop Montague's Preface to his *Diatribia* upon the firſt part of the Hiſtory of Tythes. Reg. ſecund. aſt. Coll. Mert. p. 129.

(15) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 9.

[*C*] *To the deplorable death of that eminent Magiſtrate.*] This honourable perſon, who was a Lawyer by profeſſion, and eſteemed one of the moſt learned men in France, was, in the month of Auguſt 1580, after having exerciſed for five years the office of Advocate-General to the Parliament of Paris, promoted to the rank of Preſident *à Mortier*, and was ſoon after declared Counſellor of State by Henry III. who ſent him over to England, to negociate a match between Queen Elizabeth and his brother the Duke of Anjou, at which time he came acquainted with Camden: and how high a value our author ſet upon his friendſhip, appears from his entering it amongſt thoſe few articles he ſet down relating to his own affairs (16). The Preſident Briſſon returning into France, had a large ſhare in the tranſactions of the State, and remaining at Paris when that city revolted againſt his maſter, and declared for the League, he was, by that faction, on the eleventh of January 1589, declared Firſt Preſident of the Parliament, in the room of Achilles de Harlay, whom, for his loyalty, they had thrown into priſon: but Preſident Briſſon, at the time of his accepting the office, declared, by an act under his hand, that he did it under force, that he did not receive his office as an honour (17), but as the only means he had left to ſave his life. Two years after this, a perſon being tried before the Parliament, for correſponding with the King, and being acquitted, the faction reſolved to revenge themſelves upon the Firſt Preſident, whom they condemned to be hanged, and executed their ſentence

(16) Memorab. de ſeipſo.

(17) Niceron Memoires des Hommes Illuſtres, vol. ix. p. 300.

returned through Lancaſhire in the month of April (*x*), that he might examine with his own eyes, and upon the ſpot, ſome of thoſe Antiquities which he meant to illuſtrate in his great work, for the improvement of which he had carried on, for many years, a conſtant correſpondence with the moſt learned and judicious perſons of our own and other nations (*y*). He was fully ſenſible of all the difficulties of the taſk he had undertaken, and foreſaw to how great envy he ſhould be expoſed, by venturing upon ſuch a piece, as muſt naturally draw the attention of the learned throughout Europe; and therefore he omitted nothing that might render it worthy of that attention, and of the expectation of his friends. At length, in 1586, his performance appeared; and though much enlarged and improved in future editions, was even then eſteemed an honour to its author, and the glory of his country (*z*) [*D*]. In the month of June 1588, he ſupplicated the Univerſity of Oxford for the degree of Maſter of Arts, which deſire of his was granted conditionally, as we are told by Anthony Wood, that he ſhould ſtand in the Act following; but the ſame writer informs us, that his admiſſion occurs not in their Regiſter (*a*). The year following he made a journey into Devonſhire, and in the month of June, as himſelf tells us, was at Iffarcomb (*b*), which is a prebend of the church of Saliſbury, and had been beſtowed upon him on the ſixth of February preceding, by Dr. John Piers, then Biſhop of that dioceſe, and our author's intimate friend (*c*). The principal deſign of this journey, was to viſit the places moſt famous for their Antiquities in the Weſt; and the expence of this and others for the ſame purpoſe, and in order to improve his Deſcription of Britain, were defrayed, as we are told, by Mr. Godfrey Goodman (*d*). In 1590, he made a journey into Wales, in company with the famous Dr. Godwin, afterwards an eminent Prelate (*e*), and ſucceſſively Biſhop of Landaff and Hereford, that he might examine the Antiquities of

(*x*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo. His Defence againſt York, p. 5.

(*y*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 11, 12, 13.

(*z*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 207.

(*a*) Faſti Oxon. vol. i. col. 135.

(*b*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo.

(*c*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 17.

(*d*) Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 481.

(*e*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo.

ſentence on the fourth of November 1594, by tying him up to one of the beams in the council-chamber at the Chatelet (18). The famous M. de Thou, though he was no friend of his, is pleaſed to confeſs, That the Republic of Letters ſuſtained a ſenſible loſs by his death (19). The king his maſter was wont frequently to expreſs his eſteem for him by ſaying, 'That he believed no Prince in Europe had 'ſo learned a ſubject as his Briſſon.' Indeed his writings, upon a great variety of ſubjects, fully ſupport this character: but in all probability, it was his conſummate knowledge in ancient Geography and Hiſtory, that ſet him ſo high in the opinion of our author.

(18) Le Journal de Henri III.

(19) Memoires de ſa Vie, liv. v.

[*D*] *Eſteemed an honour to its author, and the glory of his country.*] The title of this work runs thus, *Britanniæ, ſive florentiſſimorum Regnorum Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, & Inſularum adjacentium ex intimâ antiquitate Chorographica deſcriptio.* Londini, 1586, 8vo. i. e. 'Britain, or a Chorographical Deſcription of the flouriſhing kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the adjacent iſlands, from 'the moſt remote antiquity.' There ſeems to be nothing better fixed than the date of our author's firſt edition. He has aſſigned it himſelf expreſsly in his memorials, 1586 *Britannium edidi* (20). He affirms the ſame thing in his preface to his laſt edition; and yet Anthony Wood ſets down the firſt edition to have been in 1582, and makes the ſecond impreſſion in 1585 (21), though in another work of his, he had fixed the firſt edition to 1585 (22). By this means Niceron is led into a miſtake (23), as indeed might eaſily have happened to the moſt careful foreigner: but how, or whence, this error in Wood aroſe, is not to be gueſſed; for the author himſelf tells us, that he ſpent ten years in compiling it, and that he was firſt put upon it by Ortelius; by which it plainly appears, that he began to digeſt his collections the year after he came to Weſtminſter (24). It would require more room than we have to ſpare, to enter even into a brief account of the mighty praiſes that were beſtowed upon this book, even on its firſt and imperfect appearance; I mean, in compariſon of what it became afterwards, through the continual care and application of its author: But it may not be amiſs to inſert a paragraph or two from a letter written to our author by Mr. William Lambard (25), the famous Kentiſh Antiquary, to whom he communicated a part of it before it went to the preſs; the rather, becauſe the date of this letter, which is July 9, 1585, plainly proves there could be no edition till long after that time, notwithſtanding what Anthony Wood aſſerts in expreſs terms. 'I thank you moſt heartily, good 'Mr. Camden, for the uſe of theſe books of your's, 'ſince they deliver many things that are not, ſo far 'as I do know, elſewhere to be had, and the ſame 'no leſs learnedly picked out than delicately uttered 'and written. What praiſe you deſerve in all, I 'can beſt tell by Kent, wherein (howſoever I have 'laboured myſelf) I learn many things by you that I 'knew not before. Your conjecture at the etymon 'of the word *Cantium* is ſo probable, that you make 'me now doubt of mine own, which before I took 'to be moſt aſſured; you have ſo truly, as I think, 'traced out Leneham, Chilham, and Newendene, 'by the old Durolenum, Jul-laber, and Anderida, 'as I ſhall for ever hereafter reſt in your opinion of 'them. To be plain, I ſeem to myſelf not to have 'known Kent, till I knew Camden. If you have in 'purpoſe to perform the reſt, go on boldly, good 'Mr. Camden, wherein if you ſhall uſe the ſame 'dexterity that hitherto you have done (as I fear not 'but you will) *Aceſii & Heliconis opera dixerim.* 'Howſoever you ſhall be minded to do more or leſs, 'defraud not your countrymen of ſo great a pleaſure, 'nor the country itſelf of ſo great an honour, by 'forbearing to imprint the ſame. If I had any 'thing that might further your ſtudy, I would moſt 'willingly impart it; and whether I have or no, I 'will make yourſelf the judge, if it ſhall like you 'to come down into Kent, and look amongſt my 'papers.'

(20) Memorabil. de ſeipſo.

(21) Ath. Oxon. vol. i. col. 481, 482.

(22) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 270.

(23) Niceron Memoires des Hom. Illuſtres, vol. xiii. p. 95.

(24) See his Preface to the folio edition of his *Britannia*.

(25) Camden. Epiſt. p. 28, 29.

This work Mr. Camden dedicated to his firſt and great patron William Cecil Lord Burleigh, Knight of the Garter, and High-Treaſurer of England; and in his dedication he very fully acknowledges, not only the many kindneſſes and benefits he had received from him, but his aſſiſtance alſo in the work, and the great helps derived to him from the uſe of his well-choſen library. It is obſervable, that this dedication is dated May 2, 1586, ſo that our author finiſhed this work preciſely at the age of thirty-five; and yet, as he informs us himſelf, he dedicated thereto only his ſpare hours and holidays, the duties of his office engroſſing all the reſt of his time. He ſpeaks largely, and yet very modeſtly, of the many and great obſtacles he met with, and of the pains he took to overcome them: He ſhews a juſt ſenſe of the hazard he ran in publiſhing his labours, and his apprehenſion that they might provoke more than one ſort of men againſt him; but at the ſame time he profeſſes, that the encouragement of Ortelius and other friends, his own zeal for truth, and his paſſion for the ſervice of his country, inſpired him with a generous reſolution of daring all the envy of the Critics, rather than not attempt to render that juſtice to Britain, which had ſo long been denied to it.

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this part of the iſland: for, as himſelf informs us, he was above all things deſirous of having the beſt and cleareſt evidence of things he undertook to write about, that the nature of thoſe things would admit. In point of Antiquities, he had recourſe to the moſt ancient authors, which, out of the duſt of libraries, he brought forth to public light: in reference to Civil Hiſtory, he ſearched the archives of this kingdom, both by himſelf and by his friends: as to deſcents and the memoirs of great families, he obtained the beſt lights that he could; and the ſame method he took, in regard to the deſcription of places; but finding great variation in theſe, he was willing to undergo any labour requiſite to come at truth, and that his reputation, which was continually riſing, might not give a ſanction to the miſtakes of other men, reported by him (*f*). On the twenty-third of October 1592, he was ſeized with an ague, which proved a quartan, and notwithſtanding all the helps he received from phyſic, held him long, and brought him low (*g*). While he was labouring under this diſtemper, Doctor Edward Grant, who for about twenty years had worthily executed the office of Head-Maſter of Weſtminſter-ſchool, worn out with fatigue, reſigned it in February 1592-3 (*h*); and in the month of March following, was ſucceeded therein by Mr. Camden (*i*). Some indeed, and amongſt the reſt, the very learned and accurate Dr. Smith, have affirmed, that it was upon the death of that learned perſon (*k*) he came into his place; but the fact is otherwiſe, and therefore it is the more requiſite to correct an error of ſo long ſtanding [*E*]. In the ſucceeding year, but not till the middle of ſummer, he became perfectly free from his ague (*l*); and ſoon after publiſhed the fourth edition of his Britannia, which was now very much enlarged, and appeared in many reſpects quite another thing, from what it was at firſt, through the care and diligence of the author, in collecting and digeſting freſh materials, and reforming what, from the information of his friends, he found amiſs therein (*m*). But notwithſtanding all his attention and circumſpection, this edition expoſed him to a very warm, and in many reſpects indecent, attack from Raſe Brookeſmouth, York-Herald, in relation to certain miſtakes, which that writer believed he had diſcovered, in reference to deſcents, and which he apprehended might be attended with conſequences diſhonourable to many of the moſt ancient and moſt noble families in this kingdom (*n*). I have placed this event here, though moſt writers report it ſeveral years after, and I do it out of reſpect to truth, becauſe it is certain, that though York's book did not appear at this time, yet he had framed his collections for it, ſoon after the publication of the fourth edition of the Britannia (*o*). How far he might be excited by envy, jealouſy, or ſpite, to this undertaking, I ſhall not pretend to determine; but ſhall in the notes give the reader as clear an account of the controverſy as is in my power, and without any mixture of prejudice or prepoſſeſſion [*F*]. As ſoon as he found his health ſo well eſtabliſhed, as to enable him to undergo

(*f*) Anſwer to Brooke, p. 1.

(*g*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo. Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 481. Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 17, 18.

(*h*) Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 310.

(*i*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo. Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 19. Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. l. ii. p. 270.

(*k*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 18.

(*l*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo.

(*m*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 78.

(*n*) See Brooke's Epiſtle to the gentle and learned Reader, placed before his ſecond Diſcovery of Errors publiſhed in the much commended *Britannia*.

(*o*) See this point largely explained in the note [*E*].

[*E*] *The more requiſite to correct an error of ſo long ſtanding.*] The firſt author of this miſtake, appears to be Degory Wheare, in his oration on the death of Camden (26); and by his authority, even the beſt writers have been miſled upon this ſubject (27). 'Upon the death of that moſt learned man Edward 'Grant, Doctor (28) in Divinity, who had the go- 'vernment of Weſtminſter-ſchool, which happened 'in the month of March 1593, Camden ſucceeded 'in his place;' ſays the worthy Dr. Smith; and in this he is followed even by that accurate writer, and excellent judge of our hiſtory, the late Dr. Gibſon, Biſhop of London, in the life of our author prefixed to the tranſlation of the *Britannia*. 'The firſt ſtep 'he made, was the ſecond Maſterſhip of Weſtminſter- 'ſchool in 1575. In this ſtation he continued till 'the death of Dr. Grant, Head School-maſter (which 'happened in 1593) whom he ſucceeded.' Anthony Wood, in his Hiſtory and Antiquities of Oxford (29), ſpeaks doubtfully. 'He came, ſays he, to be Head- 'maſter either by the reſignation, or death, of that 'eminent Divine Edward Grant.' In his article of Camden, of whom he promiſes to be more particular than about any other author, he writes ſtill with greater obſcurity (30). 'In March 1592-3, he was 'made Chief Maſter of Weſtminſter-ſchool in the 'place of Dr. Edward Grant.' Yet, in the article of Grant, he gives a full and clear account of the matter, which plainly overturns all the former accounts (31). 'He (that is Dr. Edward Grant) re- 'ſigned his Maſterſhip of Weſtminſter-ſchool about 'the month of February 1592, and was ſucceeded 'therein by William Camden. He died in Sep- 'tember, or October, 1601, and was buried in St. 'Peter's church in Weſtminſter, whereupon his 'Canonry was beſtowed on Dr. William Barlow.' This is pretty nearly, but not exactly, right; for this learned man actually died Auguſt 4, 1601 (32), as formerly appeared by the inſcription on his monument in Weſtminſter-abbey, which is now defaced; but the reader may ſtill find it preſerved by the care of our venerable author (33).

(26) V. Parentationem Hiſtoricam, p. 592.

(27) See his article in Bayle.

(28) Vit. Camd. p. 18.

(29) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 270.

(30) Ath. Oxon. vol. i. col. 481.

(31) *Id. ibid.* vol. i. col. 311.

(32) Le Neve's Faſti Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, p. 372.

(33) Reges, Reginæ, Nobiles, & alii in Eccleſia Collegiata B. Petri Weſtmonaſterii Sepult. Uſque ad Annum reparatæ Salutis 1606, 4to. p. 77.

[*F*] *Without any mixture of prejudice or prepoſſeſſion.*] Writers, in general, repreſent this attack upon Mr. Camden, as proceeding from the envious malice of its author, ariſing from Mr. Camden's promotion, and his own diſappointment. A very learned writer begins his account of it thus (34). 'In the year '1597, upon the death of Richard Leigh, Clarenceux 'King at Arms, Sir Fulk Grevil recommended Mr. 'Camden to the Queen as a perſon every way qualified 'for the place, and one that had highly deſerved of 'her Majeſty and her kingdoms. The Queen, with- 'out more ado, gives him a grant, and Mr. Camden 'accordingly was created October 23, in the ſame 'year, having the day before been made Richmond- 'Herald, becauſe, by the Conſtitution, none can be 'King at Arms but who has been firſt Herald. At 'that time Mr. Brooke was York-Herald, who, 'upon Leigh's death, preſently had an eye upon 'that preferment, and doubted not but the ſtation 'he had already in the college would ſecure it to 'him. The greater his aſſurance was, the diſap- 'pointment lay ſo much the heavier upon him, and '(as men who lay too much ſtreſs upon their own 'merit are always hurried on to revenge upon the 'leaſt injury) his next buſineſs was, to find out a 'fair opportunity of ſhewing his reſentments. Mr. 'Camden, at the end of each county, has drawn 'down the hiſtory of the reſpective Earls, and he 'thought probably, that if a quarrel could be picked 'in the buſineſs of families, it would be moſt ſuitable 'to his preſent purpoſe. The plot was well con- 'trived, if the charge could have been made out. 'As

(34) Life of Camden, prefixed to the Tranſlation of his *Britannia*.

undergo the fatigue of a freſh journey, and was able to obtain leiſure for another excurſion, he next made a tour to Saliſbury and Wales, with a view to farther improvements of his work; and returning by Oxford (*p*), ſpent there ſome time, in which he viſited moſt, if not all the churches and chapels there, copying the monumental inſcriptions and the arms, which he found in them, and reducing them into a book, which Anthony Wood (*q*) tells us, he had ſeen in his own hand-writing: A wonderful proof of his care and diligence! and which, therefore, well deſerved to be ſecured from oblivion. In 1597, he was again afflicted with a grievous ſickneſs, upon which he removed to the houſe of one Cuthbert Line, and there, as himſelf tells us, recovered by the care of that perſon's wife (*r*). He publiſhed in this year his Greek Grammar (*s*), for the uſe of Weſtminſter-ſchool, which as it was a proof of his great attention to the functions of his employment, ſo if he had never obliged the learned world with any other performance, it might well have ſecured his reputation with poſterity [*G*]. It is highly probable,

(*p*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo.

(*q*) Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 481.

(*r*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo. Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 19.

(*s*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo. Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 78.

(35) Perhaps he might have heard that Mr. Camden had received ſuch corrections very thankfully from others, of which the reader may find an inſtance in his Epiſtles publiſhed by Dr. Smith, p. 36.

(36) See his Addreſs to the gentle and learned Reader, prefixed to his ſecond Diſcovery of Errors.

(37) See his Addreſs to Mr. Camden, before his firſt Diſcovery of Errors: and obſerve the motto alſo to that work, viz. *Quam quiſq; norit Artem in hac ſe exerceat*: which implies, that pedigrees were not Mr. Camden's buſineſs at the time this diſpute began.

'As it would have ſhewn Mr. Camden's forwardneſs 'in engaging himſelf on a ſubject he was not maſter 'of, ſo would it have convinced the Government of 'their unreaſonable choice, not only in preferring a 'perſon who knew little of the matter, but (which 'was worſe) in rejecting one that was an abſolute 'Critic. After two years ſtudy, he publiſhed a book 'with this title, *A Diſcovery of certain Errors publiſhed in print in the much commended* Britannia, *&c. Without Licence, without name either of Printer or Bookſeller.*' All this reads very well, and the circumſtances ſeem to hang together; but notwithſtanding this, and though it ſhould be granted, that Ralfe Brooke had a ſiniſter deſign in attacking Mr. Camden, yet I doubt it will be found, that this was ſo far from ariſing out of diſtaſte to his being King at Arms, that it was originally grounded on his being no Herald. In ſhort, the fact was this: Mr. Camden, in his firſt editions, touched but gently upon deſcents, and mentioned but a few families; whereas in his fourth edition, he enlarged ſo much upon them, that he has given a particular index to direct the reader on this head, under the title of *Barones & illuſtriores familiæ*, and has therein ſet down very near two hundred and fifty noble houſes, which Ralfe Brooke conſidered as an invaſion upon the rights of the college. This put him upon enquiring, whether there might not be ſome miſtakes in theſe accounts, and when he believed he had found a great many, he was deſirous they ſhould be amended (35). But he did not (if we may believe himſelf) think of attacking Mr. Camden in print, or of publiſhing his diſcoveries, as he called them, to the world. His taking this ſtep was owing to other cauſes, of which the reader may take this account in his own words, which I believe will fully clear up the matter (36). 'The moſt abſtruſe arts, 'I profeſs not, but yeild the palme and victorie 'thereof to myne aduerſary that great learned Mr. 'Camden, with whom yet a long experimented na'vigator may contend about his chard and compaſſe, 'about havens, creeks, and ſoundes; ſo I, an 'auncient Herauld, a little diſpute, without impu'tation of audacitie, concerning the honour of armes, 'and the truth of honorable deſcents. In confidence 'whereof, beholding in foure of his imprinted books 'ſucceſſively a continewed raz (race) and generation 'of errors, in corrupting and falſifying many noble 'diſcents and pedigrees, and perceaving that even 'the braines of many learned men beyond the ſeas 'had miſ-conceaved and miſcarried in the travaile 'and birth of their relations, being gotten, as it 'were, with child (as Diomedes mares) by the blaſt 'of his erronious puffes: I could not, but according 'to my profeſſion, and long experience in Herauldry, 'a little queſtion the original father of thoſe abſur'dities, being ſo farre blowne with the trumpett of 'his learning and fame into forreine lands. For 'what overture about the diſcents of Engliſh nobles, 'and other genealogies, hath that famous Mr. Hieron 'Henningius, in his foure pound folio booke, byne 'taken tardie with all, that his credulitie hath not 'ſucked out of that highlye eſteemed *Britannia?* 'And was it not from his genealogicall ſlippes, that 'Reuſner in his genealogies, amongſt manie groſſe 'miſtakings, hath made Richard Plantagenet, Duke 'of Yorke, and Anne Mortimer, to be father and 'mother to Edward the 4th, and Richard the thyrde, 'both Kings of England; coupling them together 'as unnaturally as OEdipus and Jocaſta.

'For remedie of which inconveniences, I was 'bould firſt to move others of good credite and learn'ing, friendly to advertice this learned man, Mr. 'Camden, of the faultie paſſages in his booke touch'ing Herauldry, to whom his anſwere was, that he 'could not correct any of them for diſcrediting his 'whole worke: as though mending the ſores would 'have maymed the bodye.

'Secondly. In private when I harde his addreſſe'ment to a fift impreſſion, I my ſelf dealt with him 'for the amendment of ſome ſlippes in his *Britannia* 'of the ſame kynd, promiſing hym the uſe of my 'owne obſervations and collections, which, as proffered wares, faſtidiouſly he reiected, not accounting 'them worthy his thankes or acceptation, contrarie 'to the aduice of the ſober learned, who are contente 'to heare the conceipt of a meane friend ſometymes, 'and reſpect the offer, although but a blynde man 'ſhould pointe out the way. The ratt is not ſo con'temptible but ſhee may helpe the lyon at a pinch out 'of thoſe nets wherein his ſtrength is hampered: and 'the words of an inferior may often carry matter 'in them, to admoniſh his ſuperiour of ſome impor'tant conſideration. And ſurely of what account 'ſoever I might have ſeemed to this learned man, 'yet in regarde of my profeſſion, and courteous 'offer (I being an auncient officer of armes, and he 'then but a Schoolmaſter) might well have vouch'ſaffed the peruſal of my notes.' It is moſt evident from hence, that his quarrel with our author began not from, but before, his promotion; and though it is very true, that his firſt book did not come out till after Camden was promoted; yet, as Brooke therein complained that he had been diſturbed in writing, and much more in printing it, by the friends of Mr. Camden, it is plain, that it was not a new or ſudden thought, but an obſtinate reſolution of purſuing an old deſign (37). To all this, we may add, though our author himſelf, in his anſwer to Brooke, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter, and which, without doubt, is ſharp enough, does indeed take notice of his promotion, and the diſtaſte that it might have given to York-Herald; yet this was after he had publiſhed his diſcovery, and throughout that piece, he ſhews that diſdain of his adverſary's abilities, which Brooke complains of, never once admits him to be in the right, or his corrections worth regarding (though in his fifth edition he very wiſely made uſe of them) but treats him with very high contempt, and as one no way worthy of his notice. To ſpeak my own ſentiment freely, I am perſwaded that if, on the one hand, Mr. Camden had foreſeen his becoming Clarenceux King at Arms, he would not have let fall ſome expreſſions in his writings; and, on the other hand, if Brooke had ſuſpected it before he began the quarrel, I much doubt whether he would have begun it at all; for whoever peruſes his books carefully will find, that what ſtung him moſt, was, that a Schoolmaſter ſhould meddle with deſcents and families, and at the ſame time treat Heralds, to whom he thought theſe things belonged, with ſo little ceremony and reſpect.

[*G*] *It might well have ſecured his reputation with poſterity.*] The title of this work, as publiſhed by the

bable, that, at this time, our author was ſo far from having any thoughts of quitting a poſt, in which he was univerſally reſpected and eſteemed, that it is more probable he propoſed to himſelf, either ending his days in it, or following the example of his predeceſſor and reſigning it, when overwhelmed with infirmities, and when he had acquired wherewithal, to paſs the remainder of his days with eaſe and decency. This I ſay is probable, becauſe he refuſed the place of a Maſter of Requeſts (*t*), which it is likely might be offered him by his friend the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh; and yet notwithſtanding this, before the end of the year, he left it for a far more honourable employment. Richard Leigh (*u*), Clarenceux King of Arms, dying on the twenty-third of September, Sir Fulke Grevile, our author's intimate friend, aſked of Queen Elizabeth, that office for Mr. Camden, which was immediately granted; but becauſe it was not uſual in the College of Arms, for a perſon to riſe to that dignity, without paſſing through the office of Herald, he was on the twenty-ſecond of October ſo created, by the title of Richmond; and on the twenty-third made Clarenceux (*w*). Upon this preferment, he was complimented by all his friends, excepting the Lord Burleigh, who took it ill, that a perſon he had honoured with his friendſhip, ſhould decline his aſſiſtance in his promotion; but upon Mr. Camden's acquainting him, that it was entirely a thought of Sir Fulke Grevile's, and that himſelf was as much ſurprized by his promotion as his Lordſhip, that coolneſs was removed (*x*), and his protection continued to him as long as that wiſe and good ſtateſman lived, which was not long. It was both an happineſs and an honour to Mr. Camden to have ſuch a man, not only for his patron but for his friend, who afforded him his countenance, when he publiſhed his performance, as he had given him great aſſiſtance while he was engaged in it, communicating to him all the ſtores of his well-furniſhed library (*y*); and adding to theſe, the lights of his learned converſation, which could not but be highly uſeful to Mr. Camden; ſince that noble perſon had made the Antiquities of England, and the perſonal Hiſtory of the great men who had flouriſhed in it, his peculiar and conſtant ſtudy, through the courſe of his life (*z*). A little before his death, he recommended to our author the preſerving to poſterity the Hiſtory of his Royal Miſtreſs; and at the ſame time that he adviſed the building, contributed a large ſtock of materials towards the erecting it (*a*). How great an effect this recommendation had, will be hereafter ſeen: in the mean time let us obſerve, that as there could not be higher teſtimony of that great man's reſpect to his Sovereign, ſo it is impoſſible he ſhould give a ſtronger proof of his eſteem for our author's abilities, or thorough perſuaſion of his integrity, than by committing ſuch a work to his care. In 1600, Mr. Camden, who was now more at liberty than while he had the charge of the ſchool upon him, made a journey as far as Carliſle, in the company of Robert Cotton, Eſquire (*b*), his dear and intimate friend, afterwards Sir Robert Cotton, Baronet; and after having ſurveyed whatever was curious in the North, returned to London in the month of December (*c*). This long journey into the North, did not hinder his ſending abroad an account of all the monuments of the Kings, Queens, Nobles, and others, in the Collegiate Church of St. Peter's Weſtminſter, with their inſcriptions, which he enlarged and reprinted more than once; and though notwithſtanding theſe augmentations, it is ſtill but of very ſmall bulk, yet the elegance and accuracy of the performance (*d*) render it valuable, even at this day, notwithſtanding the pretences made by ſome authors, who would be thought to have written more fully upon, and to have examined more ſtrictly into, this ſubject. This year alſo came out the fifth edition of his Britannia, to which he annexed an Apology to the Reader, in anſwer to what had been publiſhed by Rafe Brooke to the prejudice of his work; and the reception which this edition met with very clearly ſhewed, that the fame of Camden was not to be obſcured by any flying clouds of critical envy [*H*]. The next

(*u*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 20.

(*t*) Camdeni Epiſt. p. 247.

(*w*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo.

(*x*) Biſhop Gibſon's Life of Camden.

(*y*) Anſwer to Brooke, p. 13.

(*z*) See the article CECIL (WILLIAM) Lord Burleigh.

(*a*) See his Epiſtle to the reader prefixed to the firſt part of his Annals.

(*b*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo.

(*c*) Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 481.

(*d*) Publiſhed originally in a ſmall 4to. in 1600, again in 1603, and a third time in 1606.

author, ran thus, *Grammatices Græcæ inſtitutio compendiaria in uſum Regiæ Scholæ Weſtmonaſterienſis*. Londini, in 8vo. We have an excellent account both of our author's intention and performance in reference to this Grammar, which, therefore, it is but juſtice to inſert in the words of the Right Reverend Author (39). 'He was, ſays he, always exciting 'the preſent age to virtue and honour, by repreſenting to them the venerable monuments of their anceſtors, or laying a foundation for the happineſs of 'poſterity, by forming youth unto religion and 'learning. They are two profeſſions that ſeem to 'look quite different ways, and yet he managed 'them to ſuch advantage, that if he had been continually abroad, 'tis hard to imagine how the Antiquary could have been better, or if conſtantly in 'the ſchool, how the Maſter could have been more 'diligent. He was not content to train up thoſe 'who were under his immediate care, unleſs (like 'the good old Orator) he put himſelf in a condition 'to be a guide to them, even after it ſhould pleaſe 'Providence to remove him.' It is not neceſſary to add any thing farther to this account, except it be, that Dr. Smith tells us, that at the time he printed his book, which was in 1691, this Grammar had run through very near an hundred impreſſions (40).

(39) See Biſhop Gibſon's Life of Camden.

(40) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 75.

[*H*] *By any flying clouds of critical envy.*] There were three editions of the *Britannia* in octavo, *viz.* the firſt in 1586, the ſecond in 1587, the third in 1590, but of a larger ſize than the two former. It appeared the ſame year at Franckfort, where it was printed by John Wechel, The fourth edition was printed at London in 1594, in 4to. and it was this edition that gave occaſion to the remarks of Rafe Brooke. This of which we are now ſpeaking was the fifth, printed alſo in 4to. at London; and at the end of this, we find his anſwer to Brooke, under no other title than this, *Ad Lectorem*, i. e. To the Reader. This is alſo ſometimes bound up with his adverſary's book, intitled, *A Diſcovery of certain errors publiſhed in print*

next year after this, he was again viſited by a fever, from which he recovered by the care of his friend, Mr. Heather, for which he bore him ever afterwards very high reſpect (*e*). In 1603, the plague breaking out at London, he retired with his friend, Robert Cotton, Eſq; to his ſeat at Conington, and thereby eſcaped it (*f*). It was in this year, that by his care a very noble collection of our ancient hiſtorians, appeared at Frankfort; and theſe he dedicated to Sir Fulke Grevile, in acknowledgment for the good office he did him in procuring him to be made King at Arms. Part of theſe hiſtorians were never before publiſhed, and ſuch as had ſeen the light, he ſent abroad, much more accurate and complete, than formerly they had appeared, rendering thereby very great ſervice to all ſuch as were inclined to ſtudy the Britiſh, Engliſh, Iriſh, or Norman Hiſtories (*g*) [*I*]. In the year following, he publiſhed his Remains of his large work, concerning Britain, which, in gratitude for paſt favours, and as a mark of his ſincere

(*e*) Memorabil. de ipſo.

(*f*) Ath. Oxon. vol. i. col. 481.

(*g*) Biſhop Gibſon's Life of our Author.

print in the much-commended Britannia; but being very conciſe, I do not find that it has been ever printed by itſelf. He opens this ſhort work with a very clear, and very modeſt account of his own application to the ſtudy of Antiquities, which he aſſures us began while he was at ſchool, increaſed at the Univerſity, took up moſt of his time before he was ſettled at Weſtminſter, and induced him to make thoſe large collections, from whence, at the earneſt deſire of Abraham Ortelius, he afterwards drew out the firſt ſcheme of his Britannia, which, he informs us, he very well knew was, in many reſpects, imperfect; and therefore laboured, by the peruſal of books, the information of friends, and by ſeveral journies, in which he perſonally viſited the greateſt part of England, to amend and improve it. After all this painstaking, he was ſurprized to find himſelf, and his work, attacked with great virulence and fury by a certain perſon (he avoids naming him) whether moved thereto by folly or judgment, by the weakneſs of his mind, or by the heat of his envy, becauſe the late Queen had been graciouſly pleaſed paſſing this perſon by, to exalt him to a certain office, he does not determine; but after acknowledging, that he is very ſenſible both that he might commit, and has committed, various errors, he addreſſes himſelf to his defence againſt the charge that had been exhibited by his enemy (41). But here it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that a diſtinction muſt be made between the original difference that Brooke had with Camden, and the publication of his treatiſe. The former related only to ſome miſtakes which this man thought he had diſcovered in our author's work; but when he was once in, and fancied himſelf under a neceſſity of appealing to the world, and to the Earl of Eſſex, then Earl Marſhal, he brought in other matter, which was certainly foreign to his purpoſe, ſo that the whole of his charge might be reduced under three heads (42). The firſt of theſe was as to errors committed in accounts of noble families. The ſecond, as to the aſſiſtance derived, but not acknowledged, from Mr. Glover's papers in Lord Burleigh's library. The third, as to the vaſt helps received from Leland's papers, out of which, he ſurmiſes that Mr. Camden had gathered a great part of his deſcription (43). Our author, in his defence, ſhews largely, from various authorities both of hiſtory and records, that in many of the places objected to, himſelf was in the right; and his adverſary, notwithſtanding the many years he had ſpent in the office of a Herald, in the wrong. He acknowledges, however, that by following one of his predeceſſors, Robert Cook, Clarenceux King at Arms, he had fallen into ſome miſtakes, which he thinks were excuſable on the ſcore of the authority by which he was miſled. As to the other two parts of the charge, he acquits himſelf entirely, by declaring, that he mentioned with honour thoſe from whom he borrowed any thing; and with reſpect to Leland more particularly, he acknowledges, that he had peruſed ſome of his works, and particularly his *Itinerary*, and where he borrowed any thing from it material, had cited him; but obſerves very juſtly, that where he ſays the ſame things of his own knowledge that Leland had mentioned from his, he did not think himſelf indebted to him. He farther obſerves, that if this worthy perſon ſpent five years in theſe ſtudies, himſelf had ſpent thirty; that if he had examined many ancient authors, himſelf had alſo taken great pains in the ſame way, and had not only peruſed what was to be met with in Engliſh libraries; but had alſo procured great helps from abroad, from the monuments of learning preſerved in the libraries of France, Italy, and Spain, by the aſſiſtance of his learned friends Franciſcus Pithæus, Juſtus Lipſius, Abrahamus Ortelius, H. Surrita, J. Obſopæus, and others. He concludes his ſhort diſcourſe with ſome very quick and lively ſtrokes of learned raillery upon his opponent, charges him with utter ignorance in his own profeſſion, and incapacity of tranſlating, or, conſequently, of underſtanding perfectly what he had written in his Britannia; and offers to ſubmit the points in diſpute to the Earl Marſhal, to the College of Heralds, to the Society of Antiquaries, or to four perſons learned in theſe ſtudies. All this did not hinder Brooke from returning to the charge. He wrote a *Second Diſcovery of Errors*, in which he purſued the ſame method he had taken in the former; that is to ſay, he ſet down firſt a paſſage in Camden, then the objections raiſed againſt it in his firſt book; next, Camden's anſwer in his own words; and laſt of all, his reply; but, for reaſons that are not known to us, this was not publiſhed. The ſhrewdeſt part of it is the Appendix, in which he ſets down, in two columns, the paſſages objected to in Mr. Camden's edition of 1594, and the ſame paſſages as they ſtood in this edition of 1600, which puts it in the power of the reader to judge, at one view, of the real ſentiments of our learned author as to Brooke's animadverſions. This piece, about an hundred years after the death of its author, was printed from a manuſcript of the late learned and worthy John Anſtis, Eſq; Garter King at Arms (44), and has given us an opportunity of entering more thoroughly into the nature of this controverſy, than it was poſſible for writers to do, who had not ſeen the latter, as well as the former, performance of Brooke's, in which there are (mixed with much bitterneſs) abundance of uſeful and curious paſſages.

(41) Anſwer to Brooke, p. 1, 2, 3.

(42) Brooke's book was dedicated to the Earl of Eſſex, who from thence appears to have been his patron; whereas Camden called with the Cecils; he likewiſe added thereto Leland's New Year's Gift, which he reprinted with a libellous poem, intitled, Leland's Ghoſt.

(43) See the Addreſs at the beginning of his book to Mr. Camden, and the Dedication which is directed to him alſo.

[*I*] *The Britiſh, Engliſh, Iriſh, or Norman Hiſtories.*] The title of this work at large runs thus, *Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, Cambrica, à Veteribus deſcripta: ex quibus Aſſer Menevenſis, Anonymus de vitâ Gulielmi Conquæſtoris, Thomas Walſingham, Thomas de la More, Gulielmus Genuticenſis, Giraldus Cambrenſis. Plerique nunc in lucem editi ex Bibliothecâ Gulielmi Camdeni.* Francofurti, *folio* 1603. There could not be a ſtronger proof of our author's candour, or zeal for the honour of his country, or the advantage of the Republic of Letters, than this publication of our ancient Hiſtorians (45). It plainly ſhews, that he was very far from being deſirous to lock up in his private ſtudy, as curioſities, ſuch pieces as, if divulged, might prove of public utility. He was ſenſible how great a loſs the learned world would ſuſtain, by his laying aſide the deſign he once had formed of writing an Engliſh Hiſtory, and therefore he thought himſelf obliged in juſtice, to add to the ſmall ſtock of materials already prepared, theſe original and valuable authors. This is the account that himſelf gives in his Epiſtle to Sir Fulke Grevile, and it is every way ſufficient to ſatisfy the reader as to the uprightneſs of his intention, and the benevolence of his diſpoſition. His collection was received, as it deſerved, with the utmoſt applauſe of the moſt learned abroad, and with all poſſible reſpect and gratitude at home, where it has ſerved for a foundation for moſt of our modern hiſtories (46).

(44) The title runs thus: A Second Diſcovery of Errors, publiſhed in the much-commended Britannia, 1594, very prejudicial to the Deſcents and Succeſſions of the ancient Nobility of this realm; with a Reply to Mr. Camden's Apology *ad Lectorem*, in his fifth edit. 1600, by Rafe Brooke, Eſq; York Herald of Arms, Lond. printed for James Woodman, 1723, 4to.

(45) Smith, Vit. Camden, p. 39.

(46) See Dr. Brady's and Mr. Tyrrel's Introduction to their reſpective Hiſtories.

friendſhip

friendſhip and high eſteem, he dedicated to his dear friend and conſtant patron, Sir Robert Cotton; though from the work itſelf it appears, that he once intended to have inſcribed it to Sir Fulke Grevile (*b*). There are in it, without doubt, abundance of curious, uſeful, and learned remarks; and though there may be ſome light and trivial things intermixed, which, perhaps hindered the author from owning it in the ſame public manner as he did the reſt of his works, yet there is no doubt at all of its being his, or of its being worthy of him [*K*]. He wrote beſides, many ſhort, but learned and valuable eſſays on Britiſh Antiquities, moſt of them at the requeſt, and in compliance with the practice of that learned Society of Antiquaries, we have mentioned in another place (*i*), and of which he was a member. Some of theſe have been preſerved and publiſhed, and, from the peruſal of them, we have reaſon to regret that others are loſt, or, at leaſt, concealed from the view of the world, and hindered from affording thoſe lights, which men addicted to theſe ſtudies will always reap from the writings of this judicious author. Thoſe that are ſtill extant, we owe to the care of the induſtrious and laborious Thomas Hearne (*k*) [*L*]. In 1606, began our author's correſpondence with

(*b*) See this explained more at large in the notes.

(*i*) See the article AGARD (ARTHUR) in this Dictionary.

(*k*) See his Collection of curious Diſcourſes written by eminent Antiquaries upon ſeveral heads in our Engliſh Antiquities. Oxon. printed at the Theatre, 1720, 8*vo*.

[*K*] *Or of its being worthy of him.*] It will be proper, before we ſay any thing of this work, to give the reader its title, in which alſo he will find the contents briefly inſerted. In the original edition it ſtands thus: *Remaines of a Greater Work concerning* BRITAIN, *the inhabitants thereof, their Languages, Names, Surnames, Empreſes, Wiſe Speeches, Poeſies, and Epitaphes*, London, 1605, 4*to*. It is addreſſed to the Right Worſhipful, Worthy, and Learned Sir Robert Cotton of Conington, Knight; and the author makes it the ſole buſineſs of his Dedication to diſparage his book, treating it as an indigeſted heap of fragments that he left to be played with by the wind, which he knew to be unworthy of the perſon to whom they were preſented, and ſhould not therefore be offended, however he thought fit to diſpoſe of them. But the true reaſon of this conduct was, that he might eſcape any ſuch attacks as had been made upon his Britannia: it was this made him depreciate his collection, and call it 'the out-caſt 'rubbiſh of a greater and more ſerious work, the 'pitiful fillineſs whereof would ſecure it from envy, 'which only reaches at eminence.' It was for the ſame reaſon that he ſubſcribed it only with the final letters of his name, and delayed ſo long the publication: for the Epiſtle Dedicatory is dated the 12th of June 1603, but the book was not publiſhed till 1605. Dr. Smith indeed places it in 1604 (47), which is not only contrary to the title page of the firſt edition which lies before me, but the authority of Camden himſelf, who ſets it down thus in his Memoranda, 1605, Λείψανα prodierunt primum, i. e. *In* 1605, *the* Remains *were firſt* publiſhed (48). By the way, this ſhews his real ſentiments of that work; for, except the firſt edition of his Britannia, and his Greek Grammar, he takes no notice of the other works he publiſhed before it. It is expreſsly aſcribed to Camden by his adverſary Brooke, in his *Second Diſcovery of Errors*; and indeed I do not know that ever any doubt was made of its being his: and as to the value of the work, the number of editions it has run through, and the additions made to it by John Philpot, Somerſet-Herald, very clearly ſhew the reception it met with amongſt ſuch as were judges of its contents. Yet there is a certain author who, with mighty profeſſions of veneration for Mr. Camden, hath treated it very freely (49). 'There are in it, 'ſays he, a deal of good collections touching the 'languages, money, ſurnames, and apparel of our 'Britiſh and Saxon Antiquities; but his liſt of pro-'per names might be conſiderably enlarged and cor-'rected, by what Scottelius and Dr. Gibſon have 'written on that ſubject. As for his alluſions, re-'buſſes, and anagrams, he himſelf feared they would 'paſs for fooliſh fopperies; and I do not care for 'thwarting, without good reaſon, any of his opi-'nions. The conceits in impreſſes, apophthegms, 'poems, epigrams, and epitaphs are endleſs, and 'therefore hardly worth regiſtering in a work of this 'nature.' The proper anſwer to this indirect and timid piece of criticiſm is plainly this, that the author had no conception of what Camden intended to publiſh in that work; which was to preſerve to poſterity an infinite number of curious things, which had been communicated to him while he was forming collections for his Britannia, and which, from his own experience, he very well knew might prove very uſeful, and therefore muſt be very acceptable to ſuch as were lovers of Antiquities. To ſay the truth, it is very difficult to determine whether our prudent and judicious author gave a higher proof of his exquiſite penetration, in rejecting what this book contains, when he framed his Deſcription of Britain, or in putting together theſe materials when he had ſo rejected them, and leaving them, as he has done, to the conſideration and uſe of proper judges amongſt poſterity. If an Architect who, upon public notice of his deſign to erect ſome ſtately edifice for general uſe, ſhould be ſo ſupplied with all kind of coſtly materials, as to be able to finiſh his deſign completely, and yet have much of thoſe materials to ſpare, would any wiſe man blame him either for not crowding them all in, or for not burying the ſtones, breaking the bricks, or burning the beams that were left? They know little, very little, of the pleaſure, and even utility, of collecting what cannot be inſerted in a work ſo highly finiſhed as the Britannia, who blame Mr. Camden for ſorting and publiſhing his *Remains*; and they enter very little into his ſpirit, who take literally what he ſays in prejudice to that work, which if he had thought ſuch a heap of rubbiſh and pitiful fillineſs, as he ſtyles it, he would not have kept or publiſhed, much leſs inſcribed it to Sir Robert Cotton, that great patron of Learning, of Antiquities, and of Camden. But ſome men have the misfortune of miſtaking a humour of finding fault, for a true critical genius; a low punning wit, for a fine vein of raillery; and a confuſed remembrance of many books, for univerſal learning. Such men as theſe may write folio's without leaving *Remains*, but the dreams of Homer will be always more eſteemed, than the waking thoughts of rhymers, who are poets in no man's conception but their own.

(47) Vit. Camd. P. 77.

(48) Memorabil. de ſeipſo.

(49) Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 5.

[*L*] *Of the induſtrious and laborious Thomas Hearne.*] This well-meaning and indefatigable man, in the Collection, which he publiſhed, of curious diſcourſes written by eminent Antiquaries, has preſerved ſeveral pieces of Mr. Camden's, which otherwiſe had been buried in oblivion, and which notwithſtanding moſt certainly deſerved a better fate. The firſt of theſe is, *A ſhort Account of the Antiquity, Office, and Privilege of* Heralds *in England* (50), in which he ſeems to think this term is of German original, and that it ſignifies old or ancient Maſter, or, as I find it explained by another writer on the ſame ſubject, a perſon ſtyled Sir, or Maſter; on account of his venerable age. He likewiſe obſerves, that the firſt mention he finds of them was about the time of King Edward I. when in a ſtatute relating to Arms and Weapons it was directed, that the Kings of Heralds ſhould wear no armour but their ſwords pointleſs, and that they ſhould only have their *Houſes des Armes*, which he conceives to be their coats of arms. He adds, that the name and honour of them were never greater than in the time of King Edward III. when there were Kings of Arms, Heralds, and Purſuivants by patent, not only peculiar to the King, but

(50) A Collection of curious Diſcourſes written by ſeveral eminent Antiquaries upon ou Engliſh Antiquities, p. 85.

with the famous Preſident de Thou, which continued to their mutual ſatisfaction for eleven years, that is to the death of that worthy magiſtrate and faithful Hiſtorian, during which time, he received many notices, with reſpect to the affairs of this iſland, from his judicious and faithful correſpondent, which, with much kindneſs and gratitude, he acknowledged (*l*). The diſcovery of the Powder-plot gave him a freſh occaſion of employing his pen in the ſervice of the public. It ſeems, that his Royal Maſter King James, after providing that poſterity in this kingdom, ſhould be for ever put in mind of the wonderful deliverance himſelf and the nation received, by an Anniverſary Thankſgiving, thinking it proper to put the Reformed Churches abroad upon their guard, againſt thoſe inveterate enemies of the Proteſtant Religion, as well as to ſatisfy foreign Princes of all Religions of the juſtice of his proceedings, made choice of Mr. Camden, as beſt qualified to draw up the whole caſe in a Latin ſtyle agreeable to the ſubject. This, with great accuracy, elegance, and ſpirit, he performed; and his work, to ſhew by whoſe authority it was compiled, iſſued out from the preſs of the King's Printer (*m*). It was not long after (and indeed, it is no wonder) put into the liſt of prohibited books by the Inquiſition at Rome (*n*), and probably will retain its place there as long as that continues in any credit. On the 7th of September 1607, he had the misfortune to fall from his horſe, by which he hurt his leg in ſuch a manner, that he was not able to ſtir abroad for many months (*o*). It was in this year, that he put his laſt hand to, and publiſhed, that noble and complete edition of his Britannia, which will remain a perpetual monument of his learning, the rather as it was erected to the honour of his country. It is from this edition, that ſeveral Engliſh tranſlations have been made, and therefore it is requiſite, that in the notes we ſhould give ſome farther account of it (*p*) [*M*]. He had now finiſhed and ſent abroad all thoſe pieces, to which his great deſign had given birth, and thereby put it much in the power of others to proſecute with certainty and eaſe, thoſe works in which himſelf had met with ſo much toil and labour. He had once indeed, as himſelf informs us, an intention to have written a Civil Hiſtory of this nation, which was before he undertook his Britannia (*q*); but he ſaw that it would coſt more than one man's life to bring the very materials of it

(*l*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo. Epiſtola Camdeni, p. 68, 73, 97, 139, 153.

(*m*) This was publiſhed in 1607, in 4to. by John Norton, his Majeſty's Printer, in Latin Greek, and Hebrew.

(*n*) Biſhop Gibſon's Life of our author.

(*o*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo.

(*p*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 78.

(*q*) See his Britannia under the title of Normans.

but belonging alſo to the principal Nobility. The ſecond diſcourſe of Mr. Camden's is dated June 29th, 1604, upon which, probably, it was read in the Society of Antiquaries; the title is, *Of the diverſity of Names of this Iſland* (51); in which our author uſes many things before involved either in his Britannia, or Remains, and advances ſome that are in neither. Upon the ſame ſubject, diſcourſes were read at the ſame time, and before the ſame ſociety, by thoſe eminent Antiquaries, Mr. Joſeph Holland, Mr. Arthur Agard, and Mr. Michael Oldſworth, which laſt gives a high character of Camden in his ſhort treatiſe. The laſt treatiſe is *Of the* Etymology *and* Original *of* Barons (52); tranſcribed from Mr. Camden's *Adverſaria*, in poſſeſſion of Lord Hatton, T. S. that is, as I underſtand it, Thomas Smith, from whoſe papers Mr. Hearne publiſhed this Collection.

(*r*) A Collection of curious diſcourſes written by ſeveral eminent Antiquaries upon our Engliſh Antiquities, p. 149.

(*s*) *Ibid.* p. 205.

[*M*] *Take ſome farther account of it.*] It was this laſt edition, correctly printed in folio, much augmented, amended where it was neceſſary, and adorned with maps, that procured our author thoſe magnificent titles of the Varro, the Strabo, and the Pauſanias of Britain (53); magnificent indeed, and which, though, beſtowed upon him by the moſt judicious men of the age, were what he little affected. One title this work merited, which has paſt deſervedly into a kind of prænomen both at home and abroad, ſo that we find him almoſt univerſally ſtyled the *learned* Camden (54). To commend it, is needleſs: our buſineſs is, to give an hiſtorical account of it, and this leads us to take notice of that multitude of commendatory verſes that ſtand before it, and which had been increaſing in every edition; but becauſe we would take notice of them but once, we deferred ſpeaking of them till now. Sir George Sidley, a man diſtinguiſhed both by birth and breeding, wrote a Latin Epigram on the book and its author; Sir George Buc, who was himſelf an Antiquary and an Hiſtorian, publiſhed an Hepaſtic on the ſame ſubject; Dr. Grant, his predeceſſor, wrote a very elegant poem, which ſtands before all the editions; the learned Dr. George Carleton diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a congratulatory addreſs in the ſame language; the celebrated Mr. Edmund Bolton, author of *Nero Cæſar*, exerciſed his pen in a very elegant political Elegy, entituled, *A Deſcription of the Frontiſpiece*; Mr. John Stradling before-mentioned wrote an excellent Epigram in Latin, as the famous B. Doddington did in Greek; and in the ſame language, the very ingenious and learned, but unfortunate, Henry Cuffe, who ſuffered with the Earl of Eſſex, complimented his fellow-ſtudent on his labours; and his verſes were again prefixed to this edition, though publiſhed nearly ſeven years after his death: Caſpar Dornavius, Janus Gruter, and many others, diſplayed their affection on the ſame occaſion; ſo that it may be truly ſaid, no performance of this kind was ever uſhered into the world with ſtronger recommendations. It was taken into Janſſon's Atlas, but altered and interpolated, printed at Amſterdam in 1659; it was epitomized by Regnerus Vitellius Zirizæus, and twice printed at Amſterdam, in 1616 and 1639, 8vo. It was firſt tranſlated into Engliſh, and publiſhed in folio, at London, in 1611, by the laborious Dr. Philemon Holland, a Phyſician of Coventry, who is thought to have conſulted our author himſelf, and therefore great reſpect has been paid to the additions and explanations that occur therein, on a ſuppoſition that they may belong to Camden. But in a later edition of the ſame tranſlation, publiſhed in 1636, the Doctor has taken liberties which cannot either be defended or excuſed. The new tranſlation, made with the utmoſt fidelity from this laſt edition of our author's work, was firſt publiſhed in 1695, by Edmund Gibſon, of Queen's College, in Oxford, aftewards Biſhop of London; in which beſides the addition of notes, and of all that deſerved to be taken notice of in Dr. Holland's firſt edition, which, though thrown out of the text, is preſerved at the bottom of the page, there are many other augmentations and improvements, all properly diſtinguiſhed from the genuine work of the author, as they ought to be: and the ſame judicious method has been purſued in the ſubſequent edition of the ſame performance, which may be juſtly conſidered as the very beſt book of its kind that has been hitherto publiſhed; and I am afraid is in no great danger of being deprived of that character by any new undertaking, notwithſtanding the many helps now at hand.

(*t*) Blount's Cenſura Celebr. Authorum, p. 9.

(*u*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 483.

into order; and therefore he contented himſelf with adding the large volume of Hiſtorians before-mentioned, to the collections formerly publiſhed, and thereby ſet an example, which has been happily followed by ſeveral learned and worthy perſons. But that the remainder of his years might be filled up with ſomething worthy of his great talents, his uncorrupted fidelity, and extenſive reputation, he began, in 1608, to digeſt thoſe materials which he had been for many years collecting towards the Hiſtory of the reign of Queen Elizabeth (*r*), to which he had been firſt excited by his old patron, the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, the performing of which had from that time been requeſted of him by many other great perſonages, and with the expectation of which he had filled the minds of all his learned friends. But while he was meditating this great work, he was ſeized on his birth-day, in 1609, with a dangerous illneſs; and the plague breaking out in his neighbourhood, he was removed to the houſe of his friend, Mr. Heather, where, by the care of Dr. Giffard, his Phyſician, he, though ſlowly, recovered his health (*s*). At this time it was, that he made choice of Chiſlehurſt in Kent, for the place of his retirement; and thither he went for the firſt time, on the 15th of Auguſt that year, and returned from thence on the 23d of October following (*t*). It was in this year alſo, that a new preferment was intended for our learned author. Dr. Sutcliffe, Dean of Weſtminſter, had propoſed erecting a College at Chelſea, for a certain number of learned men, who were to make the oppoſing of Popery the great buſineſs of their ſtndies (*u*). King James was very well pleaſed with this deſign, and gave it all the encouragement that could be expected. He named Dr. Sutcliffe, the firſt Provoſt; ſeventeen very eminent Divines were appointed Fellows; and to theſe, as Hiſtorians, were added, Mr. Camden, and Dr. John Hayward, a Civilian (*w*). An Act of Parliament alſo paſſed for promoting this new foundation: but notwithſtanding all this, excepting the erecting the bare ſhell of a College, there was no progreſs made (*x*), ſo that it turned no other way to Mr. Camden's advantage, than by ſhowing, that when the cauſe of learning, the Proteſtant Religion, and the honour of this nation were under conſideration, he was always in the thoughts of thoſe who were the beſt judges. The infirmities of old age were now growing upon him daily, notwithſtanding which, he kept up his extenſive correſpondence both at home and abroad. The Hiſtory of Queen Elizabeth went on all this time but ſlowly, on account of the great circumſpection uſed by the author, who neglected no opportunity of conſulting State Papers, the Regiſters of the Privy Council, Ambaſſadors inſtructions, the letters of the great men of thoſe times, Parliament Journals, the ſeveral Laws and Statutes paſſed within the period of which he was to write; and, in a word, whatever elſe was requiſite to give him the beſt and moſt perfect lights; for which, beſides his own numerous collections, he had recourſe to the celebrated library of his ſincere, conſtant, and communicative friend, Sir Robert Cotton (*y*). After all theſe pains taken, and when the firſt part, which reached from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign to the year 1589, was completed and ready for the preſs, he obtained from his Royal Maſter King James, an order or warrant for the printing and publiſhing it [*N*]. In purſuance of this it was accordingly elegantly and accurately printed in 1615; and though vaſt expectations had been raiſed, both from the nature of the work itſelf, and the reputation of the author, yet it appears clearly from the reception it met with both at home and abroad, that thoſe expectations were fully ſatisfied. It muſt be acknowledged, that this was a felicity almoſt peculiar to our author, and which, without doubt, was owing no leſs to his great care and attention, than to his ſuperior genius and extenſive learning; ſo that his work may paſs for a model in its kind, being equally perfect in all its parts (*z*); a deſign truly noble in itſelf! as deſcribing a reign fruitful in great events, and one of the moſt glorious in our Hiſtory, taking in at the ſame time a great part of the moſt remarkable tranſactions that happened within this period, throughout the greateſt part of Europe, and in other quarters of the world alſo. The method is clear and plain, judiciouſly laid down, and conſtantly purſued, with equal accuracy, ſkill, and attention. The ſtyle is grave and ſuited to the majeſty of the hiſtory, never ſwelling into a falſe ſublime, or ſinking even in the relation of the ſmalleſt circumſtances, but even and elegant through-

(*r*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo.

(*s*) Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 482.

(*t*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo.

(*u*) Biſhop Gibſon's Life of our author.

(*w*) Fuller's C Hiſtory.

(*x*) Smith, Vi Camd. p. 49.

(*y*) See his Preface to the firſt Part of the Annals.

(*z*) See Mr. Sa den's Letters pre fixed to Vincent Diſcovery of Er rors, in the firſt edition of the C talogue of No bility.

[*N*] *An order, or warrant, for the printing and publiſhing it.*] This warrant was formerly in the hands of that eminently learned, worthy, and upright perſon the Reverend Mr. Thomas Baker of St. John's, who communicated it to Mr. Hearne; but it ſeems that Dr. Smith had a copy of it before, which came likewiſe into the hands of Mr. Hearne amongſt the reſt of that great man's papers. This warrant runs thus (55):

(55) See Thomas Hearne's Preface prefixed to the firſt volume of his edit. of Camden's Annals.

'James R.

'OURE pleaſure is, that you cauſe forthwith, 'according to our direction to you, ſo much of 'the Hiſtory of England in Latin as we have peruſed, 'to be printed and publiſhed; that is, from the year 'of our Lord 1558, until the end of the year a 'thouſand five hundred eighty-eight. And this our 'command ſhall be your warrant. Given under our 'ſignet the 25th of February at our Palace of 'Whitehall, in the 12th year of our reign of England, France, and Ireland; and of Scotland the '48th.

'To our well-beloved ſervants Sir Robert Cotton, 'Kt. and Baronett; and William Camden, 'Clarenceux, one of our Kings of Armes.'

out,

out, free from any mixture of affectation, and from a vain and needleſs oſtentation of learning: no way deficient in neceſſary circumſtances, never loaded with tedious or trifling particularities, but proceeding in ſo juſt and equal a manner, that the attention of the reader is continually retained, and never embarraſſed by any ambiguity or doubtfulneſs of expreſſion. His reflections are ſhort and weighty, his obſervations natural and inſtructive, his characters exactly and ſuccinctly drawn, his dates wonderfully correct, and his narrations cloſe, without prejudice to that clearneſs which is the great beauty of Hiſtory. But, above all, his veracity, candour, and probity; his gratitude to his miſtreſs and to his patrons, without any mixture of flattery, much leſs of falſehood; his freedom from prejudice or prepoſſeſſions; his fidelity in reference to perſons and to things, are truly admirable; ſo that we need not wonder at the high praiſes that were beſtowed upon his work in his life-time, or at the great character it has juſtly preſerved, and will ever preſerve, with poſterity [O]. We muſt indeed allow, that ſome objections were made with reſpect to the account he has given of the unfortunate Mary

[O] *And will ever preſerve, with poſterity.*] The title of this part of Mr. Camden's work, as it was then publiſhed, runs thus, *Annales rerum Anglicarum & Hibernicarum regnante* Elizabethâ *ad annum ſalutis*, 1589. Londini, 1615, fol. It was again printed at Frankfort in 1616, in 8vo. In his preface he begins with informing the reader, that ſomewhat more than eighteen years before he publiſhed this firſt part, he was, without any ſeeking of his own, excited by the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, to compoſe the Hiſtory of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, in order to which he imparted to him, both from his own, and her Majeſty's collections, papers, letters, memorials, *&c.* Theſe he ſorted and peruſed with much leſs profit than he expected; and the Lord Treaſurer, and the Queen herſelf, dying ſoon after, he quitted for ſome time the thoughts of executing ſo laborious a deſign, hoping that it would be undertaken by ſome other pen. Perceiving, however, in proceſs of time, that theſe expectations were vain, he again (in 1608) reſumed his former intention, and took care to increaſe his ſtock of materials to the utmoſt extent of his power, as well by the aſſiſtance of his friends, particularly Sir Robert Cotton, as by reviewing his own ſtores; *for though*, ſays he, *I have been a ſtudious admirer of venerable Antiquity, yet have I not been altogether an incurious ſpectator of modern occurrences, and have farther had the aſſiſtance of great men, who had their ſhare in tranſacting of affairs, and thoſe too with reſpect to religious diſputes of both parties.* He proceeds then to ſhew, from Polybius, the true ends of Hiſtory, and the proper manner of writing it; and profeſſing, that he had laid aſide hope and fear, prejudice and prepoſſeſſion, he goes on to give an account of what he propoſed to himſelf in compiling this Hiſtory, which, as it more immediately concerns our deſign of placing his life and character in their true light, we will give the reader in his own words. 'My work, I have, entitled, by the name of Annals; in regard, I have diſpoſed every thing in its proper year; for I have learned of Tacitus, that weighty and remarkable occurrences are to be digeſted, by way of Annals; and that the principal buſineſs of Annals, is to preſerve virtuous actions from being buried in oblivion, and to deter men from either ſpeaking or doing what is amiſs, for fear of future ſhame. Beſides, a coarſer and ſhorter ſtyle (ſuch as this of mine) is proper and peculiar to things written by way of Annals. Upon theſe foundations, I ſet myſelf to writing; with this intion and deſign, I went forward; and in compoſing, poliſhing, and perfecting my undertaking, I reſolved to ſpend my whole pains at ſpare times; and to bequeath them, by my laſt teſtament, to that honourable perſonage, James Auguſtus de Thou, who has with ſingular commendations of his fidelity and moderation, begun an Hiſtory of his own time. And this I did, leſt one ſo much reſpected by me, as indeed, all ſtrangers are, ſhould, as one unacquainted in a foreign ſtate, be at a loſs in the affairs of our country. But in this my purpoſe, I was, I know not by what fate, prevented, and a great part of theſe Annals were ſent over to him ſome years before, when they lay yet ſhadowed in their firſt lineaments, and were ſcarce well begun, diſfigured with blurs and daſhes, and chaſms, and patches, here and there tacked together, as they ſlipt from my haſty pen, and worſe mangled by the tranſcriber. Out of theſe, by taking away ſome things, changing and adding others, he has inſerted ſome few paſſages in the eleventh and twelfth tomes of his Hiſtory; but indeed, by his grave and ſolid judgment, much rectified and refined. But whereas he, according to the proportion of his work, (for he undertakes an Univerſal Hiſtory of his time) has only ſelected a few paſſages concerning England and Ireland, and omitted a great many things that may pleaſe, and perhaps behove thoſe of our country to be acquainted with; and having myſelf heard, that the knowledge of our affairs is earneſtly deſired by foreigners, and that not without ſome check and reproach of our remiſſneſs in communicating them, I again ſettled myſelf to a work I had for ſome time diſcontinued. I read it all over and conſidered of it again, added ſome thing, and in ſome meaſure poliſhed the ſtyle of it, though without any affected flights of eloquence, or quaint ways of expreſſion. For I think it ſufficient, if like a picture drawn in weak and faint colours, it is placed in a good and advantageous light. Yet after all, whether I ſhould publiſh it or not, I could not well determine. But the truth is, thoſe cenſures and prejudices, that hatred and calumny, which I foreſee, advance their enſigns and ſound the charge againſt me, have not ſo much diſcouraged me, as my love of truth, my affection to my country, and the memory of that Princeſs (which among Engliſhmen ought to be held for ever ſacred) have borne me up againſt thoſe men; who having ſhaken off their allegiance to their Prince and country, endeavour to eclipſe the reputation of one, and the glory of the other, by ſpitting forth their venom and inveterate malice in their ſcandalous libels, publiſhed in foreign parts; and at this very inſtant (as they ſtick not to own) are ready to leave to poſterity, in a large volume, a monument of their lewdneſs and diſhoneſty. For my part, I deſire nothing more than that I may be like myſelf, and they like themſelves: poſterity will give every one the honour that is his due. What the loftineſs of the argument requires, I confeſs, and am ſorry I have not come up to, yet what pains I was able, I have willingly beſtowed. Myſelf I have not in the leaſt ſatisfied, either in this or my other writings; yet I ſhall think myſelf well rewarded for my labour, if by my chearful willingneſs to preſerve the memory of things, to relate the truth, and to train up the minds of men to honeſty and wiſdom, I may thereby find a place amongſt the petty writers of great matters. WHATEVER IT BE, I DEDICATE AND CONSECRATE IT AT THE ALTAR OF TRUTH TO GOD TO MY COUNTRY AND TO POSTERITY.' It is not eaſy to find out ſtronger words to bind a man to the moſt ſcrupulous regard of verity; and conſidering the character he had for probity, one cannot believe that he gave theſe aſſurances with a deſign to forfeit them. We may form ſome judgment of the great reputation it acquired him, both in his own country and abroad, by the many teſtimonies to that purpoſe, aſſembled by Sir Thomas Pope Blount (56).

(56) Cenſura Celebriorum Authorum, p. 618, 619.

Queen

Queen of Scots, as if he had been biaſſed therein, from a complaiſance for her ſon, who was his Sovereign: but there does not appear any juſt ground for theſe ſuggeſtions, much leſs for what has been aſſerted, that his work was altered or caſtrated, and that it did not appear to the world as it fell originally from his pen (*a*). Theſe points have been very freely and judiciouſly canvaſſed by a very great author, who has alſo examined what has been thrown out, with reſpect to the difference between his own relations, and the memoirs communicated by him to his learned friend and conſtant correſpondent M. de Thou, upon that ſubject (*b*). A ſevere, but juſt, picture, he has drawn of the Engliſh and Iriſh Papiſts, and his full and accurate accounts of their many ſecret plots and contrivances, as well as frequent rebellions againſt Queen Elizabeth, provoked that party extremely; and as there were at that time many fugitives abroad, who made it their buſineſs to diſturb and impoſe upon the world by their writings, to which all foreign preſſes were open, they failed not to lay hold of this occaſion to abuſe and traduce Mr. Camden, and to vent a multitude of calumnies againſt him, which had frequently as little of probability in them as of truth. Amongſt the reſt, a certain virulent writer, who pretended to give the world a Hiſtory of Iriſh affairs, attacked our author with equal fury and falſehood, inſinuating that he had been of their religion, but had been drawn from it by ambitious and ſecular views (*c*). The nature of this charge, and the confidence with which it was made, induced ſome of Mr. Camden's beſt friends to think that it deſerved an anſwer; and the Government of Ireland condeſcending ſo far as to take notice of this malicious performance, and to refute the principal facts contained therein, an account was ſent to Mr. Camden of their deſign, with an offer that his juſtification ſhould be included in the ſame piece (*d*). But it ſeems he judged otherwiſe of the matter, and thought it better to treat ſuch kind of libels with contempt. We have, however, the letters which he wrote upon this ſubject, particularly to that wiſe and great Prelate (*e*) the Lord Primate Uſher, which fully refute theſe calumnies, and very clearly prove, that as he ended, ſo he began the world, with juſt notions of the Proteſtant religion, for which he was actually perſecuted at the Univerſity, at the very time that it was ſuggeſted he ſhowed himſelf of oppoſite principles, which, however, could not move him to enter into any controverſy [*P*]. There is good reaſon to believe, that the vaſt

(*a*) Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 485.

(*b*) See the article CAMDEN (WILLIAM) in Bayle.

(*c*) Analect. de reb. Catholicor. in Hibern. 1616, 8*vo*. p. 113.

(*d*) Camdeni Epiſt. p. 236, 237.

(*e*) This Letter is dated from Chiſlehurſt, July 10, 1618. Camdeni Epiſt. p. 246, 247, 248.

[*P*] *Could not move him to enter into any controverſy.*] We ſhall in this note, fully clear up the boldeſt attack that was ever made upon our author's character; which is the more reaſonable, becauſe hitherto, we have had but very dark accounts of the matter. In the firſt place, it is not well agreed who was the author of that ſcandalous book, in which our author was attacked: but it ſeems very fully made out by Mr. Harris, who publiſhed the laſt edition of Sir James Ware's works, that it was written by Dr. David Roth, who was for many years titular Biſhop of Oſſory, and Vice-Primate of Ireland (57). Dr. James Uſher, afterwards Archbiſhop of Armagh, gave him the firſt notice, that an anſwer was preparing to this libel, by order of the State; and that Dr. Thomas Ryves, a Maſter in Chancery, afterwards knighted, was the perſon upon whom this taſk was impoſed, and who, ſays this learned perſon to Mr. Camden, 'is very deſirous to be certified from you, 'in what ſort you would have him anſwer that ca-'lumniation of our Iriſh libeller; where he inti-'mateth, that you diſſemble your religion, and 'write otherwiſe than you think, *deluſus ſpe hujus 'ſeculi, & mundani honoris lenocinio illectus* (58).' Dr. Ryves himſelf alſo wrote to our author upon the ſame ſubject, and offered him all the ſervice in his power. A ſhort paragraph from Camden's Anſwer, in regard to the opinion he entertained of ſuch defences, will anſwer our purpoſe ſufficiently. 'As 'for the aſperſion by your *Analectiſt*, it is common 'to me, with the moſt reverend and learned Prelates 'of our Church, from Papiſts and others: and as 'they, even ſo I, *rectæ conſcientiæ clypeo tutus*, ſmile 'at it, as having received exceſs of injuries, traduced 'as an heretic by *Parſons*, *Poſſevinus*, the *Index Ex-'purgatorius* of *Spain*, and divers others, but *tranſe-'ant*. This kind of devil is not caſt out, but with 'contempt. My life and my writings ſhall apologize for me. And ſo wiſhing you happy ſucceſs 'in your charge impoſed, I reſt, *&c.* (59).' But though he wrote thus briefly to this gentleman as a ſtranger, yet in his Anſwer to Dr. Uſher, he ſpeaks more largely, and gives us ſome very remarkable circumſtances of his own Hiſtory, for which reaſon it is neceſſary to inſert part of that letter. 'I thank 'God, my life hath been ſuch among men, as I am 'neither aſhamed to live nor fear to die, being ſecure 'in Chriſt my Saviour, in whoſe true religion I was 'born and bred in the time of King Edward VI. and 'have continued firm therein. And to make you 'my confeſſor, *ſub ſigillo confeſſionis*, I took my oath 'thereunto, at my matriculation, in the Univerſity 'of Oxon (when Popery was predominant); and for 'defending the religion eſtabliſhed, I loſt a fellow-'ſhip in All Souls, as Sir Daniel Dun could teſtify, 'and often would relate, how I was oppoſed there 'by the Popiſh faction. At my coming to Weſt-'minſter, I took the like oath, where (*abſit jactan-'tia*) God ſo bleſſed my labours, that the now 'Biſhops of London, Durham, and St. Aſaph, to ſay 'nothing of perſons employed now in eminent places 'abroad, and many of eſpecial note at home, of all 'degree, do acknowledge themſelves to have been 'my ſcholars; yea, I brought there to church divers 'gentlemen of Ireland, as Walſhes, Nugents, 'O-Raily, Shees, the eldeſt ſon of the Archbiſhop 'of Caſilles, Peter Lombard, a merchant's ſon of 'Waterford, a youth of admirable docility, and 'others bred popiſhly and ſo affected. I know not 'who may ſay, that I was ambitious, who contented 'myſelf in Weſtminſter ſchool, when I writ my Britannia, and eleven years afterwards, who refuſed 'a maſterſhip of Requeſts offered, and then had 'the place of a King of Arms, without any ſuit, 'caſt upon me. I did never ſet ſail after preſent 'preferments, or deſired to ſoar higher by others. 'I never made ſuit to any man, no not to his Majeſty, but for a matter of courſe incident to my 'place; neither, God be praiſed, I needed, having 'gathered a contented ſufficiency by my long labours in the ſchool. Why the *Analectiſt* ſhould ſo 'cenſure me, I know not; but that men of all 'humours repair unto me, in reſpect of my place, 'and reſt content to be belied by him, who is not 'aſhamed to bely the Lords Deputies of Ireland, and 'otherss of honourable rank. *Sed hæc tibi uni & 'ſoli.*' It is certain, that in this our author formed a very right judgment; for to contend with men, who

(57) Sir James Ware's Works, vol. iii. p. 222.

(58) Epiſt. Camd. p. 237.

(59) *Ibid.* p. 247.

vaſt reſort to him of perſons of all parties, and of all religions, might give a handle to this opinion: but though our author ſuſpected it, he continued his old way of living, and would not alter it on account of theſe groundleſs aſperſions. He thought himſelf ſafe from the conſciouſneſs of his own innocence; and as it was the cuſtom of all foreigners, diſtinguiſhed either by their birth or learning, to pay their reſpects to him when they viſited England, he received them with the ſame kindneſs and civility as formerly, and would not deprive himſelf of the honour and ſatisfaction he received from thence, to ſtop the mouths of angry and diſcontented men; in which he was certainly in the right, and thereby gave a noble teſtimony of the firmneſs of his mind, and that freedom from fear which naturally attends a freedom from guilt (*f*). The great commendations the firſt part of this work had met with, were ſufficient to have encouraged him to proceed, if the natural ſteadineſs of his temper, and a deſire of perfecting what he had once begun, had not been a ſufficient motive to the proſecuting his glorious undertaking. Yet he was ſo far ſenſible of the inconveniencies that attended the publication of unwelcome truths, while thoſe whom they concern, or their immediate deſcendants, are living, and had been made ſo uneaſy by the conſequences of this kind that attended the publication of his firſt volume, that he reſolved the ſecond ſhould not come abroad during his life (*g*) [*Q*]. This was certainly a very wiſe and prudent determination, which left him at full liberty to continue his Hiſtory with the ſame free and impartial ſpirit with which it was begun. After this point was once ſettled, he went on with ſuch great chearfulneſs, that, notwithſtanding his weak and infirm ſtate of health, he abſolutely completed this book in the year 1617: but though he made no difficulty of owning this to his learned friends, yet he deliberated ſeveral years about the diſpoſal of this work, that he might have a moral certainty of its coming abroad as he left it, and not be either altered or ſuppreſſed. The method he took was equally judicious and ſucceſsful: he kept the original by him, which was preſerved in the Cotton Library, and he ſent a very exact copy of it to his friend Mr. Dupuy, who had given him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that he would punctually perform what ſo great a truſt required (*h*), which he did with the greateſt fidelity [*R*]. We have placed theſe facts

(*f*) See his Diary, commonly intituled, his Annals of the Reign of James I. July 1, 1619.

(*g*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 58.

(*h*) V. Cl. Petri Puteani Vitam à Migaltio conſcriptam, Pariſ. 1652, 4to. p. 50.

who boldly aſſert any thing, without thinking themſelves at all obliged to produce proof, is equally endleſs, and to no purpoſe. Beſides, this author had traduced the whole ſtate of Ireland, and would have perſuaded the world, that at a time, that kingdom enjoyed the greateſt peace and quiet, the government was carrying on a flaming perſecution, which gave him an opportunity of framing a martyrology (60), in which he ſets down, a perſon executed for High Treaſon, and another who died, at upwards of fourſcore, of mere old age. How far the government might act wiſely, in juſtifying its proceedings againſt thoſe aſperſions, is another queſtion: but for a private man, like Mr. Camden, to enter into a diſpute, with an unknown perſon, who had conſequently no reputation to loſe, and might aver what he pleaſed, was a very unequal match, and therefore very prudently declined.

(60) Sir James Ware's Works, Vol. iii. p. 222.

[*Q*] *The ſecond ſhould not come abroad during his life.*] It is certain, that notwithſtanding the great care and circumſpection uſed by our author, in writing the firſt part of his Annals, they expoſed him to the reſentment of numbers of perſons, who thought themſelves injured by the accounts he gave, either of them or of their anceſtors; and many of theſe teſtified their reſentments, in methods ſuitable to their diſpoſitions. Amongſt the reſt, there was one Mr. Maitland, the ſon of the famous Laird of Liddington, who made ſo great a figure in the troubles of Scotland, by adhering faithfully to Queen Mary. It was, on the one hand, impoſſible for our author to paſs over this gentleman's behaviour and character in writing his hiſtory; and on the other, it was hardly poſſible for him to treat this ſubject with greater mildneſs or caution than he did; and yet his ſon wrote a very long letter, which is ſtill extant, to Mr. Camden, in which, though in very reſpectful terms, he very plainly expreſſes his diſtaſte at what he had publiſhed, and demands the ſatisfaction of ſeeing thoſe authorities, which were requiſite to juſtify what he had written (61). It is uncertain whether our author gave him that ſatisfaction or not; though, without doubt, it was in his power, ſince he carefully preſerved the collections he had made with great pains, for the ſupport of the facts, by him delivered, moſt of which are ſtill in being, or at leaſt were ſo long after his deceaſe: but it muſt certainly have been very uneaſy to him, to find himſelf continually expoſed to ſuch enquiries and demands; and therefore, we cannot wonder that he ſhould decline multiplying theſe inconveniencies, by publiſhing the ſecond part of his work. Yet it is very certain, that he was not abſolutely determined in this point, but from a conſciouſneſs of his own integrity, and reſpect for truth, was willing, if it had been at all neceſſary, that it ſhould have come abroad, as appears plainly in the following paſſages, from a letter of his written to a perſon of great quality, though to whom is unknown. 'I ſubmit the Sup-'plement of the Annals of Queen Elizabeth's reign 'to his Majeſty's judicious cenſure; whether it 'pleaſe him, they ſhall be ſuppreſſed, or publiſhed; 'for I am indifferent.' And he concludes the ſame letter, in theſe terms: 'As I do not diſlike, that 'they ſhould be publiſhed in my life-time, ſo I do 'not deſire, that they ſhould be ſo ſet forth in 'Engliſh, until after my death, knowing how un-'juſt carpers the unlearned readers are (62).'

(61) Camd. Epiſt. 305.

(62) *Ibid.* p. 351.

[*R*] *Which he did with the greateſt fidelity.*] The great reputation of Mr. Camden, procured him very early a large correſpondence abroad, which was very uſeful to him, while he was collecting materials for, or corrections and improvements of, his Britannia; and theſe laſted during his whole life. His foreign friends, therefore, intereſted themſelves extremely in the preſervation, as well as the credit of his works; and it was to their ſolicitations, that his reſolution of ſending a copy of his manuſcript abroad, was principally owing. The celebrated Mr. de Peireſc, ſo much better known to the learned world by his Latin name of Peireſkius, was one of the moſt preſſing. In one of his letters to our author, he has the following paſſage (63). 'We have advice from 'Germany, that they have there printed the Hiſtory 'of the late Monſieur de Thou entire; my impati-'ence is great to ſee what it is. This puts me in 'mind of your's, and to deſire, that it may be got 'out of your hands, for the public benefit. If M. 'de Thou's had been in no body's hands but his own, 'it would have run the hazard of being ſuppreſſed; 'for his executors, and the tutors of his children, 'would have committed it to the flames, for the 'ſake of their private intereſt: Mr. Linghelſein, to 'whom the late M. de Thou confided a copy, has

(63) *Ibid.* p. 309, 310.

facts together, though they happened at ſome diſtance of time, for the ſake of perſpicuity, and that the thread of the narration, with reſpect to ſo material a point, might not be broken or interrupted. In the latter end of the year 1616, there happened an affair which expoſed Rafe Brooke, who had given our author ſo much trouble, to very ſevere cenſure; and we the rather mention it, becauſe the beſt account of it extant fell from the pen of Mr. Camden (*i*); though for what reaſon it is impoſſible to ſay, it is left out in the Engliſh tranſlation of that work (*k*), in which he thought fit to record it, and is very imperfectly told by other writers. We have reaſon, therefore, to believe, that the reader will be very well ſatisfied to find it fairly and faithly ſtated in the notes [*S*]. This affair made ſo much noiſe in the world, that, on the third of March following,

(*i*) See his Diary, Dec. 26, 1616.

(*k*) In the ſecond volume of Kennet's Complete Hiſtory of England.

' prevented this. If Mr. Grotius, would but have ' believed us, more than ſix months before his miſ- ' fortune happened, there had been a copy of his ' Hiſtory in this kingdom, and conſequently out of ' the reach of all by whom he is either hated or en- ' vied. For the glory of God, think of your's, and ' if there are any difficulties that hinder your putting ' it to the preſs, during your life-time, let there be ' more copies than one, and let them not all be on ' the ſame ſide of the ſea. This, by all the affection ' I have for you, I conjure; remaining, &c.' This letter, is dated from Paris, October 14, 1620. It appears, however, by a letter from Mr. Dupuy, that he had not received the ſecond part of the Annals ſome time afterwards; but at length, it was ſent by a very ſafe hand, was carefully preſerved, and faithfully publiſhed. This account differs pretty much from what a famous writer tells us upon this ſubject, in a treatiſe, where one would have thought he ſhould have taken care to be very exact. His own words deſerves notice (64). ' Monſieur de Thou ' having intended to make his Hiſtory general, en- ' tered into a correſpondence with the men over all ' Europe, that were moſt likely to inform him right; ' ſo he was in a great correſpondence with Camden. ' And when Camden's firſt volume appeared, he ' writ ſeverely to him, finding that it was ſo diffe- ' rent, from what had paſſed between them in let- ' ters, chiefly with relation to the Queen of Scots; ' upon which Mr. Camden told him the truth, ' that King James would needs reviſe it himſelf, and ' afterwards put it into the Earl of Northampton's ' hands, who was brother to the Duke of Norfolk, ' that had been beheaded on that Queen's account; ' and that many things were ſtruck out, and many ' things altered: this troubled Camden extremely, ' who took care that his ſecond part, ſhould not run ' the ſame fate: and therefore, he ſent it out of ' England to that great man, that it might be print- ' ed faithfully after his death. This is well known ' in England, and the ſending the ſecond part be- ' yond ſea to a foreigner, does very eaſily carry a ' man to believe this to have been the true reaſon of ' it.' It is very juſtly obſerved, by a very learned Prelate, that nothing ought to be believed of the complaints, ſaid to be made by M. de Thou, againſt our author, unleſs it be proved by his letters; becauſe there are numbers extant, which clearly ſhew the contrary, which acknowledge Camden's aſſiſtance, admit the prudence of his advice, apologize for the neglect of it, promiſe corrections in future editions, deſire the continuance of his correſpondence, and put both their caſes upon the ſame foundation, that of being ill thought of, for intending well (65). The firſt notion of Mr. Camden's work being corrupted, came from an oration made at Oxford, in his praiſe, by Lewis Du Moulin, who affirmed the thing was out of doubt, but did not think fit to mention any authority; as he might have done without fear, conſidering the time at which he delivered his oration, *viz.* July 10, 1652 (66). It was from him, in all probability, that Mr. Wood took it, but ſtill without proof (67); and what ſeems totally to deſtroy the fact is, that in the laſt edition of his Annals, publiſhed by Mr. Hearne, from a copy corrected and fitted for the preſs by Mr. Camden's own hand, there is very little, and nothing material, altered, with reſpect to Mary Queen of Scots. As to his ſending it abroad to de Thou, there are ſome objections that render that a little incredible; firſt, becauſe it is more than probable, that he was dead before the book was finiſhed; next, becauſe it is certain, that the author had determined nothing about the publication of it, till many years after that worthy perſon was in his grave; and even then he ſubmitted it to the good pleaſure of the King, whether it ſhould be publiſhed or ſuppreſſed; and if publiſhed, whether in his own life-time or not. Thirdly, after all theſe precautions taken, there was a copy ſent abroad to Mr. Dupuy, according to the advice of M. de Piereſc, but the original remained here in England; and from thence the laſt edition of the work, has been both corrected and augmented. The ſecond part was firſt printed at Leyden in 1625, in 8vo. at London 1627, fol. again at Leyden 1639, 8vo. and ſeveral times ſince; but the moſt correct edition of the whole work is, that publiſhed by Thomas Hearne from Dr. Smith's copy, corrected by Camden's own hand, collated alſo with another manuſcript in Mr. Rawliſon's library (68). Both parts were tranſlated into French by M. Paul de Belligent, Advocate in the Parliament of Paris; from which language it was tranſlated into Engliſh, by one M. D'Arcy, but with many errors (69). There have been ſeveral other tranſlations, but none at all worthy of the author's admirable performance; and therefore it is much to be wiſhed, that even at this diſtance of time, the ſame juſtice might be done to his Hiſtory of Queen Elizabeth, that has been already done to his Britannia; the rather becauſe a good tranſlation of that work, illuſtrated with notes, and compared with the beſt accounts of thoſe times, that have been ſince publiſhed, could not but be acceptable at this juncture, when no branch of Literature ſeems to have more admirers than Hiſtory, and Engliſh Hiſtory is more particularly diſtinguiſhed.

[*S*] *Faithfully ſtated in the notes.*] The plain and naked account of the matter is this, that on the 27th of December 1616, complaint was made to the King, that Sir William Segar, Garter King at Arms, had granted the Royal Arms of Arragon, with a Canton of Brabant, to George Brandon, who was the common hangman, at which his Majeſty was highly offended. But upon ſtrict enquiry, the fact came out to be, that Rafe Brookeſmouth, York Herald, had actually drawn theſe Arms, which were not unlike thoſe of Arragon and Brabant, and, by an emiſſary of his, impoſing upon the credulity of Garter, for a fee of two and twenty ſhillings, procured the confirmation of them, and then cauſed them to be preſented to the King (70). Thus Mr. Camden plainly, clearly, and fully relates this ſtory; but Dr. Smith, who had ſeen a relation of this affair by another hand, gives us ſome farther circumſtances, though he is ſo cautious, as to leave out Sir William Segar's name (71). He ſays, that the man who came from Brooke pretended, that he was in a mighty hurry, and was to embark that very day on board a ſhip for Spain, by which means he the more eaſily drew Sir William Segar, to confirm him, what he called the arms of his family. On the 30th of the ſame month, the whole affair was heard before the Commiſſioners appointed to execute the office of Earl Marſhal, where York Herald openly took upon him the whole affair; and upon report of it made to the King, himſelf, for his malicious ſubornation, and Garter for his weakneſs and credulity in confirming thoſe Arms for the ſake of a little money, were both committed to the Marſhalſea. On New Year's day a petition

(64) Burnet's Reply to Varillas, p. 59.

(65) Camd. Epiſt. p. 68, 73, 97, 139, 153.

(66) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 54.

(67) Ath. Oxon. vol. i. col. 483.

(68) In 8vo. without any Printer's name or place, A.D. 1717.

(69) Ath. Oxon. vol. i. col. 483.

(70) Apparat. Annal. regn. reg. Jac. I. p. 23.

(71) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 35.

following, the Commiſſioners for executing the office of Earl Marſhal of England, met at the College of Heralds in Darby-place, and propoſed various regulations, ſuch as, the augmenting their ſalaries, removing their wives out of the College, and correcting other abuſes, for recovering the credit, and maintaining the reputation, of that Honourable Society (*l*). Our author ſeems to have been all this time, rather a calm ſpectator than a buſy actor, even in matters that might have fallen properly enough within his province; yet he was extremely reverenced by the wiſeſt, greateſt, and beſt men of his time, as appears very clearly from his own Diary. He ſpent his ſummers moſtly at Chiſlehurſt, and his winters at his houſe in Weſtminſter, occupied in both places, as far as his infirm ſtate of health would allow, in ſerious and uſeful ſtudies, as is evident by the obſervations he ſet down relating to the weather, the appearance of comets, and other things of the like nature (*m*). Jan. 19, 1619, the Painters, Glaſiers, and Stonecutters, were ſummoned to the Herald's Office, in order to be made acquainted with certain regulations that had been thought neceſſary, in relation to the painting, and otherwiſe repreſenting of arms. On the 10th of February following, Mr. Camden was ſeized with a dangerous diſtemper, vomiting blood to ſuch a degree, that he ſwooned twice, but, by the care of his Phyſician, being twice let blood in three days, he grew better (*n*). In the month of June 1619, he had a warm diſpute with his brethren, Garter and Norroy, Kings at Arms, who it ſeems took it amiſs that he ſhould appoint Mr. Vincent to viſit Lincolnſhire, and Mr. Philpot to viſit Kent (*o*), the former of which it appeared was a miſinformation: but notwithſtanding he acquainted them with this, they complained to the Commiſſioners for executing the office of Earl Marſhal againſt him, as if he had exceeded the powers granted him by his patent; but Mr. Camden in his anſwer to the Earl of Arundel, in which the powers before-mentioned are tranſcribed, gave ſuch full ſatisfaction in this point, as, for any thing that appears, prevented any farther trouble to him on this ſubject (*p*). In the beginning of the year 1621, he was ſent for to Court, and conſulted by the Lord Chancellor Bacon, in reference to the ceremonies to be uſed in creating him Viſcount St. Alban's; and on the twenty-ſeventh of January following, in conſequence of what was then agreed on with him and Norroy King at Arms, the Chancellor was, with great ſolemnity, created Viſcount St. Alban's, the Lord Carew carrying the robe of ſtate, the Lord Wentworth the coronet, and the Marquis of Buckingham ſupporting the new created Peer (*q*). On the firſt of May 1621, he went to Sanderherſt, to look for the camp of the Emperor Alexander Severus, but could meet with no ſigns of it. This Emperor being killed in Britain, at a place called Siſila, an opinion prevailed amongſt many, that it muſt have been in that neighbourhood; but this was upon conjecture only, and without any kind of proof, in the ſentiment of our author (*r*). It appears plainly from hence, as well as from various other paſſages in his Diary, that he was ſtill endeavouring to correct, improve, and augment his Britannia, a copy of which, with many ſuch emendations and additions, was in the hands of Dr. Thomas Smith (*s*). In the month of June in the ſame year, he was preſent at the execution of a very extraordinary ſentence. On the laſt day of the term, about three in the afternoon, Sir Francis Mitchell, Knt. who had been deeply concerned in the monopoly, by which the innholders and keepers of public houſes were grievouſly oppreſſed, was brought by the Sheriffs of London into Weſtminſter-Hall. Soon after came the Commiſſioners for executing the office of Earl Marſhal, *viz.* the Lord Privy-Seal, the Duke of Lenox, the Marquis of Buckingham, and the Earl of Arundel; ſeveral other Lords being preſent as ſpectators. Before theſe the priſoner was brought; then the ſentence given againſt him in Parliament having been read with a loud voice, his ſpurs were broken in pieces by the ſervants of the Knight Marſhal and thrown away: then his ſword, which was of ſilver, and ought to have been gilded, was taken from his ſide, broken over his head, and alſo thrown away; laſtly, he was pronounced to be no longer a worthy Knight, but an errant knave, as had been done before in the caſe of Andrew de Harclay, when degraded by Anthony Lucy. The three Kings at Arms, during the whole proceeding, ſat at the feet of the Lords Commiſſioners (*t*). On the laſt of Auguſt the ſame year, Mr. Camden was ſeized with his old diſtemper of vomiting blood in the night, but happily recovered (*u*). He executed, during the courſe of the next year, as far as his ſtrength would permit, all the duties of his function; but finding himſelf gradually declining, and his infirmities growing more

a petition from Garter was exhibited to the King, together with a certificate from the Herald's Office, of his integrity and upright behaviour before this unhappy accident; upon which he was releaſed, and ſoon after the friends of York Herald procured his diſcharge likewiſe (72). This plainly ſhews the reſtleſs and turbulent temper of the man and his *impious malice*, as Mr. Camden calls it againſt his ſuperior, and yet about two years afterwards, he dedicated a large work of his to King James, and to the Lords Commiſſioners for executing the office of Earl Marſhal of England, who were then, Edward, Earl of Worceſter, Lord Privy-Seal; Lodowick, Duke of Lenox, Lord Steward of the Houſehold; George, Marquis of Buckingham, Maſter of the Horſe; Charles, Earl of Nottingham, High Admiral of England; William, Earl of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlain; Thomas, Earl of Arundel, and Thomas, Earl of Suffolk, all Privy Counſellors and Knights of the Garter (73).

and

(*l*) See his Diary, March 3, 1617.

(*m*) *Ibid.*

(*n*) Memorabil. de ſeipſo.

(*o*) Apparat. Annal. regn. reg. Jac. I. p. 46.

(*p*) Camd. Epiſt. 352, 353, 354.

(*q*) Apparat. Annal. regn. reg. Jac. I. p. 65, 66.

(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 70.

(*s*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 78.

(*t*) Apparat. Annal. regn. reg. Jac. I. p. 72.

(*u*) *Ibid.* p. 72.

(72) Apparat. Annal regn. reg. Jac. I. p. 25. Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 37.

(73) See an Account of that work in note [*U*].

and more upon him, he reſolved to delay no longer the performance of what he had ſo long ago reſolved upon, the founding an Hiſtory Lecture at Oxford; and accordingly, in the month of May 1622, he ſent down his gift by the hands of his intimate friend Mr. Heather (*w*). This was declared by Dr. Piers, Dean of Peterborough, and then Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity, in full Convocation: whereupon the Univerſity ſent him a public letter of thanks, and becauſe they underſtood Mr. Heather was a perſon for whom he had a ſingular reſpect, they conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Muſic, and the like degree they conferred upon Mr. Orlando Gibbons, another friend of his; which civility procured them a new benefactor, and a new Lecture in Muſic, founded by this Dr. Heather (*x*). Thus Mr. Camden amply fulfilled a vow he ſeemed to have made at the cloſe of his Britannia, and provided for the ſtudy of Antiquity in ſucceeding times, which, by his writings, he had ſo much illuſtrated [*T*]. The firſt Hiſtory Profeſſor was Mr. Degory Wheare, ſo appointed by Mr. Camden himſelf, October 16, 1622, and he began to read on the ſixth of January following: he likewiſe granted the ſurvivorſhip in the ſame Lecture to Mr. Brian Twine, the famous Antiquary, in caſe he had out-lived Mr. Wheare, but as he did not, the right came to the Univerſity (*y*). It was ſome time in this year, that his old antagoniſt, Rafe Brooke, York-Herald, having ſent abroad a book which promiſed mighty things with reſpect to accuracy and correctneſs, Mr. Camden thought fit to make ſome notes upon it, in which he detected a great many groſs errors; but diſdaining at his time of life to enter into new controverſies, he did not publiſh it (*z*): yet it is very probable, that theſe notes were of uſe to his friend Mr. Vincent, who attacked Brooke's work with great vigour, and therein ſhewed not only his own ſkill, but his gratitude and friendſhip to Mr. Camden, which led us to mention it [*U*]. On the eighteenth of Auguſt, as he was ſitting in

(*w*) Biſhop Gibſon's Life of our author.

(*x*) Ath. Oxon. vol. i. col. 483.

(*y*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 64.

(*z*) Dr. Smith tells us, that he had ſeen Mr. Camden's notes in the poſſeſſion of Francis Sandford, Eſq; of the Herald's Office.

[*T*] *Which by his writings he had ſo much illuſtrated.*] It appears plainly, as we have obſerved in the text, that he had this generous deſign in his thoughts about fifteen years before he carried it into execution, from the concluſion of the ſixth edition of his Britannia, publiſhed in 1607, where he makes uſe of theſe words (74). 'Nothing remains now (having 'carried on this diſcourſe through ſo many ſhallows 'of the ocean and the rugged rocks, as it were of 'antiquity) but that, like the Mariners of old, 'who uſe to dedicate their tattered *ſails*, or a votive '*plank* to Neptune, I alſo conſecrate ſomething to 'the *Almighty*, and to venerable *Antiquity*. A vow 'which I moſt willingly make, and which, by the 'bleſſing of God, I hope to diſcharge in due time.' It is alſo evident, that he communicated his deſign to, and had the advice thereupon of, his beſt friends, from the following extract of a letter from Sir Henry Savile, dated from Eaton, of which he was Provoſt, November 3, 1621 (75). 'I think not amiſs to ad-'vertiſe you, that by plain Will, without a Deed 'executed in life-time, no land will paſs to a College 'or Corporation, as I have heard by my Counſel. 'I am ſure, Merton-College hath felt it; for Doctor 'Huicke, Queen Elizabeth's Phyſician, whom you 'may have heard on, or peradventure known, by 'will left all his land of good value to his two 'daughters and their heirs; and for lack of heirs '(as we underſtood, they died without any children 'both) all his ſaid lands to Merton-College, where-'of he was Fellow; but Doctor Bickley laboured, as 'I have heard, much in it, and could recover no-'thing. So that you muſt fly to ſome ſuch courſe 'as I advertiſed you in my laſt, or leave it upon 'Feoffees, men of ſincerity and judgment, that 'your death do not fruſtrate your good intention.' Agreeably to the advice given him by his worthy and judicious friend, Mr. Camden, by a Deed drawn by Sir John Walter, executed in due form of law, under his hand and ſeal (76), the 5th of March, in the nineteenth year of the reign of King James, *Anno Dom.* 1621-2, and acknowledged before Sir R. Rich, Knight, one of the Maſters in the High Court of Chancery, on the 14th of April following, made over all his right in the manor of Bexley, in the county of Kent, with all profits, emoluments, &c. ariſing therefrom, to the Chancellor, Maſters, and Scholars, of the Univerſity of Oxford, and their ſucceſſors, with this proviſo, that the profits of the ſaid manor, which were computed to be of the yearly value of four hundred pounds, ſhould be enjoyed by Mr. William Heather, his heirs and executors, for the ſpace of ninety-nine years, from the death of the donor; during which time the ſaid William Heather, was to pay to the Profeſſor of Hiſtory in Oxford, one hundred and forty pounds *per annum*, by half-yearly payments; and after the expiration of that term, the whole eſtate to be veſted in that Univerſity. For this judicious and ample donation, he was by that learned body unanimouſly declared and received into the number of benefactors to the Univerſity (77). At the requeſt of many of his friends, he appointed Degory Wheare, Maſter of Arts, Fellow of Exeter-College, his firſt reader, aſſigning him twenty pounds for the firſt year, forty for the ſecond, and after the third, he was to enjoy the full ſtipend (78). He wrote and dedicated to his patron, a very learned treatiſe, which ſhewed him to be every way fit for that office (79), which he held to the time of his deceaſe, when the Univerſity elected in his room, Robert Waring, Maſter of Arts of Chriſt-Church, then ſenior Proctor of the Univerſity, Auguſt 2, 1647 (80); and he being turned out the next year by the Parliament Commiſſioners, Lewis du Moulin, Doctor in Phyſic, was ſubſtituted in his place, September 14, 1648, which gave him an opportunity of making the oration in praiſe of our author, which hath been before-mentioned (81). In 1660, he was expelled by the Royal Viſiters; and the Univerſity elected in his place, John Lamphire, M. D. and Fellow of New College (82).

(74) Camden's Britannia, p. 1116.

(75) Epiſt. Camd. p. 314, 315.

(76) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 40.

(77) Biſhop Gibſon's Life of our author. Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 484.

(78) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 60.

(79) De ratione & methodo legendi Hiſtorias Diſſertatio, &c. 1623.

(80) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 43.

(81) Faſt. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 71.

[*U*] *Which led us to mention it.*] It has been before obſerved, that Robert Glover, Eſq; Somerſet Herald, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, a man univerſally eſteemed and admired for his great abilities in his profeſſion (83), had made conſiderable collections, in relation to the deſcents of the Nobility of this kingdom, which were very injudiciouſly and incorrectly publiſhed by his kinſman and executor, Mr. Thomas Milles, in 1610, which induced Rafe Brooke, York-Herald, to compoſe another work of the ſame nature, which he intituled, *A Catalogue and Succeſſion of the Kings, Princes, Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls, and Viſcounts of this Realm of England, ſince the Norman Conqueſt to this preſent year* 1619; *together with their Armes, Wives, and Children, the times of their deaths and burials, with many of their memorable actions, diſcovering and reforming many errors, committed by men of other profeſſion, and lately publiſhed in print; to the great wronging of the Nobility, and prejudice of his Majeſty's Officers of Armes, who are only appointed and ſworn to deal faithfully in theſe caſes.* Lond. 1619, fol. and again with corrections and emendations in the ſame ſize, 1622. Before this work, there is a large collection of errors in Milles's book detected, with many ſevere remarks; and in his dedication to the

(82) Hiſtor. & Antiq. Oxon. l. ii. p. 43.

(83) Britan. in Comitatu Berchirienſi, p. 209.

in his chair and very thoughtful, he ſuddenly loſt the uſe of his hands and feet, and fell down upon the floor, but without receiving any hurt; and ſoon recovering his ſtrength got up again (*a*). The account of this misfortune was one of the laſt things that

(*a*) Apparat. Annal. regn. reg. Jac. I. p. 82.

the Commiſſioners for executing the office of Earl Marſhal, he complains bitterly, not only of Mr. Milles, but of John Stowe, for an error committed in his Annals; and of one Mr. Martin, who had written a Hiſtory of the Kings of England: and the great deſign of his complaints was, to obtain a reſtraint upon the preſs, that nothing might be publiſhed for the future upon this ſubject, but by the licence of the Earl Marſhal, or of the Commiſſioners for the executing that office; not foreſeeing, that this was to attempt curing a ſmall inconveniency by a much greater; for books thus licenſed, however erroneous, would have been the only books publiſhed; and thus, inſtead of providing for the cure of the diſeaſe, he, like a true quack, ſuggeſted the ſhorteſt method for rendering it incurable. It was to this book, that Mr. Auguſtine Vincent, Rouge Croix Purſuivant, wrote an Anſwer under the title of, *A Diſcovery of Errors in the firſt Edition of the Catalogue of Nobility, publiſhed by Rafe Brooke, York-Herald*, 1619, *and printed herewith word for word according to that edition, with a Continuance of the Succeſſions from* 1619 *until this preſent year* 1622; *at the end whereof is annexed, a Review of a later Edition by him ſtolen into the world*, 1621. London, printed by William Jaggard, 1622, fol. It is dedicated to the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, who was, by this time, become Earl Marſhal; and in this dedication, there is a ſtroke at York's prepoſſeſſion in favour of the family of his old patron the Earl of Eſſex, and his prejudice to the Howards. But whoever has a mind to ſee the true tendency of this controverſy, need only peruſe the following paragraphs from Mr. Vincent's addreſs to Brooke, which ſtand at the entrance of his performance. 'It is true, 'when I firſt entered a novice into the world, I 'found it poſſeſt of a ſtrange admiration of Maſter 'Yorke: his name was grown a terror to men of his 'own profeſſion, and I, a young novice, could not 'but be carried with the multitude into the ſame 'opinion. He had then but newly ſet forth a book 'againſt Maſter Camden, artificially penned, and 'like a ſcholar; I know the Doctor's name that 'penned it. I then began to obſerve him, abroad 'ſaw him, though loved of few, yet feared of all; 'heard him ſing *Magnificat* of himſelf in *Pouls*, and 'all the walk bear the quire to him; beheld him 'marſhal funerals ſolemnly, which I thought was 'rare. In a word, others admired him; I adored 'him. This opinion bred in me an infinite deſire 'to be his diſciple; but that again ſeemed too high an 'ambition. The next point then was, ſeeing I 'might not have that beatitude to enjoy his preſence *in ſpecie*, yet to have the fruition of him *in 'ſpeculo* in his works. I preſently got into my 'hands his *Diſcovery* againſt Mr. Camden; came 'to it with fear and trembling, as one that comes 'to pull a locke from a lyon's maine; read him 'with reverence, and began to find ſome pretty reliſe in him, only methought his ſtile was ſomewhat 'tart, but that I gueſſed might proceed out of age: 'but entering further, and ſeeing him to grow from 'vinegar to gall, and from gall to venom, againſt 'ſo renowned and reverend a man, and the ſame 'mixed with pride, arrogancie, and admiration of 'himſelf; this began a little to ſhake my former 'conceit: theſe things (methought) did not ſo well 'ſuit with a man that were truly learned; but yet 'theſe were his moralles (which are not alike tempered 'in all mens) this touched not his *intellectuals*.

'I then grew bolder, and began to handle him 'nearer, labouring, by comparing their books, to 'ſatisfy myſelf, whether Maſter Camden were ſo 'black as he had painted him, or not. I found for 'Maſter Camden, that if he had erred, he had erred 'with authority. For Yorke, I ſaw no proofs, but 'Pythagorian proofs, inſtead of *ſcriptum eſt, ipſe 'dixit*; no record, no antiquity, but his own antiquity of *forty years practiſe* in that ſtudy: this I 'liked not. Beſides, I noted in him not only *animum 'contradicendi*, a ſpirit of contradiction, but *ſtudium 'calumniandi*, a wilful humour of miſtaking, like 'Hercules in a play, that made monſters of ſtraw 'for himſelf to ſubdue; maliciouſly perverting and 'miſconſtruing what had a true and a right underſtanding; and, in further proceſs, diſcovered in 'him, by the books I ſearched, a great deal of '*ignorance* and *inſufficiency*. Then I clearly found 'mine error, *Tunc ille Æneas?* Is this, Mr. Yorke! 'Are theſe the fruits of *forty years ſtudy?* I then 'damned my opinion, and hated myſelf for it, and 'that many headed beaſt from whom I had received 'it, taking a document thereby never again to 'build my judgment, either in good or bad part, 'upon the vulgar, who ſet up ſhadows for ſaints, 'and adore wooden images which, in their true 'worth, were fitter to be made whipping-poſts, and 'blaſt with their breath, the truly virtuous and noble, 'of whom the world is unworthy.

'Thus, Mr. Yorke, have I ſhrieved myſelf to 'you, what progreſs you have made, through my 'opinion, from the higheſt ſtep to the loweſt, and 'in what terms you ſtood there, before your late 'admired *Catalogue* came to light; ſo as now having 'thus given you a true glaſs of my heart, I truſt 'you will be ſatisfied, that it was not any humour 'of *envy* or *emulation* that drew me into this oppoſition; but, firſt, my zeal to truth, which I knew 'ſuffered in this diſcourſe; next, your own intolerable arrogance, and pride of conceit; your vilifying, and contempt of others, as if you had ſtood 'on the top of *Poules*, and ſaw all men under 'you no bigger than *Jack Dawes:* your familiar 'vein of detracting from the beſt and worthieſt men: 'your tongue-gilding over no man's name, but 'that it left a ſlime behind it: and, laſtly, the 'knowledge and experience I had of your defects, 'and infinite diſtance from true ſufficiency; and the 'juſt diſdain which burnt within me, to ſee a fellow 'blown up by a popular applauſe, and almoſt deified amongſt ſilly believers (as the ſtore-houſe of 'knowledge) whom I knew to be no better than the 'tomb of Semiramis, glorious without, and promiſing, by the inſcription, great treaſure within; 'whereas Darius opening it, found his expectation 'mocked with the ſight of a brainleſs ſkull, and the 'reliques of dead carcaſſes. But admit *envy* had 'ſpurred me on to this work, doth that prove that 'what you writ was true? *Num quia ego claudas, tu 'recte incedis?* Cloſe with me in this point: is that 'true, or no, which I have written in diſcovering 'of your falſhoods? If it be not, you are allowed 'your traverſe: if it be true that I ſay, what difference or choice is there of the perſon, whether '*envy*, or *detraction*, or the devil himſelf ſpeak it; 'truth being ever the ſame through what mouth, or 'from what mind ſoever it paſs? In matters of charity, it is true, we look not what, but with what 'mind it is given: but in a verdict of truth it is not 'to be regarded with what mind but what is ſpoken. 'Neither can your *fifty years practice* give you privilege to write untruth by authority, *or to ſet forth 'things that may appear untrue* without authority. 'But we (you ſay) *take upon truſt, and are deceived 'in the names, beginnings, and titles of families*;'

——— *Mutato nomine de te*
Fabula narratur ———

It is plain from hence, that the whole of this affair was nothing more than a continuation of the old quarrel between Brooke and Camden, and if it were not ſo plain, we might add ſome other convincing proofs. Brooke's motto to his Catalogue is, *Quam quiſque norit artem, in hac ſe exerceat*, the very ſame that ſtood before his book againſt our author. Mr. Vincent's motto is, *Pro captu Lectoris habent ſua fata libelli*, the very ſame that ſtood before Mr. Camden's Britannia. His title too is the very copy of Brooke's book againſt Camden, and the method he takes in refuting

that he committed to writing. It was followed by a ſevere fit of illneſs, which laſted to the ninth of November 1623, when he died at his houſe at Chiſlehurſt, in the county of Kent, in the ſeventy-third year of his age (*b*). By his Will, made on his laſt birth-day, he diſpoſed of what little he had left after founding his Hiſtory Lecture, in charities to the poor, legacies to his relations, and ſome ſmall memorials to his particular acquaintance, of which ſome account will be given at the bottom of the page (*c*) [*W*]. His body being removed to his houſe at London, was, on the nineteenth of the ſame month, carried to Weſtminſter-Abbey in great pomp. The whole College of Heralds attended in their proper habits, great numbers of the Nobility, and perſons of the firſt diſtinction accompanied, and at their entrance into the Church, the Prebends and other members received the corpſe in their veſtments, with much ſolemnity, and conducted it into the nave. After the funeral ſermon, which was preached by Dr. Sutton, and was eſteemed an excellent performance, they buried him in the ſouth iſle, near the learned Caſaubon, and over-againſt the celebrated Chaucer (*d*). Near the place a handſome monument of white marble was erected, with his effigies to the middle, and in his hand a book with Britannia inſcribed on the leaves, under which there is an elegant inſcription, but with a miſtake as to his age, which is there ſaid to be ſeventy-four, though he wanted almoſt ſix months of ſeventy-three (*e*). The Univerſity of Oxford alſo, in reſpect to a perſon whoſe breeding there did her ſo much honour, as well as out of gratitude for his noble benefaction, paid a remarkable tribute of various kinds of praiſe to the memory of this great man (*f*) [*X*]. His character is thus given us in few

(*b*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 66.

(*c*) Biſhop Gibſon's Life of our author.

(*d*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 77.

(*e*) Biſhop Gibſon's Life of our author.

(*f*) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 69.

refuting him, is likewiſe an exact tranſcript of his own. But what is more ſingular is, the recommendations prefixed to this book, under this title: 'The opinions and offices of ſundry choice and qualified Gentlemen, friends to the author, touching this his Diſcovery of Errors.' Theſe gentlemen were Sir William Segar, Knight, Garter Principal King at Arms; Richard St. George, Eſq; Norroy King at Arms; Samuel Thompſon, Eſq; Windſor-Herald; Henry St. George, Eſq; Richmond-Herald; Henry Chitting, Eſq; Cheſter-Herald; Sampſon Lennard. Blewmantle Purſuivant; John Philpot, Rouge Dragon; Mr. Richard Brathwayte, Mr. John Bradſhaw, Mr. Stephen Clyve, and, to cloſe all, a long letter from John Selden, Eſq; which appears to be one of the moſt laboured and correct things he ever wrote. All I have to add to this long note is, that from the ſplenetic attack originally made by Rafe Brooke upon the Britannia, aroſe very great advantages to the public, by the ſhifting and bringing to light as good, perhaps a better and more authentic account of our Nobility, than had been given, at that time, of thoſe in any other country of Europe.

[*W*] *At the bottom of the page.*] He wrote his Will himſelf, upon his laſt birth-day, May 2, 1623; it having been his conſtant cuſtom, as appears by his Diary, to ſpend that day in good works and pious meditations (84). In this his laſt teſtament, after a devout introduction, and bequeathing eight pounds to the poor of the pariſh in which he ſhould happen to die, he bequeaths to Sir Fulke Grevile, Lord Brooke, who preferred him *gratis* to his office, a piece of plate of ten pounds; to the company of Painter Stainers of London, he gave ſixteen pounds to buy them a piece of plate, upon which he directed this inſcription, *Gul. Camdenus Clarenceux filius Sampſonis, Pictoris Londinenſis, dono dedit*; he beſtowed the ſum of twelve pounds on the company of Cordwainers, or Shoemakers of London, to purchaſe them a piece of plate, on which the ſame inſcription was to be engraved. To his couſin John Wyat, Painter of London, he bequeathed one hundred pounds; to Mr. Camden of London, Silkman, ten pounds; and other legacies to his relations; to Mr. Thomas Allen of Glouceſter-hall, in Oxford, he gave ſixteen pounds; to Janus Gruter, Library-keeper to the Elector Palatine, five pounds; and to Mr. Harvey, Vicar of Chiſlehurſt, ſeven; to each of the ſix Heralds, four pounds; and to each of the Purſuivants, two pounds; to Sir Francis Leigh of Weſtminſter, four pounds; to Sir Peter Manwood, four pounds; to Sir William Pitt, three pounds; to Mr. St. Loe Kniverton, three pounds; the like to Mr. Chamberlayne and to Mr. Limiter; to Mr. Selden of the Temple, five pounds; to Mr. Harding the Uſher, four pounds: and ſeveral legacies to his ſervants and dependants. As to his books and papers he directs, that Sir Robert Cotton of Conington, ſhould have the firſt view of them, that he might take out ſuch as he had borrowed of him, and then he bequeaths to him all his printed books and manuſcripts, excepting ſuch as concern Arms and Heraldry, which, with his ancient ſeals, he bequeaths to his ſucceſſor in the office of Clarenceux, provided, becauſe they coſt him a conſiderable ſum of money, he gave to his couſin John Wyat, what the Kings at Arms, Garter, and Norroy for the time being, ſhould think fit; and agreed alſo to leave them to his ſucceſſor. Of this Will he conſtituted Dr. Heather ſole Executor, and appointed Sir Robert Cotton and Mr. John Wiſe, Overſeers, giving each of them ten pounds for mourning. It was proved on the 10th of November 1623, before Sir William Byrd, Doctor of Laws, by Doctor Heather, his Executor (85). But it muſt be obſerved, that notwithſtanding this diſpoſition of his books and papers, yet Dr. John Williams, then Dean of Weſtminſter, and Biſhop of Lincoln, afterwards Archbiſhop of York, procured all the printed books for the new library erected in the Church of Weſtminſter (86). It is underſtood, that his collections in ſupport of his hiſtory, with reſpect to civil affairs, were before this time depoſited in the Cotton library; for as to thoſe that related to eccleſiaſtical matters, when aſked for them by Dr. Goodman, ſon to his great benefactor, he declared he ſtood engaged to Dr. Bancroft, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who, upon his death, tranſlated his right to them to his ſucceſſor, Dr. Abbot, who actually had them, and intended to have publiſhed them. They came afterwards into the hands of Archbiſhop Laud, and are ſuppoſed to have been deſtroyed, when his papers fell into the hands of Mr. Prynne, Mr. Scot, and Hugh Peters; for upon a diligent ſearch made by Dr. Sancroft, ſoon after his promotion to that See, there was not a line of them to be found (87).

(84) Apparat. Annal. regn. reg. Jac. I. p. 57, 70, 79, 82.

(85) A Collection of curious Diſcourſes written by eminent Antiquaries, in the Append. No. 1.

(86) Biſhop Gibſon's Life of our author.

(87) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 66, 67.

[*X*] *To the memory of this great man.*] As ſoon as the news of his death reached Oxford, Mr. Degory Wheare, his learned Profeſſor of Hiſtory, reſolved to celebrate the memory of ſo worthy a man, by an oration, which he ſeems to have delivered only to ſuch as attended his Lecture. This oration of his was delivered on the 2d of December 1623, and a ſhort account is contained therein of the life and principal actions of the perſon, whoſe memory it celebrates (88). As it was ſo haſtily compoſed, and as orators are generally ſpeaking more attentive to the roundneſs of their periods, the propriety of their expreſſion, and the elegance of their method, than to matters of fact; we may from thence very eaſily account for ſeveral inaccuracies and errors, that are to be met with therein. One thing, however, deſerves particular notice. Mr. Wheare tells us indeed, that Mr. Camden had part of his education at Chriſt's Hoſpital, but he does not ſay that he received it from

(88) Printed firſt at Oxford in 1628, 4to. inſerted afterwards in the Latin Collection of ſelect Lives, by Dr. W. Bates.

few words by an excellent writer, to which little can be added. 'In his writings he 'was candid and modeſt, in his converſation eaſy and innocent, and in his whole life 'even and exemplary (*g*).' The high reputation his writings acquired him amongſt foreigners, is at the ſame time a tribute to his merit, and to the glory of this nation, which owes to few of her worthies in the Republic of Letters, more than to him, whoſe fame extended throughout Europe, and yet eſcaped the rage of Critics wherever it came. This was certainly owing, in a great meaſure, to the ſweetneſs and candour of his temper, which ſo qualified his learning, that in foreign nations all were ready to commend, and none cared to diſpute with him. All this might be eaſily taken for fond partiality, or for downright flattery, if thoſe who are acquainted with the writings of our author, were not fully ſenſible, that if we had ſaid even more than this, it might have been ſupported by indiſputable evidence, and alſo by the teſtimony of a cloud of witneſſes, from amongſt thoſe, who, in that age, were eſteemed firſt-rate writers (*b*) [*Y*]. But notwithſtanding

(*g*) Biſhop Gibſon's Life of our author.

(*b*) Cenſura Celebrium Authorum, p. 619.

from the charity: on the contrary, he ſeems to inſinuate, that he was ſent thither by his father, who from his very cradle had deſigned him a learned education: it is neceſſary to produce his own words. *Eum pater à primis incunabulis rei literariæ deſtinavit, cujus prima ſemina ſub magiſtro neſcio quo, in paidotrophio illo ampliſſimo quod Ædis Chriſti, Londini appellatur, imbibit, inde Scholam Colettianam, ad Divi Pauli ſitam petiit.* Dr. Smith gives a different turn to this; and on the very circumſtance of his having been at this ſchool infers, that he muſt have loſt his father early, and have been educated there on the foundation as an orphan (89). That he was educated there, ſeems to be a fact out of doubt; for otherwiſe, I cannot imagine, that Degory Wheare, would have advanced it; but that he was upon the foundation as an orphan of the city of London, is not agreeable to what Wheare ſays, or to many other circumſtances. But to proceed; the Univerſity, out of regard to the benefaction they had received from him, directed, that a public oration ſhould be made to his honour, before the whole Univerſity; to which office, Zouch Townly of Chriſt-Church was aſſigned, a man remarkable for his parts and eloquence, as well as for his poſſeſſion of the Latin tongue in its utmoſt elegance and purity. There was upon this occaſion, a prodigious concourſe of the learned of all ranks, many drawn by the fame of the ſpeaker, but more by their reſpect for the memory of that great man, of whom he was to ſpeak. He diſcharged his duty upon this occaſion, in a manner worthy of himſelf and of Camden: it is a lofty and magnificent piece of eloquence, which carries the glory of its ſubject as high as human genius could raiſe it, and has been therefore always eſteemed as laſting a monument to the praiſe of Camden, as that in Weſtminſter-Abbey (90). The Univerſity went ſtill farther: the verſes written to celebrate the praiſe of the deceaſed by the diſciples of the Muſes in her precincts, were collected into a book, and publiſhed in the ſucceeding year, together with the oration laſt mentioned, under the title of *Inſignia Camdeni* (91). But even this was not all: they were deſirous of honouring him to the very utmoſt of their power; and therefore, in a full and ſolemn Convocation, held on the 18th of December, it was decreed by the unanimous conſent of the whole Academical Senate, that Camden, for his moſt noble munificence towards the Univerſity of Oxford, ſhould be inſerted into the roll of their benefactors, in order to be commemorated at the ſtated ſolemnities, with the reſt of the benefactors to this ancient ſource of Literature, whether Kings, Queens, Prelates, or Nobles, who were in this manner remembered; and who, however unlike in other reſpects, and unequal in rank to each other, were in this both like and equal, that they laboured to promote piety and virtue, by encouraging learning and facilitating ſtudy (92). It is very remarkable, that, on the one hand, Mr. Camden, who had not been over kindly uſed by the Univerſity, when he was a member of it, who does not ſeem to have taken much notice of the offer of a degree, when he went thither on account of Sir Thomas Bodley's funeral (93), and who ſeems to have declined the title of Doctor, as he did of Knight afterwards (94), ſhould contribute in ſo generous a manner, and by ſo uſeful a foundation, to the ſplendor of that illuſtrious body; and, on the other hand, it deſerves our notice, that the ſame Univerſity which had been ſo frugal, I had like to have ſaid ſomething more, of her favours to him, when a young man, who had no other claim to them than from his merit, ſhould afterwards be ſo profuſe of them to his friend, when he waved accepting them himſelf, and think no honour too great for the memory of one who, it is true, had enriched them by his benefaction; and which was ſtill more, had done them ſo much credit by his education.

(89) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 2.

(90) *Ibid.* p. 83.

(91) Ath. Oxon. vol. i. col. 485.

(92) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 69.

(93) Ath. Oxon. vol. i. col. 482.

(94) Epiſt. Camdeni, p. 188. *Ibid.* p. 329.

[*Y*] *Were eſteemed firſt rate writers.*] It may not be amiſs to ſet down a very few only out of the almoſt numberleſs authorities, that without any difficulty might be aſſembled in proof of this point. The famous Juſtus Lipſius, upon a certain occaſion, ſpeaks thus to our author (95). 'I take thee, William 'Camden, for my judge, who lately, by the clear 'ſun of thy underſtanding, hath diſpelled the miſts 'which overwhelmed thy Britain.' The celebrated Joſeph Scaliger, in one of his moſt learned works, and which will preſerve his memory as long as any reſpect is paid to learning, ſpeaking of a certain point in Antiquity, ſays (96), 'It may be proved 'by a ſtone that was lately digged up in Britain, 'and which is produced by the moſt learned Camden, 'in his admirable performance.' In his Epiſtles alſo, he ſpeaks with raptures of our author, and tells his Engliſh friend to whom his Epiſtle is addreſſed, 'That he wanted time to inform that learned man 'himſelf (97), how much he thought himſelf obliged to him, for his benevolence in ſending it him.' The moſt celebrated Iſaac Caſaubon, writes to him in the following terms (98). 'It is not only the 'Engliſh, moſt learned man, who are for ever bound 'to you for this great work (*Britannia*), but all, and 'every one, let them reſide where they will, who 'are friends and lovers of ancient Hiſtory. Amongſt 'which, ſince I have preſumed to inſert my name, I 'would have you perſuaded, that no man can be 'more ſtudious in the peruſal of your works. All 'things in your writings pleaſe me extremely, the 'good ſenſe, diligence, learning, but above and 'beyond all, the ſagacity of your judgment.' Paulus Merula, ſpeaking of the aſſiſtance he had received from the learned, expreſſes himſelf thus (99): 'Out 'of Germany I returned home through France and 'England, where William Camden was to me of 'more uſe than all the reſt.' Thuanus writing to him for the helps that he expected from him, makes uſe of theſe very ſtrong expreſſions (100): 'Write, and 'do not deny your counſel to a friend that ſtands in 'need of it. Hints are ſufficient from you, nor is 'it neceſſary that you ſhould be at any pains in di'geſting them. Whatever you write will not only 'have the weight of advice, but the force of a com'mand: the next part of my hiſtory, which is al'ready printed, will ſhew you how much I value, 'as indeed I ought, your inſtructions.' The induſtrious Andrew du Cheſne, ſpeaking of the aſſiſtance he received from him, ſays (101), 'I received 'from that worthy Engliſhman, whoſe name ſtands 'ſo high in the liſt of men of letters, William Cam'den, ſeveral MSS. &c.' Inſtead of extending this note farther, we will conclude in the words of a great Prelate of our own (102): 'To be particular, 'ſays

(95) In Comment. l. xii. Annalium Taciti.

(96) In Animadverſionibus in Chronologica Euſebii ad an. 1213, Amſtelodami, 1658, p. 228.

(97) Epiſt. ad Richard. Thomponem, Lugduni Batav. p. 500.

(98) Epiſt. Camd. p. 60.

(99) In Præfatione ad Ennii fragmenta, Lugd. Batav. 1595.

(100) Epiſt. Camd. p. 68.

(101) In Præfat. ad Hiſtoriæ Normannorum Scriptores Antiquos. Lutet. Pariſ. fol. 1619.

(102) Biſhop Gibſon's Life of our author.

notwithſtanding all his great merit, and its being ſo generally, one might ſay univerſally, confeſſed, yet we ſhould have known what related to him very imperfectly, and in a very ſuperficial manner, if it had not been for the pious care, and indefatigable labour of the worthy Dr. Thomas Smith (*i*); who not only publiſhed a very curious and comprehenſive Life of our author, but, with incredible pains and induſtry, collected a great number of letters written to Mr. Camden, by the moſt judicious, as well as moſt learned, men, of other nations, beſides our own; and who likewiſe drew together abundance of ſmall pieces that fell from our author's pen, and which well deſerved to be tranſmitted to poſterity, and of which, as it is very requiſite, ſome notice ſhall be taken at the bottom of the page [*Z*]. That we might give an article of ſuch conſequence

(*i*) He not only publiſhed our author's Life and Letters, but left his Annals corrected by his own hand, to Mr. Hearne, who publiſhed them.

'ſays he, in his acquaintance, would be to reckon 'up all the learned men of his time. When he was 'young, learned men were his patrons; when he 'grew up, the learned men were his intimates; and 'when he came to be old, he was a patron to the 'learned. So that learning was his only care, and 'learned men the only comfort of his life. What 'an uſeful and honourable correſpondence he had 'ſettled, both at home and abroad, does beſt appear 'from his letters; and with what candour and 'eaſineſs he maintained it, the ſame letters may in'form us. The work he was engaged in for the 'honour of his native country, gained him reſpect 'at home, and admiration abroad, ſo that he was 'looked upon as a common oracle; and for a fo'reigner to travel into England and return without 'ſeeing Mr. Camden, was thought a very groſs 'omiſſion. He was viſited by ſix German Noble'men at one time, and at their requeſt wrote his 'Lemma in each of their books, as a teſtimony that 'they had ſeen him.'

[*Z*] *At the bottom of the page.*] The firſt of the pieces of Mr. Camden, publiſhed by Doctor Smith, is in Latin, and bears the title of (103) *Gulielmi Camdeni Annales, ab anno* 1603, *ad ann.* 1623; but the running title is *Gul. Camdeni regni regis Jacobi* I. *annalium apparatus*, i. e. A draft of William Camden's Annals of the reign of King James I. We have the following account of this work from Mr. Anthony Wood (104). 'The Annals of King 'James, reach from the death of Queen Elizabeth, '24th of March 1602-3, to 18th of Auguſt 1623, 'and no farther, becauſe the author being then very 'ill in body (remaining in that condition till his 'death) he could not well continue them any far'ther: ſo that theſe memoirs want more than for 'a year, to the end of the reign of James I. Theſe 'Annals are written with the author's own hand in 'fol. being only a ſkeleton of a hiſtory, or bare 'touches, to put the author in mind of greater mat'ters that he had in his head, had he lived to have 'digeſted them in a full hiſtory, as that of Queen 'Elizabeth. The original came after his death into 'the hands of Mr. John Hacket, afterwards D. D. 'and at length Biſhop of Litchfield; who, as I have 'been divers times informed, did privately convey 'it out of the library of the author; Hacket being 'then a Maſter of Arts of ſome years ſtanding. 'This original being communicated by the ſaid Dr. 'Hacket, while he was living at Litchfield, to Mr. '(afterwards Sir) William Dugdale, then Norroy 'King at Arms; he, contrary to the Doctor's know'ledge, took a copy of it, which I have ſeen and 'peruſed at Sir William's houſe, called Blith-hall 'in Warwickſhire; but therein I found many miſ'takes, as it afterwards more evidently appeared to 'me, when that tranſcript was put into the *Aſhmo'lean Muſæum:* another copy I have ſeen in the 'hands of Sir Henry St. George, Clarenceux King 'at Arms, which having been tranſcribed by one that 'underſtands not Latin, there are innumerable faults 'therein, and therefore not all to be relied upon. 'After Dr. Hacket's death, the original was put 'into the library of Trinity-College, in Cambridge, 'where it now remains.' It appears plainly from hence, that Mr. Wood really thought theſe were Mr. Camden's materials for the writing the Annals for King James's reign: but whoever ſhall conſider them attentively, will perceive, that he had no ſuch intention, amongſt many others, for theſe reaſons. In the firſt place, they are very unequal; in ſome years there are memoranda to every month, and almoſt to every day of the month; in others, there are only a few months; and in the year 1609, the dates are in February, March, and June only, and there are not above ten articles in the whole year. In the next place, they are very improperly digeſted for ſuch a purpoſe; many things of great moment are omitted; many of little importance are ſet down. In thoſe years, in which he is moſt copious, theſe trivial matters abound moſt. As for inſtance, in the year 1615, he ſets down, that in the month of February there was hard froſt (105), and a great deal of ſnow; more eſpecially on the 12th, and on the 14th; and that the froſt did not break till on the 26th. March 13, the firſt part of his Annals went to the preſs; on June 8, they were publiſhed (106). The month of July, was very dry throughout to the 31ſt, when it rained very hard (107). One ſees plainly from hence, that he did not intend this for a public hiſtory. As he had more leiſure, he enlarged his Diary; but then it appears, that he ſet down only thoſe things that concerned himſelf, his friends, or his office, as King at Arms: as he grew infirm, he ſet down when he was taken ill, when he went out of town, when he returned to it: and, in a word, whatever elſe occurred to him, that he thought worth remembering; as for inſtance, 'April 8, 1618, 'There was a great foot-race run, at which, though 'it was a dull day, the King was preſent, the mob 'was very great, and one J. Hubbard, ſon to the 'Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, who 'married Viſcount Liſle's daughter, was very much 'hurt (108).' It is true, that to give theſe more the air of Annals, almoſt all the paſſages of this ſort are thrown out in the Engliſh tranſlation; but by this means the cheat, or at leaſt the miſtake is carried on, and unwary people are led to believe, that from ſuch notes as theſe, our author intended to compoſe the Annals of the reign of King James, which is equally injurious to truth, and to the memory of Mr. Camden. What they really were, and how far they may be of uſe, that judicious Prelate we have ſo often quoted, has told us (109). 'From 'the end of Queen Elizabeth to his own death, he 'kept a Diary of all (rather, of many of) the re'markable paſſages in the reign of King James. 'Not that he could ſo much as dream of living to 'make uſe of them himſelf at that age, and under 'thoſe many infirmities, which a laborious life had 'drawn upon him. But he was willing however, 'to contribute all the aſſiſtance he could to any that 'ſhould do the ſame honour to the reign of King 'James, which he had done to that of Queen Eliza'beth. If this were practiſed by perſons of learn'ing and curioſity, who have opportunity of ſeeing 'into the public affairs of a kingdom, what a large 'ſtep would it be towards a hiſtory of the reſpective 'times? For after all, the ſhort hints and ſtrictures 'of that kind, do very often ſet things in a truer 'light than regular hiſtories, which are but too 'commonly written to ſerve a party, and ſo draw 'one inſenſibly out of the right way. Whereas, if 'men are left themſelves to make their own in'ferences from ſimple matters of fact, as they lay 'before them; though perhaps, they may often be 'at a loſs how to make things hang together; yet 'their aim ſhall be ſtill true, and they ſhall hardly 'be miſtaken in the main. One ſingle matter of 'fact, faithfully and honeſtly delivered, is worth a 'thouſand comments and flouriſhes.' To this piece we find annexed, a leaf of an Engliſh Diary, for the years

(103) In the ſame volume with Camden's Life and Letters.

(104) Ath. Oxon. vol. i. col. 481.

(105) Apparat. Annal. regn. reg. Jac. I. p. p. 11.

(106) *Ibid.* p. 12.

(107) *Ibid.* p. 13.

(108) *Ibid.* p. 31.

(109) Biſhop Gibſon's Life of our author.

conſequence with all the advantage poſſible, we have been careful in peruſing what had been hitherto done in this way, and by comparing the facts with his own writings, have detected and rectified various miſtakes, which hitherto had paſſed current even with the learned world. But beſides theſe, we have met with ſome other circumſtances, memorials, and remarks, that may deſerve the reader's attention, and yet could not well be reduced into the general repreſentation of his life and writings; and therefore, that they might not be loſt, we have thrown them into a note [*AA*]. The great pains taken by the

year 1603, 1604, and 1605; but it is remarkable, that they do not at all agree with the Latin Diary. There is a looſe leaf alſo of very ſhort hints, relating to his own life. Then follow two ſhort diſcourſes, upon the etymology, antiquity, and office of the Earl Marſhal of England. His verſes come next; and firſt his Latin Poem, in praiſe of the famous Roger Aſcham, written in compliment to his friend Dr. Grant. Another Latin Poem follows, intitled, *Hibernia*; then his excellent Epigram, in praiſe of Hakluyt's Voyages; and laſtly, an Epigram on Sir Clement Edmund's tranſlation of Cæſar's Commentaries: all theſe are in Latin, as are alſo the collection of Epitaphs, written by him; which are ten in number. The moſt remarkable, is that for Mary Queen of Scots, which probably was intended for her tomb in Weſtminſter-Abbey; on which there is now a larger, but far leſs elegant inſcription.

[*AA*] *We have thrown them into a note.*] There is great reaſon to believe, that notwithſtanding our author's warm love of Antiquities, the firſt work he projected, was a regular Hiſtory of England, from the Norman Conqueſt, in Latin. He tells us ſo himſelf pretty plainly; and from the ſpecimen he has given us (110) of his abilities in that way, we have the greateſt reaſon to regret, that he did not proſecute his deſign: for if he had, we ſhould certainly have ſeen an Engliſh Hiſtory equal in point of compoſition to Buchanan's boaſted Hiſtory of Scotland; and much ſuperior to it, in all other reſpects. His turn for Latin Poetry was admirable, and the marriage of Tame and Iſis, inſerted in the Britannia, and which is certainly his own, does as much honour to the quickneſs of his fancy, the beauty of his expreſſion, and the harmony of his numbers, as the reſt of that noble work does to his judgment, induſtry, and learning. But it ſeems he was afraid of being thought to apply himſelf to theſe kind of lighter ſtudies, which might be thought inconſiſtent with the gravity of his employments, and the ſerioufneſs of his temper. At leaſt, this we may have leave to gueſs from what his worthy and grateful ſcholar, Benjamin Jonſon, tells him in the Dedication of one of his Comedies (111). 'There are, no doubt, a ſu-
'percilious race in the world, who will eſteem all
'offices done you in this kind an injury; ſo ſolemn
'a vice it is with them, to uſe the authority of their
'ignorance, to the crying down of poetry or the
'profeſſors of it. But my gratitude muſt not leave
'to correct their error, ſince I am none of thoſe that
'can ſuffer the benefits conferred upon my youth to
'periſh with my age. I pray you accept this, ſuch
'wherein, neither the confeſſion of my manners ſhall
'make you bluſh, nor of my ſtudies repent you to
'have been the inſtructor.' The reverence and gratitude of Mr. Jonſon, was farther expreſſed in other of his works; and indeed, there have been few men of learning, who met with ſuch general reſpect from their contemporaries as Camden did. The famous Spenſer, in an excellent poem of his, intitled, *The Ruins of Time* (112), has a very fine ſtanza, to the honour of this learned man, which was written in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and is therefore referred to the fame that he acquired by his Britannia; it runs thus:

Camden, the nourice of Antiquity,
And lanthorn unto late ſucceeding age
To ſee the light of ſimple verity,
Buried in ruines, through the great outrage
Of her own people led with warlike rage:
Camden, though time all monuments obſcure,
Yet thy juſt labours ever ſhall endure.

Nor does it appear, that he was leſs reſpected by perſons, who perhaps in ſome things differed from him in opinion: as for inſtance, the famous Mr. Bolton (113), ſo well known to the world, by his excellent book, intitled, *Nero Cæſar*; a good Hiſtorian himſelf, and a profound Antiquary, but withal a Papiſt, complimented him in the following manner, upon Sir William Segar's and Sir Richard St. George's being knighted, who were Garter and Norroy Kings at Arms:

'Right worthy Sir,

'THOUGH your brother Kings have out-gone
'in you the honour of Knighthood, they ſhall ever
'come behind you very far in the greater honour of
'immortal fame. Some aſcribe it to ambition in
'you, that you are not a Knight (for you know how
'prepoſterouſly witty the wits of our time are on
'other men's actions and abſtinencies) as thinking
'the neglect thereof an higher point than the ac-
'ceptance: Others to puſillanimity; and we your
'friends to your modeſty; which I am angry with,
'notwithſtanding, becauſe it hath deprived us of
'ſome ſplendour, and comfort in our friend's ad-
'vancement.'

In another work of his, intitled, *Hypercritica* (114), in which, without queſtion, he has advanced as many judicious obſervations, in reference to Engliſh Hiſtory, as are any where to be met with, he very juſtly reproves a great error of ſome learned men, in altering proper names, that they might make a more claſſical appearance in their Latin; and takes an opportunity from thence, to pay a very handſome compliment to our author, for his wiſe caution in this particular. As the paſſage is curious, and the book ſcarce, the reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee it. 'He who
'would compoſe a *Corpus Rerum Anglicarum*, a ge-
'neral *Hiſtory of England* in Latin, hath no other
'rules to follow, but ſuch as he who writes it in
'Engliſh. One thing nevertheleſs, is primely need-
'ful by our Latin Hiſtoriographer to be conſulted of
'and determined, becauſe I have obſerved much
'perplexity riſing out of the right or erroneous
'practice thereof. The difficulty therefore is, what
'to do in our Latin Hiſtory, with names of perſons,
'things, or places, which are not filed down to the
'ſmoothneſs of Latin ſounds, or rules of termination.
'Lucian notes a ridiculous curioſity in one Hiſtorian,
'who affecting Attic elegancy, would needs faſhion
'Latin names to the Greek garb, either by tranſla-
'tion, by alluſion, or tranſportation of letters. By
'tranſlation, as in calling *Saturninus*, *Chronius*; by
'alluſion, as in calling *Fronto*, *Frontis*; by *Meta-
'theſis*, or tranſportation of ſyllables or letters, in
'calling *Titianus*, *Titanius*. In this fine and mere
'ſchooliſh folly, after that, George Buchanan is of-
'ten taken, not without caſting his reader into ob-
'ſcurity. For in his Hiſtories, where he ſpeaketh
'of one Wiſehart, ſo little was his ear able to brook
'the name, as that tranſlating the ſenſe thereof in-
'to Greek, of Wiſehart, comes forth unto us *Sopho-
'cardius:* and Wiſehart, whoſe name it was in-
'tended ſhould live, was quite loſt, or muſt be ſought
'for out in Lexicons. The better care of that po-
'lite and eloquent Scot, had been of truth and
'loyalty. All our Hiſtorians, *ad unum* (for ought I
'can remember) follow the plain prolation and
'truth of proper names; and ſo doth the moſt ap-
'proved and learned Philologer and Antiquary of
'our nation, Mr. Camden.' His friends alſo, who had given him countenance and aſſiſtance in the earlier part of his life, maintained the ſame warmth

(110) Britan. in Norman.

(111) See the Dedication of Ben. Jonſon's Play, *Every Man in his Humour.*

(112) Spenſer's Works, vol. vi. p. 466.

(113) Epiſt. Camd. p. 188.

(114) Addreſs the 4th, Sect. v.

the accurate Mr. Bayle, the judicious Father Niceron, the ſeveral editors of Moreri's Dictionary, and other foreign writers, ſeem to lay us under a neceſſity of endeavouring to improve to the utmoſt, an article which has been, and ever will be, an ornament of every collection of this ſort; at the ſame time that it contributes not a little to illuſtrate various

of affection for him, even in their own old age and his, which might appear from Sir Henry Savile's earneſt invitation of him to Eton, that they might ſpend their declining years together; from the letters of the Biſhop of Glouceſter, and from thoſe of Mr. Thomas Allen, both his ancient and conſtant friends. We will however content ourſelves, with tranſcribing only a ſhort one, from Dr. Francis Godwin, then Lord Biſhop of Hereford (115), which, though written in Engliſh, is penned in the true ſpirit of Antiquity, and would have made no inconſiderable figure in the collections of Cicero or Pliny. 'Laſt *Eaſter* 'term I was in *London*, and ſought you, but had not 'the good hap to find you. It diſcontented me not 'a little; I had no other errand but to ſee you. I 'love you; nay, I honour you. We now grow old 'and ſickly. I am afraid we ſhall never meet. '*Fiat voluntas Domini*. But what becomes of your 'ſecond part of *Elizabetha?* How fain would I ſee 'it out? Let it not die. Live you long. *Faxit*. 'You ſhall live the longer, if the world may ſee it, 'if perchance the world hath not already ſeen that 'of you, which ſhall make you immortal even in 'this world, except ſo far forth, as the world itſelf 'is mortal. Although, why do I put in that *perhaps* 'of that which is *extra aleam?* You ſee how de'lighting to talk with you, I had rather to talk 'idle, than to ſay nothing. *Camdeno meo ſalutem* '*plurimam. Vale.* Whitborne, October 9, 1620.' As to his reputation in his laſt profeſſion, that of a King at Arms, he carried it ſo high, that ſuch as meant to recommend their labours to the world in matters of that nature, knew no better or more ſucceſsful method, than by courting his protection, as appears from the following words of Mr. Milles (116), in his Dedication of Glover's, alias Somerſet's, Account of the Nobility; 'Learned William 'Camden, whom vertue her ſelf for piety and pro'bity, and honouring *Greate Britaine*, hath crowned 'a King of Arms.' But in all probability, this compliment coſt Mr. Milles very dear; for one may reaſonably ſuppoſe it put Brooke upon attacking him, ſo that all that followed was but a continuation of the old quarrel, which was kept on foot, from firſt to laſt, for very near thirty years. The induſtrious John Stowe was alſo a client of Mr. Camden's, who afforded him both countenance and aſſiſtance in the proſecution of his labours, for which reaſon he had a plentiful ſhare of abuſe beſtowed upon him in Brooke's writings (117), who charges him with making a tranſcript of Leland's Itinerary, for the uſe of Mr. Camden, who, as he pretends, allowed him an annual penſion for this as long as he lived. His favours to John Philipot and Auguſtine Vincent have been already remembered: and indeed it muſt be allowed, that no man was more communicative to his friends, or more ready to do them honour upon all occaſions, as appears from the frequent mention he makes of John Johnſon, an excellent Poet and learned Antiquary of Scotland; many of whoſe verſes, with high commendations, he has inſerted in his *Britannia*. But neither his extenſive learning, or his high reputation, could defend him from the envy of his enemies while living, or his memory from inſults after his death. A Church Hiſtorian (118), without naming him, has taken great pains to inſinuate things to his prejudice; and though he lay directly in his way, has avoided mentioning his name with praiſe, which, to a degree of fulſomeneſs, he has beſtowed upon perſons of far leſs merit. Dr. Smith gives us a much ſtronger inſtance of an extravagant and ill-grounded reſentment, which induced a certain young gentleman (119) of very good family, who, thinking the reputation of his mother hurt by ſomewhat that Camden has delivered of her in his Hiſtory, could find no other way to be revenged, than by breaking off a piece from the noſe of his ſtatue in Weſtminſter-Abbey: An action as mean and baſe, as it was wicked and unjuſt. It ſeems, that Anthony Wood (120) had not taken notice of this circumſtance; for he ſeems to attribute the injury done to Camden's ſtatue to ſome accident that happened at the ſolemnity of the pompous funeral of the laſt Earl of Eſſex, General of the army raiſed by the Parliament againſt Charles I. But poſterity hath done ample juſtice to his merit; paying the higheſt credit, as well as reverence, to his works, and looking with a juſt indignation on ſuch low attempts as theſe to tarniſh his reputation. Whoever would ſee an elegant panegyric in the form of a monumental inſcription, worthy of Camden's learning, prudence, and impartiality, may find it drawn by the pen of that admirable Maſter of Latin eloquence, Thomas Farnaby (121); or if verſes be more agreeable, in the poetical inſcription under an original picture of our author beſtowed on the Univerſity of Oxford by Degory Wheare (122), in memory of his patron, and placed in the ſchool (123) where the Hiſtory Lecture by him founded is ſtill publicly read; and may it be till all Hiſtories fail!

C.

*** [Among Sir William Muſgrave's Memoranda is an Extract from the Hiſtory of Europe, vol. i. p. 360, in which it is aſſerted, that Camden was born in 1553. But the date aſſigned to his birth in the text is, we are perſuaded, right; and of this we are the more convinced, as the account given of our eminent Antiquary, in the work referred to, is in other reſpects certainly erroneous.

Among the reſt of the proofs which Camden afforded of his early attention to the ſtudy of antiquities, one was, that when he was an Undergraduate at Chriſt-Church, he ſurveyed all the churches and chapels in Oxford, and gave a deſcription of the monuments and arms in each of them. Wood often told Dr. Smith, that he had ſeen theſe church-notes, but never would ſay where (124); and they are probably by this time entirely loſt.

Mr. Camden's Greek Grammar was not ſtrictly and originally his own. His predeceſſor in Weſtminſter School, Dr. Edward Grant, compoſed a copious one, of which Camden's is only an abridgment (125).

It is a circumſtance to the honour of our great author, that in Dr. Smith's interleaved copy of the Britannia at Oxford, is a formal Recantation by Brooke. The Ducheſs of Newcaſtle, however, above fifty years after, took up the quarrel. In one of her Plays, juſtly called, 'The Unnatural Tra'gedy,' is a whole ſcene againſt the Britannia. Three or four virgins and matrons criticizing on the ſpeeches in the ancient hiſtorians, one of the ladies in the dialogue proceeds to charge our later Chronologers, and eſpecially Camden, with writing not only partially, but falſely. The immediate object of the charge is his account of Families (126). The criticiſm of this famous Ducheſs, who might probably be diſguſted at ſome ſuppoſed omiſſion or neglect in our author, can be of little injury to his reputation.

Mr. Granger takes notice, that Camden is one of thoſe writers who have ſubjoined the final letters for their names to ſome of their works. This appears from the end of his Dedication to his 'Remaines 'concerning Great Britain.' The ſame fancy was adopted by ſeveral authors of the laſt century (127).

K.

*** [Camden's Hiſtory of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth is certainly a valuable hiſtorical compoſition: it is, however, too favourable a repreſentation of the adminiſtration of that princeſs; and we cannot think the work entitled to ſuch very high encomiums as are beſtowed on it in this article.

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(115) Epiſt. Camd. p. 308.

(116) Catalogue of Nobility, Lond. 1610, fol. in his Dedication to Robert Earl of Saliſbury.

(117) See his Second Diſcovery of Errors in the much-commended Britannia, p. 97.

(118) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. under the year 1535, p. 198.

(119) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 75.

(120) Ath. Oxon. vol. i. col. 485.

(121) Prefixed to the third vol. of Mr. Hearne's edition of Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth.

(122) Smith, Vit. Camd. p. 71.

(123) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. l. ii. p. 43.

(124) Britiſh Topography, vol. ii. p. 91.

(125) Bentham's Hiſt. of the Church of Ely, p. 257.

(126) Britiſh Topography, vol. i. p. 27, 28.

(127) Granger's Biographical Hiſt. vol. ii. page ſecond edition.

various important points relating to our Civil Hiſtory, to the memoirs of other learned perſons, and other valuable purpoſes that naturally coincide with a deſign of doing juſtice to the memory of a man, diſtinguiſhed not by the excellence only, or by the extent, but by the variety alſo of his knowledge.

Le Clerc, in his *Bibliotheque Choiſie* (128), has made ſome obſervations on what Camden has ſaid concerning Buchanan, and Mary Queen of Scots, in his Annals of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and ſhewn, that in thoſe parts of his work he is not to be implicitly relied on, having written either under the influence of prejudice, or miſinformation. Dr. Robertſon alſo makes it appear, that Camden's repreſentation of ſome important tranſactions relative to Queen Mary are very ill founded (129).

(128) Tome viii. p. 139, 158.

(129) Hiſt. of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 388, 389, 415.

Le Clerc intimates, that Camden was miſled by the good opinion that he had of his prince, King James I. and his zeal for his ſervice: and it appears from note [Q], that the ſubmiſſive loyalty of Camden led him to pay a greater regard to King James's opinion than it was entitled to. That prince could be no impartial judge of the propriety, or impropriety, of publiſhing the Annals of Queen Elizabeth.

Camden and De Thou ſeem to have differed much in their ideas concerning ſome important tranſactions in Scotland. Camden repreſents the Earl of Murray as aſpiring to the crown, and as concerned in plotting the murder of the King; but De Thou in one of his letters to him relative to Scottiſh affairs, expreſſes himſelf to the following purpoſe: "I very much "fear, that I have not every where obſerved that "moderation, in the narration of Scottiſh affairs, "which you recommend. I ſhould have been in the "leſs danger of incurring cenſure from you on this "account, if it had been allowable for me, as I "ſhould rather have wiſhed, wholly to have omitted "the relation of one tranſaction, which is in the "mouth of every body. But I ſhould not have diſ-"charged my duty in the work that I have under-"taken, if I had not avoided a ſhameful ſilence as "much as falſehood itſelf. And if it was neceſſary "that I ſhould write upon the ſubject, I do not ſee "how I could have written otherwiſe than I have "done. For to endeavour to impute to another, "merely upon ſuſpicion, the guilt of a crime which "you have yourſelf openly committed, what is it "but to endeavour to defend thoſe who are in "danger of condemnation, by ſubterfuges founded "on calumny? This might, perhaps, admit of ſome "excuſe, in a man accuſed of a crime, and defend-"ing himſelf in a doubtful cauſe; becauſe it might "be allowable for him to ſave his life as well as he "could: but it would be criminal in one who had "made a profeſſion of ſpeaking the truth, that he "ſhould load one perſon with infamy, in order to "remove from another the imputation of guilt. "The thing ſpeaks for itſelf. For let us ſuppoſe it "to be true, as is given out by ſome, that the Earl "of Murray, inflamed with ambition, wickedly de-"ſired to make himſelf King: (though this is con-"ſtantly denied by all the Scots worthy of credit "with whom I have converſed upon the ſubject; "even thoſe to whom Murray was otherwiſe odious "on account of his religion; for they ſay, that, "independently of his religion, he was a man free "from ambition, avarice, or from injuring any one; "a courageous man, courteous in his manners, be-"neficent, and of a very unblameable life; and that "if it had not been for him, thoſe who ſpeak ſo "much evil of him ſince his death, would not now "have been in poſſeſſion of the government:) but "let us ſuppoſe, I ſay, that, diſregarding all laws, "divine and human, he had formed the deſign of "committing ſo great a crime, with whom muſt he "have conſulted, and whom muſt he have taken as "an aſſociate in the buſineſs? In the firſt place, it "is well known, that there never was a greater ani-"moſity than that which ſubſiſted between Murray "and Bothwell. Who then can believe, that ſuch "inveterate enemies would conſult together con-"cerning ſo great a crime as a conſpiracy againſt "the King, or that they could hope that it would be "kept ſecret between them? Beſides, who can be-"lieve that Murray, who was ſo great an enemy of "Bothwell, would, after the commiſſion of the "crime, adviſe his ſiſter to marry the parricide? Or "that the Queen could be ſo ſenſeleſs, as to liſten "to a man who adviſed her to ſo diſhonourable and "dangerous a marriage? Laſtly, Why did Murray "afterwards retire of his own accord into France, "if he hoped to derive any advantages from theſe "troubles? Or why afterwards, when he was re-"called, did he govern the affairs of the kingdom "with ſo much integrity, during the infancy of the "King, and defend him in his tender years againſt "the Hamiltons, if he had conceived the hope of "gaining poſſeſſion of the throne by the deſtruction "of the King? For it would have been leſs odious, "and leſs dangerous, for him to contend for the "ſovereignty againſt the Hamiltons, if they had "ſucceeded in their deſigns, than to ruin and deſtroy "the ſon of his ſiſter, who had been entruſted to his "care both by her and by the parliament. In ſhort, "for what reaſon can you ſuppoſe that the Hamil-"tons, who aſpired to the tyranny, ſhould conſpire "againſt the life of Murray, except that they de-"ſpaired of ſucceeding in their deſigns, during the "life of ſo courageous a defender of the infant "King?

"On the other hand, reflect on the familiarity "which there was between the Queen and Bothwell, "before the murder of her huſband; on that hatred, "and contempt of the King, which ſhe openly diſ-"covered after the death of Rizzio; on the preci-"pitate acquittal of Bothwell, by the Queen's in-"fluence, though he was not only ſuſpected of the "murder of the King, but in the general opinion "conſidered as guilty; and on the divorce of Both-"well from his wife, of the family of Gordon, that "he might contract a more infamous marriage. "For as to the rape of the Queen, who is there that "does not conſider this as a ſubject of laughter? "Or rather, from the circumſtances that have been "mentioned, muſt we not neceſſarily conclude, that "a woman of ſo high a ſpirit would never have "conſented to this marriage, nor afterwards excuſed "it with ſuch artificial letters, if ſhe had not been "previouſly influenced by a ſtrong inclination for "this connexion (130)?"

(130) Camden Epiſt. p. 73, 74.

Dr. Robertſon, ſpeaking of the ſubſcriptions of ſome of the Scottiſh nobles to a paper in favour of Bothwell, and recommending him as a proper perſon for the Queen's huſband, obſerves, that "of all the "different ſyſtems with regard to this tranſaction, "that of Camden ſeems to be the leaſt accurate, and "the worſt founded (131):" and it cannot be denied, that there are ſome miſtakes and miſrepreſentations in our author's Annals of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In juſtice to Camden, however, it ſhould be obſerved, that he might give an erroneous account of ſundry tranſactions mentioned in his hiſtory, without any deſign on his part to miſlead his readers. There are many caſes in which it is extremely difficult, and ſometimes impoſſible, to attain an exact and thorough knowledge of the real ſtate of facts, though the truth be ſought with impartiality and diligence. It likewiſe often happens, that an hiſtorian may not be able to throw near ſo much light upon ſome tranſactions of his own time, as he may upon thoſe of a period ſomewhat more remote. Many ſtate papers, and private letters, are publiſhed by degrees, which greatly elucidate the hiſtory of particular periods, and which no contemporary hiſtorian can obtain. A much more complete, accurate, and impartial Hiſtory of the reign of Queen Elizabeth might now be written, than could have been produced in the time of Camden.] T.

(131) Hiſt. of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 415.

CAMPBELL,

CAMPBELL, an ancient and noble family in the kingdom of Scotland, the preſent chief of which is his Grace the Duke of Argyle, and of which family are beſides, the Earls of Loudon and Braidalbane; as there were anciently Earls of Athol, and Irvine, of this name, to which alſo the earldom of Iſlay lately belonged. As to the antiquity of this houſe, the beſt proof of it is the difficulty that occurs in ſpeaking of its origin. It is very well known, that the Bards and Sanachies were the ancient Heralds of that, and indeed of this country; and that they preſerved the memory of families, the Chiefs of which had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in war, in their ſongs; or to give them a better title, of which they are not at all unworthy, their lyric odes, and tranſmitted an account of their deſcents by tradition. That this kind of authority is evidence ſufficient to eſtabliſh hiſtorical facts, is what we dare not determine; but we may be permitted to ſay, without being ſuſpected of partiality for ſuch kind of teſtimony, that if it ought to be admitted in any caſe, this of genealogies may claim the preference, as being that, of all others, in which they were moſt ſcrupulous, and therefore beſt deſerved to be believed. By theſe then it has been remembered, one dares not ſay recorded, that this family were Lords of Lochow in Argyleſhire, in the reign of Fergus II. the reſtorer of the monarchy of Scotland, in the very beginning of the Vth century. It is not, however, pretended, that they were then diſtinguiſhed by the ſame ſurname as now. On the contrary we are told, theſe old Lords of Lochow were known to the world by the name of O-Dwbin, or rather O-Dwin, or Macdwine, for which laſt name there is ſome authority; ſince, by a charter granted to Colin Campbell, of Lochow, by King David II. ratifying the alienation made by Chriſtian, daughter and heir of Sir Dougal Campbell, his great uncle, of the lands of Craigniſh, it is declared, that the ſaid Colin Campbell ſhall hold thoſe lands of the King and his heirs, in as ample a manner as his anceſtor Duncan Macdwine held the barony of Lochow. We are told, on the authority of the Sanachies before-mentioned, that this appellation was aſſumed by Diarmed O-Dwin, one of their anceſtors, a brave and warlike man; and in the Iriſh language his deſcendants are called to this time Scol Diarmed, that is, the poſterity and offspring of Diarmed. From this Diarmed O-Dwin the Bards have recorded a long ſeries of the Barons of Lochow, who, they tell us, were very renowned both for conduct and valour. Paul O-Dwin, Lord of Lochow, called Paul in Spuran, ſo denominated from his being the King's Treaſurer, having no male iſſue, his eſtate went to his daughter Eva, who married Gileſpick O-Dwin, a relation of her own, who changed the name firſt from O-Dwin to Campbell, to perpetuate the memory of a noble and heroic piece of ſervice performed by him to the crown of France, in the reign of King Malcolm Canmure. By this Lady he left a ſon Duncan, who was Lord of Lochow, and was the father of Colin, and he again of Archibald, and he of Duncan Baron of Lochow. His ſon and ſucceſſor was Archibald Campbell, Knight, Lord of Lochow, who was the father of Sir Colin Campbell, a perſon who diſtinguiſhed himſelf, as well by the acquiſitions he made to his eſtates, as by his great actions in war, from whence he obtained the ſurname of Moor, and from this Colin it is, that the head of this illuſtrious family is ſtiled by the Iriſh Mac Collan More. He was ſlain in a conflict with a powerful neighbour of his, the Lord of Lorn, which created a feud between the two families, that laſted till they were united by marriage. His ſon, Sir Nicol or Neil, was honoured with that dignity by King Alexander III. and was one of the great men of Scotland, ſummoned to Berwick by King Edward I. and ſubmitted for a time to John de Baliol, as did alſo his brother Sir Donald Campbell, of Redhouſe, from whom the noble family of Loudon is lineally deſcended. But when Robert Bruce aſſerted his title to the Crown, Sir Neil Campbell joined him very early, and notwithſtanding all the efforts of the Lord of Lorn, reduced that country to his obedience. He was amongſt that handful of loyal ſubjects, who were preſent at the coronation of King Robert, at Scoon, in 1306; and when many deſerted him, Sir Neil Campbell, to his immortal honour, entered into an aſſociation with Sir Gilbert Hay and Sir Alexander Seton, wherein, in a moſt ſolemn manner, they bound themſelves to defend, till the laſt period of their lives, the liberties of their country, and the right of Robert Bruce their King, againſt all mortals, French, Engliſh, and Scots, to which they appended their ſeals at the abbey of Cambuſkenneth, 9 Sept. 1308. He was appointed alſo one of the Commiſſioners on the part of Scotland, to treat of a peace in 1314 with the Engliſh; which negociation, though it was not altogether ſucceſsful, procured however a releaſe or exchange of priſoners, and amongſt the reſt, of the Lady Mary Bruce, the King's ſiſter, whom Edward I. had not only impriſoned, but cauſed to be carried about in a cage, for Walter Cumine. Sir Neil Campbell, Lord of Lochow, was the next year preſent in the Parliament held at Air, in which the Crown was entailed upon Robert Bruce and his heirs, at which time Sir Neil obtained a grant of ſeveral lands for his good ſervices, and, as a ſtill higher mark of his Sovereign's confidence and eſteem, his ſiſter, the Lady Mary Bruce before-mentioned, in marriage; but he did not long ſurvive this high honour. He left

left two ſons, of whom the ſecond, John Campbell, was, by King David II. honoured with the high title of Earl of Athol; but he dying without iſſue, the title became extinct in his family. Sir Colin Campbell, of Lochow, attended Edward Bruce in his expedition into Ireland in 1316, when he took the title of King of that country. He alſo faithfully adhered to King David Bruce during all his troubles, and re-taking for him the caſtle of Dunoon, which, for ſome time, was in the hands of the Engliſh, he was made hereditary governor of that fortreſs, which ſtill remains in his family. He deceaſed in 1340, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Archibald, who was alſo remarkably attached to the houſe of Bruce. His eldeſt ſon, Colin, was in great favour with King Robert II. and was employed by him to reſtrain the Highlanders, who infeſted the weſtern provinces of Scotland; which he did ſo effectually, that he obtained a grant of ſeveral lands for that ſervice. He was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Sir Duncan Campbell, a man equally famous for his valour and wiſdom, who married the lady Margery Stewart, daughter of Robert Duke of Albany, Governor of Scotland, and by his intereſt with Murdoch, Duke of Albany, he prevailed upon him to ranſome and reſtore King James I. who had been many years priſoner in England. This ſignal ſervice made ſuch an impreſſion upon the King's mind, that he conſidered him ever after as one of the moſt deſerving of his ſubjects, received him into his Privy-Council, and made him Lord Juſtice and Lieutenant of the ſhire of Argyle. He was continued in his offices by King James II. to whom he adhered faithfully in all the troubles which diſturbed the beginning of his reign, in conſideration of which he was honoured with the title of Lord Campbell, *Anno Domini* 1445. He was the firſt that took the title of Argyle, though he as often uſed his old title of Lochow, and was a very charitable and religious perſon. He had by the Lady Margery Stewart before-mentioned, three ſons; the eldeſt, Cæleſtine, died without iſſue in his father's life-time; the ſecond, Archibald, alſo died before him, but left iſſue by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Somerville, a ſon who ſucceeded his grandfather; his third ſon was Sir Colin Campbell, of Glenurchie, anceſtor to the Earls of Braidalbain. He had alſo three ſons by his ſecond wife, Margaret Stewart, daughter of Sir John Stewart, natural ſon to King Robert III. This Duncan, Lord Campbell, died in 1453, and was ſucceeded by his grandſon Colin, who, being in his minority, had for his guardian his uncle, Sir Colin Campbell, of Glenurchie, before-mentioned. King James II. as well out of regard to the exemplary loyalty of his family, and the ſingular ſervices of his father, as for the promiſing parts of this young Nobleman, raiſed him to the title of Earl of Argyle in 1457. In the ſucceeding reign of James III. he was ſent Embaſſador to Edward IV. of England in 1465, being then Maſter of the Houſhold, and was afterwards honoured with the higheſt offices in the State, being conſtituted Lord Privy-Seal and Lord High Chancellor. He was alſo Embaſſador at the Court of France, with other perſons of the firſt quality, and was preſent at the ſealing and ſwearing to the League made with Charles VIII. at Paris, July 9, 1484. Upon his being appointed one of the Embaſſadors to King Henry VII. to procure his interpoſition to aſſwage the troubles then broke out in Scotland, he reſigned his office of Lord Chancellor. He had no ſhare or concern in the Civil War, in which his Royal Maſter fell; but after things were in ſome meaſure ſettled, he was again made Lord Chancellor, and continued to the time of his death, which happened in 1493, in poſſeſſion of that high office. He married the Lady Iſabel Stewart, one of the daughters and co-heireſſes of John, Lord Lorn, upon which he took that title and the arms of the family; and, as a confirmation of his title, procured the reſignation of Walter Stewart, of Innermeath; and by deed, dated the 17th of April 1470, entailed that honour on Sir Colin Campbell, of Glenurchie, and his heirs male, in caſe his own failed; on account, not only of his being inſtrumental in procuring him that marriage, but alſo becauſe the ſaid Sir Colin had before married another of thoſe co-heireſſes. His eldeſt ſon, Archibald, Earl of Argyle, was in great favour with his ſovereign King James IV. by whom he was made Lord Chamberlain and Maſter of the Houſhold; and having the honour to command the van-guard of the Royal army, fell valiantly fighting with his Maſter, in the fatal battle of Flowden, September 9, 1513. His eldeſt ſon, Colin, Earl of Argyle, was one of the four Counſellors of the Regency to King James V. in 1525; and in 1528, he was conſtituted Lieutenant of the Borders and Warden of the Marches, and had alſo an ample confirmation of the hereditary Sheriff-ſhip of Argyleſhire, Juſticiary of Scotland, and Maſter of the Houſhold, by which thoſe honours became veſted in his family. He died in 1542, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Archibald, who was one of the Lords that entered into an aſſociation to oppoſe the intended match between the young Queen Mary and King Edward VI. of England, dated July 4, 1543. On the breaking out of the war with England, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly in the battle of Pinky, and at the ſiege of Haddington. He was the firſt of this noble family who embraced the Proteſtant Religion, of which he was a moſt ſincere and zealous profeſſor; and recommended the promoting thereof, and the ſuppreſſing Popiſh ſuperſtition, to his ſon and ſucceſſor, when he was upon his death-

bed. He married firſt Lady Helen Hamilton, daughter of James, Earl of Arran, by whom he had his eldeſt ſon and heir, Archibald: his ſecond wife was Mary, daughter to William Graham, Earl of Monteith, by whom he had Sir Colin Campbell, of Buchan. Archibald, Earl of Argyle, ſucceeded his father in 1558; and being a perſon of great parts and prudence, he was ſent over to the Queen in France, the year after his father's death, to ſupplicate her in favour of the Proteſtant Religion. He concurred with other perſons of quality and diſtinction, in taking ſuch meaſures as were neceſſary for promoting the Reformation, and was very inſtrumental in procuring it to be ſettled by authority of Parliament; and by the aſſiſtance of Elizabeth, Queen of England, he was alſo very ſucceſsful in obliging the French to quit Scotland. In the year 1561, when Queen Mary returned from France, and conſtituted a new Privy-Council, of which the Earl of Argyle was a member, it is very obſervable, that he had no concern whatever, in any of thoſe intrigues and inſurrections which happened ſoon after. He did indeed, upon the Queen's marriage with the Earl of Bothwell, enter into a bond or aſſociation, for the defence of the Prince, afterwards King James VI. and was preſent at his coronation, when he carried the ſword of State. But being afterwards informed, that the Queen's reſignation was far from being voluntary, he laboured to reſtore her, and was General of her forces in the battle of Langſide, near Glaſgow, in 1568, where they were defeated; but however, his Lordſhip remained firm to the Queen, as long as there was any probability of doing her ſervice. After the death of the Earl of Lenox, who was Regent, and the election of the Earl of Mar to that high office, the Earl of Argyle was conſtituted Lord High Chancellor; by whoſe great moderation, as well as through the high eſteem in which he ſtood with men of all parties, the peace of the kingdom was reſtored. His Lordſhip died poſſeſſed of this great office, September 12, 1575, without leaving any iſſue; and was ſucceeded by his brother, Sir Colin Campbell before-mentioned, who, having always diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a cloſe and ſteady attachment to the cauſe of King James VI. and having been very inſtrumental in ſecuring to him the full and free adminiſtration of the government, when he was of fit age to take it into his own hand, his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to admit him of his Privy-Council; and on the 16th of Auguſt 1579, he took the oath of office as Lord High Chancellor, which he executed with the univerſal approbation of the whole kingdom, to the time of his deceaſe, in 1584. He married firſt Jane Stewart, daughter of Henry, Lord Methven, by whom he had no iſſue; and after her deceaſe, the widow of James, Earl of Murray, Regent of Scotland, by whom he had two ſons, Archibald and Colin. Archibald, Earl of Argyle, was diſtinguiſhed by his military genius, as well as by his conſtant and loyal adherence to his ſovereign, whoſe forces he commanded at the battle of Glenlivet, in 1594, againſt the Earls of Huntley and Errol. He afterwards ſuppreſſed the Mac-Gregors, and a more formidable inſurrection of the Macdonalds in 1614, for which ſervices he had a grant made him of the country of Kintyre, which was confirmed by an Act of Parliament. In 1618 he went over to Spain, and entered into the ſervice of that Crown, remaining abroad many years, till, at length, he obtained his Majeſty's permiſſion to return, and died at London, in 1638. This noble Earl was twice married, firſt, to Anne, daughter and heir of William, Earl of Morton, by whom he had his ſucceſſor and four daughters. His ſecond wife was Anne, daughter to Sir William Cornwallis, by whom he had a ſon, James, who, in 1622, was created Lord Kintyre by King James VI. and afterwards by Charles I. by letters patents, bearing date March 28, 1642, created Earl of Irvine (*a*). Of his eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor, Archibald, Earl of Argyle, and afterwards Marquis, we ſhall ſpeak in the next article.

(*a*) This article is extracted from ſeveral manuſcript accounts in the hands of the author, and has been compared with the article in Collier's Dictionary, tranſmitted by direction of the Duke of Argyle, father to the Dukes John and Archibald, as alſo with Crauford, Neſbit, &c.

CAMPBELL (ARCHIBALD) Earl and Marquis of Argyle, was the ſon of Archibald Earl of Argyle, by the Lady Anne Douglas, daughter of William Earl of Morton (*a*). He was born ſome time in the year 1598, and was very carefully educated, ſuitably to his high birth and great intereſt in his country. He was, though very young, with his father in the field, when the dangerous inſurrection of the Macdonalds was ſuppreſſed (*b*); and after his father went abroad, the care of the Weſt Country, and more eſpecially of the Proteſtant intereſt therein, devolved in a great meaſure on the Lord Lorn, the conſtant title of the apparent heirs of this noble family. As he came very early into the world, and had the eyes of many upon him, ſo he was extremely cautious in his conduct; and having been educated in the profeſſion of the Proteſtant religion, according to the ſtricteſt rules of the Church of Scotland, as it was eſtabliſhed immediately after the Reformation, he was ſincerely and ſteadily devoted thereto, perhaps with a degree of zeal rather too fervent: however, he neither changed, or ever pretended to change, his ſentiments; but made it the great buſineſs of his life to ſupport that Church, and the conſtitution of his country, as he underſtood

(*a*) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 354.

(*b*) Spotſwood's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 539.

ſtood it to be ſettled by law (*c*). In theſe principles he was ſtrongly confirmed by the advice, concurrence, and aſſiſtance, of many perſons of great quality and fortune, who afterwards changing their ſentiments, were obliged to ſuſtain their own characters at the expence of his (*d*). It is a clear and full proof of his great parts and wiſe conduct in that ſeaſon of life, when men are uſually famed for other qualities than diſcretion, that in the year 1626, his Majeſty was pleaſed to call him to the high office of a Privy-Counſellor, his father being then living, and himſelf, conſequently, no Lord of Parliament (*e*). At this time there is no doubt that he made great profeſſions of loyalty to his Prince, by which muſt be underſtood, ſuch attachment to his perſon, and ſubmiſſion to his will, as was conſiſtent with the laws of the land, and might contribute to the good of the people. It is alſo clear, that his Lordſhip was not at all tainted with the predominant vice of thoſe times, that of aggrandizing himſelf at the expence of his neighbours, or of the Crown; for in 1628, we find he ſurrendered to the King, as far as in his power lay, the office of Juſtice-General of Scotland, which was hereditary in his family, reſerving to himſelf and his heirs, the office of Juſticiary of Argyle, and the Weſtern Iſles, and wherever elſe he had lands in Scotland, which agreement was afterwards ratified and confirmed by Act of Parliament (*f*). It does not appear, that his Lordſhip took any great ſhare in the differences and diſputes that happened in Scotland from that time, till the year 1633, when his Majeſty came to viſit his native and hereditary kingdom; at which time, it is certain, that the Lord Lorn ſtood as high in his Majeſty's favour, as any man of quality in his country, and higher marks of duty and ſubmiſſion to the Royal will, could be hardly expected, than was ſhewn by his father and himſelf, in ſubmitting the deciſion of the differences unhappily raiſed between them to the King's pleaſure; of which, a certain great Hiſtorian (*g*), has given a very guarded and circumſpect account; which, when fully explained, will not appear ſo much to this noble perſon's diſcredit, as at firſt ſight it ſeems [*A*]. It is on all hands agreed, that the King had then ſo good

(*c*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 42.

(*d*) See the Inſtructions from his Majeſty's Council to the Lord Juſtice Clerk, in Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 36.

(*e*) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 20.

(*f*) See the article of Argyle in Collier's Dictionary. Collins's Peerage of England, p. 444. Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 20.

(*g*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 42.

[*A*] *As at firſt ſight it ſeems.*] There is no doubt, that ſo much of the Earl of Clarendon's Hiſtory, as relates to facts, that fell immediately under his own cognizance, may be written with great exactneſs, and much regard to truth: but without any imputation on his character, it may be affirmed, that where he took things upon the credit of other people, he might be impoſed upon, or miſtaken. He does not mention the Earl of Argyle till after the firſt Pacification, and then he gives us an account of things that happened ſeveral years before, when his Lordſhip was only Lo[illegible] Lorn; and the account he gives us is ſuch a one, as ſhews us he had received it in converſation from thoſe who were of a party oppoſite to Argyle. But as this ſeems to be the foundation of all the reflections caſt upon this Nobleman, we will examine it more particularly. The Earl of Clarendon then writes thus (1). 'The people of 'Scotland being now reduced by them to a more 'implicit obedience, and no body daring to oppoſe 'the moſt extravagant proceedings of the moſt vio-'lent perſons in power, they loſt no time, as hath 'been ſaid, to make all preparations for a war they 'meant to purſue. Moſt of the King's Privy-'Council, and great Miniſters, who (though they 'had not vigorouſly performed their duty in ſupport 'of the regal power) till now had been ſo reſerved, 'that they ſeemed not to approve the diſorderly 'proceedings, now as frankly wedded that intereſt 'as any of the leaders, and quickly became the 'chief of the leaders. As the Earl of Argyle, who 'had been preſerved by the King's immediate kind-'neſs, and full power, and reſcued from the anger 'and fury of his incenſed father, who being pro-'voked by the diſobedience and inſolence of his ſon, 'reſolved ſo to have diſpoſed of his fortune, that 'little ſhould have accompanied the honour after his 'death. But by the King's interpoſition, and indeed 'impoſition, the Earl, in ſtrictneſs of the Law in 'Scotland, having need of the King's grace and pro-'tection, in regard of his being become Roman 'Catholic, and his Majeſty granting all to the ſon 'which he could exact from the father, the old man 'was in the end compelled to make over all his 'eſtate to his ſon, reſerving only ſuch a proviſion for 'himſelf as ſupported him according to his quality, 'during his life, which he ſpent in the parts beyond 'the ſeas. The King had too much occaſion after-'wards to remember, that in the cloſe, after his 'Majeſty had determined what ſhould be done on 'either part, the old man *declared he would ſubmit* 'to the King's pleaſure, *though he believed he was* 'hardly dealt with; and then with ſome bitterneſs 'put his ſon in mind of his undutiful carriage to-'wards him, and charged him *to carry in his mind* 'how bountiful the King had been to him, *which yet,* 'he told him, *he was ſure he would forget*; *and there-*'upon ſaid to his Majeſty, *Sir, I muſt know this young* 'man better than you can do. *You have brought me* 'low that you may raiſe him, *which, I doubt, you* 'will live to repent; *for he is a man of craft, ſubtlety* 'and falſehood, *and can love no man*; *and if ever he* 'finds it in his power to do you miſchief, *he will be* 'ſure to do it. The King conſidered it only as the 'effect of his paſſion, and took no other care to pre-'vent it, but by heaping every day new obligations 'upon him, making him a Privy-Counſellor, and 'giving him other offices and power to do hurt, 'thereby to reſtrain him from doing it, which would 'have wrought upon any generous nature the effect 'it ought to have done. The Earl (for his father 'was now dead) came not to Edinburgh during the 'firſt troubles; and though he did not diſſemble his 'diſpleaſure againſt the Biſhops, becauſe one of them 'had affronted him in truth very rudely, yet he re-'newed all imaginable profeſſions of duty to the 'King, and a readineſs to engage in his ſervice, if 'thoſe diſorders ſhould continue. But after the 'Pacification, and diſbanding of the King's army, 'and the Covenanters declaring, that they would 'adhere to the Acts of the Aſſembly at Glaſgow, he 'made haſte to Edinburgh with a great train of his 'family and followers, and immediately ſigned the 'Covenant, engaged for the proviſion of arms, and 'raiſing forces, and in all things behaved himſelf 'like a man that might very ſafely be confided in by 'that party.' In the firſt place it is neceſſary to ob-ſerve, that the old Earl of Argyle had been the beſt part of his life a very warm and zealous Proteſtant, had fought againſt the Huntley family, and after-wards againſt the Macdonalds, partly on account of religion (2); yet drawn aſide by his Engliſh lady, who was a Papiſt herſelf, and deſcended of a rebel-lious family, he went abroad into the Spaniſh ſer-vice, commanded their troops in the Low Countries, and was even ſuſpected of carrying on ſome cor-reſpondencies with the Macdonalds, whom he had diſpoſſeſſed of their lands for treaſon, and had re-ceived ſome grants of them from the Crown (3). By this means he totally loſt King James's favour, who, as

(1) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 42.

(2) Balfour's Annals, under the year 1614.

(3) Spotſwood's Hiſt. of the Ch. of Scotland, p. 540.

good an opinion of his Lordſhip, as to think the power and influence of his family in Scotland, could not be repoſed in ſafer hands than his; otherwiſe he would not, in juſtice to himſelf and his poſterity, having it ſo much in his power as he had, have diſpoſed of it, as he did (*b*). The part his Lordſhip afterwards acted, was that of a good patriot, which he all his life-long underſtood to be that of a good ſubject; and if he did not give into all the projects of the King's Miniſters, it muſt be allowed, that his conduct was both open and uniform, and that he concurred with the greateſt and wiſeſt men in that kingdom (*i*). It is alſo very certain, that ſome of thoſe Miniſters acted a very double part; and while they made the King believe, that the ſcheme of Archbiſhop Laud, for introducing an abſolute uniformity in religion, was a thing very practicable in Scotland; they not only knew it not to be ſo, but even put the King upon theſe meaſures, with a deſign to render it more impracticable (*k*). How juſtifiable ſuch a conduct as this might be, is not our buſineſs to determine: but moſt certainly the conduct of Lord Lorn was infinitely more agreeable to the ordinary rules of juſtice and morality; for he adhered conſtantly and ſteadily to the principles he profeſſed; and openly and fairly oppoſed thoſe deſigns, which the Miniſters meant ſhould miſcarry, while they ſeemed to approve and promote them (*l*). It is very likely, that in ſuch a ſituation of things, the method his Lordſhip took, might expoſe him to miſrepreſentations to his ſovereign; and that his behaviour, however open and candid, might be liable to miſconſtruction: but at this diſtance of time, when all prejudices either are or ought to be buried, it is not eaſy to conceive upon what grounds it ought to be cenſured or condemned. He was far from being very active or buſy: on the contrary, he took no greater ſhare in the management of public affairs, than the poſt which his Majeſty had aſſigned him, rendered abſolutely neceſſary; and though his name be found to ſeveral Remonſtrances of the Privy-Council, and other acts of a like public nature (*m*); yet at a time, when he had neither power nor influence, and when his enemies were poſſeſſed of both, in the higheſt degree, he challenged them to ſhow, that he had any concern in thoſe ſecret conſultations, or any ſhare in the political intrigues, which created the higheſt diſputes of thoſe times, and which brought ſo many miſeries and misfortunes upon his country (*n*). It is indeed true, that there were great feuds and jealouſies in Scotland; and, therefore, it cannot be wondered, that, notwithſtanding all his care and caution, a man of his great quality ſhould have, both open and ſecret enemies; and very certain it is, that he did not want for both (*o*). The latter were moſt dangerous; for they were continually ſuggeſting, that his Lordſhip was a Covenanter in his heart, which was a neceſſary diſtinction: for though it might ſeem ſtrange to an Engliſh reader, yet it is undoubtedly true, that his Lordſhip never ſigned any Covenant, till the King commanded him ſo to do (*p*). When by his father's death he became Earl of Argyle, his ſuperior title gave him ſomewhat greater authority, but he employed it the ſame way; and that was, in keeping the country quiet, and ſeeing the laws put in execution. He ſtill acted and conferred with the Council, and did there as much ſervice to his Majeſty as any of them, notwithſtanding he was repreſented as the very chief of the Covenanters. The Marquis of Hamilton was then the King's Commiſſioner in Scotland: he was directed by, and correſponded ſolely with, Archbiſhop

(*b*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 468.

(*i*) Crauford's Lives of the Officers of the Crown and State in Scotland, p. 18c.

(*k*) Biſhop Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 16.

(*l*) Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 38.

(*m*) See moſt of thoſe acts in the book laſt cited.

(*n*) Appendix to the firſt vol. of Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 24.

(*o*) The Biſhop of Dunkeld's Memoirs, p. 19. Supplement to Archbiſhop Spotſwood's Church Hiſt. MS.

(*p*) See the Marquis of Argyle's Anſwer to the indictment againſt him before the Parliament of Scotland, in 1661.

as Archbiſhop Spotſwood ſays, could not endure an apoſtate Papiſt, and was publicly denounced a rebel (4). It might very well happen, that when this old Lord returned home, which he did after an abſence of ten years, he might be very angry with his ſon, and yet that ſon be in no great fault, unleſs adhering to the Proteſtant Religion, and the Conſtitution of his Country, were faults. It is not eaſy to conceive, when or where this diſcourſe happened. If it happened at all, it is moſt probable in the year 1628, when Lord Lorn reſigned his Poſt of Juſtice-General (5), which might be a good reaſon for the King's being very kind to him. Neither had the Earl his father any reaſon to complain of his Majeſty, who, though his ſon, by his ſecond marriage, was then in foreign ſervice, honoured him with a title, and ſecured to the Earl himſelf a rent-charge, which, conſidering the circumſtances he was then in, was all he could expect (6). Biſhop Guthrie, who ſeldom miſſes an occaſion of ſpeaking ill of the Earl of Argyle, mentions the King's favours to him largely (7); but ſays not one word of his father's quarrel with him; which, had it been true, he was the moſt likely man in the world to have heard; and had he heard it, no man ſo likely to repeat it. On the whole therefore, there is great reaſon to doubt the fact, which muſt have been related upon hearſay, and is related without any mention of the author; and in words too that viſibly belong to the perſon who tells the ſtory. But ſuppoſing the fact to be true, the King made a very right judgment of it, in ſuppoſing it the effect of paſſion; for the Earl had not ſeen his ſon for many years; and his Majeſty knew enough of Lord Lorn, before this could poſſibly happen, to make him a Privy-Counſellor (8), which it does not appear that he ever repented of, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew hereafter. As to the craft and cunning charged upon this Nobleman, it muſt be referred to the opinion that the writer had of him; for his Lordſhip never acted a double part, but openly declared his principles from the beginning, and adhered to them to the ſcaffold. Biſhop Guthrie, who knew his Lordſhip very well, is ſo far from charging him with craft, that at the cloſe of theſe tranſactions (for Lord Clarendon's period takes in the compaſs of ten years) that is, when the Earl joined the Covenanters, he obſerves, that he declared himſelf more poſitively than could have been expected from a man of his prudence (9). This is ſo true, that ſome of his Lordſhip's Letters, lately come to light, very fully prove, he made no ſecret of his ſentiments, but very plainly told the great Earl of Strafford (10), That as he meant all duty to the King, ſo he thought that duty beſt ſhown by maintaining the Conſtitution of his Country in Church and State.

(4) Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, *ubi ſupra*.

(5) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 20.

(6) Supplement to Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland.

(7) Guthrie's Memoirs of Charles I. p. 12.

(8) Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 38.

(9) Biſhop Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 41.

(10) Strafford's Letters, vol. ii. p. 187, 220, 290.

Laud;

Laud; and in appearance, at leaſt, he laboured to introduce that Prelate's ſcheme of government (*q*), againſt the voice of the whole nation; and when this could not be effected, the King was induced to enter into a war againſt them, which, as it was calculated to bring great diſtreſs upon the nation in general, ſo great care was taken by Laud's party, that the Earl of Argyle ſhould have his ſhare of it in particular [*B*]. But notwithſtanding their projects were well laid, yet the ſcheme diſappointed. The Earl of Argyle wrote a large vindication of his own conduct, and ſent it to Court: the

(q) Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 52.

[*B*] *Should have his ſhare of it in particular.*] It muſt be very evident, to any who will take the pains to enquire into the tranſactions of thoſe times, that the cauſe of all the diſputes in Scotland was Archbiſhop Laud's being deceived (11), as to the ſtate of that kingdom, and reſolving to force upon them forms and ceremonies in religion, to which they were averſe. In order to this the King was perſwaded to make war upon that nation; and though the Earl of Argyle had conducted himſelf ſo cautiouſly, as to have given far leſs provocation than many others of the nobility of that country had done; yet the Earl of Antrim, an Iriſh Papiſt, was encouraged to raiſe an army of his own people to attack the Weſtern Iſlands, and the countries under the influence of the Earl of Argyle; which, if he could conquer, he was to have all, or at leaſt the beſt part of them, for his pains (12). One ought to have good authority to ſupport ſuch an aſſertion; and I think ſuch a one is produced, when one names the Earl of Strafford, who, in a letter dated April 16, 1639, directed to Sir Henry Vane, ſpeaks thus (13): 'It is over evident his Majeſty hath been 'woefully ſerved by his Miniſters in Scotland; and 'if thoſe played their parts ill which ſurrendered the 'caſtle of Edinburgh, they did ſtill worſe who have 'on this ſide done the like for that of Dumbarton, a 'place, indeed, of infinite great conſequence, all 'rightly conſidered. It is reported to have been 'taken by the wiles of the Earl of Argyle, who now 'is, they ſay, poſſeſſed of it, and I believe will 'thence intend all the conduct of thoſe affairs on 'this ſide the kingdom. I will warrant you, the 'Earl of Antrim's tenants wiſh themſelves, with all 'their hearts, well ſecured from the ill of him, for 'all their own Lord's profeſſions to invade and beat 'that other Earl, forth of the Iſles this inſtant ſum-'mer. It ſhould ſeem to me, for I was not of this 'council, my Lord Marquis of Hamilton, and my 'Lord of Antrim, had to his Majeſty undertaken the 'buſineſs before the Earl of Antrim's coming forth 'of England, conſequently before Argyle was de-'clared Covenanter. My Lord of Antrim was, for 'his reward, to have had a ſhare of his eſtate. What 'other ſhares there were, any, or none, in truth I 'know not. Now, howbeit, this was carried very 'ſecretly to us on this ſide, yet Argyle got know-'ledge of it there, and certainly occaſioned him to 'declare himſelf ſooner for the Covenant, than 'otherwiſe, perchance, he would have done: But 'whether that had been better or worſe for his Ma-'jeſty's ſervice, I am not able to judge.' What ſort of an undertaking this was, and what were the conſequences likely to follow on it, we may gather from another letter of the ſame noble perſon's, in which he gives Secretary Windebank a very large detail of a converſation that paſſed between himſelf and the Earl of Antrim, upon this buſineſs (14). 'His Lordſhip, ſays he, mentioned certain propo-'ſitions by his Lordſhip made, and directions and 'authority by his Majeſty given, at his laſt being in 'England, concerning his Lordſhip's going upon 'the Iſles of Scotland; that in conformity thereunto 'he had quietly expected the ſignification of his 'Majeſty's pleaſure, nor ſtirred at all till the receipt 'of my letter; complained of the ſuddenneſs and 'ſhortneſs of the warning, but told me, that in-'ſtantly, upon the receipt of his Majeſty's letter, he 'had ſent to the O Neales, O Haras, the O Lurgans '(if I miſtake not that name) the Mac Genniſſes, 'the Mac Guyres, the Mac Mahons, the Mac 'Donnels, (as many Oe's and Mac's as would ſtartle 'a whole Council-board on this ſide to hear of) and 'all his other friends, requiring them, in his Ma-'jeſty's name, to meet him with their forces, ſo as 'this buſineſs is now become no ſecret, but the 'common diſcourſe, both of his Lordſhip and the 'whole kingdom: that he had bought boards, and 'given order for making of long boats for the tranſ-'portation of his men, and was now come to aſk my 'advice and counſel.' What the ſentiments of this great Stateſman were, of Antrim's undertaking, and how wiſe a ſcheme he took this of the enemies of the Earl of Argyle's to be, may be ſeen by another paragraph in the ſame letter. 'In ſum, I muſt needs 'ſay, his Lordſhip ſhuffles the pack dexterouſly 'enough, if pretending to make a war at his own 'coſt he can thus preſently and totally ſhift off the 'charge upon the King, deal himſelf a General-'ſhip at ſea and land, a Command of the King's 'armies, his ordnance, his arms, his ſtores, his ſhip-'ping; make all his own officers, new levies as like 'him beſt, and procure a good horſe troop for his 'brother. Old *Ned Coke* would have here ſaid, *God 'is my witneſs, theſe are ſtrange things to me.* But 'now, all this for what? Marry, for aught I either 'hear, or can foreſee, to enable his Lordſhip to go 'upon the Iſles there, to recover for himſelf thoſe 'great Seigniories belonging unto his anceſtors, and 'ſay all the new poſſeſſors be Covenanters, which 'yet appears not; and that he do conquer the 'country (for not a leſs word than conqueſt comes 'from us), what ſhall his Majeſty, or any other 'man, ſave himſelf, be the better? Indeed it trou-'bles me to imagine, how his Lordſhip may think 'of us, all his Majeſty's Miniſters, whilſt he feeds 'himſelf with the hopes to carry out from amongſt 'us his own ends and benefits, thus in ſovereignty, 'and under a colour of doing a ſervice to the Crown, 'apply all to his own private uſe.' To theſe obſervations this very great and very knowing man, adds ſeveral queries, of which we will take notice only of three. 'What ſudden outrage may be apprehended 'from ſo great a number of the native Iriſh, children 'of habituated rebels, brought together without pay 'or victual, armed with our own weapons, ourſelves 'left naked the whilſt? What ſcandal to his Ma-'jeſty's ſervice, it might be in a time thus condi-'tioned, to employ a General, and a whole army, 'in a manner Roman Catholics? What affright or 'pretence this might give for the Scottiſh, who are 'at leaſt fourſcore thouſand in thoſe parts, to arm 'alſo under colour of their own defence, to ſet the 'whole kingdom into a tumult, which might be the 'matter of ſad and deſperate effects?' Theſe remarks will appear ſtill more pertinent, when we conſider, that within two years after the great Iriſh Rebellion broke out, which, without doubt, was chiefly owing to that indulgence given the Papiſts, under the latter part of the Earl of Strafford's government, much againſt that great man's will; and to the much greater indulgence that was allowed them afterwards, by which they came to know and feel their own ſtrength; at the ſame time, that they perſuaded many people in the adminiſtration, that none were better friends to the government than themſelves; which, beſides the diſmal conſequence it had, in amuſing the King and his Miniſters, produced an evil ſtill more dangerous; that of giving a reaſonable jealouſy, that either they ſecretly favoured the Papiſts, or were deluded and amuſed by them (15); ſo that in either caſe, thoſe that meant ſincerely well to the Proteſtant cauſe, ſaw they were under an abſolute neceſſity of taking care of themſelves: and as this was a juſt and reaſonable, ſo it is the real and true apology for the Earl of Argyle, and the Covenanters in Scotland; ſo far as they acted according to law, and by that authority, which his Majeſty himſelf had eſtabliſhed, when he was laſt in that kingdom (16).

(11) Biſhop Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 16.

(12) Balfour's Annals, vol. ii. in the Univerſity Library at Glaſgow.

(13) Strafford's Letters, vol. ii. p. 325.

(14) *Ibid.*

(15) Enquiry into the Share King Charles I. had in the conduct of the Earl of Glamorgan, p. 300, &c.

(16) Sir James Balfour's Annals, 1641.

only anſwer which the King gave it was, that he ſhould be glad to receive his vindication from his own mouth (*r*). The Marquis of Hamilton was then ſent with a force by ſea; but finding that it was no way capable of dealing with a nation, that were in a manner united againſt the meaſures he was to impoſe, he firſt entered into ſome conferences with the Earl of Argyle, and other Lords, himſelf, and then adviſed a treaty with the King, who was in the field. This brought about the firſt Pacification in the month of June 1639, to which, by the advice of Laud, the King conſented (*s*). It was not long after this, that his Majeſty ſent for the Earl of Argyle, and ten or twelve more of the principal Nobility, to London. This was thought an extraordinary thing in Scotland; and thoſe intruſted with the government there, would not on any terms ſuffer all the Lords to go, but ſent up the Earls of Montroſe, Loudon, and Lowthian, which was very ill taken by the King, who was perſuaded by ſome about him to think, that it was ſhowing a great diſreſpect to, and want of confidence in, him (*t*). It is very poſſible, that the Lords might not wholly confide in the honour and ſincerity of thoſe who had then the King's ear; and ſome reaſon they had for this diffidence, from the uſage the Earl of Loudon met with, who very narrowly eſcaped loſing his life, and was actually impriſoned in the Tower of London (*u*), notwithſtanding the King's ſafe conduct. Theſe violent meaſures brought on another war with Scotland, to which the King is ſaid to have been principally excited by the Earl of Traquair, who was then the King's Commiſſioner to the Parliament; and in the ſpring of the year 1640, the King marched againſt the Scots with a great army. But the Scots were well provided, and inſtead of waiting till they were attacked, marched into England with an army, and were ſo ſucceſsful, that a new treaty was ſet on foot at Rippon, in the month of September (*x*); and this produced a ſecond Pacification, in which the King granted all the demands of the Convenanters; yet, in all theſe affairs, it does not appear, that the Earl of Argyle took any great ſhare (*y*). By this time, the diſcontents in England were riſen to a great height, and his Majeſty being deſirous to ſee one of his kingdoms thoroughly ſettled, took a ſudden reſolution of going to Scotland, where, with his nephew, the Elector Palatine, he arrived on the 12th of Auguſt 1641 (*z*). At this time he directed the Marquis of Hamilton, whom he greatly truſted, to enter into a cloſe correſpondence with the Earl of Argyle, in which he ſeems to have formed a right judgment of both their tempers: for though the Marquis always profeſſed the higheſt loyalty to his Maſter, yet he had a great concern for his country; and the Earl, though he avowed the utmoſt ſteadineſs to the Conſtitution, yet at the ſame time affirmed, he had the warmeſt affection for his Prince (*a*). This conjunction had very probably brought about an entire and effectual ſettlement in that kingdom, if ſome perſons who were willing to have the entire management of it, had not formed a deſign againſt the lives of both theſe Noblemen, in the middle of the month of October, which obliged them to quit Edinburgh for their own ſafety (*b*). It is on hands all agreed, that the King had nothing to do with this ſtrange action; but it is alſo agreed, that the matter of fact is out of diſpute, and that ſuch a deſign there really was [*C*]. This gave great interruption to the King's

(*r*) Supplement to Archbiſhop Spotſwood's Ch. Hiſt.

(*s*) Warwick's Memoirs of the Reign of Charles I. p. 135.

(*t*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 43.

(*u*) Sir John Scot's ſtaggering State of the Scotch Statesmen, from 1550 to 1650. Crauford's Lives of the great Officers of State p. 201.

(*x*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 151.

(*y*) Appendix to Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 24.

(*z*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 512.

(*a*) Supplement to Archbiſhop Spotſwood's Ch. Hiſtory.

(*b*) Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 98.

[*C*] *That ſuch a deſign there really was.*] We have three very different accounts of this matter of fact; the firſt is that of Biſhop Guthrie (17), who ſays, That the Earl of Argyle had information given him by one Colonel Stewart, that the Earl of Crawford and ſome other perſons had framed a deſign againſt the life of the Marquis of Hamilton and his own; and upon this theſe two Lords retired from Edinburgh, with a view, as he would have it, to make the Parliament riſe in confuſion; and he adds, that this was prevented by the King's going to the Houſe, where he made a bitter ſpeech againſt the Marquis of Hamilton. The ſecond is from Biſhop Burnet (18), who ſays, That the two Lords had an account of ſuch a deſign; but without naming the authors, and having this account only from one witneſs, they had it not in their power to prove it in a legal manner; and this made them retire from Edinburgh, that they might provide for their own ſafety, as having no other way to provide for it. He alſo agrees, that this had very ill conſequences with reſpect to public affairs; but that upon enquiry the fact was juſtified, and it plainly appeared thoſe two Noblemen had good reaſon for what they did; and if they had not, the Parliament that continued ſitting in their abſence, would have called them to a ſevere reckoning for it. The third is that of the noble Hiſtorian who is very clear in it; and after ſhowing, that Montroſe deſerted the Covenanters, becauſe the Earl of Argyle had more intereſt with them than he, goes on to relate the whole ſtory with great plainneſs and perſpicuity (19). 'After his Majeſty's arrival in Scot-
'land, ſays he, by the introduction of Mr. William
'Murray of the Bed-chamber, Montroſe came pri-
'vately to the King, and informed him of many
'particulars, from the beginning of the Rebellion;
'and *that the Marquis of Hamilton was no leſs faulty*
'*and falſe towards his Majeſty, than Argyle*; and
'offered to make proof of *all in the Parliament*; but
'rather deſired *to have them both made away*, which
'he frankly undertook to do: but the King ab-
'horring that expedient, though for his own ſecu-
'rity, adviſed *that the proofs might be prepared for*
'the Parliament. When ſuddenly, on a Sunday
'morning, the city of Edinburgh was in arms; and
'Hamilton, and Argyle, both gone out of the town
'to their own houſes; where they ſtood upon their
'guard; declaring publicly, *That they had with-*
'drawn themſelves. becauſe they knew that there was
'a deſign to aſſaſſinate them; and choſe rather to abſent
'themſelves, than by ſtanding upon their defence in
'Edinburgh (*which they could well have done*) *to*
'hazard the public peace, and ſecurity of the Par-
'liament; which thundered on their behalf. The
'Committee at Edinburgh diſpatched away an ex-
'preſs to London, with a dark and perplexed ac-
'count, in the morning that the two Lords had left
'the city; with many doubtful expreſſions, what
'the end of it would be; not without ſome dark
'inſinuations, as if the deſign might look farther
'than

(17) Biſhop Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 86, 87.

(18) Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 186.

(19) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 98.

King's affairs, and put a ſtop to the ſettlement between him and the nation: but as the Hiſtorian of the Hamilton family acknowledges, the deſigns of the two Lords were perfectly ſincere; and as the Marquis meant nothing but the King's ſervice, ſo, to uſe that Hiſtorian's own words, Argyle expreſſed a hearty concurrence in it (*c*). At this juncture, his Majeſty had Preſbyterian Divines about him; profeſſed a willingneſs to ſettle the Church of Scotland according to the deſires of that nation; and was ſo well pleaſed with the openneſs and plainneſs of Argyle's behaviour, that, by letters patent, bearing date November 16, 1641, he created him Marquis (*d*). It is very true, that ſome of our Hiſtorians ſay, the King went at this time down to Scotland, to make a deed of gift of that kingdom with his own hands (*e*), which is an expreſſion not eaſily to be underſtood: another has been uſed, which is much plainer, and I believe nearer the truth; that in the end of November, when he quitted that kingdom, he went from thence a contented King, and left behind him a contented people (*f*). How the ſcene was afterwards changed, is another affair. At this juncture, there happened a tranſaction, which ſhows, beyond all manner of doubt, that the Marquis was underſtood by the whole world, not only to be in the King's favour, but to be thoroughly and heartily inclined to his ſervice. The Iriſh Rebellion was juſt broken out, upon which the Scots, as well as the Engliſh Parliament, reſolved to ſend forces thither to ſuppreſs it; and the former determined the Marquis of Argyle ſhould command theirs; but that firſt, in conjunction with the Earl of Loudon, he ſhould go to London, to mediate between the King and the Engliſh Parliament; with both which meaſures his Majeſty was perfectly well pleaſed: but the Parliament being jealous of the Marquis's attachment to the King, civilly declined it, by declaring, that they looked upon the Marquis's preſence in Scotland to be then indiſpenſably neceſſary. At the beginning of the enſuing year, the Scots, as a nation, had very much in their power; for in the differences between the King and the Parliament of England, that ſide to which they joined themſelves unanimouſly, was ſure to prevail. This was a thing ſo plain, and withal ſo certain, that both his Majeſty and the Parliament ſaw and knew it; and therefore both ſides began to court the Scots, with all the pains imaginable (*g*). The Marquis of Hamilton very prudently repreſented to the King, that this was an affair of a very nice nature; that his Majeſty's having a party in Scotland would be the ruin of him; but if his Majeſty could gain the whole nation, the Parliament muſt ſubmit to reaſonable terms; and when he had ſtated this difficulty, he offered to go and make uſe of his beſt endeavours to get over it (*h*). The King accepted his ſervice, and ſent a letter, by the Earl of Lanerick, brother to the Marquis, to his council in that kingdom, who in the laſt Parliament had been declared Conſervators of the peace, dated September 18, 1642. The Marquis of Hamilton, according to his promiſe to the King, addreſſed himſelf to the Marquis of Argyle, with whom he was then in great friendſhip; and by their joint labours a reſolution was obtained, to ſend the Marquis of Hamilton to Holland, to engage the Queen to come over to Scotland, on a promiſe of ſecurity for her perſon, and the free exerciſe of her religion, for herſelf and family, offering to aſſiſt her Majeſty in mediating with both Houſes; and in caſe they refuſed to make a ſettled and ſolid peace upon reaſonable terms, they undertook, that the whole force of Scotland ſhould engage for the King againſt them (*i*). The King, at firſt, ſeemed not only ſatisfied but overjoyed with this; but ſome about him ſoon filled his head with jealouſies, that the Scots took too much upon them, upon which the King let this propoſition fall; and though the

(*c*) Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 187.

(*d*) Appendix to Wodrow's Ch. Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 14.

(*e*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 101. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 513.

(*f*) Balfour's Memoirs, vol. ii. in which it is aſſerted, that this was a common ſaying in Scotland at that time.

(*b*) Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 200.

(*g*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 265. Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 195. Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion.

(*i*) *Idem, ibid.* 201.

'than Scotland. And theſe letters were brought to 'London, the day before the Houſes were to come 'together, after the receſs; all that party taking 'pains to perſuade others, that it could not but be a 'deſign to aſſaſſinate more men than thoſe Lords at 'Edinburgh. And the morning the Houſes were to 'meet, Mr. Hyde being walking in Weſtminſter-'hall, with the Earl of Holland and the Earl of 'Eſſex, both the Earls ſeemed wonderfully con-'cerned at it; and to believe, *that other men were 'in like danger of the like aſſaults:* the other, not 'thinking the apprehenſion worthy of them, told 'them merrily, *That he knew well what opinions 'they both had of thoſe two Lords, a year or two before, 'and he wondered how they became ſo altered*; to 'which they anſwered ſmiling, *That the times and 'the Court was much altered ſince.* And the Houſes 'were no ſooner ſat, but the report being made in 'the Houſe of Commons, and the Committee's letter 'from Scotland being read, a motion was made, '*To ſend to the Houſe of Peers, that the Earl of Eſſex, 'who was left by the King General on this ſide Trent, 'might be deſired to appoint ſuch a guard, as he 'thought competent for the ſecurity of the Parliament, 'conſtantly to attend while the Houſes ſate; which was '*done accordingly*; and continued till they thought 'fit to have other guards.' We ſee plainly from hence, what terrible conſequences attended thoſe over forward and violent reſolutions, which were not put in execution, merely from the juſtice and tenderneſs of the King's nature. For it is very obſervable, that though the Hiſtorian does not in the leaſt diſpute the fact, yet he acknowledges, that himſelf treated it at the time, as a very light matter; and would have perſuaded the Lords, that there was a time, when they would not have been ſo much concerned for the ſafety of theſe Scotch Noblemen; which, not to ſay a harſher thing of it, is a very extraordinary expreſſion; and very plainly ſhews, what ſtrange expedients ſome Politicians at that time thought not altogether unjuſtifiable to carry their points; and if by degrees, others were either taught or forced to follow their examples, they could not, upon their own principles, judge it inexcuſable. In the former note, we have ſhown, that there were thoughts of ſtripping the Earl of Argyle of his eſtate; in this, it has been proved, that a deſign was formed againſt his life; when he was ſo far from having forfeited the King's confidence, that after this he created him, in public teſtimony thereof a Marquis.

Queen,

Queen, who was extremely pleaſed with it, procured the Marquis of Hamilton to be created a Duke, on the merit of this ſervice, which was the greateſt he ever did, or indeed could do, yet ſhe could not hinder his being perſecuted afterwards, and ſent priſoner to Pendennis Caſtle, as a traitor (*k*). After this, the affairs of Scotland took the worſt turn poſſible for the King. He had owned the Conſervators by the letter before-mentioned, notwithſtanding which, he was prevailed upon to grant a commiſſion to the Earl of Montroſe, which threw that kingdom into a Civil War; the King's authority being claimed on both ſides (*l*). The ſhare the Marquis of Argyle had in this, belongs to the General Hiſtory of thoſe times; and therefore, we ſhall not meddle with it here, farther than to obſerve, that in 1644, Antrim, who was created a Marquis for that very purpoſe, ſent over a great body of his Iriſh Papiſts, who waſted and deſtroyed all Argyle's eſtate; and, which was worſt, killed moſt of his people (*m*). In the courſe of this period, Argyle was conſtantly employed by the Parliament, and had their authority for every thing he did, particularly in reſpect to a journey he made to Ireland; at his return from which, he found the King in the hands of the Scots army at Newcaſtle, in which it is certain that he had no hand; but upon his repairing thither, he had acceſs to (*n*), and was very kindly received by, his Majeſty. This was in 1646, and upon that occaſion it was thought neceſſary by the Parliament of Scotland, that he ſhould repair to London, with inſtructions to their Commiſſioners. At this very time, he was intruſted by his Royal Maſter with a ſecret commiſſion of the greateſt importance, which he executed with much dexterity, diligence, and fidelity (*o*) [*D*]. Yet his conduct at this very time has been grievouſly cenſured by thoſe who, it ſeems were not in the ſecret, and were unacquainted that the meaſures he took, were not only moſt for the King's ſervice, but had alſo his Majeſty's approbation (*p*). As to what afterwards paſſed with reſpect to the terms made with the army from Scotland, and the meaſures taken in reference to the diſpoſal of the perſon of King Charles I. we find many things ſaid in our hiſtories, as to the conduct of the Marquis of Argyle, but they are aſſerted only without any proofs (*q*): and this noble perſon himſelf, at a time when, if there had been any ſuch proofs in the power of the perſons who have aſſerted theſe things, or of any other, they might certainly have been produced, declared in terms the cleareſt and moſt poſitive that could be framed, he had no intereſt or concern in them whatever, but ſtudiouſly avoided interfering in any manner, in matters which he

(*k*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 387. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 124.

(*l*) Hiſtory of the Civil War, p. 395.

(*m*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 439. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 141.

(*n*) Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 283.

(*o*) See a larger account of this in note [*D*].

(*p*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 496. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 181, 184. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 294, 295.

(*q*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 537. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 645. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 215.

[*D*] *With much dexterity, diligence, and fidelity.*] The account which the Earl of Clarendon gives of what paſſed after the King came to Newcaſtle, is ſuch a one as might be expected from a perſon who was not an eye-witneſs of the things about which he writes, who took his accounts from men of his own party; and, to make his work all of a piece, repreſents the Scots in the blackeſt colours (19). As to Duke Hamilton's and the Marquis of Argyle's conferences with the King, he is ſilent, which is a plain indication that he was not acquainted with them. Biſhop Guthrie is very particular, and the particulars he gives us are ſuch, as ſhow him to have been a very credulous man, and very unfit for writing hiſtory. He ſays, that on July 17, 1646, when Duke Hamilton arrived at Newcaſtle, the day was perfectly fair and pleaſant, but at the very inſtant he kiſſed the King's hand, there began a terrible thunder, with lightning and rain, which continued all night. Upon the 24th came the Marquis of Argyle, and as he kiſſed the King's hand, juſt the like thunder, lightning, and rain began, and continued all the night alſo. Theſe are the Prelate's own words; and a little after he tells us, that upon the 2d of Auguſt, the Engliſh Commiſſioners removed from Newcaſtle; and the next day, the Chancellor, the Marquis of Argyle, and the Earl of Dumferling, offered to go up and treat with the Parliament for a mitigation of the articles, which they had ſent by their own Commiſſioners; and with ſome of which, the King had expreſſed himſelf diſſatisfied; upon all which he makes this wiſe reflection (20), 'Whether 'or not his Majeſty truſted them, and expected any 'good from them, is doubtful: but the Royaliſts '(who well knew their ways) ſpared not to ſay, that 'their treating would end in a bargain.' Biſhop Burnet gives us alſo an account of the acceſs which theſe Lords had to the King, and of a commiſſion with which the Marquis of Argyle was charged, in conjunction with the Chancellor, in which he was enjoined ſecrecy. At the ſame time he tells us, what this commiſſion was, and aſſures us the ſecret of it, was but very ill kept (21); whereas, in truth, it was ſo well kept, that it clearly appears from his account, that at the time he wrote his book it had not reached his knowledge. The truth of the matter then was this: the Marquis of Argyle might, if he had ſo pleaſed, have reſided at London, as a Commiſſioner from the Parliament of Scotland; but he liked not of the office, and therefore very carefully declined it. That he went up now was at the King's requeſt (22); and the Commiſſion he was charged with, this, that he ſhould conſult the Duke of Richmond and the Marquis of Hertford, as to the expediency of the Scots Parliament and army declaring for him; what effects they judged this would have, and what part his friends in England would take, if ſuch a thing happened. Argyle honeſtly executed the truſt repoſed in him, and received from theſe noble perſons the following anſwer; that his Majeſty well knew, his beſt friends at Oxford never wiſhed to ſee him bring his Parliament under by an abſolute conqueſt; and that if at this juncture the Scots ſhould declare for him, it might prove his ruin, by turning it into a national diſpute, in which all parties of the Engliſh would unite to prevent their being conquered. The King having received this anſwer from the Marquis of Argyle's own mouth, remained ſatisfied, and took other meaſures. When the Marquis of Argyle was ſent to the Tower in 1661, he deſired that Lord Hertford's depoſition might be taken to this point; which was refuſed him, and probably kept from that nobleman's knowledge. Thus the reader ſees, that while the Marquis was doing his duty with the utmoſt diligence, he was baſely ſuppoſed to be *driving a bargain*. One thing more is very remarkable, that it was propoſed in the Engliſh Houſe of Commons to give thanks to the Scotch Commiſſioners for their *great civilities* and *good offices*, while at Newcaſtle; but when it came to be put to the vote, the words *good offices* were left out, ſo far were they from thinking theſe Commiſſioners did their buſineſs with the King (23). Theſe are facts, and facts are ſtubborn things: ſo are not conjectures and characters, which every man may mould or model according to his own inclinations.

(19) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 490, 495.

(20) Biſhop Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 184.

(21) Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 283, 284.

(22) State Trials, vol. ii. p. 429.

(23) Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 309.

foreſaw

foreſaw it was impoſſible in the nature of things ſhould ever end other than they did, or be by him wrought to produce what he could wiſh. His Lordſhip's declaration, under ſuch circumſtances, as to his own behaviour, which he muſt certainly beſt know, will, to any reaſonable man, ſeem as much deſerving of credit, as what others have aſſerted from their own notions and conjectures, and without pretending to produce any kind of evidence whatever [*E*]. In the ſucceeding year, when the Duke of Hamilton undertook to lead an army out of Scotland into England for the relief of the King, the conduct of the Marquis of Argyle is very much cenſured, becauſe himſelf and his friends differed in a debate, from the majority of that Parliament, and proteſted againſt the vote (*r*), after it was carried. But if it be conſidered, that the Marquis of Argyle had in his own breaſt the deciſion of the Duke of Richmond and the Marquis of Hertford, that if Scotland took part with the King, the Engliſh would riſe as one man againſt him (*s*); and that Sir Philip Warwick tells us, Hamilton had no engagements with the Nobility that roſe about this time in England (*t*); it may be eaſily conceived, why Argyle had ſo indifferent an opinion of an enterprize, at the head of which Hamilton was ſet, a man, of all the Scotch Nobility, more obnoxious to the Engliſh than any. It is certain that he was very right in his judgment, for the Duke very ſoon threw away both himſelf and the army (*u*); and the Marquis of Argyle, by ſeeming to have oppoſed his conduct, had intereſt enough thereby to hinder Cromwell from entering Scotland with his army, and making an abſolute conqueſt of it, which he might have eaſily done (*w*). Upon his marching ſouthwards, all our Hiſtorians agree, that Scotland was left intirely in the hands of Argyle and his friends; and therefore, from their conduct at this time, we may form a true judgment of their real ſentiments and principles (*x*). The firſt thing they did, was to declare fully and plainly againſt the proceedings in England, and to order the Scots Commiſſioners to proteſt againſt them; which they did in terms, the moſt clear and explicit, ſhowing, that they looked upon the Parliament of England, as no longer ſubſiſting after the Houſe of Lords was taken away, and ſo many Members of the Houſe of Commons excluded; that they had no power over the perſon of the King; and that whatever they pretended to do, was arbitrary, unjuſt, and illegal (*y*). It was not at that time in the power of the Scots to do more, the Duke of Hamilton's precipitate attempt having weakened them extremely, but they took the beſt meaſures they could to put themſelves again in a poſture of defence; and as ſoon as they were informed of the King's being beheaded, they proclaimed his ſon (*z*): and it cannot be denied, that the Marquis of Argyle employed all his intereſt and influence to procure his being invited into Scotland; which ſufficiently refutes that groundleſs and ſcandalous aſperſion, as if Cromwell had communicated to Argyle his deſign againſt the King's life, and that it had been approved of by the latter (*a*). It is indeed true, that the Marquis of Argyle, and thoſe who had then power in Scotland, inſiſted on the

(*r*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 526.

(*s*) See the Marquis of Argyle's Anſwer to the Charge againſt him in the Parliament of Scotland, in 1661.

(*t*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 316.

(*u*) Bates, Elenchus Motuum, p. 101.

(*w*) Whitelock's Memorials of Engliſh Affairs, p. 343.

(*x*) Bates, Elenchus Motuum, p. 102. Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton. Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion.

(*y*) Ruſhworth's Collections, vol. ii. p. iv. p. 1309. Clarendon's Hiſt. Rebellion, p. 577. Bates, Elenchus Motuum, p. 142.

(*z*) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 457.

(*a*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 541. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 249. Echard's Hiſtory of England.

[*E*] *Any kind of evidence whatever.*] It would take up more room than the nature of this work will allow, to enter into a particular diſcuſſion of every important matter of fact; and thoſe we have already examined, are inſtances ſufficient of what might be done in this way. At preſent we will content ourſelves with citing a paſſage from the Marquis's defence, when he was charged in general terms, in a judicial way, with the crimes that are imputed to him by certain Hiſtorians. Thus then it ran (24): 'As for what was done in the years 1646 and 1647, 'concerning the diſpoſal of his late Royal Majeſty's 'perſon, the return of the Scottiſh army, and the 'agreement for the money to be paid for their 'arrears, it is well known, that inſtructions were 'ſent to and again in theſe affairs, both from Com'mittees and Commiſſioners in Scotland and Eng'land. Yet it ſhall never be found, that ever either 'my hand or preſence was at any Committees, where 'any thing was debated or reſolved, concerning the 'diſpoſal of his late Royal Majeſty's perſon, or up'on any treaties or concluſions for return of the 'Scots army, or for the money for the ſatisfaction 'of their arrears. So that, I hope, when it is ſeri'ouſly conſidered, that I was one of the laſt in 'Scotland, who ſubſcribed the national Covenant, 'and never did the ſame till commanded by his Ma'jeſty; and that I was of all thoſe who acted in 'public affairs, one of thoſe who had leaſt acceſſion 'to thoſe things, though I be moſt blamed by com'mon report, that your Lordſhips will not find my 'carriage, during the late troubles, to have de'ſerved to have been put in ſo ſingular a condi'tion.' And to the ſame purpoſe, the Marquis delivered himſelf in his ſpeech before the Parliament of Scotland, April 16, 1661. 'I have but only a few 'word to ſay, in remembering your Lordſhips of 'three things obſervable in my carriage during the 'late troubles. Firſt, my never joining in the na'tional Covenant, till commanded by his late Royal 'Majeſty. Secondly, my never receiving any pay 'during all the troubles, either as Committee-man, 'Commander in Chief, Colonel, or Captain, in all 'the ſervices of England, Scotland, or Ireland, 'till in a Parliament of the year 1646, which was 'after all I had was deſtroyed by the Iriſh rebels and 'their aſſociates: and what I got from the Parlia'ment 1647, was after my eſtate and lands were 'ruined, and was only for my family's ſubſiſtence, 'and paying ſome neceſſitous creditors ſome annual 'rents, as the Act of Parliament, 1647, and order 'to the Scots Commiſſioners at London the ſame 'year can ſhow. And for the firſt negative part, Sir 'William Thomſon's hand will prove it, who was 'either depute, or principal receiver and layer out 'of all public monies all that time. Thirdly, my 'being free of any actings in the years 1646 and '1647, anent the diſpoſing of his Majeſty's Royal 'Father's perſon, never having concurred in Com'mittees in Scotland or England, nor as a Commiſ'ſioner at London anent the ſame, nor in any reſolu'tions concerning the return of the Scots army, nor 'the money for their arrears agreed to in theſe 'times, except that I might be preſent in the Parlia'ment 1647, which I do not well know. By all 'which it is evident, how clearly and freely I may 'ſay, that I do not deſerve to be the ſingle ſufferer 'in all his Majeſty's dominions, for my carriage 'during the late troubles, his Majeſty having (to his 'eternal praiſe) pardoned all but ſome of the mur'ders of his late Royal Father.'

(24) Appendix to Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 24.

King's complying with their terms; which if they had not done, it would have been impoſſible for them to have brought the nation to adhere to him (*b*). As to what happened afterwards to Montroſe, the Marquis of Argyle had no immediate hand in it. He had formerly made an agreement with him, which the Committee of Eſtates refuſed to ratify; and now, when he was brought to a trial for being in arms, as the Scots conſidered it, againſt his country, the Marquis declared, that he was too much a party to be a Judge (*c*), and therefore declined any ſhare in thoſe proceedings. What he meant by this, and how far he was juſtified in this ſtep of his conduct, the reader may learn from ſome Hiſtorians, not at all inclined to be partial in Argyle's favour (*d*) [*F*]. At laſt, with much perſuaſion, in ſome meaſure againſt his own will, but certainly contrary to the advice of the noble Hiſtorian, and others of his moſt favoured Counſellors, the King determined to accept the repeated invitations of the Parliament of Scotland, and to go over thither upon their terms (*e*). It is allowed, that this return of his Majeſty, was ſingly and entirely owing to the Marquis of Argyle; and the Hiſtorian of the Hamilton family tells us, that Duke William, the laſt heir male of that race, when he

(*b*) Bates, Elench. Motuum, p. 93, 94.

(*c*) See the Marquis of Argyle's Anſwer to the Charge againſt him in the Scotch Parliament of 1661.

(*d*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 579.

(*e*) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 459.

[*F*] *To be partial in Argyle's favour.*] It is certainly a very difficult thing to come at truth, in reſpect to any of theſe tranſactions; and the only way to come at it is, to examine, without prejudice, what different authors have delivered, and make ſuch allowances as are neceſſary on the ſcore of that partiality, in favour of their own parties, with which almoſt all of them are known to write. It is evident from the whole tenor of Biſhop Guthrie's Memoirs, that he was ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed againſt the Marquis of Argyle: yet he acknowledges, that, in 1643, this nobleman ſet on foot a negociation for compromiſing his differences with Montroſe (25); and at the ſame time owns, that the latter gave him a dilatory anſwer, with a view to gain time, having already taken a ſettled reſolution to begin the war, as ſoon as thoſe of his party about the King could procure him a commiſſion. It is alſo neceſſary to obſerve, that Argyle and his friends, whom Burnet ſtiles the Church party (26) in Scotland, had very clearly the King's authority on their ſide, as appears, beyond contradiction, from his Majeſty's owning them upon many occaſions, and treating with them to the laſt, at the Iſle of Wight, as a legal Parliament, and repreſentatives of his ſubjects; and as ſuch, after his death, they were owned by King Charles II. Yet notwithſtanding this, in 1644, Montroſe was employed in Scotland to raiſe a war on that ſide, and Antrim promiſed to ſend aſſiſtance from Ireland; and for their encouragement, both were created Marquiſſes (27). By this means the war began in Scotland, and was carried on with great violence and fury, more eſpecially by the Iriſh that Antrim ſent over. The Marquis of Argyle and the Earl of Lothian were employed by the Parliament to command their forces againſt Montroſe, when they acted for ſome time on the defenſive, and at laſt laid down their command; of which Biſhop Guthrie gives this account (28); 'without more ado (ſays he) they 'went to Edinburgh and delivered up their com-'miſſions to the Committee of Eſtates, receiving 'from them an act of approbation of their ſervice, 'which many ſaid they deſerved the better, becauſe '*they had ſhed no blood.*' It is to be hoped this Prelate himſelf was among the *many*; for ſurely avoiding to ſhed blood in ſuch times as theſe, was a very heroic, as well as chriſtian diſpoſition. Yet ſome time after, this right reverend author ſeems to take a pleaſure in relating the calamities that befel the countries belonging to the Marquis of Argyle; obſerves, without any teſtimony of compaſſion, that the people were driven to hide and lurk about, ſo that multitudes periſhed by famine; and aſſerts, that, at laſt, the Marquis's great power was ſo far reduced, that he could ſcarcely muſter fifteen hundred of his tenants, ſuch rivers of blood had been ſhed in the Civil War (29). The Earl of Clarendon (30) alſo acknowledges, that upon enquiring what foul offence the Marquis of Montroſe had ever committed that ſhould hinder the Lords, who now (1650) were returned to their duty from acting in conjunction with him, the Earl of Lauderdale, 'told him, that he could not imagine or conceive 'the barbarities and inhumanities Montroſe was 'guilty of, at the time he made war in Scotland; 'that he never gave quarter to any man, but pur-'ſued all the advantages he ever got, with the ut-'moſt outrage and cruelty; that he had in one 'battle killed fifteen hundred of one family of the 'Campbells, of the blood and name of Argyle, and 'that he had utterly rooted out ſeveral names and 'entire noble families.' It muſt, therefore, be allowed, that it was a mark of much moderation and greatneſs of mind in the Marquis of Argyle, to refuſe having any ſhare in the proceedings againſt this unfortunate nobleman: neither is any thing ſaid of him here, or elſewhere, intended as the leaſt aſperſion upon his character. It was the unhappineſs, the ſignal unhappineſs, of thoſe diſmal times, that men of honour, of virtue, and of religion, were drawn by the different colours given to the cauſes of ſeveral parties, to ſhed the blood of their countrymen, to deſtroy and to depopulate their native ſoil, and to purſue even their old acquaintance, nay, and near relations, with unrelenting fury. The Marquis of Argyle appears to have had as little of this ſpirit as any; and yet when he had leiſure to recollect, and to reflect upon his own actions, we find him profeſſing, with an ingenuity worthy of his noble nature, his concern for what had happened. Theſe are his words (31). 'I confeſs it was my great miſ-'fortune to be too deeply engaged in theſe fatal 'times. I know the Nobility of Scotland have al-'ways bickered with their Princes; and from the 'inſolency of that cuſtom, not any of our Kings 'have been free. It is alſo true, the perpetual 'family feuds among us, which by all the induſtry 'and authority of our Princes could never be ſo pa-'cified, but that they revived again, and took upon 'themſelves, as they had advantage, to revenge 'their quarrel; (and yet like ſudden floods which 'violently over-run, and as peaceably return within 'their banks, abated to their due allegiance) did 'eaſily perſuade me, that there was no ſuch ap-'parent danger in the firſt beginnings of the conteſt 'between the King and my nation of Scotland. I 'had laid it for a maxim, that a reformation was 'ſooner effected, *per Gladium Oris*, then *per Os Gla-'dii*; and certainly true religion is rather a ſettler 'than a ſtickler in policy, and rather confirms men 'in the obedience to the government eſtabliſhed, 'than invites them to the erecting of new, which 'they neither do nor can know till it be diſcovered 'and declared. Wherein I did not look upon our 'intended reformation as any way taxable, ſince it 'had the whole ſtream of univerſal conſent of the 'whole nation. I never thought of thoſe dire con-'ſequences which preſently followed, till by that 'confuſion my thoughts became diſtracted, and my-'ſelf encountered ſo many difficulties in the way, 'that all remedies that were applied did the quite 'contrary operation. Whatever therefore hath been 'ſaid by me and others, in this matter, you muſt 'repute and accept them as from a diſtracted man, of 'a diſtracted ſubject, in a diſtracted time wherein I 'lived; and this ſhall ſerve to let you know, how 'far I waded unwarily in that buſineſs.'

(25) Memoirs of the Conſpiracies and Rebellion againſt King Charles I. p. 110, 111.

(26) In his Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, throughout.

(27) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 331.

(28) Memoirs of the Conſpiracies and Rebellion againſt King Charles I. p. 134.

(29) *Id. ibid.* p. 151, 152, 171.

(30) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 579.

(31) The Marquis of Argyle's Inſtructions to his ſon, p. 45, 6, 7.

found

found himſelf excluded by the Parliament of Scotland from having any ſhare in public affairs, thought fit, notwithſtanding, out of pure loyalty to the King, to preſs him to cloſe with the propoſitions that were made him, and to rely upon the Marquis of Argyle (*f*) as the only perſon, who, as things then ſtood, could ſerve him effectually; which is a convincing argument, that the fact was really ſo: for had it been otherwiſe, the Duke of Hamilton would never have attempted to make his Majeſty believe ſuch great things of a man, he then held to be his enemy. Upon his Majeſty's arrival, he was very dutifully received by the Marquis, and the utmoſt reſpect was paid to his perſon, by all ſuch as approached him (*g*). It is true, that the King took the Covenant, and complied in all other reſpects, with the terms agreed on in Holland; which we find ſome writers repreſenting as a great hardſhip, and aſcribing it ſolely to the Marquis of Argyle. But granting this to be true, even theſe authors acknowledge, that the voice of the nation was with him (*h*): and if the Marquis meant to reſtore the King, he could not diſcover the ſincerity of his meaning more plainly, than by urging him to make good his promiſes at the beginning, and to ſatisfy the people of that nation, that he meant to keep his word with them. Neither was there any thing blameable in the Marquis's conduct, ſuppoſing it to have proceeded merely from his zeal for the Church of Scotland; ſince this was agreeable to the whole tenor of his life, and the very principle upon which all that influence was grounded, which hitherto he had ſo effectually uſed for the King's ſervice and ſupport (*i*). It is alſo allowed, that the Marquis's conduct in Scotland had a very great effect upon his countrymen in Ireland, who thereupon immediately and unanimouſly declared for the King (*k*). It is very certain, that as the Marquis of Argyle had brought the Scotch nation to own and receive his Majeſty upon the foundation of their conſtitution; ſo he was very ſolicitous, that the King ſhould keep his promiſes with them, and that he ſhould act in ſuch a manner as might extinguiſh all their fears and jealouſies, in which impartial people will allow, that he acted like an able Stateſman and a good ſubject (*l*). Upon Cromwell's entering Scotland, it is confeſſed, that he met with effectual and obſtinate reſiſtance, and that he was never in ſo great danger of being defeated, as in that expedition. There are very different accounts of the battle of Dunbar, which was fought, September 3, 1650, in which, though Cromwell gained a great, yet it was an unexpected victory; and, notwithſtanding the Marquis of Argyle had been very inſtrumental in raiſing that powerful army, which fought there in the King's cauſe, yet never any blame was charged upon him, in reſpect to the defeat (*m*). He adhered to the King as ſteadily afterwards as he did before it; attended him at Perth, or St. Johnſtoun, with the ſame diligence and duty (*n*); and was ſo inſtrumental in the ſteps taken there for his Majeſty's ſervice, that out of a full perſuaſion of the uprightneſs of his intentions, and the juſtice of his conduct, the King, of his own motive, was pleaſed to give him ſuch a teſtimony under his hand, as ought to convince poſterity, that what ſome men have written, in reference to this noble perſon, proceeded either from partiality or want of ſufficient lights (*o*). This paper alone is of more weight than all the private Memoirs or General Hiſtories of thoſe times put together; as King Charles II. is known to have formed very right judgments of men, and as he hath given us therein his judgment of the Marquis's behaviour to this time [G]. Such of the Engliſh as were about the King, and more eſpecially the Duke of Buckingham, were very well ſatisfied with the Marquis's conduct, and concurred with him in his

(*f*) Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton.

(*g*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 604,

(*h*) Bates, Elenc. Motuum, p. 95.

(*i*) See his Anſwer to the Charge againſt him before the Scotch Parliament, in 1661.

(*k*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 605. Bates, Elenc. Mot. p. ii. p. 95.

(*l*) Cranford's Hiſtory of the Great Officers of State in Scotland, p. 417.

(*m*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 607, 608. Whitelock's Memorials, p. 470. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 356. Bates, Elenchus, Mot. part ii. p. 105, 106.

(*n*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, in the Appendix, p. 25.

(*o*) See Echard's third volume of the Hiſtory of England, in the Appendix.

[G] *Of the Marquis's behaviour to this time.*] The defeat at Dunbar was a very trying circumſtance, in reſpect to the King's affairs; and it ſeems, that the Committee of Eſtates were not extremely attentive to the concern his Majeſty was under on this occaſion. He was at that time at Perth, from whence he diſpatched the Marquis of Argyle to the States, with a meſſage, which was ſoon after followed by a moſt gracious letter, dated the 12th of September: the very ſame day the Lord Lorn was ſent with another letter, in reference to recruiting the regiments of guards (32). The pains taken, both by the Marquis and his ſon, upon this occaſion, might very naturally make a ſtrong impreſſion upon his Majeſty's mind, more eſpecially as he could not but be ſenſible, that it was chiefly owing to their influence the Miniſters were kept to his party; and that the advice given him by the Marquis, how little ſoever it might be agreeable to his age and temper, was, notwithſtanding, of the utmoſt conſequence to his affairs, and the fitteſt for him to follow at that juncture. Upon theſe motives, he was inclined to give the Marquis a ſignal teſtimony of his Royal Favour; which, at the ſame time, that it expreſſed his ſenſe of paſt and preſent ſervices, might bind him to him for the future. He drew up therefore the following paper with his own hand, and preſented it to the Marquis, under his ſign manual (33).

(32) Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 163, 164.

(33) Printed by the Rev. Mr. Echard, in the Appendix to the third volume of his Hiſtory, being communicated to him by the firſt Duke of Argyle.

'HAVING taken into my conſideration the faithful endeavours of the Marquis of Argyle, for reſtoring me to my juſt rights, and the happy ſettling of my dominions, I am deſirous to let the world ſee how ſenſible I am of his real reſpect to me, by ſome particular marks of my favour to him, by which they may ſee, the truſt and confidence which I repoſe in him: and particularly, I do promiſe, that I will make him Duke of Argyle, and Knight of the Garter, and one of the Gentlemen of my Bed-chamber; and this to be performed, when he ſhall think it fit. And, I do further promiſe him, to hearken to his counſels ——— (worn out) ——— Whenever it ſhall pleaſe God to reſtore me to my juſt rights in England, I ſhall ſee him paid the forty thouſand pounds ſterling, which is due to him. All which I do promiſe to make good, upon the word of a King.'

St. Johnſtoun, September 24, 1650. CHARLES R.

There

his measures. They knew very well, that there was no sailing against wind and tide, and thought those did the King service, that enabled him to sail with them (*p*). But after all, his Majesty was drawn to wish for a coalition of parties; and having intelligence, that the Highlanders were in arms, and that several Noblemen had joined with them, he secretly withdrew from Perth, intending to have cast himself upon them (*q*). He was, however, prevailed upon to return; and the Marquis of Argyle still adhering closely to him, though he saw his Majesty disposed to take other measures than those he thought best for his service, it was resolved, he should be solemnly crowned at Scoon, with all the magnificence in the power of that distressed nation; which was accordingly done in January following, when the King, by his coronation oath, renewed all his former promises and obligations, and the Crown was set upon his head by the Marquis of Argyle, who was the first Nobleman that did homage and swore allegiance (*r*). After this, his Majesty entered into measures for procuring the Act of Classes, by which Montrose's party were kept out of employments, to be repealed, which, though it might be against the judgment of the Marquis of Argyle, yet he did not hinder his Majesty from prosecuting that design. It is very clear from the Histories of those times, that how much soever these steps might increase the King's army, they added very little strength to it, or weight to his Councils (*s*). New jealousies arose, fresh struggles for power began, Cromwell pushed his successes so far, that having at last made himself master of Perth, the King found himself obliged with his army to retire to Sterling, where, however he was so strongly posted, that after several attempts to no purpose, Cromwell was obliged to lay aside his design of attacking him (*t*). It was in the month of July, that the King formed a resolution of marching into England, which, it is allowed, was opposed by the Marquis of Argyle; and it is acknowledged by the Earl of Clarendon, that the reasons he offered against it were no frivolous ones, though they are not mentioned (*u*). It is highly probable, that the Marquis might think his Majesty might find it easier to deal with his enemies in a country where his authority was universally acknowledged, excepting in the places immediately under their power. He might also hope, by protracting the war, and removing the seat of it, that Cromwell's army might be lessened, separated, and perhaps drawn into the same circumstances, they were in before the fatal battle of Dunbar: neither is it at all unlikely, that he might hope the English in the King's interest, would, by such a diversion, have time given them to consult and concert a general insurrection, which was like to prove infinitely more formidable than any attempts they could make to join the King upon his sudden marching into their country with several flying corps of the Parliament forces in his front, and on his flanks, and Cromwell's numerous and victorious army at his heels (*w*). But though the Marquis disapproved the measure, and gave his reasons against it, which were allowed to have weight by the best judges, even of the King's English friends, yet he would have accompanied his Majesty, if his Lady had not lain at the point of death, which induced him to ask the King's leave to remain behind; which was very graciously given, and he had the honour of kissing his Sovereign's hand, when he took leave of him at Sterling (*x*). We are, indeed, told by certain Historians, that there were some about the King, who would have persuaded him to secure the Marquis's

(*p*) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 613.

(*q*) Bates, Elenc. Mot. p. ii. p. 111.

(*r*) See the Ceremony of the King's Coronation at Scoon, Jan. 1, 1651, prefixed to Mr. Robert Douglas's Sermon upon that occasion.

(*s*) See the Preface to Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland.

(*t*) Bates, Elenc. Mot. p. 118, 119.

(*u*) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 614.

(*w*) These reasons were reported often in conversation by the old Earl of Cromartie.

(*x*) See the Marquis's Answer to the Charge against him before the Parliament in 1661.

There can be but two constructions put upon this paper: for, either it must have proceeded entirely from the kindness and good-will of the King; and then it must be allowed, to be the clearest demonstration of his high opinion of the Marquis's abilities and fidelity, which over-turns all the conjectural accounts of those Historians, who pretend, that he looked upon himself, as under a kind of government and restraint from the Marquis; or it must have been owing to the ambition of that Nobleman himself, who was willing to have a security from the King, for the hazards he ran in his service; and taken in this light, it is as clear a proof of his sincere intention to contribute all in his power to his Restoration, without which this paper was a thing of no value. If therefore, we either allow, which by the way, no body ever denied, that the King had parts, or the Marquis prudence, we cannot doubt, that they perfectly understood each other; though it is highly probable, from the profound secrecy with which this transaction was attended, that neither inclined the world should know how perfect an understanding there was between them. It would be no very difficult matter to show the truth of this observation from matters of fact. The King, though he did not follow the Marquis's advice in protracting the war in Scotland, yet testified his respect and regard for him at his departure. It appears from the Earl of Clarendon's account, that the Queen-Mother had always a very good opinion of the Marquis (34), as had such of the King's English Counsellors as wished to see him truly a Monarch, the sovereign of all his subjects, of what religious or political sentiments soever they might be, and to which in his own nature the King himself was inclined. The conference with Don John of Austria, five years after this, shews his Majesty's thorough sense of the Marquis's real attachment, notwithstanding appearances (35). On the other hand, he was the last man that capitulated in Scotland; he did it when sick and a prisoner, and then only promised to be quiet. He held several meetings with the loyal nobility, to consider whether any thing might be attempted for his Majesty's service. His son was very often in arms, which made the father always suspected; and though he seems to have altered his conduct in the last years of the usurpation, yet it was, because he judged, complying so far, as to sit in Parliament in the time of Richard, might be of more service to the King, as it really was, than acting in Scotland against Monk. At his very trial, he appealed to his Grace, the Earl of Middleton (36), then High Commissioner, for the truth of his sending a message to him in the hills, when he was there in arms with a few followers for the King; to which he received no answer; and his resolution of going up to London after the Restoration, must have arisen from a consciousness of these past services.

(34) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 6[illegible]

(35) Thurloe's State Papers, vol. v. p. 624.

(36) Wodrow's History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 47.

person,

perſon, and to have left him, not only as he did, without truſt or power, but without liberty alſo (*y*), when his Lady was in a dying condition in Scotland. But his Majeſty had more wiſdom, as well as juſtice, than to conſent to any ſuch thing; and the anſwer that he gave upon that occaſion ſhews, how much better he was able to judge of things, than any of thoſe about him. After the King's defeat at Worceſter, the Marquis of Argyle retired to his own houſe at Inverary, where he continued to act as he thought beſt for his own defence, for a whole year (*z*); till falling ſick, he was ſurprized and made priſoner by General Dean, who afterwards brought him up to Edinburgh, where he was likewiſe a priſoner, when Cromwell was proclaimed Protector; and having received General Monk's orders to attend the Council, he was, in conſequence of that attendance, obliged to be preſent at the ceremony of proclaiming the Protector (*a*). While he was a priſoner, a paper was tendered to him to ſign, containing his ſubmiſſion to the government, as ſettled, without King or Houſe of Lords; which he refuſed; but afterwards, when he was in no condition to ſtruggle, he did ſign a paper (*b*) promiſing to live peaceably under that government. His Chaplain, Mr. Alexander Gordon, while the Engliſh were at Inverary, prayed conſtantly for his Majeſty; and when the Marquis himſelf prayed, he always mentioned thoſe to whom he was engaged, by natural, civil, or Chriſtian bonds (*c*). His country was the laſt that ſubmitted; and even then, his ſon did not ſubmit. The Marquis did indeed uſe great civility towards the perſons in power, which was the more neceſſary, becauſe, as Whitelocke and other writers of that party tell us, he was under continual ſuſpicions; ſo far is it from being true, that he was looked upon by them as a man firm in their intereſt, or one in whom they might confide (*d*). He oppoſed the act of Union, upon plauſible and juſt motives; but in reality, with a view to hinder it from ſucceeding at all (*e*). In 1656, when King Charles II. had a conference with Don John of Auſtria upon the ſtate of his affairs in Scotland; and amongſt other things it was objected to him, that the Marquis and his ſon, the Lord Lorn, had the greateſt intereſt there, and that it was ſuſpected they were againſt him; his Majeſty anſwered clearly, that for the Lord Lorn, he could depend as much upon him, as upon his brother. In regard to the Marquis, he contented himſelf, with ſaying, he was a very wiſe man; but at laſt confeſſed, that he had received more money from him, than from any perſon in Scotland (*f*). It is not to be inferred from hence, that the King had any doubts, at that time, about his fidelity; but knowing his cautious way of acting, he was unwilling to declare his ſentiments plainly, even to Don John. Under Richard's Protectorate, the Marquis was choſen for the ſhire of Aberdeen; and though he had refuſed to ſerve in Oliver's Parliament, yet he thought fit to go up then to London, and wrought there, as he told ſeveral after he came down again to Scotland, for his Majeſty's ſervice, as it was afterwards proved, for his ſervice effectually, by making that breach, by which his majeſty entered (*g*). It ſeems, however, that during Monk's government in Scotland, he looked upon the country as abſolutely conquered; and his conceiving the thing in this light, very probably induced him to take many ſteps, that he would not otherwiſe have done (*h*). Upon the King's Reſtoration, he was differently adviſed by his friends: ſome perſuaded him to go immediately up to London, and congratulate his Majeſty on his return; others thought it more adviſeable, that he ſhould wait till the government was ſettled. There is no doubt, that he weighed very ſeriouſly both theſe opinions; but at laſt, he determined upon the former, as the more open and honeſt, if not the moſt prudent courſe. He accordingly came up to London, where he arrived July 8, 1660 (*i*); though it is reported, that orders had been procured from the King to ſtop him on the road. Immediately after his arrival, he went to Whitehall; of which, when the King was informed, he ſent Sir William Fleming to carry him to the Tower. He preſſed very earneſtly, that he might be allowed to ſee the King, but his enemies prevented that: they knew his great abilities, and they knew the confidence the King had in him; they knew, likewiſe, the arts by which that confidence had been ruined; and therefore they cauſed him to be hurried away without ceremony, indeed without civility or decency (*k*). After he was committed to the Tower, he made application for liberty to have affidavits and declarations of ſeveral perſons in England, particularly of the Marquis of Hertford, taken upon ſome matters of fact; but this piece of juſtice was denied him (*l*). At the very time he was committed to the Tower, the Marquis of Antrim was alſo ſent thither, for affirming, that the Iriſh had acted by the late King's authority; and it will not certainly do any great honour to that adminiſtration with poſterity, who thought it conſiſtent with the King's reputation to diſmiſs the latter ſo eaſily, and to proſecute the former to deſtruction without mercy (*m*). He was continued in the Tower for about five months, and in December was ſent down by ſea to Scotland, very narrowly eſcaping ſhipwreck in his paſſage by a ſtorm (*n*). As ſoon as he arrived, he was ſent priſoner to the Caſtle of Edinburgh, in order to be brought to a trial before the Parliament of Scotland, to which his capital enemy, the Earl of Middleton, was ſent down Lord High Commiſſioner; who, through the whole courſe of it, argued with a vehemency, that would have been highly indecent in an Advocate, and therefore I know not what

(*y*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 614.

(*z*) Append. to Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, p. 25.

(*a*) Thurloe's Letters, vol. vi. p. 405.

(*b*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, Append. p. 25.

(*c*) See his Defence againſt the Charge before the Parliament of Scotland in 1661.

(*d*) Whitelock's Memorials, P. 506, 514, 517, 519, 524, 530, 532. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 514.

(*e*) See his Defence before-mentioned.

(*f*) Thurloe's State Papers, vol. v. p. 604.

(*g*) State Trials, vol. ii. p. 431.

(*h*) This appears throughout his Defence.

(*i*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 42. Kennet's Chronicle or Regiſter, p. 200.

(*k*) Kennet's Chron. p. 202.

(*l*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 42.

(*m*) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 34.

(*n*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 42.

what to call it in a Judge (*o*). A long charge was exhibited againſt the Marquis, comprehending a vaſt variety of facts, from the year 1638; which was done purpoſely to render him odious, and to raiſe a clamour againſt him, for moſt of them were incapable of any kind of proof; and all before the year 1651, were abſolutely pardoned (*p*) by the Act of Indemnity, which his Majeſty had paſſed in that very year. He had counſel aſſigned him to the number of ſix; and amongſt theſe, was Mr. Mackenzie, afterwards the famous Sir George Mackenzie. On the 13th of February, he was brought before the Parliament, where he deſired leave to ſpeak before his indictment was read; which was refuſed him, as were alſo ſome other things, that in any caſe but his, would have been looked upon as matters of courſe (*r*). Theſe ſteps were probably taken to ſhorten the trial, which however was very long; for though no pains were ſpared to ſearch almoſt every ſhire in Scotland, to find out people to blacken his character, yet, when the matters came to be looked into, they turned to no account (*s*). At laſt, they were forced to fix upon his joining with the Engliſh, as the only ſpecies of treaſon that could affect him; and, in reference to this, the Earl of Loudon, ſo many years Chancellor, defended him with great warmth and eloquence (*t*). The Marquis himſelf ſaid, 'That what he had done, he was compelled to do by neceſſity, which being a thing 'above law, and which took place only where there was no law, ought, in the reaſon 'of things, to juſtify a man againſt law: That what he did, he did with a good intention, with a deſire to ſerve his Majeſty, and preſerve his ſubjects; and, that he bleſſed 'God, he had ſucceeded in both: That however, he had done no more than others 'did, even thoſe who were now his proſecutors and his judges. He adviſed them, 'therefore, to conſider how fatal a precedent they were about to eſtabliſh, with reſpect 'to themſelves and to their poſterity. A precedent, that making it impoſſible for any 'man to be thought innocent, who ſubmitted to a uſurpation, muſt neceſſarily take 'away from every man the deſire of over-turning a uſurpation, as that muſt have a 'tendency to his own deſtruction.' On the 29th of April, the Earls of Glencairne and Rothes, and Mr. James Sharpe, afterwards Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, were ſent up to Court to give an account of the proceedings (*u*). The Marquis alſo ſent up his ſon, Lord Niele Campbell, to act on his behalf; and it is ſaid, that the King wrote to his Commiſſioner, the Earl of Middleton, requiring him to preſs no acts of treaſon, but ſuch as happened after the year 1651, and not to proceed to ſentence before his Majeſty had reviſed the proceedings. With the former inſtruction the Commiſſioner complied, but pretended, that the latter manifeſted ſuch a diſtruſt of the Parliament (*w*), that he durſt not mention it. The depoſitions of abundance of people were taken, with reſpect to the Marquis's acting under, and owning, the government eſtabliſhed in Scotland in 1652. Biſhop Burnet tells us, that Monk ſent down his letters, that they came after the evidence was cloſed, but that the Lord Commiſſioner cauſed them to be read; upon which the Marquis's friends went out, perceiving there was then no room to ſerve him (*x*). I find nothing of this any where elſe; and though I very readily believe, that if Monk had any ſuch letters, he would have ſent them, and that they would have been read; yet, I think, there are good reaſons to eſteem this fact doubtful, if not falſe [*H*]. At laſt, upon the evidence, produced on May 3d, 7th, and the 8th, they pronounced

(*o*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 122.

(*p*) See that Charge in the State Trials, vol. vii. p. 379.

(*q*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 43.

(*r*) Caſe of the Marquis of Argyle.

(*s*) Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 43.

(*t*) Crauford's Lives of the great Officers of State in Scotland, p. 215.

(*u*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 119.

(*w*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 53. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 123. State Trials, vol. iii. p. 433.

(*x*) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, vol. i. p. 125.

[*H*] *To eſteem this fact doubtful, if not falſe.*] It is very clear, that what Biſhop Burnet relates, concerning the tranſactions of theſe times, he muſt have received from other people, and that ſeveral years after: for at the time of the Marquis of Argyle's death, he could not be much above eighteen years old. We need not wonder, therefore, that in the circumſtances relating to great events, before thoſe times in which he came to have a ſhare in buſineſs, he might be miſinformed; for that is all, that either is or ought to be contended for on this occaſion. After giving us an account of a very learned ſpeech prepared by the Earl of Loudon, and which Crauford tells us, was ſpoken by him in juſtification of the Marquis, the Biſhop proceeds thus (38): 'But 'while it was very doubtful, how it would have 'gone, Monk by an inexcuſable baſeneſs had ſearched among his letters, and found ſome that were 'writ by Argyle to himſelf, that were hearty and 'zealous on their ſide. Theſe he ſent down to 'Scotland. And after they were read in Parliament, it could not be pretended, that his compliance was feigned or extorted from him. Every 'body blamed Monk for ſending theſe down, ſince 'it was betraying the confidence that they then lived in. They were ſent by an expreſs, and came 'to the Earl of Middleton after the Parliament was 'engaged in the debate. So he ordered the letters 'to be read. This was much blamed as contrary to 'the forms of juſtice, ſince probation was cloſed on 'both ſides. But the reading of them ſilenced all 'farther debate. All his friends went out: and he 'was condemned as guilty of treaſon. The Marquis 'of Montroſe only refuſed to vote. He owned he 'had too much reſentment to judge in that matter. 'It was deſigned he ſhould be hanged as the Marquis of Montroſe had been: but it was carried, that 'he ſhould be beheaded, and that his head ſhould 'be ſet up where Lord Montroſe's had been ſet.' It is evident from hence, that if our author's account of the matter be right, the Marquis of Argyle had nothing to complain of; for theſe letters ſent down by Monk fixed the fact ſo fully upon him, that even his friends gave up his defence, and withdrew. But the Marquis, when he received ſentence, as well as in the whole courſe of his defence, inſiſted, that he had complied no farther than other people had done who were then his judges; and the ſame thing he ſays in his ſpeech; and hence it is, that I am apt to believe, that there is ſome miſtake or miſapprehenſion in this matter; and that though Monk might give his aſſiſtance to ruin a man whoſe abilities he might fear, and whoſe influence he very well knew (39); yet he neither ſent down any ſuch letters, nor had any ſuch to ſend; and in ſupport of this opinion, I ſhall offer my reaſons. I. This matter was very narrowly looked into at the time it happened; has been very carefully reviewed ſince, and accounts of it have been given by perſons of oppoſite ſentiments, yet none of theſe mention Monk's letters. The great

(38) Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 125.

(39) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 42.

pronounced him guilty, after debates, which laſted many days; and on Saturday, May 25, they pronounced the following ſentence, *That he ſhould be beheaded on the* Monday *following, at the* Croſs *of* Edinburgh; *that his* head *ſhould be ſet up, where the Marquis of* Montroſe's *formerly ſtood, and his coat of arms torn before the* Parliament, *and at the* Croſs. He behaved on that occaſion, with great firmneſs and conſtancy, as well as much calmneſs and dignity. The ſentence being pronounced, he was going to ſpeak, but the trumpets ſounding, he ſtopped till that ſtrange ceremony was over; then lifting up his eyes, he ſaid, 'I had the honour to ſet the Crown upon the King's head, and 'now he haſtens me to a better crown than his own: *then directing himſelf to the Com-* 'miſſioner and Parliament, *he added*, You have the indemnity of an earthly King in your 'hands, and have denied me a ſhare in that; but you cannot hinder me from the in-'demnity of the King of Kings, and ſhortly you muſt come before his tribunal. I 'pray he mete not out ſuch meaſure to you as you have done to me, when you are 'called to an account for all your actions, and this amongſt the reſt.' He was conducted from the bar to the common goal of Edinburgh, where he remained to the time

great Miniſters of thoſe times, and thoſe who were deepeſt in taking away the Marquis's life, removed, as far as they were able, all the minutes relating to his proceſs, which they would not have done, had he been convicted on the teſtimony of theſe letters; becauſe, the recording them had juſtified their proceedings (40). All things tending to juſtify the bringing the Marquis to a trial, condemning, and putting him to death, were carefully publiſhed in England, as Biſhop Kennet ſhows very largely; but nothing is ſaid of theſe letters (41). Sir George Mackenzie wrote a Vindication of the Government of King Charles II. in Scotland, in which he paſſes over entirely this whole tranſaction; which ſurely he would not have done, if it could have been ſo eaſily vindicated, as by tranſcribing theſe letters (42). Mr. Wodrow collected every thing he could meet with relating to this proceſs, and has preſerved names of the witneſſes that proved the Marquis's compliance, but he ſays nothing of Monk's letters; neither is there a ſyllable of them in the State Trials, excepting the tranſcribing this paſſage from Biſhop Burnet. II. It ſeems to be inconſiſtent with another part of the Biſhop's own account: for he ſays, the King inſtructed his Commiſſioner not to proceed to ſentence, or at leaſt to execution, till he had reviewed the proceedings (43); for which there had been no occaſion, if the King had known any thing of theſe letters, ſince what ſatisfied the Marquis's friends as to his guilt, would undoubtedly have ſatisfied his Majeſty alſo upon that ſubject. III. There are ſome circumſtances in the account this Prelate gives us of the Marquis, which may eaſily induce us to believe, that he might be miſled in regard to this ſtory. As for inſtance, he mentions his being upon ill terms with his ſon Lord Lorn, and having actually had thoughts of diſinheriting him (44). Under the uſurpation, it was neceſſary for the Marquis to diſclaim the conduct of Lord Lorn for his own ſafety and preſervation; but this never deceived the people in power (45); and therefore it is ſtrange, that it ſhould impoſe upon the Biſhop. In the Marquis's advice to his ſon, and to the reſt of his children, there is nothing that looks that way; and in the next article, we ſhall ſee, that Lord Lorn's zeal for his father, had like to have coſt him his own life, as the Marquis's coming to London on his ſon's letter, actually coſt him his. The Biſhop ſpeaks of an attempt made by the Marquis to make his eſcape out of the Caſtle; but he ſays, that fearing it might haſten his execution, his heart failed him (46). It is not eaſy to conceive, how this can be reconciled to the ſtory of Monk's letters. Before they came, the Biſhop tells us the affair was very doubtful; and in ſuch a ſituation, it is not probable the Marquis would attempt an eſcape. After ſentence was paſſed he never was in the Caſtle, and conſequently could have no opportunity of eſcaping from thence. It is however true, that he really intended an eſcape from the Caſtle, and was once in complete diſguiſe for that purpoſe; but laid aſide his deſign, becauſe he would not deſert the ſentiments which he had eſpouſed (47). He choſe rather to die like an honeſt man, than to draw an imputation of guilt upon his character by flight; but his conduct would have been abſurd, if his letters to Monk had proved him already guilty, or even if he knew ſuch letters had been in Monk's power. The Biſhop ſays expreſsly, that the Marquis wrote his letter to the King the day before his execution (48): the letter itſelf ſhews, that the Marquis wrote it that very day (49). It ſeems therefore poſſible, that the Biſhop having this account from ſome good hand, in his opinion, might ſet it down without conſidering it very carefully. IV. We have many things ſaid by Clarendon and Echard of the Marquis's correſpondence with Cromwell and Sir Henry Vane, though neither have vouchſafed us any proofs. On the other hand, Whitelock, and other writers on that ſide, give him quite another character, and repreſent him as a perſon always ſuſpected and dreaded. We have of late years had great diſcoveries made of the correſpondence under Cromwell's government; all which clearly proves, that the Marquis of Argyle was never conſidered in any other light than that of a concealed Royaliſt, as his ſon, the Lord Lorn, was a declared one (50). There is a letter of his to King Charles II. which I have ſeen, and is now in print, that proves he had a great correſpondence with King Charles I. and in which he tells the King, that no body could reſtore him but the Preſbyterians; which the King afterwards found to be true (51). V. Laſtly, It is ſo far from being a fact, that he had any cloſe connection with Monk in the management of affairs, while he governed Scotland, that I am able to prove he was his mortal enemy, and repreſented him in the blackeſt colours to both the Protectors. He accuſed him to Oliver as not deſerving the money that was paid him (52) as a debt, for maintaining the Scots troops in Ireland upon the credit of the public faith; and the following letter will fully ſhew, that he did not conſider his going up to Richard's Parliament as a compliance with that Government, but as an endeavour to overturn it. This letter is directed to Thurloe, and runs thus (53):

'My Lord,

'MY Lord Keeper and myſelf have done our 'beſt to get thoſe men choſen you have wrote 'for; but my Lord of Argyle, and ſome others 'whom my Lord Keeper will acquaint you with, 'have endeavoured all they can to get all Scotch-'men choſen. But, I doubt not, but there will be 'three choſen of thoſe five you ſent the names of; 'and I have taken care, that as many as come out 'of this country, ſhall be there with the firſt: and 'if the writs come in time, which I hope they will, 'they ſhall be all ſent to Dr. Clarges. The Mar-'quis of Argyle himſelf endeavours to be choſen, 'notwithſtanding he is Sheriff of Argyleſhire; 'neither do I gueſs he will do his Highneſs's in-'tereſt any good; but when my Lord Keeper comes 'up, he ſhall acquaint you with the buſineſs. 'Which is all at preſent from

'Your Lordſhip's

'Very humble Servant,

'Dalkeith, December 30, 1658. 'GEORGE MONK.'

of

(40) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 57.

(41) Regiſter and Chronicle, Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, 334, 405, 407, 428, 451, 452.

(42) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 57.

(43) Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 123.

(44) *Ibid.* p. 106.

(45) Thurloe's Letters, vol. i. p. 514.

(46) Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 114.

(47) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 53.

(48) Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 125.

(49) See the Letter in the next note.

(50) Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 28.

(51) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, vol. ii. b. ii. p. 16, 17.

(52) Thurloe's State Papers, vol. v. p. 341.

(53) *Ibid.* vol. vii. p. 584.

of his death. He dined on Monday at twelve o'clock, with his friends, with great chearfulneſs. He behaved on the ſcaffold with the intrepidity of a hero, or rather, with the conſtancy of a Chriſtian. His laſt words, and the letter he wrote the King the morning of his execution, will ſufficiently ſhew, that as he lived, ſo he died, a much better ſubject, than thoſe who brought him to that death (y) [I]. His enemies took care

(y) Kennet's Chronicle, p. 451, 452. Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 53, 54, 55. State Trials, vol. ii. p. 434. Heath's Chron. p. 497. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 793.

[I] *Than thoſe who brought him to that death.*] There are ſome variations in the printed copies of the Marquis's ſpeech, which perhaps, may be owing to a deſire of giving an Engliſh turn to ſome of the Scotch expreſſions (54); but whoever peruſes it muſt confeſs, that it is grave and manly, and at the ſame time, loyal and pious. He gives a full and clear account of his actions, aſſerts the uprightneſs of his conduct and the ſincerity of his affection, both to King Charles I. and King Charles II. He owns and juſtifies his zeal for the religion in which he was bred, and with true Chriſtian charity forgives his enemies, and prays that God would forgive them. His laſt words immediately before he laid his head upon the block, were the vindication of his innocency from the crime of the King's death, in theſe words:

(54) Appendix to Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 28. State Trials, vol. ii. p. 434.

'I deſire you, gentlemen, and all that hear me, 'again to take notice and remember, that now, 'when I am entering on eternity, and am to ap'pear before my Judge, and as I deſire ſalvation, 'and expect eternal happineſs from him, I am free 'from any acceſſion, by knowledge, contriving, coun'ſel, or any other way, to his late Majeſty's death; 'and I pray the Lord to preſerve the preſent King 'his Majeſty, and to pour his beſt bleſſings upon his 'perſon and government, and the Lord give him 'good and faithful Counſellors.'

The Marquis's letter to the King, written by his Lordſhip, the morning of his execution (55).

(55) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 54, 55.

'Moſt Sacred Sovereign,

'I Doubt not but your Majeſty hath an account 'given you from others, of the iſſue of that 'ſtrange proceſs and indictment laid againſt me be'fore this can come to your Royal hands; of which, 'if I had been guilty according to the charge, I 'ſhould have eſteemed myſelf unworthy to breathe 'upon the earth, much leſs would I have preſumed 'to make any application to your Majeſty. But of 'all thoſe great crimes which have been charged up'on me, there hath nothing been proven, except a 'compliance with the prevalent uſurping rebels, af'ter they had ſubdued all your Majeſty's dominions, 'whereby, I was forced, with many others, to 'ſubmit unto their unlawful power and govern'ment, which was an epidemic diſeaſe and fault of 'the time.

'What meaſure ſoever I have met with, and what'ever malice or calumny hath been caſt upon me, 'yet it is inexpreſſible joy and comfort, under all 'theſe ſufferings, that I am found free and acquit 'of any acceſſion to that execrable murder committed 'againſt the life of your Royal Father, which (as I 'deſire a comfortable appearance before the Judge, 'both of the quick and the dead) my ſoul did ever 'abominate; for death, with the inward peace of 'my innocency, is much more acceptable to me, than 'life itſelf, with the leaſt ſtain of treachery.

'And now I am confident, that your Majeſty's 'diſpleaſure will be ſatisfied, and you will ſuffer my 'failings to be expiate with my life, which, with all 'humility and ſubmiſſion, I have yielded up; and in 'this ſmall period that remains of my life, no earth'ly thing ſhall be more cordially deſired by me, than 'your happineſs, and that your Majeſty and your 'ſucceſſors to all generations may ſway the Sceptre of 'theſe nations, and that they may be a bleſſed people 'under your government.

'And now, hoping that the humble ſupplication 'of your Majeſty's dying ſubject may find ſome place 'within the large extent of your princely goodneſs 'and clemency, I have taken the boldneſs to caſt 'the deſolate condition of my poor wife and family 'upon your Royal favour; for whatever may be 'your Majeſty's diſpleaſure againſt myſelf, theſe I 'hope have not done any thing to procure your Ma'jeſty's indignation. And ſince, that family have 'had the honour to be faithful ſubjects, and ſervice'able to your Royal progenitors, I humbly beg my 'faults may not extinguiſh the laſting merit and me'mory of thoſe who have given ſo many ſignal proofs 'of conſtant loyalty for many generations. Orphans 'and widows, by ſpecial prerogative and command 'from God, are put under your protection and de'fence, that you ſuffer them not to be wronged: 'they will owe their preſervation ſo entirely to your 'Majeſty's bounty and favour, that your coun'tenance, and nothing elſe that's human, can be a 'ſhield againſt their ruin.

'I ſhall add no more, only being addebted to 'ſeveral of your Majeſty's good ſubjects, and your 'Royal juſtice being the ſource and fountain of all 'equity, whereby, all your people are preſerved in 'their juſt rights and intereſts, I humbly beg, that 'none of them may ſuffer for my fault, but that you 'would allow them ſatisfaction and payment of 'what is juſtly owing unto them, of thoſe ſums and 'debts which are truly reſting to my ſon and me. 'And, as it is my ſerious and laſt deſire to my chil'dren and poſterity, next to their duty to Almighty 'God, that they may be faithful and ſerviceable to 'your Majeſty; ſo were I to enjoy this frail life any 'longer, I would endeavour before all the world, to 'evidence myſelf to be,

'Your Majeſty's

'Moſt humble, devoted,

'And obedient Subject and Servant,

'From your priſon, Edinburgh, May 27, 1661. 'ARGYLE.'

C.

*** [In Lord Clarendon's Continuation, there is a character of the Marquis of Argyle, which, being drawn up in the maſterly manner uſual with the noble Hiſtorian, we ſhall here inſert, though it is far from being ſo candid a delineation of the Marquis as is given by our ingenious predeceſſor.

'The Marquis of Argyle (without mentioning of 'whom there can hardly be any mention in Scotland) 'though he was not of this fraternity, yet thought 'he could tell as fair a ſtory for himſelf as any of the 'reſt, and contribute as much to the King's abſolute 'power in Scotland. And therefore he had no ſooner 'unqueſtionable notice of the King's being in London, 'but he made haſte thither with as much confidence 'as the reſt. But the Commiſſioners who were be'fore him wrought ſo far with the King, that in 'the very minute of his arrival he was arreſted by a 'warrant under the King's hand, and carried to the 'Tower, upon a charge of high treaſon.

'He was a man like Drances in Virgil,

'*Largus opum, & linguâ melior, ſed frigida bello*
'*Dextera, conſiliis habitus non futilis auctor,*
'*Seditione potens.*

'Without doubt he was a perſon of extraordinary 'cunning, well bred; and though, by the ill-placing 'of his eyes, he did not appear with any great ad'vantage at firſt ſight, yet he reconciled even thoſe 'who had averſion to him very ſtrangely by a little 'converſation: inſomuch as after ſo many repeated 'indignities (to ſay no worſe) which he had put up'on the late King, and when he had continued the 'ſame affronts to the preſent King, by hindering the 'Scots from inviting him, and as long as was poſſible 'kept him from being received by them; when 'there was no remedy, and that he was actually land'ed,

care that his proceſs ſhould not remain among the Parliament Regiſters. Sir George Mackenzie, who wrote a Vindication of the Government of Scotland during this reign, does not ſo much as mention the Marquis's proceſs, though, as his advocate, he had defended him with great learning and ſpirit. Nay, thoſe who paſſed the ſentence upon him did not think fit to ſign a dead warrant; ſo that in the letter of the law, as well as in the eye of reaſon, this could be accounted no better than a murder committed with much form (z). As the Lord High Commiſſioner diſobeyed his Majeſty's command in precipitating the death of the Marquis, ſo for this, and other acts of violence, he was quickly diſgraced. At his firſt appearance in the world he had ſerved the Parliament of England againſt his Prince; he afterwards deſerted that ſervice, and was employed in Scotland in a manner which prejudiced him againſt the Marquis of Argyle, and induced him to act as he did, equally againſt the laws of the land, and the inſtructions of his maſter (a). At that time his conduct was univerſally condemned, and the behaviour of the Marquis generally applauded, as indeed it deſerved; for in the whole courſe of his life he never changed his ſentiments, but died with the ſame religious and political principles which he had always profeſſed while he lived, and practiſed alſo from firſt to laſt.

(z) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 56, 57.

(a) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 335.

'ed, no man paid him ſo much reverence and outward reſpect, and gave ſo good an example to all others, with what veneration their King ought to be treated, as the Marquis of Argyle did, and in a very ſhort time made himſelf agreeable and acceptable to him. His wit was pregnant, and his humour gay and pleaſant, except when he liked not the company or the argument. And though he never conſented to any one thing of moment, which the King aſked of him, and even in thoſe ſeaſons in which he was uſed with moſt rudeneſs by the clergy, and with ſome barbarity by his ſon the Lord Lorn, whom he had made Captain of his Majeſty's guard, to guard him from his friends, and from all who he deſired ſhould have acceſs to him; the Marquis ſtill had that addreſs, that he perſuaded him all was for the beſt. When the other faction prevailed, in which there were likewiſe crafty managers, and that his counſels were commonly rejected, he carried himſelf ſo, that they who hated him moſt were willing to compound with him, and that his Majeſty ſhould not withdraw his countenance from him. But he continued in all his charges, and had a very great party in that Parliament that was moſt devoted to ſerve the King; ſo that his Majeſty was often put to deſire his help to compaſs what he deſired. He did heartily oppoſe the King's marching with his army into England, the ill ſucceſs whereof made many men believe afterwards, that he had more reaſons for the counſels he gave, than they had who were of another opinion. And the King was ſo far from thinking him his enemy, that when it was privately propoſed to him by thoſe he truſted moſt, that he might be ſecured from doing hurt when the King was marched into England, ſince he was ſo much againſt it; his Majeſty would by no means conſent to it, but parted with him very graciouſly, as with one he expected good ſervice from. All which the Commiſſioners well remembered, and were very unwilling that he ſhould be again admitted into his preſence, to make his own excuſes for any thing he could be charged with. And his behaviour afterwards, and the good correſpondence he had kept with Cromwell, but eſpecially ſome confident averments of ſome particular words or actions which related to the murder of his father, prevailed with his Majeſty not to ſpeak with him, which he laboured by many addreſſes, in petitions to the King, and letters to ſome of thoſe who were truſted by him, which were often prevented by his wife and his ſon, and in which he only deſired "to ſpeak with the "King, or with ſome of thoſe Lords," pretending "that he ſhould inform and communicate ſomewhat "that would highly concern his Majeſty's ſervice." But the King not vouchſafing to admit him to his preſence, the Engliſh Lords had no mind to have any conference with a man who had ſo dark a character, or to meddle in an affair that muſt be examined and judged by the laws of Scotland: and ſo it was reſolved, that the Marquis of Argyle ſhould be ſent by ſea into Scotland, to be tried before the Parliament there when the Commiſſioner ſhould arrive, who was diſpatched thither with the reſt of the Lords, as ſoon as the ſeals and other badges of their ſeveral offices could be prepared (56).'

(56) Clarendon's Continuation, vol. ii. p. 99—101.

The ſame noble Hiſtorian has given the following equally ſevere account of the Marquis's trial and execution.

'As ſoon as the Parliament was convened at Edinburgh, and the Commiſſioner found the temper of them to be ſuch as he could wiſh, the Marquis of Argyle, (who had been ſent by ſea from the Tower of London to Leith) was brought to his trial upon many articles of treaſon and murder; wherein all his confederacies with Cromwell were laid open, and much inſiſted upon to prove his being privy to the reſolution of taking the King's life, and adviſing it: and though there was great reaſon to ſuſpect it, and moſt men believed it, the proofs were not clear enough to convict him. But then the evidence was ſo full and clear of ſo many horrid murders committed by his order upon perſons in his diſpleaſure, and his immediate poſſeſſing himſelf of their eſtates, and other monſtrous and unheard of acts of oppreſſion; that the Parliament condemned him to be hanged upon a gallows of an unuſual height, and in or near the place where he had cauſed the Marquis of Montroſe to be formerly executed: all which was performed the ſame day, with the univerſal joy of the people; the unfortunate perſon himſelf ſhewing more reſolution and courage than was expected from him; and expreſſing much affection and zeal for the *Covenant*, for which he deſired all men ſhould believe he was put to death (57).'

(57) *Ibid.* p. 403, 404.

The Earl of Clarendon's aſſertion, that the Marquis of Argyle was executed with the univerſal joy of the people, cannot poſſibly be true. Out of the vaſt multitudes of Scotchmen who were zealouſly devoted to the Preſbyterian form of Church Government, many, if not moſt of them, would undoubtedly behold the execution of ſo illuſtrious a ſupporter of it with the greateſt grief and concern.

Mr. Hume characterizes the Marquis of Argyle as a man equally ſupple and inflexible, cautious and determined, and entirely qualified to make a figure during a factious and turbulent period (58).

(58) Hiſtory of Great Britain, vol. vi. p. 272. edition of 1763.

Mr. Walpole, in his 'Royal and Noble Authors,' has aſſigned a place to the Marquis, on account of two pieces written by him, which are mentioned in the Catalogue of the Harleian Library. Their titles are as follows: "Marquis of Argyle his In-"ſtructions to a Son," 1661. "His Defences "againſt the Grand Indictment of High Treaſon," 1661. It is obſervable, ſays Mr. Walpole, that this Lord quarrelled both with his father and his ſon (59).] K.

(59) Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, vol. ii. p. 225, 226.

CAMPBELL (ARCHIBALD), Earl of Argyle, ſon to the former, and himſelf one of the worthieſt Noblemen, and one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Patriots of the age in which he lived. He was educated under his father's eye in the true principles of loyalty and of the Chriſtian Religion (*a*), and came to be very early diſtinguiſhed in the world by his perſonal merit, as well as by his titles and the high rank he held in his country. When King Charles II. was invited home to receive the Crown of his ancient and hereditary kingdom in 1650, he was conſtituted Colonel of his Majeſty's Footguards, in which there happened ſomething very particular: for whereas all commiſſions were then granted by the Parliament of Scotland, and they affected a kind of ſovereign authority, the Lord Lorn refuſed to act without a commiſſion from the King; which was accordingly granted him (*b*). In this command he ſerved with great bravery at the battle of Dunbar, where his regiment ſuffered exceedingly (*c*); and he continued in this command ſo long as his Majeſty remained in Scotland, behaving himſelf with ſuch tenderneſs and affection, as well as fidelity and duty, to that Prince, as gained him a high place in his favour; more eſpecially as he was always ready to obey his maſter's commands, and did every thing to alleviate that conſtraint, which, from the rigid ſeverity of the Clergy, his Majeſty was for ſome time under (*d*). Neither was his zeal for the King's ſervice at all abated by the fatal defeat at Worceſter: on the contrary, he remained in arms, kept up a party in the Highlands, joined readily with the moſt inveterate enemies of his family for the King's ſervice, even though he found himſelf very ill uſed by them, and more than one attempt was made to impriſon him (*e*). But neither the hardſhips he went through, nor the treachery to which he was expoſed, could induce him to quit the Royal cauſe; and the teſtimonies of favour he had received from his Majeſty, made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on his mind, that he continued active when the King's affairs were deſperate, until he brought his own into the ſame condition (*f*). This conduct made him ſo obnoxious to Cromwell, that there was no perſon in Scotland whom he purſued with greater animoſity, as appears by his excepting him out of his general pardon, in 1654 (*g*). Yet, even this, did not at all diſcourage him, or prevail upon him to deſiſt from giving that Uſurper all the trouble that was in his power, till he received General Middleton's orders, by the King's authority, to capitulate, which were dated December 31, 1655 (*h*). He then ſubmitted to live quietly and peaceably, but never owned either Oliver or Richard's government, but remained obnoxious to thoſe ſort of men who derived their power from them ſo long as it continued (*i*): of all which, many and inconteſtable proofs might be given, if the nature of this work would allow us to enlarge upon the ſubject [*A*]. Upon the King's Reſtoration,

(*a*) See the Marquis of Argyle's Inſtructions to his ſon, p. 2, 3.

(*b*) This Commiſſion was in the hands of Archibald the firſt Duke of Argyle, and is probably ſtill preſerved by the family.

(*c*) Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 164.

(*d*) Hiſt. of the King's exile, p. 195.

(*e*) Crauford's Lives of the great Officers in Scotland, p. 214. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 58.

(*f*) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 21. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 57, 58.

(*g*) See a farther account of this in note [*A*].

(*h*) Theſe are ſtill preſerved in the Archives of the Argyle Family. See alſo State Trials, vol. iii. p. 449, 450.

(*i*) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 609.

[*A*] *To enlarge upon the ſubject.*] It is very much to be regretted, that a ſincere deſire of diſcovering truth does not prevail as much in the world, as that ſpirit of curioſity which ſometimes wears the appearance of it. If ſuch a deſire could be excited, it would certainly engage lovers of Engliſh Hiſtory to prefer the knowledge of facts to the florid repreſentation of them; as this again would engage others to labour for their ſatisfaction, and to make it their buſineſs to deſcribe the real characters of great men from their actions, and not truſt to ſuch draughts of them as are given by authors, guided rather by fancy than by authority, and who at beſt give us only their conceptions of men for what ought to be thought of them. The noble Hiſtorian is pleaſed to ſpeak of the Lord Lorn's commanding the King's guard (1), as if it had been a truſt committed to him by his father, and that the King was rather delivered to his cuſtody, than had in him a faithful officer and an obedient ſervant. Mr. Echard follows, or rather copies, this account (2), which is entirely inconſiſtent with that we have given in the text, as it is with Biſhop Burnet's relation, that the Lord Lorn (3) won upon his Majeſty by the ſmoothneſs of his behaviour, and by admitting whomſoever the King deſired to his preſence. Moſt certainly his Lordſhip behaved all the time the King was in Scotland with great zeal and duty; and he preſerved the ſame diſpoſition during the whole time of his Majeſty's being abroad; of which it may not be amiſs to add ſome particular inſtances here. He was in the Iſles in 1653, where he had a difference with Glengary, which might be probably owing to the feuds between their families; but this did not however hinder him from aſſiſting that Highland Chief in the King's quarrel (4). In the year following, notwithſtanding the ſeeming difference between him and his father the Marquis of Argyle, he brought a body of near one thouſand men into the field, and joined the Earl of Glencairne (5). That noble Lord, as Biſhop Burnet tells us, had a notion of becoming another Montroſe (6); and he ſeems to have had as ſtrong an averſion to the houſe of Argyle: for he firſt took from Lord Lorn a regiment of foot he had raiſed, and gave him a troop of horſe; afterwards he took away that troop of horſe; and laſtly, out of mere partiality and private pique, would have ſecured his perſon, if he had not made his eſcape (7), which ruined this deſign for the King's ſervice, at a time, when, as the Oliverians themſelves confeſs, they had a great probability of aſſembling a very numerous army (8). Yet the King was ſo well ſatisfied of Lord Lorn's fidelity, and was ſo deſirous to free him from theſe diſcouragements, that he ſent him a commiſſion to be Lieutenant-General (9); of which, as of moſt other of his Majeſty's meaſures, Cromwell had ſo good an account, that it was very probably one reaſon for his excepting Lord Lorn out of his pardon. That pardon I have ſeen as it paſſed in his Parliament, April 12, 1654 (10), and in it is excepted the Queen-Dowager, the King, the Duke of York, the two Dukes of Hamilton, both dead, the Earl of Crawford and Lindſey, the Earl of Callander, the Earl Marſhal, the Earl of Kelly, the Earl of Lauderdale, the Earl of Loudon, the Earl of Seaforth, the Earl of Athol, Viſcount Kenmure, Lord Lorn, Lord Mackling, ſon to the Earl of Loudon, the Earl of Glencairne, and many others. Towards the end of that year, Lord Lorn was ſo diſtreſſed, that he retired to an iſland with only four or five perſons about him (11); whence it appears, that he did not ſubmit, till he was no longer in a condition of oppoſing. But his ſubmiſſion did not exempt him, either from ſuſpicions or hardſhips, as appears from an information againſt him in September 1655, by the Lord Broghill (12); and by another letter of Monk's in November following, in which he ſays, that he had taken ſecurity for his peaceable behaviour, as good

(1) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 608.

(2) Hiſt. of England, p. 682.

(3) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 57.

(4) Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 478.

(5) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 564. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 27.

(6) Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 59.

(7) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 580. Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 4. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 58.

(8) Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 4. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 58.

(9) Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 574.

(10) It is printed in Scobell's Collections, and alſo by itſelf in a ſingle ſheet.

(11) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 609.

(12) Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iv. p. 49.

as

Reſtoration, he came up to London to congratulate him, and brought with him a letter from his father, containing aſſurances of his duty; which the King received in ſuch manner, as gave that unfortunate Nobleman thoſe hopes, which proved the cauſe of his deſtruction (*k*). All the time of his father's proſecution, Lord Lorn remained at Court, and laboured indefatigably to do him ſervice; and though this inſtance of filial piety ought certainly to have endeared him to all ranks of men, yet ſuch was the ſtrange diſpoſition of thoſe times, that it ſerved only to ſharpen the edge of their reſentments who were enemies to his family, and laboured the deſtruction of it, that they might raiſe their own (*l*). Theſe men, who were ready to take any advantage, and were not either afraid or aſhamed to commit any act of violence neceſſary to ſerve their purpoſes, though the Royal authority was ever ſo much proſtituted, or the conſtitution of their country ever ſo much weakened thereby, ventured upon ſuch a ſtep to remove this noble and innocent perſon, as will appear to be full as ſingular, as it was iniquitous and cruel. Lord Lorn had diſcovered that theſe people had, by the baſeſt intrigues and blackeſt calumnies, hindered his Majeſty from extending to him his Royal favour, as he was naturally inclined; and having by the aſſiſtance of the Earl of Berkſhire convinced the Earl of Clarendon, upon whom they chiefly depended, of the injuries and injuſtice that was done him, he thought fit to communicate the ſucceſs that attended his endeavours to his friend the Lord Duffus by a letter (*m*). This letter was intercepted and carried to the Earl of Middleton, who finding his own and his friends views entirely diſconcerted, exhibited the letter to the Parliament of Scotland as a libel upon their proceedings, and projected thereupon a new method of bringing things round again, by taking his Lordſhip's life, as he had done his father's (*n*). The Parliament of Scotland at that time, wholly at his devotion, concurred in this ſcheme; and June 24, 1662, ſent up a repreſentation to the King, ſetting forth, that the eldeſt ſon of the late Marquis of Argyle, had both ſpoken and written againſt their authority, and requeſted that he might be ſent down to ſtand his trial (*o*). The King, upon reading the letter, on which this accuſation was founded, acknowledged it to be indiſcreet, but thought there was nothing criminal in it; which induced him to comply with their requeſt, and to lay his commands upon Lord Lorn to go down to Edinburgh; which he did; and on the very day of his arrival, which was July 17, he appeared in Parliament, and made a handſome ſpeech in his own juſtification; notwithſtanding which, he was immediately committed cloſe priſoner to the Caſtle, and a proceſs commenced againſt him, for what in the Scotch laws is ſtiled leaſing-making, that is, for creating diſſention between the King and his ſubjects, by giving the former falſe and lying informations (*p*). Lord Lorn inſiſted in his own defence, that there was nothing in his letter of that nature; that he ſpoke only of his juſtifying himſelf againſt lies that had been told the King to his prejudice, but had accuſed no body, or pretended to have grounds for accuſing any. But thoſe he had to do with ſhowed very little regard to his defence; for on the 26th of Auguſt following, they cendemned him to loſe his head, and to forfeit all his eſtate: but they were ſo merciful, as to leave the day of his execution to the King's plea-

(*k*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 106.

(*l*) Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, from the Reſtoration to the Revulution.

(*m*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 148.

(*n*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 135.

(*o*) Memoirs of the affairs of Scotland, p. 121.

(*p*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 151. Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 135.

as could be had in Scotland, to the amount of five thouſand pounds; and adds, that conſidering the very ill uſage he had received from the King's friends, he apprehended he would not be very ready to ſtir again (13). But it appears by an examination taken at the cloſe of the ſame year, that the King had ſtill as great a confidence in him as in any man in that kingdom (14). In 1656, Lord Broghill gave freſh informations againſt him in the month of May (15); and in Auguſt, Lockhart, who was Cromwell's Miniſter in France, charged Lord Fairfax and Lord Lorn with being engaged in new deſigns for the King's ſervice (16); of which, about the ſame time, Lord Broghill gave ample accounts, and adds alſo ſome very odd inſtances of his own watchings over Lord Lorn's conduct, and corrupting perſons in his ſervice (17). In the ſpring of the year 1657, General Monk thought fit to commit Lord Lorn to priſon, which was a very uſual thing whenever any ſtirs were apprehended in Scotland (18). But Lord Broghill did not think even this enough, and therefore he recommended the bringing him priſoner into England (19). Thus it very plainly appears, that if ſuffering be a proof of loyalty, no man's loyalty had better and more frequent teſtimonies to ſupport it than Lord Lorn's. But this is not all: in one of his impriſonments an accident befel him, which brought him to the very brink of the grave. It was a cuſtom then, as indeed it ſtill is in Scotland, more eſpecially in cold weather, for the ſoldiers to play at what they call long-bullets; and while the guards were thus employed, a bullet thrown with all the force a man's arm could give it, glanced from a ſtone and ſtruck the Lord Lorn on the head, by which his ſcull was terribly fractured, ſo that he was forced to undergo the hazardous operation of the trepan, from which it was thought a miracle that he recovered (20). After all this, there is no great reaſon to wonder, that his Lordſhip ſhould expect to be welcome to King Charles II. upon his Reſtoration, or that he might preſume on his having ſome influence in favour of his father, if the Marquis of Argyle's conduct had ſtood in any need of it more than many others, who had not only ſubmitted to the uſurpers, but had laboured to eſtabliſh their authority, and expreſſed the higheſt diſreſpect towards the King, who yet found ways and means afterwards to obtain a large ſhare in his favour; while thoſe who had ſerved him from principles of conſcience, in the way that their conſcience would allow, were treated with relentleſs ſeverity, or rather were delivered up to the fury of their enemies. For it is moſt certain, that the Marquis of Argyle's death was brought about, and his ſon's was very near being brought about, by a faction, which abuſed the King's authority, not only contrary to his inclination, but in expreſs repugnance to his inſtructions (21); ſo that hardly ſuch a ſcene of violence, under ſanction of law, and covered by the approbation of a Parliament, ever appeared in any country, as there did in Scotland for the two years that ſucceeded the King's Reſtoration, when the Earls of Middleton and Glencairne were at the head of the adminiſtration, which they managed entirely for the ſervice of their private intereſts, and the gratifications of their reſentments.

(13) Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iv. p. 162.

(14) *Ibid.* p. 245.

(15) Thurloe's State Papers, vol. v. p. 13.

(16) *Ibid.* p. 319.

(17) *Ibid.* p. 323.

(18) Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vi. p. 81.

(19) *Ibid.* p. 436.

(20) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 106.

(21) See the Earl of Lauderdale's Charge againſt the Earl of Middleton in *Miſcellanea Aulica*, p. 206.

ſure,

ſure (*q*), which, yet perhaps they had not done, if his Majeſty, by his letter to the Earl of Middleton, had not poſitively commanded him not to proceed to any ſentence whatever; for he had no conception that any ſet of men would have turned ſo ſlight a thing into a capital offence without his approbation and conſent. When this news came to England, it filled the Court with aſtoniſhment, and the Earl of Clarendon was the firſt perſon to declare, that if the King ſuffered ſuch a precedent to take place, he would get out of his dominions as faſt as his gout would let him (*r*). Yet his Lordſhip ſuffered a long and ſevere impriſonment, for he was not diſcharged out of the Caſtle till the 4th of June 1663, after the Earl of Middleton had loſt his power, and his own friends were come into favour (*s*). Soon after he was reſtored to his grandfather's title and eſtate, and part of his father's was ordered to be ſold for the payment of debts (*t*). The King having once taken this ſtep, returned to his natural inclination for a perſon in whom he had formerly ſo entire a confidence; and as a farther mark of his favour, was pleaſed to order that he ſhould be ſworn a Privy-Counſellor (*u*). In this capacity he was a great ſupport to the Earl of Lauderdale, ſo long as his adminiſtration was carried on with any kind of temper or diſcretion; but he never concurred in any of his violences, but on the contrary, ſtudied all he could to ſoften, if not prevent them (*w*). The principles of both Earls were very nearly alike: the only difference was, that the Earl of Argyle acted as cloſely to his as poſſible, whereas the conduct of the Earl of Lauderdale was directly oppoſite to his ſentiments. He made it his buſineſs to carry the prerogative high, becauſe he had the ſole power of directing it; and he maintained the Biſhops in Scotland with a high hand, though a rigid Preſbyterian in his heart, becauſe he thought this neceſſary to ſuſtain his influence at Court (*x*). It is inconceivable what troubles this created in Scotland, where Dr. Sharp, Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, was in a manner at the head of the domeſtic adminiſtration, who had much of Laud's ſpirit, only he had better parts, with regard to his public character. This management drove the zealous Preſbyterians in 1666 into a rebellion in the Weſt, upon which the Earl of Argyle, to ſhow his loyalty, raiſed fifteen hundred men, but the Archbiſhop took care they ſhould not be employed; and the rebels being defeated by the King's regular troops on the 27th of November the ſame year, many were executed for this weak and fooliſh inſurrection, and many more had been executed if the King had not interpoſed, and poſitively commanded that ſuch as would promiſe to live quietly, ſhould not only be ſpared, but be ſet at liberty (*y*). The adminiſtration proceeded afterwards with ſtill greater violence; and Lauderdale, who was now created a Duke, began to forſake his old friends, who were not inclined to go all the lengths he would have them. Amongſt theſe was the Earl of Argyle, who, though he loſt the confidence of the Miniſter for ſome time, yet was known to ſtand ſo well with the King, and had ſuch an intereſt in his country, that it was not thought proper to remove him, either from the Board as a Privy-Counſellor, or from his place as one of the Lords of the Treaſury (*z*). In 1678, things came to a great criſis: the weſtern part of the kingdom was grown univerſally diſaffected; and to root out this bad diſpoſition, the Duke of Lauderdale contrived, or at leaſt conſented, to an odd remedy, which was bringing down the Highlanders upon them. This had ſuch dreadful effects, that ſome who had been hitherto his friends, could not help complaining of it, and even ſuggeſting, that they would carry their complaints to the throne; upon which a proclamation was publiſhed, forbidding men of quality to go out of the kingdom without licence: but notwithſtanding this, the Earls of Athol and Perth, who were both Privy-Counſellors, went up to London to ſet forth their grievances; where, however, they were but indifferently received, though the King took a reſolution to put the government of that kingdom into other hands (*a*). In the midſt of all theſe diſturbances, the Earl of Argyle maintained his wonted moderation: he ſent no troops to the Highland army, nor did he join in attacking the Miniſtry. Public affairs being in a great confuſion in England, his Majeſty thought fit to ſend his brother, the Duke of York, in 1681, down to Scotland; where, upon his firſt arrival, he behaved with ſuch mildneſs and modeſty, with ſo good a temper, and with ſo much moderation, that the Nobility were extremely pleaſed, and the greateſt part of the nation perfectly ſatisfied (*b*). His Royal Highneſs was particularly obliging to the Earl of Argyle: he was well acquainted with the great power he had, ſaw the general eſteem he was in, and from thence formed ſuch a notion of his influence, that there is but too much reaſon to believe, he took a reſolution, either to delude or to deſtroy him (*c*). In order to this, he took pains to ſift him on ſeveral heads, but chiefly with reſpect to the government in Scotland, and the part he would take, in caſe the King was either inclined to, or forced upon an Act of Excluſion. The Earl anſwered him candidly and fairly: he gave him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his ſervice, ſo long as the Proteſtant Religion was not ſtruck at: if any ſuch thing ſhould happen, he frankly declared he would oppoſe him. On the other hand, he intimated, that his duty to the King was entire, and ſhould be ſo to him, when he became ſo; but till that happened, he would always adhere to his Royal Maſter (*d*). The Duke, upon this, grew cold towards him, but was ſtill as civil, or rather

(*q*) Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, p. 131. Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 135. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 149.

(*r*) Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, p. 133. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 149.

(*s*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 188.

(*t*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 305.

(*u*) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 21. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 205.

(*w*) Memoirs of Scotland from the Reſtoration to the Revolution, p. 215. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 211.

(*x*) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 255. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 101.

(*y*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 259. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 237. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 825.

(*z*) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 259. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, p. 292.

(*a*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 496. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 418, 419. Memoirs of Scotland, p. 395.

(*b*) Complete Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 400. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 1015. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 510.

(*c*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 195. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, p. 512.

(*d*) From the information of the firſt Earl of Cromarty, grandfather to the Earl condemned for the laſt Rebellion. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 520.

rather more civil than ever. Upon the opening of the Parliament, two laws were propoſed; the firſt, for confirming thoſe in being againſt Popery; the ſecond, making it High-Treaſon to propoſe any alteration in the ſucceſſion: the former, was intended to pleaſe the people; the latter, for the ſecurity of his Royal Highneſs (*e*). In the firſt the Earl concurred, as might well be expected; but he went into the latter, with a warmth ſomewhat unuſual to him; and many thought, that this would have perfectly eſtabliſhed him with the Duke, who ſpoke of his conduct on that occaſion, in terms of the higheſt gratitude and reſpect (*f*). There was a third Act paſſed for eſtabliſhing a teſt, by which all who were in employment, or ſhould be ſo, were obliged to take an oath, not to attempt any change in the conſtitution of Church or State. What the real intention and deſign of this law was, is very hard to ſay; but certain it is, that it became the occaſion of much diſcontent and confuſion. The Earl of Argyle oppoſed it in Parliament, where he behaved himſelf with the greateſt ſteadineſs and conſtancy, though he could not help ſeeing that very deep and dangerous deſigns were formed againſt him (*g*) [*B*]. After the law was paſſed, many of the Nobility expreſſed their ſcruples about the oath; others, abſolutely refuſed it; and the Marquis of Queenſbury would not take it without an explanation. The Earl of Argyle thought the ſame thing neceſſary; and being ſummoned to take the oath as a Privy-Counſellor, he drew up a ſhort explanation, which he ſent to the Duke of York for his approbation; and having received it, gave it as his ſenſe of the oath, November 3, 1681, when he took and ſigned it as a Privy-Counſellor (*h*). The Privy-Council themſelves explained the oath that very day, in terms not very different from Argyle's. He took his ſeat at the board afterwards, and his Royal Highneſs ſeemed very well pleaſed with him, and ſpoke more kindly than he had done for ſome time before. The next day, the Earl was ſummoned to take the oath again as a Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, where he offered the ſame explanation, when he was deſired to ſign it, which he refuſed to do (*i*). The next day, he went to wait upon the Duke, who appeared diſpleaſed, and deſired him not to go out of town: the ſame command was repeated by the Privy-Council, and the term fixed to their next meeting, which was on the eighth. They then ſent up a complaint of the Earl's explanation to the King; and the ſame day ordered the Earl to ſurrender himſelf priſoner to the Caſtle of Edinburgh; which he did (*k*). In the next place, without ſtaying for his Majeſty's anſwer, they commenced a proſecution, at firſt, as it ſeems, for a high miſdemeanour; but ſoon after, they changed their reſolution, and cauſed him to be indicted before the Juſticiary for high-treaſon (*l*). At this time, ſome perſons having repreſented to the Duke, that it would look ſtrange to take away ſo great a man's life and fortune, upon ſuch a pretence; he anſwered as in a ſurprize, *Life and fortune! God forbid* (*m*)! What he meant by this is very uncertain, nor is it poſſible to diſcover, whether he made others his tools to deſtroy this noble perſon, or whether thoſe who meant to deſtroy the Earl made him theirs (*n*). However it was, the proſecution was driven on with the moſt indecent fury, and notwithſtanding the general exclamation it occaſioned, the Earl was brought to his trial on the twelfth of December, where, notwithſtanding his own and Sir George Lockhart's moſt admirable ſpeeches, he was found guilty, to the eternal reproach of all who had any concern in that moſt infamous mockery of juſtice (*o*) [*C*]. The Privy-Council, upon this,

(*e*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 1015. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 513.

(*f*) Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 513. See alſo the Earl's Speech at his trial.

(*g*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 195.

(*h*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 519, 520. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 1015.

(*i*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 206, 207. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 520. The Caſe of the Earl of Argyle.

(*k*) State Trials, vol. iii. p. 463.

(*l*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 210. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 520.

(*m*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 210.

(*n*) This is a point, that even Biſhop Burnet does not ſeem willing to decide, though, at that time, he was a conveſant in public affairs as moſt men.

(*o*) State trials, vol. iii. p. 464.

[*B*] *Were formed againſt him.*] In the debating of the Teſt Act, the Earl of Argyle oppoſed the proviſo for exempting the lawful brothers and ſons of the reigning King, from taking the oath preſcribed thereby, which, as the Biſhop of Edinburgh told him, provoked his Royal Highneſs extremely (22). The pretence of falling upon him was, to deprive him of his heretable offices, in which he had been twice confirmed by Parliament; and to this purpoſe, two attempts were made in that Seſſion, but without effect (23). It was given out, that nothing more was intended by this capital proſecution, than to force him to ſurrender them: but this was probably contrived to amuſe the King; and granting it to be true, is the cleareſt proof of the wickedneſs of the whoſe proceeding (24).

(22) Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Ch. of Scotland, vol. i. p. 209.

(23) *Ibid.* p. 205.

(24) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 521; which compare with what is ſaid by the Prelates Sprat, Parker, and Kennet, in their accounts of this tranſaction.

[*C*] *In that moſt infamous mockery of juſtice.*] In order to have a due conception of the manner in which this affair was carried on in as narrow compaſs as it is poſſible, it is neceſſary to ſee the Earl's explanation, made before his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York, and the whole Privy-Council: it was in theſe words (25):

(25) State Trials, vol. iii. p. 442.

'I have conſidered the teſt, and I am very deſirous to give obedience as far as I can. I am confident, the Parliament never intended to impoſe contradictory oaths; therefore, I think no man can explain it, but for himſelf. Accordingly, I take it, as far as it is conſiſtent with itſelf and the Proteſtant Religion. And I do declare, that I mean not to bind up myſelf in my ſtation, and in a lawful way, to wiſh and endeavour any alteration, I think, to the advantage of Church and State, nor repugnant to the Proteſtant Religion and my loyalty. And this, I underſtand, as a part of my oath.'

It is very remarkable, that Queenſbury, who was then Lord Juſtice General of Scotland, and who preſided in the Judicature, before which the Earl of Argyle was tried for High-Treaſon, had himſelf ſcrupled the teſt, and had explained himſelf preciſely to the ſame purpoſe, before he would take it (26). It was no wonder, therefore, that he was unwilling to give his caſting vote againſt the Earl, as to the relevancy of the libel; and therefore, two of the Judges, men of very fair characters, and firmly attached to the Court, declaring directly againſt the legality of the indictment, as two other Lords of very different characters were for it; it was found neceſſary, to call the old Lord Nairn out of his bed, who was ſo deaf, that he could hear little of it, and ſo infirm, that he could not ſit the cauſe out, who joining the other two Lords, this difficulty was got over (27). The Aſſize or Jury that paſſed upon the Earl, were the perſons following. The Marquis of Montroſe, Earl of Middleton, Earl of Airlie, Earl of Perth,

(26) Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Ch. of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 196.

(27) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 521. Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 211.

this, wrote for the King's leave to proceed to ſentence, of which the Earl having private intelligence, ſent up a gentleman to Court, in order to procure him the beſt account he could of the King's diſpoſition (*p*). Before he could have any return from this meſſenger, his Lordſhip received many notices from his friends in Scotland, of circumſtances no way favourable: ſuch as, that the Duke refuſed to hear any interceſſion; that few of his friends had any farther credit with his Royal Highneſs; and that orders were given for preparing rooms for him in the common goal, to which Noblemen were ſometimes removed a few days before their execution (*q*). Theſe notices induced him to think of his eſcape, and of contriving the means of it; but he was not abſolutely fixed in his reſolution till the twentieth of December, when he had letters from London, that did not give him any great hopes of the King's being unalterable in his deſire of ſaving him; and as he was apprehenſive of being removed the very next day, he reſolved not to delay his eſcape a moment. Accordingly, about eight o'clock at night, not without ſome difficulty, he got out of the caſtle, and in a few days ſafely out of Scotland into the South of England, and from thence to London (*r*). Upon receiving the King's letter of permiſſion, the Council thought fit to direct, that ſentence ſhould be publicly proclaimed at the Croſs, notwithſtanding the Earl's abſence, and the application of the Counteſs of Argyle upon that account. The ſentence was accordingly publiſhed, and his arms torn at the Croſs of Edinburgh, as if he had been in open rebellion, and had fled from juſtice (*s*). While the Earl was at London, he was not ſo cautious in concealing himſelf as might have been expected; ſo that the Court had frequent accounts of him, of which no great notice was taken. It is certain that the King had a very good opinion of him, and diſcouraged all ſearch after him. A perſon who thought he had done a mighty thing, put into his Majeſty's hand a note, ſignifying that the Earl of Argyle might be eaſily found. The King tore it with ſome indignation, ſaying, *Poh, poh, hunt a hunted partridge, for ſhame* (*t*)! As ſoon as he had an opportunity, the Earl went over to Holland, where he continued during the remaining part of that reign. Upon the acceſſion of King James, many of the gentlemen of Scotland, that had been obliged to fly their native country, by the violent proceedings of the perſons entruſted with power there, began to preſs the Earl of Argyle to make ſome attempt upon that kingdom; which he might the more probably be inclined to do, becauſe he looked upon his attainder to have diſſolved entirely all the obligations he was under as a ſubject. Beſides, he conſidered the government in Scotland as unſettled, the King not having as yet taken the coronation oath; and therefore he thought himſelf at liberty to make ſome attempt, for recovering the conſtitution by force of arms (*u*). He concerted his deſign with the Duke of Monmouth, who was at the ſame time to try what impreſſion he could make in England; but he promiſed the Earl of Argyle that he would not declare himſelf King, which however he did, and this proved very prejudicial to them both (*w*). The Earl carried on his preparations with great ſecrecy, and bought up arms in the name of a perſon who was an agent for the State of Venice; but his ſtock did not go any great way, and the number of perſons he carried over was far from being conſiderable. He ſailed North about, and had a very ſafe voyage; but ſending a boat aſhore to the Orkneys, and being obliged to leave her by the winds changing, the government had very early intelligence at Edinburgh of his being at ſea; upon which orders were immediately ſent for ſecuring ſuch gentlemen in Argyleſhire, as were ſuſpected by them (*x*). By this precaution, the Earl's deſign was, in a manner, ruined; for he looked upon it, that after his landing, he ſhould very ſoon be five thouſand ſtrong; whereas, he was never able to collect above half that number; and even theſe, were not all of them determined: for the face of things, and the temper of men's minds, were by this time

(*p*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 522.

(*q*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 212.

(*r*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 523. Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 212.

(*s*) State Trials, vol. iii. p. 463, 466. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 1016. Compleat Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 401.

(*t*) From private information by a perſon of indubitable credit.

(*u*) Compleat Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 431. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 1058. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 630.

(*w*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 1060. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 633.

(*x*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 531, 532. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 1059. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 631.

Perth, Earl of Dalhouſie, Earl of Roxburgh, Earl of Dumfries, Earl of Linlithgow, Lord of Lindores, Lord Sinclair, Lord Bruntiſland, Laird of Gosford, Laird of Claverhouſe, Laird of Balnamon, Laird of Park-Gordon. The verdict they gave was as follows. 'The Aſſize, having elected and choſen the Marquis 'of Montroſe to be their Chancellor (equivalent to 'our Foreman) they all in one voice find the Earl of 'Argyle guilty, and culpable of the crimes of 'treaſon, leaſing-making and leaſing-telling; and 'find by plurality of votes, the ſaid Earl innocent, 'and not guilty of Perjury (28).' The latter part of the verdict was intended to qualify the former, and to give the world ſome notion of the probity and fair dealing of this Jury, who would not find the Earl guilty in the lump, of High-Treaſon and Perjury both. There was, however, nothing due to them; for the Lords of the Juſticiary had before determined, that the Earl having propoſed his declaration previous to his taking the oath, could not be guilty of Perjury (29). The whole of this buſineſs was diſpatched at one ſitting December 12, 1681, and the verdict given in after ten o'clock at night, without ſo much as calling upon the Earl, or hearing him in his own defence, after the evidence produced, which he expected, and had prepared a long ſpeech for the occaſion (30). It has been pretended, that the Earl was frighted into his eſcape, by thoſe, who, though they wanted not good will, durſt not have executed this ſentence, if he had ſtaid: but there is little reaſon to believe this, ſince, upon the King's letter to allow their publiſhing their ſentence, but requiring them to ſtay the execution of any part of it, till his pleaſure was known; they not only proclaimed the ſentence at the Croſs, December 23, 1681, but alſo cauſed the Earl's Coat of Arms to be torn, which was part of their ſentence, and an illegal part (31) of it too; ſo that they executed it to the utmoſt of their power, and in direct diſobedience to the King's command. It was upon this ſentence, that by King James IId's expreſs command, the Earl afterwards ſuffered (32).

(28) State Trials, vol. iii. p. 464.

(29) *Idem, ibid.*

(30) Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Ch. of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 212.

(31) State Trials, vol. iii. p. 466. Sir G. Mackenzie's Criminals, p. 61.

(32) Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Ch. of Scotland, p. 539. The King's Order is dated Whitehall, June 22, 1685.

very

very much changed, the ſeverity of the government having frighted ſome, and diſpirited all; ſo that thoſe who joined him, were far from having the courage and alacrity that he expected. He had ſtill hopes of increaſing his body of men; and this led him into Kintyre; but his endeavours were ineffectual (*y*). On the 27th of May, he came with his forces, which were not above fifteen hundred men, to the Tarbet; and there he publiſhed his Declaration. His own intention was, to have marched from thence to Inverary; but the principal perſons about him differing from him in opinion, his meaſures were diſconcerted, and ſoon after all things fell into confuſion; and he endeavouring to make his eſcape, was taken by five country fellows, who carried him priſoner to Glaſgow; from whence, on the 20th of June, an order came for carrying him up to Edinburgh; where it was very ſoon reſolved to put him to death upon his former ſentence; and he was accordingly beheaded, June 30, 1685 (*z*). He ſhowed great calmneſs, conſtancy and courage, under his misfortunes: he eat his dinner the day of his death very chearfully; and, according to his cuſtom, ſlept after it a quarter of an hour, or more, very ſoundly. At the place of execution, he made a ſhort, grave, and religious ſpeech; and after declaring ſolemnly, that he forgave all his enemies, he ſubmitted to death, with as much firmneſs and compoſure of mind, as ever man did (*a*). His epitaph, written by himſelf, not long before his death, the reader will find in the notes [*D*]. After the Revolution, his ſon, who came over with the Prince

(*y*) Compleat Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 433. Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 532, 533, 534. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 632.

(*z*) Compleat Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 433. Echard's Hiſt. of England, p. 1016. Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Church of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 541. State Trials, vol. iii. p. 466. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 463.

(*a*) Wodrow's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 441, 442; as well as from private informations of perſons who were eye-witneſſes.

[*D*] *The reader will find in the notes.*] It is aſſerted, that this noble perſon wrote theſe lines that follow, upon the day before his execution; ſo that, in that light, they may be conſidered, as a very ſtrong inſtance of the quiet of his conſcience, and of the ſerenity of his mind. But beſides this, they may be read to another end; for in them, we ſee plainly his ſentiments of the cauſe in which he died, and that to his very laſt moment, he remained perſuaded, that he had done nothing contrary to the laws of his country, or conſequently to the laws of God. For it appears, as well from theſe verſes, as from his declaration, that the Earl of Argyle did not look on himſelf as a rebel, or upon the perſon he oppoſed as a King. His opinion was, that the Royal authority and the Conſtitution went together; and that the violation of the latter, took away the former; ſo that the allegiance of the ſubject was no longer due to the Prince, than as he continued to him that protection ſtipulated by the Conſtitution. Biſhop Burnet, in his account of the Earl's expedition (33), repreſents the miſcarriage of it as owing to his aſſuming too much power. Mr. Wodrow has ſhown, that it was really brought about by his not having power enough (34); and that this was the Earl's own ſentiment, the following lines moſt clearly diſcover, which are ſtill to be ſeen on his monument, in the Gray-Friers church-yard, at Edinburgh.

(33) Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 632, 633.

(34) Wodrow's Hiſt. of the Ch. of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 531, 532, 533.

Thou paſſenger, that ſhalt have ſo much time
To view my grave, and aſk what was my crime;
No ſtain of error, no black vice's brand
Was that which chas'd me from my native land.
Love to my country, twice ſentenc'd to die,
Conſtrain'd my hands forgotten arms to try,
More by friends frauds my fall proceeded hath,
Than foes; tho' now they thrice decreed my death.
On my attempt, tho' providence did frown,
His oppreſs'd people, God at length ſhall own.
Another hand, by more ſucceſsful ſpeed,
Shall raiſe the remnant, bruiſe the ſerpent's head.
Tho' my head fall, that is no tragic ſtory,
Since going hence, I enter endleſs glory.

This epitaph was tranſlated into the following elegant Latin verſes, by the reverend Mr. Jamiſon, Hiſtory Lecturer in the Univerſity of Glaſgow. It is to be obſerved, that the two laſt are Mr. Jamiſon's own, and contain his character of the noble perſon to whom they relate, and his ſentiments alſo of the cauſe in which he ſuffered. It muſt be allowed, that the ſenſe is ſtrong, and the language ſmooth and claſſical.

Audi hoſpes, quicunque venis, tumulumque reviſis,
Et rogitas quali crimine tinctus eram.
Non me crimen habet, non me malus abſtulit error,
Et vitium nullum me pepulit patria.
Solus amor patriæ, verique immenſa cupido,
Diſſuetas juſſit ſumere tela manus.
Opprimor, en! rediens, vi ſola, & fraude meorum,
Hoſtibus & ſævis victima terra cado.
Sit licet hic noſter labor irritus, haud Deus æquus
Deſpiciet populum ſecula cuncta ſuum.
Namque alius veniet fatis melioribus ortus,
Qui toties ruptum fine beabit opus.
Sat mihi credo datum (quamvis caput enſe ſecetur)
Hinc petor ætherei lucida templa poli.

Hic ſitus eſt heros indigna morte peremptus,
Heu! decus hic patriæ, proditur a patria. G. J.

Theſe two lines have been thus tranſlated.

A hero's duſt, theſe ſacred ſtones contain;
Shameful his death, his life, without a ſtain.
He fell, alas! thro' fortune's fierce aſſault,
His country's glory, by his country's fault. C.

[The Earl of Clarendon, who was much diſpleaſed with the favour which King Charles the Second ſhewed to Lord Lorn, in reſtoring him to the eſtate and honours of his family, gives the following relation of that event, aſcribing it to the influence of the Earl of Lauderdale:

'The Marquis of Argyle had been a man univerſally odious to the whole nation, ſome Miniſters and Preachers excepted: And there had been always thought to have been an implacable animoſity from Lautherdale towards him; and after the King's return no man had appeared more againſt him, nor more inſiſted upon his not being admitted to his Majeſty's preſence, or for his being ſent into Scotland to be tried. Yet after all this it was diſcovered, that he had interpoſed all he could with his Majeſty to ſave him, and employed all his intereſt in Scotland to the ſame purpoſe. And the Marquis was no ſooner executed, but the Earl of Lautherdale had prevailed with the King immediately to give his ſon the Lord Lorn (who had remained in London to ſolicit on his father's behalf) leave to kiſs his hand, and to create him Earl of Argyle, and to confer on him the office of General Juſtice in the Highlands, by which his father had been qualified to do moſt of the wickedneſſes he had committed; all which the Parliament of Scotland ſhould have treated as the moſt ſenſible affront to them that they could undergo.

'It was well known that this young man, who was Captain of the King's Guard when he was in Scotland, had treated his Majeſty with that rudeneſs and barbarity, that he was much more odious to him than his father; and in all the letters which Lautherdale had found opportunity to write, whilſt he was a priſoner in England, to the King when he was beyond the ſeas, he inveighed equally againſt the

Prince of Orange, was admitted into the Convention, as Earl of Argyle, though his father's attainder was not reverſed; and in the Claim of Rights, the ſentence againſt him was declared to be, what moſt certainly it was, *a reproach upon the nation* (*b*). That noble perſon was afterwards raiſed by letters patents, dated June 23, 1701, to the title of Duke of Argyle; and, at the ſame time, was created Marquis of Kintyre, and Lorn, Earl of Campbell and Cowel, *&c.* (*c*). He was the father of the late Field-Marſhal, John, Duke of Argyle, created Baron of Chatham and Earl of Greenwich by Queen Anne, in 1705 (*d*); and raiſed to the title of Duke of Greenwich, April 30, 1719, by his Majeſty King George I. (*e*); as alſo of his Grace, Archibald, who ſucceeded his brother, John, as Duke of Argyle.

(*b*) Compleat Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 537.

(*c*) Crauford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 22.

(*d*) Pointer's Chronolog. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 533.

(*e*) Collins's Peerage of England, vol. i. p. 452.

'the ſon as the father, and never gave him any other 'title than *that Toad's Bird:* So that nobody could 'imagine from whence this change could proceed, 'but from a deſign to preſerve an intereſt in the 'Preſbyterian party againſt the time he ſhould have 'occaſion to uſe them.

'Then there were circumſtances in this grace of 'the King to the Lord Lorn, that exceeded all men's 'comprehenſion: For his Majeſty cauſed all the 'eſtate of the Marquis of Argyle, which did not 'appear in any degree ſo conſiderable as it was ge-'nerally believed to have been, to be ſeized upon 'as forfeited to him; and then would grant it to the 'ſon ſo abſolutely, that neither the owners ſhould 'recover what had been injuriouſly and violently 'taken from them for their loyalty to the King, nor 'the creditors receive ſatisfaction for the juſt debts 'which were due to them, and which muſt have been 'ſatisfied if the King had retained the forfeiture. 'But upon the application of the Commiſſioner and 'the other Lords, that the King would hear all 'perſons concerned, there was ſome mitigation in 'thoſe particulars, notwithſtanding all the oppo-'ſition which Lautherdale did barefaced make on 'the behalf of the Lord Lorn, and which the other 'bore with great indignation: Which he knew very 'well, and did believe that the oath and ſubſcription, 'which he well knew they had contrived for the next 'ſeſſion of parliament, was levelled at him; that not 'taking it, as they did not believe he would do, the 'Secretary of Scotland's place might become void, 'which they had much rather ſhould have been in 'any man's hand than in his. And therefore he 'took all occaſions to profeſs and declare, beſides 'his conſtant raillery againſt the Preſbytery, "that "if they ſhould require him to ſubſcribe that he is "a Turk, he would do it before he would loſe his "office (35)."

(35) Clarendon's Continuation, vol. ii. p. 412, 414.

When we conſider the diſlike which the great hiſtorian here manifeſts againſt Lord Lorn, we can ſcarcely credit the fact mentioned in the text, that he was ſo diſſatisfied with the proceedings of the Earl of Middleton in the condemnation of this young nobleman, as to declare, that if the King ſuffered ſuch a precedent to take place, he would get out of his dominions as faſt as his gout would let him. Our doubt is confirmed by Lord Clarendon's total ſilence upon the ſubject, in the continuation of his hiſtory. Another thing which cannot be permitted to paſs unnoticed, is the Earl of Clarendon's aſſertion, that Lord Lorn, as captain of King Charles the Second's guard in Scotland, treated his Majeſty with rudeneſs and barbarity. That this was not the caſe, is ſufficiently evinced by our learned predeceſſor.

'The Earl of Argyle's epitaph, though not very 'poetic, has energy enough, ſays Mr. Walpole, to 'make one conclude that it was not his firſt eſſay. 'At leaſt, there is an heroic ſatisfaction of con-'ſcience expreſſed in it, worthy of the cauſe in which 'he fell.

'His ſpeech at his execution is printed in Ho-'ward's Collection of Letters, p. 399 (36).'

(36) Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, vol. ii. p. 227.

The Earl of Argyle was a man of a calmneſs of ſpirit almoſt incredible. When he was on the ſcaffold, he took out of his pocket a little ruler, and meaſured the block. Having perceived that it did not lie even, he pointed out the defect to a carpenter, and had it rectified. This circumſtance was obſerved by Lady Minto, widow of Sir Gilbert Eliot, one of the Senators of the College of Juſtice, and by her related to her grandſon, the late Sir Gilbert Eliot, by whom it was communicated to Sir David Dalrymple.] K.

*** [CAMPBELL (JOHN) ſecond Duke of Argyle, and alſo Duke of Greenwich and Baron of Chatham, grandſon to the ſubject of the preceding article, was born on the 10th of October, 1678 (*a*). He was ſon to Archibald, Duke of Argyle, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Lionel Talmaſh, of Helmingham, in the county of Suffolk. It is mentioned as a remarkable circumſtance, and which gave riſe to many ſuperſtitious obſervations, that on the very day, and preciſely at the time, when his grandfather was executed at Edinburgh, he fell out of a three pair of ſtairs window, without receiving the leaſt hurt (*b*). Of the truth of this fact we know nothing, but from the authority of Mr. Robert Campbell, the writer of his life. At the time when this accident is related to have happened, he was between ſix and ſeven years of age, and was at the houſe of Dunybriſſel, the ſeat of his aunt, the Counteſs of Murray. He very early gave ſigns of ſpirit and capacity, but without ſhewing much inclination for cloſe ſtudy; though he is ſaid, at the age of fifteen, to have made a conſiderable progreſs in claſſical learning, and in ſome branches of philoſophy, under the tuition of Mr. Walter Campbell, afterwards Miniſter of Dunoon, in Argyleſhire (*c*). It ſoon appeared, that his diſpoſition led him moſt towards a military life; and he began to apply almoſt his whole attention to the art of war, for which he diſcovered great talents. This propenſity was encouraged by his father [*A*]: and being introduced at the

(*a*) Life of John Duke of Argyle and Greenwich, by Robert Campbell, Eſq; 8vo. 1745, p. 31.

(*b*) *Id. ibid.*

(*c*) *Id. ibid.*

[*A*] *By his father.*] This nobleman was particularly active in procuring the crown to be eſtabliſhed on the Prince and Princeſs of Orange; which being carried by a great majority in the Scottiſh convention, his Lordſhip, as Earl of Argyle, was ſent from the Nobility, with Sir James Montgomery, and Sir John Dalrymple, from the Barons and Boroughs, to offer the Crown in the name of the Convention, to their Majeſties, and tendered them the coronation oath; for which, and many other eminent ſervices, he was admitted a member of the Privy Council, and, in 1690, made one of the Lords of the Treaſury. He was afterwards made a Colonel of the Scots horſe guards; and, in 1694, one of the extraordinary Lords of Seſſion. He was likewiſe created Duke of Argyle, Marquis of Kintyre and Lorn, Earl of Campbell and Cowell, Viſcount of Lochow and Glengla, Lord Inverary, Mull, Morvern, and Terrey.

the court of King William, under the title of Lord Lorn, he was preferred by that Prince to the command of a regiment of foot, in the year 1694, when he was not quite ſeventeen years of age; and in that ſtation he gave ſignal proofs of courage and military capacity (*d*).

(*d*) R. Campbell, *ubi ſupra*, p. 32. and Collins's Peerage, vol. viii. p. 291, edit. 1779.

He continued in this ſituation during the remainder of King William's reign, and till the death of his father, the firſt Duke of Argyle. That nobleman dying on the 28th of September 1703, he ſucceeded him in his honours and eſtate; and was ſoon after ſworn of Queen Anne's Privy Council, appointed Captain of the Scotch Horſe-guards, and one of the extraordinary Lords of Seſſion (*e*). He was likewiſe made one of the Knights of the Order of the Thiſtle, when her Majeſty, the following year, ſigned a patent for reviving and reſtoring that Order (*f*).

(*e*) Life, *ut ſupra*.

(*f*) Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 291.

In 1705, he was nominated her Majeſty's Lord High Commiſſioner to the Scottiſh Parliament, though he was then only twenty-three years of age. This appointment was ſo much to the ſatisfaction of that nation, that his Grace was met on the borders, near Berwick, by a ſquadron of the Marquis of Lothian's dragoons, on the 23d of April; and that night he arrived at Dunbar, attended by a great number of perſons of diſtinction. The next day, the Lord Advocate, the Lord Provoſt, and Magiſtrates of Edinburgh, met him at Edgbucklinbrack, with above 600 horſe, and there were alſo in his retinue 34 coaches and ſix of the nobility and gentry. On the 28th of June, his Grace opened the Parliament by a ſpeech, which will be found in the notes [*B*]. He was ſo well convinced of the advantages which would reſult to both kingdoms from an union between England and Scotland, that he employed his whole intereſt in the promotion of that meaſure: and, during his ſtay in Scotland, notwithſtanding great oppoſition, and ſtrong proteſts were made againſt it, an act was paſſed in the parliament of that kingdom for a treaty with England, which proved the baſis of that union which was ſoon afterwards effected (*g*).

(*g*) Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 293.

On his arrival in England, her Majeſty was ſo well ſatisfied with his conduct and ſervices, that ſhe created him a Peer of England, by the title of Baron of Chatham, and Earl of Greenwich; and on the 3d of December, in the ſame year, he was introduced into the Houſe of Peers between the Earl of Rivers and the Earl of Kingſton, the Duke of Northumberland officiating as Lord Great Chamberlain (*h*). In 1706, he made a campaign under the Duke of Marlborough; and greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his courage and conduct in the battle of Ramillies, in which he acted as a Brigadier-General (*i*). He alſo rendered himſelf conſpicuous at the ſiege of Oſtend, and in the attack of Menin, a town that was a key to the French conqueſts in the Netherlands, and of which his Grace took poſſeſſion on the 25th of Auguſt (*k*).

(*h*) *Id. ibid.*

(*i*) *Id. ibid.* and Life, *ut ſupra*, p. 46.

(*k*) Collins, and R. Campbell, *ut ſupra*.

After that event, he returned again to Scotland, in order to be preſent in the Parliament of that kingdom, when the treaty for the Union was agitated. He was very active in the promotion of it, though he declined being one of the Commiſſioners [*C*].

Terrey, by letters patent, bearing date at Kenſington the 23d of June, 1701. He ſent over a regiment to Flanders for King William's ſervice, the officers of which were chiefly of his own name and family, who bravely diſtinguiſhed themſelves through the whole courſe of the war.

He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Lionel Talmaſh, of Helmingham, in the county of Suffolk, by Elizabeth, Ducheſs of Lauderdale, his wife, daughter and heir of William Murray, Earl of Dyſart, by whom he left iſſue two ſons and a daughter; namely, John, Duke of Argyle, the ſubject of the preſent article; Archibald, who ſucceeded his brother as Duke of Argyle; and Lady Anne, married to James Stuart, ſecond Earl of Bute, by whom ſhe had the preſent Earl (1).

(1) Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 290, 291.

[*B*] *Opened the Parliament by a ſpeech.*] It was as follows:

'My Lords and Gentlemen,

'Her Majeſty has in her letter expreſſed ſo much 'tenderneſs and affection towards this nation, in 'aſſuring you, that ſhe will maintain the govern-'ment as eſtabliſhed by law, both in Church and 'State; and acquainting you, that ſhe has been 'pleaſed to give me full power to paſs ſuch acts as 'may be for the good of the nation; that were it not 'purely to comply with cuſtom, I might be ſilent.

'Her Majeſty has had under her conſideration, the 'preſent circumſtances of this kingdom; and out of 'her extreme concern for its welfare, has been gra-'ciouſly pleaſed to recommend to you, two expe-'dients to prevent the ruin, which does but too 'plainly threaten us. In the firſt place, your ſettling 'the ſucceſſion in the Proteſtant Line; as what is 'abſolutely, and immediately neceſſary to ſecure our 'peace, to cool thoſe heats which have with great 'induſtry and too much ſucceſs, been fomented 'among us, and effectually diſappoint the deſigns of 'all our enemies. In the ſecond place, a Treaty 'with England, which you yourſelves have ſhown ſo 'great inclination for, that 'tis not to be ſuppoſed 'it can meet with any oppoſition.

'The ſmall part of the funds, which were appro-'priated at your laſt meeting for the army, are now 'at an end; and I believe every body is ſatisfied, of 'how great uſe our frigates have been to our trade; 'and 'tis fit to acquaint you, that our forts are 'ruinous, and our magazines empty, therefore I do 'not doubt, but your wiſdom will direct you to pro-'vide ſuitable ſupplies.

'My Lords and Gentlemen,

'I am moſt ſenſible of the difficulties that attend 'this poſt, and the loſs I am at, by the want of ex-'perience in affairs; but I ſhall endeavour to make 'it up by my zeal and firmneſs in ſerving her Ma-'jeſty, and the great regard I ſhall have to whatever 'may be for the good of my country (2).'

(2) R. Campbell's Life of the Duke of Argyle, p. 92, 93.

[*C*] *He declined being one of the Commiſſioners.*] Mr. R. Campbell ſays, that the Duke of Hamilton 'had an inclination to be of the number of Treaters '(Commiſſioners) himſelf, and he had got the Duke 'of Argyle's word of honour, that he ſhould be one 'of the Queen's nomination; on which he depended, 'and had no reaſon, though he was diſappointed, to 'be diſobliged at the Duke of Argyle, who ſo much 'reſented the Queen's refuſal to name the Duke of 'Hamilton, that he would not be prevailed on to be 'one of the number himſelf (3).'

(3) Life, p. 110.

When a riotous multitude came to the Parliament-close, demanding, with loud clamours, "That the treaty of Union should be rejected," his Grace went out of the House, and appeased the people who were assembled, by the calmness and strength of reason with which he addressed them (*l*). However, his zeal in the promotion of the Union rendered him less popular in his own country than any other part of his conduct, though even his enemies did justice to the rectitude of his intentions [*D*].

(*l*) Collins, *ubi supra*, p. 293.

In 1708, the Duke of Argyle commanded twenty battalions at the battle of Oudenarde; and the troops under his command were the first of the infantry that engaged the enemy, and they maintained their post against unequal numbers. He likewise assisted at the siege of Lisle; and commanded as Major-General at the siege of Ghent, taking possession of the town and citadel on the 3d of January, 1708-9 (*m*). He was afterwards raised to the rank of Lieutenant-General, and commanded in chief under General Schuylemberg, at the attack of the city and citadel of Tournay. He had also a considerable share, on the 11th of September, 1709, in the victory at Malplaquet, where he was much exposed [*E*], and gained great honour, but came off unhurt (*n*).

(*m*) Life, p. 52, 54.

(*n*) Collins, *ubi supra*, p. 294.

On the 20th of December, 1710, he was installed a Knight of the Garter, his late Majesty being then received into that Order by proxy, and also the Duke of Devonshire. About this time he took some part in the debates in Parliament, relative to the inquiry which was set on foot concerning the management of affairs in Spain (*o*): and on this occasion he spoke and voted with the Tories, and joined in the censure that was passed [*F*] on the conduct of the late Whig ministry.

(*o*) Hist. and Proceedings of the House of Lords, vol. ii. p. 300, 307, 309, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 321, 322, 325, 328.

On the 18th of January, 1710-11, he was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Charles the Third, King of Spain, and Commander in Chief of her Majesty's forces in that kingdom (*p*). Dr. Smollet observes, that his Grace "had "long been at variance with the Duke of Marlborough [*G*], a circumstance which "recommended him the more strongly to the ministry (*q*)." But it is intimated, that some of his friends were averse to his acceptance of these employments, being sensible, from the ill state of our affairs in Spain, how extremely difficult it would be for him to gain any ground in that kingdom (*r*). However, he set out for Barcelona, and in his way thither arrived at the Hague on the 4th of April. He made a visit to the grand pensionary, and another to Lord Townshend, the British Plenipotentiary at the Hague: but though the Duke of Marlborough was there at that time, he did not visit him (*s*). When he arrived at Barcelona, on the 29th of May (*t*), he found the troops in so wretched a condition, and the affairs of the allies at so low an ebb, by the losses sustained the preceding year at the battle of Almanza, and in other actions, that he was not able to undertake any thing of consequence (*u*). The British troops were in the utmost distress for want of subsistence, though the ministry had promised to supply him liberally, and the parliament had granted 1,500,000l. for that service (*w*). The Duke of Argyle wrote pressing letters to the ministry, and loudly complained that he was altogether unsupported: but all his remonstrances were ineffectual; no remittances arrived (*x*); and he was obliged to raise money on his own credit, to defray part of the subsistence of the troops (*y*). He had the misfortune also to be seized with a violent fever, which rendered it necessary for him to quit the camp, and retire to the town

(*p*) Salmon's Chronological Historian, p. 307.

(*q*) Hist. of Eng. vol. x. p. 69, 70.

(*r*) Collins, *ut supra*.

(*s*) Life, *ubi supra*, p. 69.

(*t*) Smollet, *ubi supra*, p. 70.

(*u*) Life, p. 69.

(*w*) Smollet, *ubi supra*, p. 70.

(*x*) *Id. ibid.*

(*y*) Life, p. 70.

[*D*] *Even his enemies did justice to the rectitude of his intentions.*] Mr. R. Campbell says, that 'the 'part his Grace the Duke of Argyle acted in this 'important affair (of the Union), by voting for and 'influencing his friends to favour it, is one of the 'most unpopular parts of his Grace's character: but 'as his enemies allowed, that he acted above-board, 'and from conviction of the utility of the Union, 'free from any mixture of bye-ends, malice itself 'cannot load him with any part of that reflection 'others merited, who were, perhaps, too much 'biassed by private interest, in their determination 'of that affair (4).' The author of the *Scotch Memoirs*, a writer on the other side of the question, and who says some disrespectful things of the Duke, yet admits, that he 'might well enough pass for an 'accomplished gentleman. He was extremely for-'ward in effecting what he aimed at and designed, 'which he owned and promoted above-board, being 'altogether free of the least share of dissimulation, 'and his word so sacred, that one might assuredly 'depend upon it. His head ran more upon the 'camp than the court, and it appears, nature had 'dressed him up accordingly; being altogether inca-'pable of the servile dependency and flattering in-'sinuations requisite in the last, and endued with 'that chearful lively temper and personal valour 'esteemed and necessary in the other. In Scotland 'he affected and gained the leading of the Presby-'terians, as his father had done before him, and 'was, upon that and other accounts, a very signi-'ficant member (5).' Mr. Campbell observes, that this is a character 'which nothing but the force of 'truth could extort from a party so much exas-'perated (6).'

(4) Life, p. 123.

(5) *Ibid.* p. 57.

(6) *Id. ibid.*

[*E*] *He was much exposed.*] Dr. Smollet says, "The Duke of Argyle, who distinguished himself "by extraordinary feats of valour, escaped unhurt; "but several musket-balls penetrated through his "cloaths, hat, and periwig (7)."

(7) Hist. of England, vol. x. p. 26. edit. 8vo. 1770.

[*F*] *Joined in the censure that was passed*, &c.] Dr. Smollet, speaking of the parliamentary resolutions against the conduct of the late ministry, the Earl of Galway, &c. which the Duke of Argyle promoted, observes, with much reason, that they "were not the proceedings of candour and national "justice, but the ebullitions of party zeal and ran-"corous animosity (8)."

(8) Hist. of England, vol. x. p. 56, 57.

[*G*] *At variance with the Duke of Marlborough.*] We do not find the grounds of this variance particularly mentioned; but it appears, that when the Earl of Scarborough, in 1710, moved that the thanks of the House of Peers should be given to the Duke of Marlborough, the Duke of Argyle made some objections to the motion (9). His declining to visit the Duke of Marlborough, when he passed through the Hague, in his way to Spain, as mentioned in the text, is also another evidence of the fact.

(9) Life, p. 68, and Smollet, *ubi supra*, p. 54.

Of

of Barcelona (z). It is pretended, that about this time a ſcheme was formed in England to aſſaſſinate him in Spain (a): but this appears to have been a report without foundation. His health being re-eſtabliſhed, he at length quitted Spain, without having been able to attempt any enterprize of importance: and, indeed, the Miniſtry were now privately employed in negociating the peace which was afterwards concluded at Utrecht. Before his return to England, he went to Minorca, of which he had been appointed Governor: but made no long ſtay there.

(z) Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 294.
(a) Life, p. 71.

In June, 1712, the Queen appointed him General and Commander in Chief of all the land forces in Scotland, and Captain of the company of foot in Edinburgh Caſtle (b). But he did not long continue upon good terms with the Miniſtry: and, indeed, he openly oppoſed their meaſures in Parliament. He ſpoke againſt a bill which was brought in by the Adminiſtration, appointing Commiſſioners to examine the value and conſideration of all the grants of Crown Lands made ſince the Revolution, by which a general reſumption was intended to have been made (c). In 1714, when it was debated in the Houſe of Peers, whether it ſhould be reſolved, that the Proteſtant ſucceſſion was in danger under the then Adminiſtration, the Duke of Argyle maintained the affirmative: and alſo declared his diſapprobation of the proceedings of the Miniſtry, relative to the peace of Utrecht. He ſaid, that 'he had lately croſſed the kingdom of 'France, which was indeed one of the fineſt countries of the univerſe, but that there 'were marks of a general deſolation in all the places through which he paſſed. That 'he rode forty miles together without meeting a man fit to carry arms, and that the 'reſt of the people were in the utmoſt want and miſery. He did not, therefore, apprehend, there could be any neceſſity to conclude a peace ſo precipitately with a Prince, 'whoſe dominions were ſo exhauſted of men, money, and proviſions. He declared, 'that he firmly believed the ſucceſſion in the Electoral Houſe of Hanover was in danger from the preſent Miniſters, whom he durſt charge with mal-adminiſtration, both 'within and without thoſe walls. He knew, he ſaid, and offered to prove, that the 'Treaſurer had yearly remitted four thouſand pounds to the Highland Chiefs of Scotland, who were known to be entirely devoted to the Pretender, in order to keep 'them under diſcipline, and ready for any attempt. That, on the other hand, the 'new modelling of the army, by diſbanding ſome regiments out of their turn, and by 'removing from their employments a vaſt number of officers, merely on account of 'their known affection to the Houſe of Hanover, were clear indications of the deſigns 'in hand.' He added, 'that it was a diſgrace to the nation, to ſee men, who had 'never looked an enemy in the face, advanced to the places of ſeveral brave officers, 'who, after they had often expoſed their lives for their country, were now ſtarving in 'priſon for debts, which had been contracted for want of pay (d).'

(b) Collins, *ut ſupra*.
(c) Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, *ubi ſupra*; p. 371.
(d) Life, p. 72.

His Grace likewiſe zealouſly oppoſed the extenſion of the malt-tax to Scotland; and was appointed with the Earl of Mar, and two Scotch Members of the Houſe of Commons, to attend the Queen, and make a remonſtrance to her Majeſty on this ſubject [H]. They repreſented, 'that their countrymen bore with great impatience the vio-
'lation

[H] *Attend the Queen, and make a remonſtrance to her Majeſty on this ſubject.*] Mr. Macpherſon ſays, that 'though the Queen expreſſed the greateſt un-'eaſineſs at the addreſs of the Scots, they reſolved to 'proceed in their intended motion. Several of the 'Jacobite part of the Tories entered with eagerneſs 'into a meaſure, which was well calculated to diſtreſs 'the Earl of Oxford. The Whigs, for the like rea-'ſon, were ready to throw their weight into the 'ſame ſcale. But the perſon who animated the 'whole oppoſition, on this ſubject, was the Duke 'of Argyle. This nobleman, eſpouſing the prin-'ciples or paſſions of his family, had uniformly 'profeſſed his attachment to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, 'and his conſequent averſion to a miniſter, who was 'deemed to favour the Pretender. Careleſs and 'eager in his diſpoſition, he neither concealed his 'reſentment, nor diſguiſed his deſigns. With a 'commanding manner, which ſtamped his very for-'wardneſs with an appearance of authority, he was 'feared by many, but beloved by none. Brave in 'his perſon, but not remarkable for his conduct, he 'might be conſidered, in his military capacity, as a 'bold partiſan, rather than a judicious commander. 'In his civil character, his fire degenerated into a 'violence, that often defeated his views. In his 'public exhibitions in Parliament, he was rather 'ſpirited than eloquent; better calculated to terrify 'his enemies, than to ſupport his friends. His 'great defect was a love of money and emolument, 'which he could not effectually conceal, with all 'the efforts of his pride. His chief talent was an 'addreſs in managing the prejudices of the vulgar. 'He marked their opinions as they changed, and 'fell dexterouſly down with the tide.

'The Earl of Oxford, no ſtranger to the importance of the Duke of Argyle, had reſolved to gain 'him by promiſes of advantage. His object was to 'place him as a kind of ſpy upon the Whigs, and to 'terrify, upon occaſion, that party, by his means. 'But the Duke declined to enter into the views of 'the Miniſter, till he ſhould obtain the office of 'Maſter-general of the Ordnance, vacant by the 'death of the Duke of Hamilton. The Lord Trea-'ſurer was unwilling to truſt a place of ſuch impor-'tance in the hands of a man whom intereſt only 'could gain to his ſide. Diſappointment heightened 'the Duke's reſentment. He reſolved to gain by 'force what he could not obtain by favour. He 'oppoſed the Court with vehemence. He treated 'the Miniſter with inſult. He therefore entered, 'with great zeal, into the counſels of his country-'men, for the diſſolution of the union between the 'two kingdoms (10).'

(10) Hiſtory of Great Britain, vol. ii. p. 601, 602.

This is certainly not a very favourable character of the Duke of Argyle: but it may be doubted, whether proper evidence is produced of ſome of the facts; though we are far from controverting the idea, that the Duke was much influenced by views of intereſt and ambition. But in ſupport of his aſſertions, Mr. Macpherſon only gives a looſe reference to Hanover and Stuart papers for the year 1713, without

'lation of ſome articles of the Act of Union; and the laying ſuch an inſupportable 'burthen as the land-tax upon them, was likely to raiſe their diſcontent to ſuch an 'height, as to prompt them to declare the Union diſſolved (*e*).' He alſo ſupported the motion that was made by the Earl of Seafield, for leave to bring in a bill for diſſolving the Union. In his ſpeech in Parliament upon this ſubject, he admitted, that 'he had a great hand in making the Union, and that the chief reaſon that moved him 'to it was the ſecuring the Proteſtant ſucceſſion; but that he was ſatisfied that might 'be done as well now, if the Union were diſſolved.' He added, 'That he believed in 'his conſcience, it was as much for the intereſt of England, as of Scotland, to have 'it diſſolved: and if it were not, he did not expect long to have either property left in 'Scotland, or liberty in England (*f*).'

(*e*) Life, p. 134.

(*f*) Timberland's Debates of the Houſe of Lords, *ubi ſupra*, p. 396.

His Grace's conduct in Parliament having given great offence to the Miniſtry, he was about this time deprived of all the employments he held under the Crown (*g*): and he continued to oppoſe the Adminiſtration to the end of this reign. But when Queen Anne's life was deſpaired of, he attended the Council-chamber at Kenſington, as did alſo the Duke of Somerſet, without being ſummoned (*h*). The members of the Council were ſurprized at their appearance: but the Duke of Shrewſbury thanked them for their readineſs to give their aſſiſtance at ſo critical a conjuncture, and deſired them to take their places (*i*); and their attendance on this occaſion, was conſidered as highly ſerviceable to the intereſts of the Houſe of Hanover [*I*].

(*g*) Life, p. 73.

(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 138.

(*i*) Smollet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 149.

On the demiſe of the Queen, the Duke of Argyle was appointed one of the Lords Juſtices for the government of the kingdom, till King George I. ſhould arrive in England. He had been nominated to this office by that Prince before the death of the Queen (*k*). On the 27th of September, 1714, he was again conſtituted General and Commander in Chief of the Forces in Scotland; and, on the 1ſt of October following, he was ſworn a member of the new Privy Council (*l*). On the 5th of the ſame month, he was appointed Governor of Minorca; and on the 15th of June, 1715, made Colonel of the Royal regiment of Horſe-guards in England (*m*). He was alſo one of the Commiſſioners for eſtabliſhing the Houſhold of the Prince and Princeſs of Wales, and was made Groom of the Stole to the Prince (*n*).

(*k*) Life, p. 139.

(*l*) Salmon's Chronol. Hiſtorian, p. 342. and Collins's Peerage, *ubi ſupra*, p. 295.

(*m*) Collins, *ubi ſupra*.

(*n*) *Id. ibid.*

without mentioning any page. This is a mode of reference not very convenient for thoſe who are deſirous of aſcertaining the truth of hiſtorical facts. We have, however, looked over theſe papers, but do not find ſufficient authority for ſome of Mr. Macpherſon's aſſertions; though it appears from the Hanover papers (11), that the Duke of Argyle was conſidered as an intereſted and ambitious man, and that it was thought both he and his brother might be gained by penſions. There may be little reaſon to queſtion the truth of this; and there may alſo be ſome truth in other inſinuations thrown out againſt him in the Stuart papers; but yet it may be obſerved, that the mere aſſertions of a Jacobite ſpy, or foreign agent, cannot juſtly be regarded as that kind of hiſtorical evidence which is to be implicitly received.

(11) Macpherſon's Original Papers, vol. ii. p. 467, 468, 502.

The following are ſome of the moſt remarkable paſſages in theſe papers relative to the Duke of Argyle. In the Stuart papers, Rogers writes thus to Sir William Ellis: 'Argyle begins to be obſtre-'perous. Harley thought to make him his ſpy on 'the Whigs, and bully them on occaſion; but he 'will do nothing for him, till he gets Duke Hamil 'ton's place. Harley will not truſt him with it. 'Argyle is reſolved to hector him into it. Harley 'makes ſatires on him, in order to expoſe him, and 'thinks to ſilence him: time will ſhew how they 'will end. The Whigs will ſpirit him to be uneaſy 'to Harley and the Queen (12).'

(12) *Ibid.* p. 404.

In the Hanover papers, there is a letter from Schutz, a Hanoverian agent, to Robethon at Hanover, dated October 30, 1713, wherein he ſays, 'Lord Sunderland aſſures me, the Duke of Argyle, 'who paſſed ſome days with him in the country, 'may be depended on. He thinks him incapable 'of ever reconciling himſelf with the Miniſter; as 'he acknowledges now, that he acted formerly on 'wrong principles, and is diſſatisfied with his bro-'ther for having ſhuffled; i. e. for having paid 'court to the Lord Treaſurer, in hopes that he 'would have made him one of the ſixteen Scotch 'Peers. The misfortune is, that he has thereby 'neglected to be choſen in oppoſition to the Court, 'which the Duke thinks he could not have miſſed 'to be, if he had ſpoken out, and employed the in-'tereſt of his friends in Scotland (15).'

(13) *Ibid.* p. 510.

In another place we are told, from letters of L'Hermitage, that he thought 'the ſucceſſion would 'be loſt, unleſs the Electoral Prince came to Eng-'land. Lord Halifax believed now, that 50,000 l. 'ſterling, inſtead of the 100,000 l. they aſked at 'firſt, would be ſufficient to carry the election againſt 'the Court: and the Duke of Argyle told Halifax, 'that with 20,000 l. he would anſwer for all the 'elections in Scotland (14).'

(14) *Ibid.* p. 498.

With reſpect to the motion for diſſolving the Union, we find the following paſſage concerning it, in a letter from Eraſmus Lewis, Eſq; to Dr. Swift, dated June 2, 1713. 'The diviſion yeſterday, in 'the Houſe of Lords, was fifty-four againſt fifty-'four. Proxies were called for, and we had ſeven-'teen to thirteen. This is the greateſt victory we 'ever had. The Duke of Argyle, and the Scotch, 'were againſt us to a man. The Lords Weymouth 'and Carteret were with them. It was very comical 'to ſee the Tories, who voted with the Lord Trea-'ſurer againſt the diſſolution of the Union, under 'all the perplexities in the world, leſt they ſhould be 'victorious; and the Scotch, who voted for a bill 'of diſſolution, under agonies, leſt they themſelves 'ſhould carry the point they pretended to deſire. 'In all the time I have been converſant in buſineſs, 'I never before obſerved both ſides, at the ſame 'time, acting parts, which they thought contrary 'to their intereſts (15).'

(15) Swift's Letters, publiſhed by Hawkeſworth, vol. i. p. 388, 389. edit. 8vo. 1766.

According to Mr. Macpherſon, the Scotch took great offence at a ſpeech of the Duke of Argyle in this debate, in which he had mentioned the Pretender very contemptuouſly, and they were thereby afterwards led to favour again the views of the Court (16).

(16) Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 603.

[*I*] *Highly ſerviceable to the intereſts of the Houſe of Hanover.*] Mr. R. Campbell ſays, "that the other "members of the council paid ſuch great reſpect to "the Dukes of Somerſet and Argyle, as not only "to admit them to ſit in council without oppoſition, "but on their motion allowed that all Privy Coun-"ſellors then in and about London, ſhould attend "without diſtinction; by which means, the friends "of the Houſe of Hanover had an opportunity to "protect the intereſt of that auguſt houſe (17)."

(17) Life, p. 139.

When

When a rebellion was raiſed in Scotland in favour of the Pretender, the Duke of Argyle was ſent to take the command of the forces there. He was very aſſiduous in raiſing troops for his Majeſty's ſervice (*o*), and in taking proper meaſures for ſuppreſſing the rebellion. On the 13th of November he engaged the rebel army, commanded by the Earl of Mar, at Dumblain. The Duke's troops did not conſiſt of more than three thouſand five hundred, while thoſe of the Earl of Mar amounted to nine thouſand (*p*). Notwithſtanding this inequality of numbers, the rebels were worſted, though the victory was not complete, and was indeed claimed by both ſides. His Grace behaved in the action with great gallantry [*K*]; and was congratulated, on account of the advantage that he had obtained, in a letter from the Town-council of Edinburgh, in which are the following expreſſions: 'When we look back upon the difficulty your 'Grace has lain under from the time of your arrival in this country, we cannot too 'much admire your fortitude; nor, in the midſt of it, too greatly extol the conduct 'and courage you have ſhewn in forcing ſo great a body of rebels to fly with the ut-'moſt confuſion from ſo ſmall a number. And when we reflected upon the virtues of 'your Grace's anceſtors, the zeal and active ſpirit they ſhewed for the Proteſtant reli-'gion, and the blood which has been ſpilt in your family (for the ſame cauſe your 'Grace has at this juncture ſo liberally ventured your own) we had always hopes, under 'the bleſſing of God, of ſucceſs from your undertaking (*q*).'

(*o*) Life, p. 159, 160.

(*p*) Tindal's Contin. of Rapin's Hiſt. vol. vi. p. 469. 4th edit. 8vo.

(*q*) Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 295, 296.

Soon after the battle of Dumblain, the Duke of Argyle was joined by ſome dragoons from England, and by ſix thouſand Dutch troops under General Cadogan; and being thus reinforced, he compelled the rebels to abandon Perth, on the 30th of January, 1716; and the Pretender was ſoon afterwards obliged to retire to France with the utmoſt precipitation (*r*). The Duke of Argyle now repaired to Edinburgh, where he arrived on the 27th of February, and was magnificently entertained by the Magiſtrates of Edinburgh, in gratitude for the ſignal ſervices he had rendered to that city and kingdom in the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion. On the firſt of March he ſet out for England, and arrived on the 6th of that month in London, where he was very graciouſly received by his Majeſty (*s*).

(*r*) *Id. ibid.*

(*s*) Life, p. 296.

On the 10th and 16th of April he ſpoke in the Houſe of Peers in defence of the bill for repealing the triennial act, and rendering Parliaments ſeptennial (*t*). But ſoon after this his Grace ſeems to have conceived ſome diſguſt againſt the Court, or ſome diſlike was taken at his conduct there, for in June following he reſigned all his places [*L*]. The particular grounds of his diſſatisfaction, or of his being removed from his offices, are not mentioned; but we now find him in ſeveral inſtances voting againſt the Miniſtry (*u*). In February 1717-18, he ſpoke againſt the mutiny-bill, and endeavoured to ſhew, by ſeveral inſtances drawn from the Hiſtory of Great Britain, that "a ſtanding army, in the time of peace, was ever fatal, either to the Prince or the nation (*w*)." But on the 6th of February 1718-19, he was made Lord-Steward of the Houſhold (*x*); and, after that event, we again find his Lordſhip voting with Adminiſtration (*y*); and which he generally continued to do for many years afterwards.

(*t*) Timberland's Debates of the Houſe of Peers, vol. iii. p. 28, 37, 38, 41.

(*u*) *Ibid.* p. 52, 65, 76, 77, 88.

(*w*) *Ibid.* p. 79.

(*x*) Salmon's Chronol. Hiſt. p. 384.

(*y*) Lords Debates, vol. iii. p. 111, 206, 217, 227, 277, 463, 470. Vol. iv. p. 38.

On the 30th of April, 1718, he was advanced to the dignity of a Duke of Great-Britain, by the title of Duke of Greenwich (*z*). His Grace oppoſed, in 1722, the bill "for ſecuring the Freedom of Election of Members to ſerve for the Commons in Parliament:" and promoted the reſolution of the Houſe for expunging the reaſons [*M*] that

(*z*) Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 297.

[*K*] *Behaved in the action with great gallantry.*] In Colonel Harriſon's account of this battle, he ſays, "The conduct and bravery of the Generals and inferior officers, contributed much to this ſucceſs; "but, above all, the great example of the Duke of "Argyle, whoſe preſence not only gave ſpirit to "the action, but gained ſucceſs as often as he "led on (18)."

(18) Tindal's Continuation, vol. vi. p. 473.

[*L*] *Reſigned all his places.*] Dr. Smollet ſays, that both the Duke of Argyle, and his brother, the Earl of Ilay, were "diſmiſſed from their employments (19);" and mentions it as an inſtance of ingratitude in the Court, conſidering the importance of their ſervices. Mr. Salmon ſays, that the Duke of Argyle was not only removed from all his places, but "his penſion of two thouſand pounds *per annum* "ſuperſeded (20)."

(19) Hiſtory of England, *ubi ſupra*, p. 204.

(20) Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 363.

Mr. Tindal obſerves, that 'the Duke of Argyle, 'and his brother, the Earl of Ilay, were removed 'from all their employments. They had both diſ-'tinguiſhed themſelves by their zeal and ſervices for 'the government; and the King had, in ſome 'meaſure, put his crown into their hands, by pla-'cing them at the head of his armies in Scotland. 'They had all along voted in the Houſe of Lords 'on the Court ſide; and, therefore, their removal 'was the more ſtrange. Whatever might be the 'cauſe, their poſts were diſpoſed of, to ſhew there 'was no room to expect being reſtored. General 'Carpenter was made Commander in Chief of the 'Forces in Scotland, and Governor of Minorca and 'Port Mahon; and the Duke of Montroſe was ap-'pointed Lord Clerk-Regiſter of Scotland, in the 'room of the Earl of Ilay.' It is added, in a note, that 'the Duke of Argyle, it was obſerved, wait-'ed that morning on the King, (July 7, 1716, the 'morning that his Majeſty ſet out for Hanover) and 'was for a few minutes in private conference with 'him (21).' This was the day after he had been diſpoſſeſſed of his places.

(21) Continuation of Rapin, vol. vii. p. 31, 32.

[*M*]. *Promoted the reſolution of the Houſe for expunging the reaſons, &c.*] This was certainly an act of violence, and reflected no credit on any who were concerned in it. If the ſeveral members of the Houſe of Peers have a right to enter their proteſts againſt the conduct of the majority, it muſt be abſurd, that the ſame majority ſhould alſo aſſume a right of expunging theſe proteſts at their pleaſure. On the above occaſion, the Lords in the Minority proteſted againſt the expunging of their former proteſtation;

that were urged by ſome of the Lords in their proteſt againſt the rejection of the bill (a). He alſo ſupported a motion made by the Earl of Sunderland, for limiting the time for entering proteſts [N]: and he ſpoke in favour of the bill for ſuſpending the Habeas Corpus Act for a year, on occaſion of the diſcovery of Layer's plot (b); as he did likewiſe, with great zeal and warmth, for the bill of pains and penalties againſt Biſhop Atterbury (c). In 1724, he defended the mutiny-bill (d); and, it appears, that his Grace had not the ſame fears of a ſtanding army now, as when he was out of place a few years before.

(a) Debates, *ubi ſupra*, p. 227, 231.

(b) *Ibid.* p. 245.

(c) *Ibid.* p. 383.

(d) *Ibid.* p. 416.

On reſigning his place of Lord Steward of his Majeſty's Houſhold, he was conſtituted Maſter-general of the Ordnance: and by King George II. he was appointed Colonel of her Majeſty's own regiment of horſe, and Governor and Captain of the town and iſle of Portſmouth, and of the caſtle there, called South-Sea-Caſtle (e). He ſpoke againſt the bill for diſabling penſioners from ſitting in the Houſe of Commons (f); and on the firſt of May, 1731, againſt Lord Bathurſt's motion for an Addreſs to the King to diſcharge the Heſſian troops in the pay of Great-Britain (g). In 1733, he made a long and elaborate ſpeech againſt any reduction of the army; and endeavoured to prove, in direct contradiction to the ſentiments he had formerly advanced, "that a ſtanding army never "had in any country the chief hand in deſtroying the liberties of their country;" and that it could not be ſuppoſed they ever would (h). He alſo oppoſed the efforts that were made by ſome of the Minority Lords to prevent the influence of the Crown in the election of the Sixteen Peers for Scotland (i). And on the 14th of January, 1735-6, he was conſtituted Field-Marſhal of all his Majeſty's Forces (k).

(e) Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 297.

(f) Lords Debates, vol. iv. p. 40.

(g) *Ibid.* p. 49.

(h) *Ibid.* p. 100—107.

(i) *Ibid.* p. 221. 229. Smollet's Hiſt. of England, *ubi ſupra*, p. 427, 428.

(k) Collins, *ut ſupra*.

When the caſe of the city of Edinburgh, relative to the affair of Porteous, came to be agitated in Parliament, in 1737, the Duke of Argyle exerted himſelf vigorouſly in favour of that city (l): and, in 1739, from whatever cauſe it proceeded, he repeatedly voted againſt Adminiſtration (m). He ſpoke againſt the Spaniſh Convention with great ſpirit (n), and againſt the motion made by the Duke of Newcaſtle, for an unlimited vote of credit (o). About this time he was removed from all his places (p), and engaged vigorouſly in the oppoſition againſt Sir Robert Walpole (q). After the removal of that Miniſter in 1741, he was again made Maſter-general of the Ordnance, Colonel of his Majeſty's Royal regiment of Horſe-guards, and Field Marſhal and Commander in Chief of all the Forces in England (r). But in leſs than a month, he reſigned his employments for the laſt time (s), being probably diſſatisfied with ſome of the political arrangements that took place after the removal of Walpole. About this time he is ſaid to have received a letter from the Pretender, which ſome of his enemies are ſuppoſed to have procured to be written to him, with a view of injuring him; but he prevented any ill effects from it, by immediately communicating it to his Majeſty's Miniſters *. He had been for ſome years afflicted with a paralytic diſorder, which now began to increaſe: and towards the cloſe of his life he was ſomewhat melancholy and reſerved (t). He died on the 3d of September, 1743 (u), and was interred in Weſtminſter Abbey. The titles of Duke and Earl of Greenwich, and Baron of Chatham, became extinct at his death; but in his other titles he was ſucceeded by his brother Archibald Earl of Ila (w).

(l) Lords Debates, vol. v. p. 203, 204, 205.

(m) *Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 30, 34, 84.

(n) *Ibid.* p. 87.

(o) Life, p. 324. Lords Debates, vol. vi. p. 212. 213.

(p) Life, p. 338. Smollet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 73.

(q) Lords Debates, vol. vi. p. 229, 238, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 393, 394. Vol. vii. p. 413, 459, 536, 607, 675.

(r) Smollet's Hiſt. of England, vol. xi. p. 108.

(s) *Id. ibid.*

* Life, p. 341.

(t) Life, p. 342.

(u) *Id. ibid.*

(w) Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 298.

John, Duke of Argyle, was a Nobleman of great political abilities, an eloquent and diſtinguiſhed Senator, of high ſpirits, undaunted courage, and eminent military talents. But he has been accuſed of being much actuated by motives of avarice and ambition: and, indeed, the uniformity with which he ſupported all the meaſures of Government at one period, and oppoſed them at another, cannot be reconciled to principles of real patriotiſm. He had, however, the honour to be celebrated in very high terms both by Pope and Thomſon [O]. In private life his conduct is ſaid to have been very reſpectable.

teſtation; alledging, among other arguments, that they "were very deſirous, that the arguments con-"tained in thoſe reaſons againſt bribery and corrup-"tion in elections, and their zeal for obtaining ſuch "remedies as were propoſed by the Commons them-"ſelves, might appear to poſterity as fully and par-"ticularly as poſſible (22)."

(22) Lords Debates, vol. iii. p. 231.

[N] *The limiting the time for entering proteſts.*] Lord Sunderland's motion was, 'That ſuch Lords 'as ſhall enter their proteſtations with reaſon, ſhall 'do the ſame before two o'clock the next ſitting day, 'and ſign them before the Houſe riſes.' This was very properly oppoſed by Biſhop Atterbury; who obſerved, that 'if proteſts were limited to ſo ſhort a 'time, this was, at leaſt, the way to have them 'crude and indigeſted; and he thought it unbe-'coming the dignity of that auguſt aſſembly to have 'any thing entered upon their Journals, which were 'records for after ages, before it had been duly con-'ſidered, and well digeſted (23).'

(23) *Ibid.* p. 236.

[O] *Celebrated in very high terms, both by Pope and Thomſon.*] Pope's compliment to the Duke is ſhort, but great.

'ARGYLE, the State's whole thunder born to wield,
'And ſhake alike the Senate and the Field (24).'

(24) Pope's Works, vol. ii. p. 351. 12mo. edition.

Mr. Thomſon's encomium on his Grace is more diffuſe. In his autumn, he has the following lines (25).

(25) L. 939—953.

——'Full on thee, ARGYLE,
'Her hope, her ſtay, her darling, and her boaſt,
'From her firſt patriots and her heroes ſprung,
'Thy fond imploring country turns her eye:
'In thee, with all a mother's triumph, ſees

'Her

able. He was an affectionate huſband, and an indulgent maſter. He ſeldom parted with his ſervants, till age had rendered them incapable of their employments; and then he made proviſion for their ſubſiſtence. He was liberal to the poor, and particularly to perſons of merit in diſtreſs: but though he was ready to patronize deſerving perſons, he was extremely cautious not to deceive any by laviſh promiſes, or leading them to form vain expectations (*x*) [*P*]. He was a ſtrict œconomiſt, and paid his tradeſmen punctually every month; and though he maintained the dignity of his rank, he took care that no part of his income ſhould be waſted in empty pomp, or unneceſſary expences (*y*).

(*x*) Life, p. 344, 345.

(*y*) *Ibid.* p. 347.

He married Mary, daughter of John Brown, Eſq; and niece of Sir Charles Duncomb, Knight; who, in 1708, was Lord Mayor of London. But this Lady dying without iſſue, on the 15th of January, 1716, his Grace married, on the 6th of June, 1717, Jane, daughter of Thomas Warburton, of Winnington, Cheſhire, Eſq. Her Grace was one of the Maids of Honour to Queen Anne, as alſo to her late Majeſty, Queen Caroline, when Princeſs of Wales, and died on the 16th of January, 1767, having borne to the Duke of Argyle five daughters: 1. Lady Caroline, married firſt to Francis, Earl of Dalkeith, eldeſt ſon of Francis, Duke of Buccleugh; and afterwards to the Right Honourable Charles Townſhend, Chancellor and Under-treaſurer of the Exchequer [*Q*]. She was created a Baroneſs of Great-Britain, by the title of Baroneſs of Greenwich,

'Her every virtue, every grace combin'd,
'Her genius, wiſdom, her engaging turn,
'Her pride of honour, and her courage try'd,
'Calm, and intrepid, in the very throat
'Of ſulphurous war, on Tenier's dreadful field.
'Nor leſs the palm of peace inwreathes thy brow:
'For, powerful as thy ſword, from thy rich tongue
'Perſuaſion flows, and wins the high debate;
'While mix'd in thee combine the charm of youth,
'The force of manhood, and the depth of age.'

[*P*] *Cautious not to deceive any by laviſh promiſes, or leading them to form vain expectations.*] Of this we meet with the following inſtance related by the writer of his life: 'A young gentleman of North Britain, liberally educated, and endued with a large 'ſhare of natural parts, was ſent up to London by 'his father, who had ſeveral other children, and 'had advanced this ſon for this expedition as much 'as he could ſpare without beggaring his family.

'He had conſented to this journey of his ſon on 'the repeated promiſes of a certain peer of that 'country, to put him into a handſome way of 'bread: his reliance on this nobleman's faith 'made him ſtretch a point to furniſh his ſon, ſince 'he looked upon that as beſtowed in order to ſettle 'him for life.

'Full of pleaſing hopes of immediate preferment, 'our young adventurer arrived at his patron's houſe, 'who received him with open arms, and a thouſand 'proteſtations of ſerving him; but ſeveral months 'paſſed over, and nothing but promiſes came; 'years went away in the ſame empty manner; every 'next month promiſed him happineſs, but ſtill it 'was as barren as the laſt. The young gentleman 'had paid levee to this little ſtateſman till he had 'exhauſted all his patrimony, and wearied all his 'relations, yet ſtill he was enjoined patience, and 'promiſed mountains.

'I think in the third or fourth year of this at'tendance, this young gentleman was walking very 'melancholy in Hyde-Park, when he ſpied the Duke 'of Argyle alight from his coach, in order to take a 'walk. A thought ſtruck into his head to addreſs 'the Duke, though an utter ſtranger to him, for a 'place in his Grace's diſpoſal in the ordnance, de'pending on his humanity for ſucceſs.

'He accoſted his grace, told him he was a gentle'man of his country, of ſuch a name and family; 'that he was in low circumſtances, and heard that 'ſuch a ſmall place was now vacant, and in his 'Grace's gift, therefore he took the liberty to beg 'that his Grace would put him into it.

'The demand was ſo uncommon, that his Grace 'made him repeat it again before he gave any 'anſwer; and then he ſaid, *Sir, I know your family 'very well, but don't flatter yourſelf with that; take 'for anſwer, that I will not give it you.* The young 'gentleman replied, *God bleſs your Grace, this exact'ly anſwers the character I have heard of you.* The 'laſt words a little ſurprized the Duke, and he de'ſired the young man to explain himſelf; which he 'did by ſaying, that if another peer had been ſo 'honourable as to make him the ſame anſwer, upon 'his firſt application to him, he would have been 'now in a condition to live without making ſo odd 'an application as his preſſing neceſſities obliged 'him juſt now to make to his Grace. His Grace 'recollecting ſome circumſtances he had formerly 'heard of the connection between this young gen'tleman's family and his former patron, was moved 'with the unhappy youth's caſe. After a ſhort 'pauſe, he directed him to call at his houſe next day, 'and in leſs than three days provided for him be'yond his expectations (26).'

(26) Life, p. 346, 347.

[*Q*] *The Right Honourable Charles Townſhend, &c.*] This gentleman was eminent for his uncommon eloquence, and the brilliancy of his genius; and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very high degree both in the Senate and the Cabinet. He was ſecond ſon of Charles Lord Viſcount Townſhend, and was choſen member for the town of Yarmouth, in the Parliament which aſſembled in 1747, and in that of 1754. In conjunction with his brother, George, the preſent Lord Townſhend, he was a zealous promoter of the laws for eſtabliſhing a national militia. In 1749, he was conſtituted one of the Commiſſioners of Trade and Plantations; and, in 1751, one of the Lords of the Admiralty, as he was alſo at a new nomination in 1754. In 1756, he was made Treaſurer of his Majeſty's Chamber, by which his ſeat in Parliament being vacated, he was ſoon after choſen for the borough of Saltaſh, in Cornwall, and about the ſame time was ſworn of the Privy Council. At the acceſſion of his preſent Majeſty, he was continued at the Council Board, and in his office of Treaſurer of the Chamber, which he quitted in 1761, on his being appointed Secretary at War. He was returned member for Harwich, in Eſſex, in the Parliament which was convened in that year. In February 1763, he reſigned the office of Secretary at War, and in March was appointed Firſt Lord of Trade and Plantations. On the 8th of June, 1765, he was conſtituted Paymaſter-general of the Forces; and on the 21ſt of Auguſt, 1766, he was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, and one of the Lords of the Treaſury. He continued in this ſituation till his death, having acquired a great aſcendency in the Adminiſtration. He died on the 4th of September, 1767, at the age of forty-two years (27).

(27) Collins's Peerage, vol. vi. p. 50, 51.

His parliamentary talents were very great, and have been celebrated by a gentleman, whoſe uncommon powers of eloquence are univerſally acknowledged. In a ſpeech delivered in the Houſe of Commons, on the 19th of April, 1774, Mr. Burke gave the following character of Mr. Townſhend. 'He was the delight and ornament of this Houſe, 'and the charm of every private ſociety which he 'honoured with his preſence. Perhaps there never

'aroſe

wich, on the 28th of Auguſt, 1767, a few days before the death of her huſband. 2. Lady Anne, married to William, Earl of Stafford. 3. Lady Jane, who died young. 4. Lady Betty, married to the Right Honourable James Stuart Mackenzie, Lord Privy-Seal for Scotland, and brother to the preſent Earl of Bute. 5. Lady Mary, married to Edward, Viſcount Coke, heir-apparent of Thomas, Earl of Leiceſter, but died without iſſue (z).

(z) Collins, *ubi ſupra*, vol. viii. p. 279, 298.

Some years after the Duke's deceaſe, a fine monument, executed by Roubiliac, was erected in Weſtminſter Abbey, to his Grace's memory, by order of Sir Henry Fermer, Baronet, who left by will five hundred pounds for that purpoſe. By direction of the ſame Gentleman, the following inſcription, of which Mr. Paul Whitehead was the author, is repreſented as written by the Pen of Hiſtory, who is a capital figure in the monument.

'Briton, behold! if Patriot worth be dear,
'A ſhrine that claims thy tributary tear!
'Silent that tongue admiring ſenates heard;
'Nerveleſs that arm oppoſing legions fear'd;
'Nor leſs, O CAMPBELL, thine the power to pleaſe,
'And give to grandeur all the grace of eaſe.
'Long, from thy life, let kindred heroes trace,
'Arts, which ennoble, ſtill the nobleſt race:
'Others may owe their future fame to me,
'I borrow immortality from thee.'

* The Medallion dates his birth in 1680.

In a Medallion are given the dates of the Duke's birth * and death; and in a ſhort inſcription below, he is ſaid to have been an honeſt man, a conſtant friend; and that as a General and an Orator, he was exceeded by none of the age in which he lived.

ARCHIBALD, Third Duke of Argyle, brother to the ſubject of the preceding article, and who ſucceeded him in his Scottiſh titles, was born at Ham-houſe, in England, in June, 1682, and was educated at the Univerſity of Glaſgow. He afterwards applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Law at Utrecht; but, upon his father's being created a Duke, he laid aſide the ſcheme which he had formed of appearing at the bar, and betook himſelf to a military life. He ſerved under the Duke of Marlborough, was Colonel of the 36th regiment of foot, and Governor of Dumbarton Caſtle. But having a greater propenſity to be a Stateſman than a Soldier, he continued not long in the army; and, after he had quitted it, employed himſelf in the acquiſition of that knowledge, and thoſe qualifications, which would enable him to make a figure in the political world (a). In 1705, he was conſtituted Treaſurer of Scotland, and made a conſiderable figure in Parliament, though he was not more than twenty-three years of age. In 1706, he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners for treating of the Union; and the ſame year was created Lord Ornſay, Dunoon, and Arrois, Viſcount and Earl of Ila, or Iſlay. In 1708, he was made an extraordinary Lord of Seſſion; and when the Union was effected, he was choſen one of the Sixteen Peers for Scotland, in the firſt Parliament of Great-Britain, and was conſtantly elected to every future Parliament till his death, except the fourth [*R*]. In 1710, he was made Juſtice-General of Scotland, and

(a) Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, p. 43.

'aroſe in this country, nor in any country, a man 'of a more pointed and finiſhed wit; and (where his 'paſſions were not concerned) of a more refined, 'exquiſite, and penetrating judgment. If he had 'not ſo great a ſtock, as ſome have had, who flouriſhed formerly, of knowledge long treaſured up, 'he knew better by far, than any man I ever was 'acquainted with, how to bring together within a 'ſhort time, all that was neceſſary to eſtabliſh, to 'illuſtrate, and to decorate that ſide of the queſtion 'he ſupported. He ſtated his matter ſkilfully and 'powerfully. He particularly excelled in a moſt 'luminous explanation, and diſplay of his ſubject. 'His ſtile of argument was neither trite and vulgar, 'nor ſubtle and abſtruſe. He hit the Houſe juſt between wind and water.—And not being troubled 'with too anxious a zeal for any matter in queſtion, 'he was never more tedious, or more earneſt, than 'the pre-conceived opinions, and preſent temper of 'his hearers required; to whom he was always in 'perfect uniſon. He conformed exactly to the temper of the Houſe; and he ſeemed to guide, becauſe he was always ſure to follow it.—He had no 'failings which were not owing to a noble cauſe; 'to an ardent, generous, perhaps an immoderate 'paſſion for fame; a paſſion which is the inſtinct of 'all great ſouls. He worſhipped that goddeſs 'whereſoever ſhe appeared; but he paid his particular devotions to her in her favourite habitation, 'in her choſen temple, the Houſe of Commons '(28).'

(28) Speech on American Taxation, 8vo. 1775, p. 80, 81, 82.

[*R*] *Elected to every future Parliament till his death, except the fourth.*] It is ſaid in Mr. Macpherſon's papers, that this was occaſioned by his having paid court to the Lord Treaſurer Harley, in hopes that he would have made him one of the ſixteen Scotch Peers, in which he was diſappointed: and he, 'therefore, neglected to be choſen in oppoſition to 'the Court, which the Duke (of Argyle) thinks he 'could not have miſſed to be, if he had ſpoke out, 'and employed the intereſt of his friends in Scotland. They ſay he is diſguſted at having been 'played the fool with in this manner, and diſappointed in his hopes; and he muſt have exerted 'himſelf very much, and with great ſucceſs, though 'chiefly out of ſpite, in order to carry the elections 'of

and the following year was called to the Privy Council. Upon the acceſſion of King George I. he was nominated Lord Regiſter of Scotland: and though he had long given up all command in the army, yet when the rebellion broke out in 1715, he again betook himſelf to arms, in defence of the Houſe of Hanover. By his prudent conduct in the Weſt Highlands, he prevented General Gordon, at the head of three thouſand men, from penetrating into the country, and raiſing levies. He afterwards joined his brother at Stirling, and was wounded at the battle of Dumblain (*b*). In 1725, he was appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal; and, from this time, he was entruſted with the management of Scottiſh affairs. In 1734, upon his reſigning the Privy Seal, he was made Keeper of the Great Seal, which office he enjoyed till his death. Upon the deceaſe of his brother, he became Duke of Argyle, Hereditary Juſtice General, Lieutenant, Sheriff, and Commiſſary of Argyleſhire and the Weſtern Iſles, hereditary Great Maſter of the Houſhold, hereditary Keeper of Dunſtaffnage, Carrick, and ſeveral other caſtles (*c*). He was alſo Chancellor of the Univerſity of Aberdeen (*d*); and laboured to promote the intereſt of that, as well as of the other Univerſities of Scotland. He particularly encouraged the School of Phyſic at Edinburgh, which has now acquired ſo high a reputation. He was a man of great natural and acquired endowments, well verſed in the laws of his country, eminent for his ſkill in human nature, and poſſeſſed of very conſiderable parliamentary abilities. His ſpeeches often occur in the ſeven volumes of the Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, publiſhed by Timberland. As he had the chief management of Scotch affairs, he was extremely attentive to promote the trade and manufactures of Scotland, and to forward improvements for the good of his country. It was by his advice that, after the rebellion in 1745, the Highlanders were employed in the Royal army (*e*). He had great talents for converſation, and had collected one of the moſt valuable private libraries in Great-Britain. He built himſelf a very magnificent ſeat at Inverara. The faculties of his mind continued ſound and vigorous till his death, which happened ſuddenly on the 15th of April, 1761, in the 79th year of his age. He was interred at Kilmun, in the pariſh of Dunoon, in Argyleſhire, the burying-place of the family (*f*). He married the daughter of Mr. Whitfield, Paymaſter of the Marines, but had no iſſue by her: and was ſucceeded in his titles, and the eſtates of the family, by John Campbell, fourth Duke of Argyle, ſon of the Honourable John Campbell of Mammore, who was the ſecond ſon of Archibald, the ninth Earl of Argyle (*g*).] T.

(*b*) Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, p. 43.

(*c*) *Id. ibid.*

(*d*) Collins's Peerage, vol. viii. p. 298.

(*e*) Douglas's Peerage, *ut ſupra.*

(*f*) *Id. ibid.*

(*g*) Collins, *ut ſupra.*

(29) Letter from Schutz to Robethon, in Macpherſon's Original Papers, vol. ii. p. 510.

'of the Commons in Scotland againſt the Court, 'ſince it is certain that, of forty-five members, there 'are thirty-four or thirty-five Whigs (29).' There are ſome particulars relative to the Earl of Ilay's zeal for the intereſt of the Hanover family, in Mr. Macpherſon's collection (30).]

(30) *Ibid.* p. 517, 518.

*** [CAMPBELL (JOHN)*, an eminent hiſtorical, biographical, and political writer of the preſent century, was a native of that part of Great-Britain called Scotland, and born in the city of Edinburgh, on the 8th of March, 1707-8. His father was Robert Campbell of Glenlyon, Eſq; and Captain of Horſe in a regiment commanded by the then Earl of Hyndford; and his mother, Elizabeth, was the daughter of ——— Smith, Eſq; of Windſor, in Berkſhire [*A*]. Our author was their fourth ſon; and, at the age of five years, he was brought by Mrs. Campbell to Windſor, from Scotland, which country he never ſaw afterwards. It was at Windſor that he is ſuppoſed to have received the firſt principles of his education, under the direction and patronage of his uncle, ——— Smith, Eſq; of that place. At a proper age, he was placed out as clerk to an attorney, being intended for the law; but whether it was that his genius could not be confined to that dry ſtudy, or to whatever cauſes beſides it might be owing, it is certain that he did not purſue the line of his orignal deſignation: neither did he engage in any other particular profeſſion, unleſs that of an author ſhould be conſidered in this light. One thing we are ſure of, that he did not ſpend his time in idleneſs and diſſipation, but in ſuch a cloſe application to the acquiſition of knowledge of various kinds, as ſoon enabled him to appear with great advantage in the literary world. What ſmaller pieces might be written by Mr. Campbell, in the early part of his life, we are not capable of aſcertaining; but we know that, in 1736, before he had completed his thirtieth year, he gave to the public, in two volumes folio, 'The Mi-'litary Hiſtory of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough; comprehending the 'Hiſtory of both thoſe illuſtrious perſons, to the time of their deceaſe.' This performance was enriched with maps, plans, and cuts, by the beſt hands, and particularly by the ingenious Claude du Boſc. The reputation hence acquired by our author, occa-

* For the materials of this article, we are greatly indebted to Mr. William Wharton, who was thirty years Dr. Campbell's ſecretary; and to the Rev. Mr. Hall, Rector of Child Okeford, Dorſetſhire, a particular friend of the Doctor's.

[*A*] *His father was Robert Campbell, &c.*] The Campbells of Glenlyon are a branch of the Noble Houſe of Breadalbane, of which a diſtinct account may be ſeen in Niſbet's and Douglas's Peerages. For information concerning the reſpectable family of the Smiths of Windſor, recourſe may be had to Aſhmole's Antiquities of Berkſhire, and to N° 5800, a book of Heraldry, in folio, in the Britiſh Muſeum. Mrs. Campbell likewiſe, and conſequently our author, had the honour of claiming a deſcent from the famous poet, Waller.

ſioned him ſoon after to be ſolicited to take a part in the 'Ancient Univerſal Hiſtory,' a work of great merit, as well as magnitude, though drawn up with ſomething of that inequality which is almoſt unavoidable, when a number of perſons are engaged in carrying on the ſame undertaking. This Hiſtory was publiſhed at firſt, we believe, periodically; and five volumes of it, in folio, were completed in 1740. The ſixth volume was finiſhed in 1742, and the ſeventh in 1744 (*a*). A ſecond edition of it, in octavo, began to be publiſhed in 1747, and was carried on monthly, with uncommon ſucceſs, till the whole was concluded in twenty volumes. For what parts of it the Republic of Letters was more immediately indebted to Mr. Campbell, it is not in our power to determine, excepting that he is underſtood to have been the writer of the Coſmogony, which affords a diſtinguiſhed proof of his extenſive acquaintance with the ſyſtems of the ancient philoſophers. Whilſt our author was employed in this capital work, he found leiſure to entertain the world with other productions. In 1739, he publiſhed (*b*), 'The Travels and Adventures of Edward Brown, Eſq;' a book that was ſo well received as to call for another edition (*c*). In the ſame year appeared his 'Memoirs of 'the Baſhaw Duke de Ripperda (*d*),' which were reprinted, with improvements, in 1740. Theſe Memoirs were followed, in 1741, by the 'Conciſe Hiſtory of Spaniſh 'America (*e*),' a ſecond edition of which, if we recollect aright, came out in 1756. In 1742, he was the author of 'A Letter to a Friend in the country, on the publication 'of Thurloe's State Papers;' giving an account of their diſcovery, importance and utility. The ſame year was diſtinguiſhed by the appearance of the firſt and ſecond volumes of his 'Lives of the Engliſh Admirals, and other eminent Britiſh Seamen.' The two remaining volumes were completed in 1744; and the whole, not long after, was tranſlated into German. This, we believe, was the firſt of Mr. Campbell's works to which he prefixed his name; and, indeed, he had no reaſon to be aſhamed of ſo doing, for it is a performance of great and acknowledged merit. The good reception it met with, was evidenced in its paſſing through three editions in his own life-time; and a fourth hath lately been given to the public, under the inſpection of Dr. Berkenhout. When our author had finiſhed the third edition, which is more correct and complete than the former ones, he thus wrote to his ingenious and worthy friend, the Reverend Mr. Hall: 'I am certain the Lives of the Admirals coſt me a great deal of trouble; and I 'can with great veracity affirm, that they contain nothing but my real ſentiments, 'ariſing from as ſtrict an enquiry into the matters which they relate, as was in my 'power.' In 1743, he publiſhed a very curious and entertaining pamphlet, called 'Hermippus revived;' a ſecond edition of which, much improved and enlarged, came out in 1749, under the following title: 'Hermippus Redivivus: or, the Sage's Tri-'umph over old Age and the Grave. Wherein a method is laid down for prolonging 'the life and vigour of man. Including, a Commentary upon an ancient Inſcription, 'in which this great ſecret is revealed; ſupported by numerous authorities. The 'whole interſperſed with a great variety of remarkable and well atteſted relations.' This extraordinary Tract had its origin in a foreign publication [*B*]; but it was wrought up to perfection by the additional ingenuity and learning of Mr. Campbell, and was founded on the following inſcription, ſaid to be preſerved in Reineſius's Supplement to Gruter.

(*a*) Gent. Mag. vol. x. p. 360. vol. xii. p. 664. vol. xiv. p. 624.

(*b*) In octavo.

(*c*) In two vols. 12mo.

(*d*) In octavo.

(*e*) In octavo.

ÆSCULAPIO ET SANITATI
L. CLODIUS HERMIPPUS
QUI VIXIT ANNOS CXV. DIES V.
PUELLARUM ANHELITU,
QUOD ETIAM POST MORTEM
EJUS
NON PARUM MIRANTUR PHYSICI.
JAM POSTERI SIC VITAM DUCITE.

From the circumſtance here mentioned, which is repreſented as having been the means of prolonging the life of Hermippus to ſo great an age, the author raiſes an hypotheſis, and ſupports it in an admirable ſtrain of grave irony, concerning the ſalutary nature of the breath of young perſons, eſpecially girls and young women. Beſides this, he digreſſes largely concerning the hermetic philoſophers and their univerſal medicine; and relates a variety of ſtories concerning them, which are excellently calculated, not only

[*B*] *Had its origin in a foreign publication.*] This publication appeared at Coblentz, in the beginning of the year 1743, and was entitled HERMIPPUS REDIVIVUS, *ſive exercitatio phyſico-medica curioſa, de methodo rara ad* CXV. *annos propagandæ, ſenectutis per anhelitum puellarum, ex veteri monumento Romano, de prompta, nunc artis medicæ fundamentis ſtabilita, & rationibus atque exemplis, necnon ſingulari chymiæ philoſophicæ paradoxo illuſtrata & confirmata. Autore Jo. Hen. Cohauſen, M. D.* i. e. 'HERMIPPUS REVIVED, or a curious Phyſico-medical Diſſertation 'on an uncommon Method of prolonging human 'Life to one hundred and fifteen years, by means of 'the breath of young women, copied from an ancient Roman monument, now eſtabliſhed on a 'phyſical baſis, by arguments and examples, and 'illuſtrated and confirmed by a very ſingular para-'dox in chymical philoſophy.' By Dr. Cohauſen of Coblentz (1).

(1) Gent. Mag. vol. xiii. p. 279.

only to amuſe his readers, but almoſt to deceive thoſe who are not ſufficiently aware of his intention, and whoſe judgments are not matured. The writer of this article well remembers, that, having read the 'Hermippus Redivivus' in his youth, ſuch an impreſſion was made by it upon his imagination, that, though his underſtanding was not convinced, or his belief engaged, by the reaſonings and facts contained in it, he ſeemed for two or three days to be in a kind of Fairy-land. Dr. Mackenzie, a phyſician at Worceſter, and the author of a Treatiſe on Health, is ſaid to have viewed Mr. Campbell's book in a ſerious light; and to have been ſo far influenced by it, that he went and lived ſome time at a female boarding-ſchool, for the benefit of receiving the ſalutary effects ariſing from the breath of the young ladies (*f*). Mr. Thickneſs, in a late performance, hath gravely adopted the ſyſtem of the 'Hermippus Redivivus.' It had been aſſerted, that Monſ. Bayle alone poſſeſſed the faculty of treating at large upon a difficult ſubject, without diſcovering to which ſide his own ſentiments leaned, and that his acquaintance with uncommon books extended farther than that of any other man. The Hermippus was an eſſay to ſhew, that ſuch a mode of writing, and ſuch a ſpecies of literature were not confined to Monſ. Bayle. This, as our author himſelf long afterwards informed Mr. Hall, was the true key to the book. In 1756, a tranſlation of it into Italian, was publiſhed at Leghorn (*g*); in the introductory preface to which, high commendations are beſtowed upon the Hermippus Redivivus.

(*f*) From the information of Sir George Baker, Bart. to whom the fact was told by Dr. Wall, of Worceſter.

(*g*) In quarto.

The ſmaller pieces written by Mr. Campbell were only an occaſional amuſement to him, and never interrupted the courſe of the great works in which he was engaged. In 1744, he gave to the public, in two volumes, folio, his Voyages and Travels, on Dr. Harris's plan, being a very diſtinguiſhed improvement of that Gentleman's Collection, which had appeared in 1705. So well was this publication of our author received, that a new edition was ſoon called for, which came out in numbers, and was finiſhed in 1749. The work contains all the circumnavigators from the time of Columbus to Lord Anſon; a complete Hiſtory of the Eaſt Indies; hiſtorical Details of the ſeveral Attempts made for the Diſcovery of the North-eaſt and North-weſt Paſſages; the Commercial Hiſtory of Corea and Japan; the Ruſſian Diſcoveries by Land and Sea; a diſtinct Account of the Spaniſh, Portugueſe, Britiſh, French, Dutch, and Daniſh Settlements in America; with other Pieces not to be found in any former Collection. The whole was conducted with eminent ſkill and judgment, and the Preface is acknowledged to be a maſter-piece of compoſition and information. The time and care employed by Mr. Campbell in this important undertaking, did not prevent his engaging in another great work, with regard to which we have reaſon to record his learned labours with particular pleaſure. The work we mean is the Biographia Britannica, which began to be publiſhed in weekly numbers in 1745, and the firſt volume of which was completed in 1746, as was the ſecond in 1748. By one of thoſe revolutions to which the beſt deſigns are ſubject, the public attention to the Biographia ſeemed to flag, when about two volumes had been printed: but this attention was ſoon revived by the very high encomium that was paſſed upon it by Mr. Gilbert Weſt, at the cloſe of his poem on Education; from which time the undertaking was carried on with increaſing reputation and ſucceſs. We need not ſay, that its reputation and ſucceſs were greatly owing to our author. It is no diſparagement to the abilities and learning of his coadjutors to aſſert, that his articles conſtitute the prime merit of the four volumes through which they extend. He was not ſatisfied with giving a cold narration of the perſonal circumſtances relative to the eminent men whoſe lives he drew up, but was ambitious of entering into ſuch a copious and critical diſcuſſion of their actions or writings, as ſhould render the Biographia Britannica a moſt valuable Repoſitory of hiſtorical and literary Knowledge. This end he has admirably accompliſhed, and herein hath left an excellent example to his ſucceſſors. We have formerly mentioned (*h*), that he received the thanks of John, the fifth Earl of Orrery, 'in the name of all the Boyles, for the 'honour he had done to them, and to his own judgment, by placing the family in 'ſuch a light as to give a ſpirit of emulation to thoſe who were hereafter to inherit the 'title.' The ingenious Mr. Walpole, ſpeaking of the Campbells, Earls of Argyle, adds, 'It is totally unneceſſary for me to enter into their characters, that taſk having 'been ſo fully performed by one who wears the honour of their name, and who, it is no 'compliment to ſay, is one of the ableſt and moſt beautiful writers of this country (*i*).' The like encomium might be extended to many other articles, ſeveral of which are ſo uniformly complete, and ſo highly finiſhed, that it is difficult to aſcertain where the preference ought to be given. Were we, however, to ſelect any ſingle life from the reſt, we ſhould ſay, that the account of Roger Bacon alone would be ſufficient to procure for our author no ſmall degree of reputation. One thing by which he is peculiarly diſtinguiſhed, is the candour diſplayed by him with reſpect to thoſe perſons from whom he moſt differed in religious and political opinions. After he had written the Lives of the Calamies, he was waited upon by the Reverend Mr. Edmund Calamy, to thank him for thoſe articles, and eſpecially for the juſtice done to his great grandfather, the firſt divine of that family. Mr. Calamy was even ſurprized to find that Mr. Campbell was a Member

(*h*) See the Article BOYLE, (John), Earl of Cork and Orrery.

(*i*) Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, vol. ii. p. 225.

Member of the Church of England; and ſtill more ſo, when he learned that our Biographer had undertaken the articles of Mr. Baxter and Dr. Conant, on purpoſe to prevent their falling into hands that might not equally be diſpoſed to pay the teſtimony due to their reſpective merits. Indeed, our author has been charged with an exceſs of candour, in ſome of the accounts given in the Biographia. But if, in a few inſtances, there ſhould appear to be any ground for this charge, it ought to be remembered, that his error never proceeded from any intention to flatter or deceive, but from the amiable benevolence of his heart, and from his readineſs to diſcern, and to acknowledge, the talents and the worthineſs of men who were of the moſt oppoſite principles and parties. It ought, alſo, to be remembered, that his candour was not unfrequently the reſult of ſuperior knowledge; and that it led him into diſquiſitions, which tended to throw new light on characters and actions.

When the late Mr. Robert Dodſley formed the deſign of that uſeful book, 'The 'Preceptor,' which appeared in 1748, Mr. Campbell was one of the ingenious Gentlemen applied to, to aſſiſt in the undertaking; and the parts written by him were the Introduction to Chronology, and the Diſcourſe on Trade and Commerce, both of which diſplayed an extenſive fund of knowledge upon theſe ſubjects. In 1750, he publiſhed (*k*) the firſt ſeparate edition of his 'Preſent State of Europe;' a work which had been originally begun in 1746, in the 'Muſeum,' a very valuable periodical performance, printed for Mr. Dodſley. There is no production of our author's that hath met with a better reception. It has gone through ſix editions, and fully hath it deſerved this encouragement; for it is not eaſy to find a book which, in ſuch a moderate compaſs, contains ſo much hiſtorical and political information. The perſpicuity, the good ſenſe, and the ſagacity with which it is written, will ever command attention and admiration, even though ſome of Mr. Campbell's conjectures and reaſonings concerning the future views and intereſts of the European powers, ſhould happen to be overturned by the late ſurprizing revolutions in the politics of the world. In ſuch high eſtimation was 'The 'preſent State of Europe' held abroad, that the Count de Giſors, one of the moſt amiable young noblemen of his time, and only ſon to the Marſhal Duke de Belleiſle, learned Engliſh, when at Copenhagen, in order to be able to read it. The next great undertaking which called for the exertion of our author's abilities and learning, was 'The Modern Univerſal Hiſtory.' This extenſive work was publiſhed, from time to time, in detached parts, till it amounted to ſixteen volumes folio; and a ſecond edition of it, in octavo, began to make its appearance in 1759. The parts of it written by Mr. Campbell, were the Hiſtories of the Portugueſe, Dutch, Spaniſh, French, Swediſh, Daniſh, and Oſtend Settlements in the Eaſt Indies; and the Hiſtories of the Kingdoms of Spain, Portugal, Algarve, Navarre, and that of France, from Clovis to the year 1656. It may, without controverſy, be aſſerted, that theſe parts of 'The Modern Univerſal Hiſtory,' muſt be reckoned among ſome of its brighteſt ornaments. As our author had thus diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Literary World, the Degree of L.L.D. was very properly and honourably conferred upon him, on the 18th of June, 1754, by the Univerſity of Glaſgow. With regard to his ſmaller publications, there are ſeveral, we apprehend, that have eluded our moſt diligent enquiry: of ſome others we ſhall give an account in a note [*C*]. His laſt grand work was 'A political Survey of Britain: being a Series of 'Reflections

(*k*) In octavo.

[*C*] *Of ſome others we ſhall give an account in a note.*] In early life, he wrote a little piece, entitled, 'A Diſcourſe on Providence,' 8vo, the third edition of which was printed in 1748. He publiſhed in 1746, 'The Sentiments of a Dutch Patriot. Being 'the Speech of Mr. V. H***n, in an auguſt As-'SEMBLY on the preſent ſtate of affairs, and the 'reſolution neceſſary at this juncture to be taken for 'the ſafety of the Republic (2).' The Hiſtory of this little Tract, the deſign of which was to expoſe the temporizing policy of the States of Holland, is ſomewhat amuſing. His amanuenſis, when he was going to write the pamphlet, having diſappointed him, he requeſted, after tea in the afternoon, that Mrs. Campbell, when ſhe had ordered a good fire to be made, would retire to bed as ſoon as poſſible, with the ſervants; and, at the ſame time, leave him four ounces of coffee. This was done, and he wrote till twelve o'clock at night, when, finding his ſpirits flag, he took two ounces. With this aſſiſtance, he went on till ſix in the morning, when again beginning to grow weary, he drank the remainder of the coffee. Hence he was enabled to proceed with freſh vigour, till nine or ten o'clock in the morning, when he finiſhed the pamphlet, which had a great run, and was productive of conſiderable profit. Mr. Campbell having ſucceeded ſo well in a performance haſtily written, expected much greater ſucceſs from another work, about which he had taken extraordinary pains, and which had coſt him a long time in compoſing. But when it came to be publiſhed, it ſcarcely paid the expence of advertiſing. Some years afterwards, a book in French was brought to him, that had been tranſlated from the German; and he was aſked, whether a tranſlation of it into Engliſh would not be likely to be acceptable. Upon examining it, he found that it was his own neglected work, which had made its way into Germany, and had there been tranſlated and publiſhed, without any acknowledgment of the obligation due to the original writer (3).

(2) In octavo.

In 1749, he printed, in octavo, 'Occaſional 'Thoughts on moral, ſerious, and religious Sub-'jects.' In 1754, he was the author of a work, entitled, 'The rational Amuſement, comprehending 'a Collection of Letters on a great variety of Sub-'jects, interſperſed with Eſſays, and ſome little 'Pieces of Humour (4).' 'The Shepherd of Ban-'bury's Rules,' a favourite pamphlet with the common people, and 'The Hiſtory of the War in the 'Eaſt Indies,' which appeared in 1758 or 1759, under the name of Mr. Watts, are ſuppoſed to have been of Mr. Campbell's compoſition. Upon the concluſion of the peace of Paris, our author was requeſted

(3) From the information of Dr. William Watſon, who had the account from Mr. Campbell.

(4) In one volume, octavo.

'Reflections on the Situation, Lands, Inhabitants, Revenues, Colonies, and Com-
'merce of this iſland. Intended to ſhew, that they have not as yet approached near the
'ſummit of improvement, but that it will afford employment to many generations, be-
'fore they puſh to their utmoſt extent the natural advantages of Great-Britain.'. This work, which was publiſhed in 1774, in two volumes, royal quarto, coſt Dr Campbell many years of attention, ſtudy and labour. As it was his laſt, ſo it ſeems to have been his favourite production, upon which he intended to erect a durable monument of his ſincere and ardent love to his country. A more truly patriot publication never appeared in the Engliſh language. The variety of information it contains is prodigious; and there is no book that better deſerves the cloſe and conſtant ſtudy of the Politician, the Senator, the Gentleman, the Merchant, the Manufacturer; in ſhort, of every one who has it in any degree in his power to promote the intereſt and welfare of Great-Britain. An aſſiduous purſuit of the numerous hints and plans of improvement ſuggeſted by our worthy author, would, perhaps, be the only effectual method of preſerving and continuing the proſperity of this iſland, amidſt that combination of enemies and misfortunes with which ſhe is at preſent ſurrounded. As the 'Po-
'litical Survey' is ſo excellent both in its deſign and execution, it is not ſurprizing that Dr. Campbell ſhould receive the higheſt teſtimonies in commendation of it, and that it ſhould engage him in a very extenſive correſpondence. The correſpondence occaſioned by it was, indeed, ſo great, that, in a letter to Mr. Hall, dated July 21, 1774, he informed his friend, that it had abſorbed a rheam of paper; and that he was about to begin upon another rheam, which would probably ſhare the ſame fate.

In the account which has been given of Dr. Campbell's writings, we have mentioned ſome of the encomiums that have been paſſed upon his literary merit. Several others might he added; but we ſhall content ourſelves with producing one or two, that happen to be at hand. Dr. Smollet, when doing juſtice to the eminent writers who adorned the reign of King George the Second, ſays, 'Nor let us forget the merit con-
'ſpicuous in the works of Campbell, remarkable for candour, intelligence, and preci-
'ſion (*l*).' The author of the 'Account of the European Settlements in America,' which common fame aſcribes to a gentleman of the moſt diſtinguiſhed abilities and character, concludes his Preface with the following paſſage. 'Having ſpoken perhaps a
'little too hardly of my materials, I muſt except the aſſiſtance I have had from the ju-
'dicious collection called Harris's Voyages. There are not many finer pieces than the
'Hiſtory of Brazil in that Collection. The light in which the author ſets the events
'in that hiſtory is fine and inſtructive; an uncommon ſpirit prevails through it; and
'his remarks are every where ſtriking and deep. The little ſketch I have given in the
'part of Portugueſe America, if it has any merit, is entirely due to that original.'——
'Where I differ from him in any reſpect, it is with deference to the judgment of a wri-
'ter, to whom this nation is much obliged, for endeavouring every where, with ſo
'much good ſenſe and eloquence, to rouze that ſpirit of generous enterprize, that can
'alone make any nation powerful or glorious.' Dr. Campbell's reputation was not confined to his own country, but extended to the remoteſt parts of Europe. As a ſtriking inſtance of this, we may mention, that in the ſpring of the year 1774, the Empreſs of Ruſſia was pleaſed to honour him with the preſent of her picture, drawn in the robes worn in that country in the days of John Baſiliowitz, Grand Duke of Muſcovy, who was contemporary with Queen Elizabeth. To manifeſt the Doctor's ſenſe of her Imperial Majeſty's goodneſs, a ſett of the 'Political Survey of Britain,' bound in Morocco, highly ornamented, and accompanied with a letter deſcriptive of the triumphs and felicities of her reign, was forwarded to St. Peterſburgh, and conveyed

(*l*) Hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 127, octavo edition.

queſted by Lord Bute, to take ſome ſhare in the vindication of that peace. Accordingly, he wrote (5) a 'Deſcription and Hiſtory of the new Sugar 'Iſlands in the Weſt Indies;' the deſign of which was to ſhew the value and importance of the neutral iſlands that had been ceded to us by the French. As his book was to be preſented to the King, he was deſired to write a Dedication to his Majeſty; which he wiſhed to decline, becauſe he had hitherto avoided all political diſputes, and becauſe his earlier attachments and ſentiments had not led him to pay his devoirs to the Court of St. James's. However, it was at length determined, that he ſhould preſent the Dedication in manuſcript. The following is a copy of it.

(5) In octavo.

'To the King's moſt ſacred Majeſty,
This little WORK,
'Undertaken by his Royal Commands,
'and honoured by his gracious Approbation,
'is humbly inſcribed by
'His Majeſty's moſt dutiful Subject,
'and obliged Servant.
'That PEACE,
'Which your Majeſty's Goodneſs and Wiſdom
'have given to this Nation,
'is here ſhewn to be adequate
'to the reſtoring her exhauſted Wealth,
'by the Extenſion of her Commerce,
'thro' dominions ſhe hath power to keep,
'and is inadequate only
'in the eye of
'FACTION.'

The only remaining publication of Dr. Campbell's, that hath hitherto come to our knowledge is, 'A Treatiſe upon the Trade of Great-Britain to 'America,' printed in quarto, in 1772.

into the hands of that great Princeſs, by Prince Gregorio Orloff, who had reſided ſome months in this kingdom. The Empreſs's picture, ſince the death of our author, hath been preſented by his widow to Lord Macartney.

Let us now advert a little to Dr. Campbell's perſonal Hiſtory. On the 23d of May, 1736, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Benjamin Vobe, of Leominſter, in the county of Hereford, Gentleman, with which Lady, he lived nearly forty years in the greateſt conjugal harmony and happineſs. So wholly did he dedicate his time to books, that he ſeldom went abroad: but to relieve himſelf, as much as poſſible, from the inconveniencies incident to a ſedentary life, it was his cuſtom, when the weather would admit, to walk in his garden; or, otherwiſe, in ſome room of his houſe, by way of exerciſe. By this method, united with the ſtricteſt temperance in eating, and an equal abſtemiouſneſs in drinking, he enjoyed a good ſtate of health, though his conſtitution was delicate. His domeſtic manner of living did not preclude him from a very extenſive and honourable acquaintance. His houſe, eſpecially on a Sunday evening, was the reſort of the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons of all ranks, and particularly of ſuch as had rendered themſelves eminent by their knowledge, or love of Literature. He received foreigners, who were fond of learning, with an affability and kindneſs, which excited in them the higheſt reſpect and veneration; and his inſtructive and chearful converſation, made him the delight of his friends in general. On the 5th of March, 1765, Dr. Campbell was appointed his Majeſty's Agent for the Province of Georgia, in North America, which employment he held till his deceaſe. His laſt illneſs was a decline, the conſequence of a life devoted to ſevere ſtudy, and which reſiſted every attempt for his relief that the moſt ſkilful in the medical ſcience could deviſe. By this illneſs he was carried off, at his houſe in Queen-Square, Ormond-Street, on the 28th of December, 1775, when he had nearly completed the ſixty-eighth year of his age. His end was tranquil and eaſy, and he preſerved the full uſe of all his faculties to the lateſt moment of his life. On the fourth of January following his deceaſe, he was interred in the New Burying Ground, behind the Foundling Hoſpital, belonging to the pariſh of St. George the Martyr, where a monument, with a plain and modeſt inſcription, hath been erected to his memory. Dr. Campbell had by his Lady ſeven children, one of whom only ſurvived him, Anne, who, on the 22d of Auguſt, 1763, married John Grant, Eſq; of Lovat, near Inverneſs, in North-Britain, then Captain in the fifty-eighth regiment of foot, and lately his Majeſty's Commiſſary and Paymaſter of the Royal Artillery at New-York. Mrs. Grant, who was a woman of excellent underſtanding and taſte, which had been cultivated under her father's eye, and who was poſſeſſed of the moſt amiable virtues, died at New-York, on the 2d of July, 1778, in the thirty-ſeventh year of her age. Mr. Grant, returning ſome time after to England, departed this life at Kenſington, in the month of November 1780. Three children, left by Mr. and Mrs. Grant, are now under the care of their worthy Grandmother, the Doctor's widow, and are her only remaining conſolation.

Dr. Campbell's literary knowledge, was by no means confined to the ſubjects on which he more particularly treated as an author. He was well acquainted with the mathematics, and had read much in medicine. It hath been with great reaſon believed, that if he had dedicated his ſtudies to the laſt ſcience, he would have made a very conſpicuous figure in the phyſical profeſſion. He was eminently verſed in the different parts of ſacred literature; and his acquaintance with the languages extended not only to the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin among the ancient, and to the French, Italian, Spaniſh, Portugueſe, and Dutch, among the modern; but, likewiſe, to the Oriental Tongues. He was particularly fond of the Greek language. His attainment of ſuch a variety of knowledge, was exceedingly aſſiſted by a memory ſurprizingly retentive, and which, indeed, aſtoniſhed every perſon with whom he was converſant. A ſtriking inſtance of this hath been given by the Honourable Mr. Daines Barrington, in his Tract, entitled, 'The Probability of reaching the North Pole diſcuſſed [*D*].' In communicating his ideas, our author had an uncommon readineſs and facility; and the ſtile of his works, which had been formed upon the model of that of the celebrated Biſhop Sprat, was perſpicuous, eaſy, flowing, and harmonious. Should it be thought that it is ſometimes rather too diffuſive, it will, notwithſtanding, indubitably be allowed, that it is, in general, very elegant and beautiful.

To all theſe accompliſhments of the underſtanding, Dr. Campbell joined the more important virtues of a moral and pious character. His diſpoſition was gentle and humane, and his manners kind and obliging. He was the tendereſt of huſbands, a moſt indulgent parent, a kind maſter, a firm and ſincere friend. To his great Creator

[*D*] *In his Tract, entitled, The Probability of reaching the North Pole diſcuſſed.*] The inſtance mentioned by Mr. Barrington, regards the accuracy wherewith Dr. Campbell, at the diſtance of thirty years, remembered the facts related to him by a Dr. Daillie, concerning a voyage towards the North Pole; in which the navigators, among whom was Dr. Daillie himſelf, went ſo far as to the 88th degree of north latitude; and might eaſily have proceeded farther, had not the Captain thought himſelf obliged, by his duty in other reſpects, to return.

he

he paid the conſtant and ardent tribute of devotion, duty, and reverence; and in his correſpondences he ſhewed, that a ſenſe of piety was always neareſt his heart. 'We 'cannot,' ſaid he, in a letter to Mr. Hall, 'too much inſiſt on the neceſſity of reli-'gion, not only as ſecuring our happineſs hereafter, but as the only ſafe and certain 'rule of life, and ten thouſand times preferable to the modern notions of philoſophy, 'and ties of honour. I may with great truth ſay, that the Church Catechiſm is a 'much better ſyſtem of morals than Tully's Offices. There are many fine things 'in theſe, and in the works of Seneca; but, in my judgment, none that equal, either 'in ſpirit or compoſition, ſome of the Collects in our Liturgy.' On another occaſion, he wrote to the ſame friend, that he thought there was more good ſenſe, and far better precepts for the conduct of life, in the Wiſdom of Solomon, and the ſon of Sirach, than in all the Heathen Sages put together; or than could be met with in Lord Bolingbroke, Mr. Hume, or Voltaire. It was our author's cuſtom every day, to read one or more portions of Scripture, in the original, with the ancient Verſions, and the beſt Commentators before him; and in this way, as appears from his own occaſional notes and remarks, he went through the Sacred Writings a number of times, with great thankfulneſs and advantage.

Such was Dr. Campbell as a writer and as a man. By his works he has ſecured not only a laſting reputation, but rendered himſelf highly beneficial to the public; and by his virtues, he became prepared for that happy immortality, which awaits all the genuine followers of goodneſs [*E*]. K.

[*E*] Since note *C* was printed off, we have had an opportunity, by the favour of the Hon. Mr. Daynes Barrington, the Rev. Dr. Lort, and Mr. Reed, of enlarging, as follows, our liſt of Dr. Campbell's ſmaller publications. 'The Caſe of the Oppoſition 'impartially ſtated,' 8vo. 1742. In Mr. Reed's copy of this pamphlet, are various corrections and additions in Dr. Campbell's own hand, which appear evidently written with a view to a ſecond impreſſion. 'An exact and authentic account of the greateſt 'White-Herring-Fiſhery in Scotland, carried on 'yearly in the Iſland of Zetland, by the Dutch only,' 8vo. 1750. 'The Highland Gentleman's Maga-'zine, for January 1751,' 8vo. 'A Letter from 'the Prince of the Infernal Legions, to a ſpiritual 'Lord on this ſide the Great Gulph, in anſwer to a 'late invective Epiſtle levelled at his Highneſs,' 8vo. 1751. 'The Naturalization Bill confuted, as 'moſt pernicious to theſe united Kingdoms,' 8vo. 1751. 'His Royal Highneſs Frederick, late Prince 'of Wales, deciphered: or a full and particular 'deſcription of his character, from his juvenile 'years, until his death,' 8vo. 1751. A Vade Mecum: 'or Companion for the unmarried Ladies: wherein 'is laid down ſome examples whereby to direct them 'in the choice of Huſbands,' 8vo. 1752. 'A parti-'cular but melancholy account of the great hardſhips, 'difficulties, and miſeries, that thoſe unhappy and 'much to be pitied creatures, the common Women 'of the Town, are plunged into at this juncture,' 8vo. 1752. 'A full and particular deſcription of 'the Highlands of Scotland,' 8vo. 1752. 'The 'caſe of the Publicans, both in town and country, 'laid open,' 8vo. 1752. In Mr. Barrington's curious collection of papers, relative to the probability of reaching to the North Pole, is a Tract, which he received from a learned friend, who permitted him to print it, though not to inform the public to whom they were indebted for the communication. It is entitled, 'Thoughts on the probability, expediency, 'and utility of diſcovering a paſſage by the North 'Pole.' We are now permitted by Mr. Barrington to ſay, that the writer of this ingenious eſſay was Dr. Campbell.

We were in hopes of communicating to our readers ſome farther intelligence concerning our author's moſt early publications; but the materials not having been ſent to us in time, we muſt be contented with taking notice of them, if obtained, in the Addenda to be prefixed to the next volume.

* For the materials of this Article, we are wholly indebted to Mr. William Canton, ſon of Mr. John Canton.

** [CANTON (JOHN)*, an ingenious natural philoſopher of the preſent century, was born at Stroud, in Glouceſterſhire, on the 31ſt of July, 1718, old ſtile; and was placed, when young, under the care of a Mr. Davis, of the ſame place, a very able mathematician, with whom, before he attained the age of nine years, he had gone through both vulgar and decimal arithmetic. He then proceeded to the mathematics, and particularly to algebra and aſtronomy, wherein he had made a conſiderable progreſs, when his father took him from ſchool, and put him to learn his own buſineſs, which was that of a broad-cloth weaver. This circumſtance was not able to damp his zeal for the acquiſition of knowledge. All his leiſure time was devoted to the aſſiduous cultivation of aſtronomical ſcience; and, by the help of the Caroline Tables, annexed to Wing's Aſtronomy, he computed eclipſes of the moon and other phænomena. His acquaintance with that ſcience he applied, likewiſe, to the conſtructing of ſeveral kinds of dials. But the ſtudies of our young philoſopher being frequently purſued to very late hours, his father, fearing that they would injure his health, forbad him the uſe of a candle in his chamber, any longer than for the purpoſe of going to bed, and would himſelf often ſee that his injunction was obeyed. The ſon's thirſt of knowledge was, however, ſo great, that it made him attempt to evade the prohibition, and to find means of ſecreting his light till the family had retired to reſt, when he roſe to proſecute undiſturbed his favourite purſuits. It was during this prohibition, and at theſe hours, that he computed, and cut upon ſtone, with no better an inſtrument than a common knife, the lines of a large upright ſun-dial, on which, beſides the hour of the day, was ſhewn the riſing of the ſun, his place in the ecliptic, and ſome other particulars. When this was finiſhed, and made known to his father, he permitted it to be placed againſt the front of his houſe, where it excited the admiration of ſeveral gentlemen in the neighbourhood, and introduced young Mr. Canton to their acquaintance, which was

followed by the offer of the uſe of their libraries. In the library of one of theſe gentlemen, he found Martin's Philoſophical Grammar, which was the firſt book that gave him a taſte for Natural Philoſophy. In the poſſeſſion of another gentleman, a few miles from Stroud, he firſt ſaw a pair of globes; an object that afforded him uncommon pleaſure, from the great eaſe with which he could ſolve thoſe problems he had hitherto been accuſtomed to compute. The dial was beautified a few years ago, at the expence of the Gentlemen at Stroud, ſeveral of whom had been his ſchool-fellows, and who continued ſtill to regard it as very diſtinguiſhed performance. Among other perſons with whom he became acquainted in early life, was the late Reverend and ingenious Dr. Henry Miles of Tooting, a learned and reſpectable member of the Royal Society, and of approved eminence in natural knowledge. This gentleman, perceiving that Mr. Canton poſſeſſed abilities too promiſing to be confined within the narrow limits of a country town, prevailed on his father to permit him to come to London. Accordingly, he arrived at the metropolis on the 14th of March, 1737, and reſided with Dr. Miles*, at Tooting, till the ſixth of May following; when he articled himſelf, for the term of five years, as a clerk to Mr. Samuel Watkins, maſter of the academy in Spital-Square. In this ſituation, his ingenuity, diligence, and good conduct, were ſo well diſplayed, that, on the expiration of his clerkſhip, in the month of May, 1742, he was taken into partnerſhip with Mr. Watkins for three years; which gentleman he afterwards ſucceeded in Spital-Square, and there continued during his whole life. On the 25th of December, 1744, he married Penelope, the eldeſt daughter of Mr. Thomas Colebrooke, and niece to James Colebrooke, Eſq; Banker in London.

* Dr. Miles, at his death, left all his philoſophical inſtruments to Mr. Canton.

Towards the end of the year 1745, Electricity, which ſeems early to have engaged Mr. Canton's notice, received a very capital improvement by the diſcovery of the famous Leyden Phial. This event turned the thoughts of moſt of the Philoſophers of Europe to that branch of Natural Philoſophy; and our author, who was one of the firſt to repeat and to purſue the experiment, found his aſſiduity and attention rewarded by many capital diſcoveries. Dr. William Watſon, whoſe early and diſtinguiſhed proſecution of electrical enquiries is well known, mentions, in a paper read at the Royal Society, on the 30th of October, 1746 (*a*), an experiment of Mr. Canton's, to determine the quantity of electricity accumulated in the Leyden Phial. Taking the charged phial in one hand, he made it give a ſpark to an inſulated conductor, which ſpark he took off with his other hand. This operation he repeated till the whole was diſcharged; and by the number of the ſparks, he eſtimated the height of the charge. He found, likewiſe, that if a charged phial was placed upon electrics, the wire and the coating would give a ſpark or two alternately, and that by continuing the operation the phial would be diſcharged. Dr. Prieſtley has taken notice, that this diſcovery has a near affinity to the great diſcovery of Dr. Franklin (*b*). Mr. Canton, however, did not at that time obſerve, that the alternate ſparks proceed from the two contrary electricities. In the Gentleman's Magazine for January, 1747, he publiſhed two electrical problems (*c*). Towards the end of the year 1749, he was concerned with his friend, the late ingenious Benjamin Robins, Eſq; in making experiments in order to determine to what height rockets may be made to aſcend, and at what diſtance their light may be ſeen [*A*]. On the 17th of January, 1750, was read at the Royal Society, Mr. Canton's 'Method of making *Artificial Magnets*, without the uſe of, and yet far ſuperior to any *natural* ones [*B*].' This paper, which had been written ſome time before,

(*a*) Phil. Tranſ. vol. xliv. p. 730

(*b*) Hiſt. of Electricity, vol. i. p. 122. third edition.

(*c*) Gent. Mag. vol. xvii. p. 16.

[*A*] *In order to determine to what height rockets may be made to aſcend, and at what diſtance their lights may be ſeen.*] The firſt trial was on the 29th of September that year, when about a dozen rockets, made by a perſon many years employed in the Royal Laboratory at Woolwich, were fired from London Field, Hackney. The heights to which they aſcended were meaſured by Mr. Canton, (Mr. Robins being preſent) at the diſtance of 1200 yards from the poſt from whence they were fired. They roſe in general to about 400 yards, and the higheſt to about 600 yards, and were ſeen by different perſons, ſtationed on purpoſe, at the diſtance of 35 miles. Some more trials were made on the 12th of October following, at the ſame place, when the rockets roſe to nearly the ſame heights with the former, excepting one, which was obſerved to riſe 690 yards. On the 2d of April, 1750, ſome rockets, conſtructed by Mr. Banks and Mr. Samuel Da Coſta of Devonſhire Square, were fired off, when ſeveral of the latter gentleman's roſe to 1000 yards, and one to 1200 yards. The heights to which theſe aſcended were likewiſe all taken by Mr. Canton (1).

(1) Philoſoph. Tranſ. vol. xlvi. p. 578.

[*B*] *Method of making artificial magnets, &c.*] Having procured a dozen bars, ſix of ſoft ſteel, each three inches long, $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch broad, and $\frac{1}{20}$ of an inch thick, with two pieces of iron, each half the length of one of the bars, but of the ſame breadth and thickneſs; and ſix of hard ſteel, each $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch broad, and $\frac{3}{20}$ of an inch thick, with two pieces of iron of half the length, but the whole breadth and thickneſs of one of the hard bars: they were all marked quite round them at one end.

Then having fixed one of the ſoft bars with a piece of ſewing ſilk, near the top of a poker, (which was held upright between the knees) with its marked end downwards; with a pair of tongs held nearly in a vertical poſition, the bar was ſtroked by the lower end from the bottom to the top, about ten times on each ſide, which gave it a magnetic power ſufficient to lift a ſmall key at the marked end: which end, if the bar was ſuſpended on a point, would turn toward the north, and is therefore called the north pole of the bar.

Four of the ſoft bars having been impregnated after this manner, the other two were laid parallel to each other, at the diſtance of about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch, between the two pieces of iron belonging to them, a north and a ſouth pole againſt each piece of iron: then

fore, would ſooner have been communicated to the Society, had not our author apprehended, that the publication of it might be injurious to Dr. Gowen Knight, who procured conſiderable pecuniary advantages by touching needles for the Mariner's Compaſs, and kept his method a ſecret. But Mr. Canton having ſhewn his experiments to Martin Folkes, Eſq; that gentleman was of opinion, that a diſcovery of ſuch general utility to mankind, ought not to be withheld from the public on any private conſideration. Accordingly, our Philoſopher ſoon afterwards gave it to the Royal Society, and exhibited before that learned body the main experiment itſelf, together with ſome others relative to the ſame ſubject, all which ſucceeded greatly to their ſatisfaction. Mr. Canton's paper upon this occaſion procured him, on the 22d of March, 1750, the honour of being elected a member of the Society; and, on the St. Andrew's day following, the farther honour of receiving the moſt diſtinguiſhed teſtimony of their approbation, in the preſent of their gold medal. On the 21ſt of April, in the ſame year, he was complimented with the Degree of Maſter of Arts, by the Univerſity of Aberdeen; and, on the 30th of November, 1751, he was choſen one of the Council of the Royal Society.

In 1752, when the act paſſed for changing the ſtile, Mr. Canton gave to the Earl of Macclesfield ſeveral memorial canons for finding Leap-year, the Dominical Letter, the Epact, &c. This he did with the view of having them inſerted in the Common Prayer Book; but he happened to be too late in his communication, the form in which they now ſtand having been previouſly ſettled. Theſe canons, with an explication of the reaſons of the rules, were afterwards given to the Reverend Dr. Jennings, who was thankful for the permiſſion of inſerting them in his Introduction to the Uſe of the Globes.

On the 20th of July, 1752, our Philoſopher was ſo fortunate as to be the firſt perſon in England, who, by attracting the electric fire from the clouds during a thunder ſtorm, verified Dr. Franklin's hypotheſis of the ſimilarity of lightning and electricity. Mr. Canton's ſucceſs was owing to his precaution in faſtening a tin cover to his apparatus, in order to ſecure the glaſs tube, which ſupported it, from rain. By this means he was enabled to get ſparks at the diſtance of half an inch; but the appearance ceaſed in the ſpace of two minutes. On the 6th of December, 1753, his paper, entitled, 'Electrical Ex-'periments, with an attempt to account for their ſeveral Phænomena,' was read at the Royal Society. The experiments in this communication tend to prove, that the electrical fluid, when there is a redundancy of it in any body, repels the electrical fluid in any other body when they are brought within the ſphere of each others influence, and drives it into the remote parts of the body, or quite out of it, if there be any outlet for that purpoſe: in other words, that bodies immerged in electrical atmoſpheres, always become poſſeſſed of the electricity contrary to that of the body in the atmoſphere of which they are immerged. At the time of making theſe experiments, Mr. Canton was of opinion, with Dr. Franklin, that excited glaſs emits the electric fluid, but that excited wax receives it. Afterwards, however, he ſaw reaſon to think, that electric atmoſpheres are not made of effluvia from excited or electrified bodies, but that they are only an alteration of the ſtate of the electric fluid contained in, or belonging to the air ſurrounding them, to a certain diſtance: excited glaſs, for inſtance, repels the electric fluid from it, and conſequently beyond that diſtance makes it more denſe; whereas excited wax attracts the electric fluid exiſting in the air nearer to it, making it rarer than it was before. In the ſame paper, Mr. Canton mentioned, likewiſe, his having diſcovered, by a great number of experiments, that ſome clouds were in a poſitive, and ſome in a negative

then taking two of the four bars already made magnetical, they were placed together ſo as to make a double bar in thickneſs, the north pole of one, even with the ſouth pole of the other: the remaining two were then put to theſe, one on each ſide, ſo as to have two north, and two ſouth poles together. The north poles were then ſeparated by a large pin from the ſouth poles, and placed perpendicularly with that end downward, on the middle of one of the parallel bars, the two north poles towards its ſouth, and the two ſouth poles towards its north end: they were then ſlid backward and forward three or four times the whole length of the bar, and being removed from the middle of this, they were placed on the middle of the other bar, in the ſame manner as before, which was gone over in the ſame manner. Then the bars being turned the other ſide upward, the former operation was repeated; which being done, the two were taken from between the pieces of iron, and the two outermoſt of the touching bars being placed in their room, the remaining two were made the outermoſt of the four to touch theſe with: and this proceſs was repeated till each pair of bars had been touched three or four times over, which gave them a conſiderable magnetic power. The half dozen were then put together after the manner of the four, and with them two pair of the hard bars (placed between their irons at the diſtance of about $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch from each other) were touched, the ſoft bars being then laid aſide, and the remaining two hard bars, were impregnated by the four above-mentioned; and the ſame method was obſerved as with the ſoft bars, till each pair had been touched two or three times over, which gave them nearly as much magnetic virtue as they were capable of receiving.

The firſt hint of uſing the poker and tongs to communicate magnetiſm to ſteel bars was taken, from Mr. Canton's obſerving them one evening, as he was ſitting by the fire, to be nearly in the ſame direction with reſpect to the earth as the dipping needle. He thence concluded, that they muſt from that poſition, and the frequent blows they receive, have acquired ſome magnetic virtue, which on trial he found to be the caſe; and therefore he employed them to impregnate his bars, inſtead of having recourſe to the natural loadſtone.

ſtate of electricity. Dr. Franklin, much about the ſame time, made the like diſcovery in America. This circumſtance, together with our author's conſtant defence of the Doctor's hypotheſis, induced that excellent philoſopher, immediately on his arrival in England, to pay Mr. Canton a viſit, and gave riſe to a friendſhip which ever after continued without interruption or diminution. On the 14th of November, 1754, was read at the Royal Society, 'A letter to the Right Honourable the Earl of Macclesfield, 'concerning ſome new electrical experiments.' Till the publication of this letter, the ſame electricity had always been produced by the ſame electric. The friction of glaſs had always produced a poſitive, and the friction of ſealing-wax, &c. a negative electricity. Theſe were thought to be eſſential and unchangeable properties of thoſe ſubſtances. But Mr. Canton diſcovered, that it depended wholly on the rubber, and the ſurface of the electric, whether the electricity produced ſhould be poſitive or negative [*C*]. On St. Andrew's day, 1754, he was a ſecond time elected one of the Council of the Royal Society for the year enſuing. In the Lady's Diary for 1756, our author anſwered the prize queſtion that had been propoſed in the preceding year. The queſtion was, 'How can what we call the *ſhooting of ſtars* be beſt accounted for; what 'is the ſubſtance of this phænomenon; and in what ſtate of the atmoſphere doth it 'moſt frequently ſhew itſelf?' The ſolution, though anonymous, was ſo ſatisfactory to his friend, Mr. Thomas Simpſon, who then conducted that work, that he ſent Mr. Canton the prize, accompanied with a note, in which he ſaid, he was ſure that he was not miſtaken in the author of it, as no one beſides, that he knew of, could have anſwered the queſtion. Our philoſopher's next communication to the public, was a letter in the Gentleman's Magazine for September, 1759, on the electrical properties of the tourmalin, in which the laws of that wonderful ſtone are laid down in a very conciſe and elegant manner [*D*]. On the 13th of December, in the ſame year, was read, at the Royal Society, 'An Attempt to account for the regular diurnal variation of the 'Horizontal Magnetic Needle; and alſo for its irregular variation at the time of an 'Aurora Borealis.' In this paper, Mr. Canton proves, by experiments, that the attractive power of the magnet (whether natural or artificial) will *decreaſe* while the magnet is heating, and *increaſe* while it is cooling [*E*]. A complete year's obſervations of the

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Now the weight of the atmoſphere preſſing on the outſide of the ball, and not on the inſide, will ſqueeze it into leſs compaſs; and by this compreſſion of the ball, the mercury and the water will be equally raiſed in the tube: but the water is found by the experiments above related to riſe $\frac{11}{100}$ of an inch more than the mercury: and therefore the water muſt expand ſo much more than the mercury, by removing the weight of the atmoſphere. From other experiments he found (by repeated trials) that when the heat of the air has been about 50 degrees, and the mercury at a mean height in the barometer, the water will expand one part in 21740, by removing the weight of the atmoſphere; and will be as much compreſſed under the weight of an additional atmoſphere.

[*H*] *Experiments and obſervations on the compreſſibility of water, and ſome other fluids.*] By ſimilar experiments with thoſe related in the former paper, it appears that water has the remarkable property of being more compreſſible in winter than in ſummer, which is contrary to what Mr. Canton had obſerved both in ſpirit of wine, and oil of olives; theſe fluids being (as one would expect water to be) more compreſſible when expanded by heat, and leſs ſo when contracted by cold. Water he found, when Fahrenheit's thermometer ſtood at 34°, to be compreſſed by the mean weight of the atmoſphere 49 parts in a million of its whole bulk, and ſpirit of wine 60 parts. But when the thermometer has been at 64 degrees, the ſame weight would compreſs the water no more than 44 parts in a million, and the ſpirit of wine no leſs than 71 of the ſame parts.

Theſe fluids are not only compreſſible but alſo elaſtic: and that this does not ariſe from any air they may contain is evident; becauſe their expanſion, by removing the weight of the atmoſphere, is not greater than their compreſſion by an equal additional weight: whereas air will expand twice as much by removing half the weight of the atmoſphere, as it will be compreſſed by adding the whole weight of the atmoſphere.

It may alſo be worth obſerving, that the compreſſions of theſe fluids, by the ſame weight, are not in the inverſe ratio of their denſities or ſpecific gravities, as might be ſuppoſed. The compreſſion of ſpirit of wine, for inſtance, being compared with that of rain-water, is *greater* than in this proportion, and the compreſſion of ſea-water is *leſs*.

Cavendiſh,

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[*G*] *Theſe experiments are a complete refutation of the famous Florentine experiment, which ſo many philoſophical writers have mentioned as a proof of the incompreſſibility of water.*] Our author having procured a ſmall glaſs tube, of about two feet in length, with a ball at one end of it, he filled the ball and part of the tube with mercury; and the place where the mercury, which ſtood in the tube in the heat of 50 degrees, was carefully marked. The mercury was then raiſed by heat to the top of the tube, and the tube ſealed hermetically; and when the mercury was brought to the ſame degree of heat as before, it ſtood in the tube $\frac{32}{100}$ of an inch higher than the mark.

The ſame ball and part of the tube was afterwards filled with water exhauſted of air inſtead of mercury; and treated exactly in the ſame manner as the mercury: and when the water was brought to its firſt degree of heat, it ſtood in the tube $\frac{43}{100}$ of an inch above the mark.

Now the weight of the atmoſphere preſſing on the outſide of the ball, and not on the inſide, will ſqueeze it into leſs compaſs; and by this compreſſion of the ball, the mercury and the water will be equally raiſed in the tube: but the water is found by the experiments above related to riſe $\frac{11}{100}$ of an inch more than the mercury: and therefore the water muſt expand ſo much more than the mercury, by removing the weight of the atmoſphere. From other experiments he found (by repeated trials) that when the heat of the air has been about 50 degrees, and the mercury at a mean height in the barometer, the water will expand one part in 21740, by removing the weight of the atmoſphere; and will be as much compreſſed under the weight of an additional atmoſphere.

[*H*] *Experiments and obſervations on the compreſſibility of water, and ſome other fluids.*] By ſimilar experiments with thoſe related in the former paper, it appears that water has the remarkable property of being more compreſſible in winter than in ſummer, which is contrary to what Mr. Canton had obſerved both in ſpirit of wine, and oil of olives; theſe fluids being (as one would expect water to be) more compreſſible when expanded by heat, and leſs ſo when contracted by cold. Water he found, when Fahrenheit's thermometer ſtood at 34°, to be compreſſed by the mean weight of the atmoſphere 49 parts in a million of its whole bulk, and ſpirit of wine 60 parts. But when the thermometer has been at 64 degrees, the ſame weight would compreſs the water no more than 44 parts in a million, and the ſpirit of wine no leſs than 71 of the ſame parts.

Theſe fluids are not only compreſſible but alſo elaſtic: and that this does not ariſe from any air they may contain is evident; becauſe their expanſion, by removing the weight of the atmoſphere, is not greater than their compreſſion by an equal additional weight: whereas air will expand twice as much by removing half the weight of the atmoſphere, as it will be compreſſed by adding the whole weight of the atmoſphere.

It may alſo be worth obſerving, that the compreſſions of theſe fluids, by the ſame weight, are not in the inverſe ratio of their denſities or ſpecific gravities, as might be ſuppoſed. The compreſſion of ſpirit of wine, for inſtance, being compared with that of rain-water, is *greater* than in this proportion, and the compreſſion of ſea-water is *leſs*.

Cavendiſh,

Cavendiſh, Iſrael Mauduit, Eſq; Matthew Raper, Eſq; Mr. John Ellicott, Dr. William Watſon, Dr. Charles Morton, Mr. James Short, Dr. Benjamin Franklin, George Lewis Scott, Eſq; Edward Delaval, Eſq; and Francis Blake, Eſq. The Committee, than which a more reſpectable one could not eaſily have been choſen, were to report the reſult of their trials, together with their opinions, to the Council. The Council, at the ſame time, deſired the Preſident to requeſt, that thoſe members who had any objections to offer againſt Mr. Canton's experiments on the compreſſibility of water, or the theory deduced from them, would deliver ſuch objections in *writing*. The experiments were ſhewn by our philoſopher, at his own houſe, to the Committee. To Lord Morton they were exhibited ſeveral times; his Lordſhip having conſtantly ſome new objection to make, though he always expreſſed himſelf ſatisfied with them at the period of exhibition. But a ball, filled with mercury, having accidentally fallen upon, and hurt the foot of Mr. Mauduit, who accompanied the Earl of Morton, Mr. Canton took that opportunity of informing his Lordſhip, that if, after having ſeen the experiments repeated ſo often, he ſtill doubted of the fact, he deſpaired of convincing him; and ſhould, therefore, give himſelf no farther concern about the matter, but would leave the paper to ſhift for itſelf. It met, however, with a moſt able defender in Lord Charles Cavendiſh, who intereſted himſelf greatly in the affair. His Lordſhip attended all the meetings of the Committee; and gave a very accurate account of their proceedings in a paper delivered to the Council, in which he anſwered, with great perſpicuity, every difficulty that had been raiſed with regard to the doctrine of the compreſſibility. Notwithſtanding the requeſt of the Council, none but verbal objections were made. The Committee came, therefore, to the following reſolution: That in forming their opinion on the merits of Mr. Canton's experiments, they could pay no regard to any objections that were not delivered in writing. Having met ſeveral times, from the 6th of July 1765, to the 21ſt of November in the ſame year, they made their report in the three ſubſequent articles. 1. The Committee, from repeated trials, find Mr. Canton's experiments verified. 2. The hypotheſis of the compreſſibility of water will account for the phænomena in Mr. Canton's experiments. 3. It does not appear, from any reaſoning or experiments hitherto produced to the Committee, that the phænomena in Mr. Canton's experiments can be accounted for from any other cauſe. In conſequence of this report, the Council *unanimouſly* voted him the gold medal, which was accordingly delivered to him on the 30th of November, 1765.

The next communication of our ingenious author to the Royal Society, which we ſhall take notice of in this place, was on the 22d of December, 1768, being 'An 'eaſy method of making a Phoſphorus, that will imbibe and emit light like the 'Bolognian ſtone; with experiments and obſervations [*I*].' When he firſt ſhewed

[*I*] *An eaſy method of making a Phoſphorus, that will imbibe and emit light like the Bolognian ſtone; with experiments and obſervations.*] The Phoſphorus is thus made. Calcine ſome common oyſter-ſhells, by keeping them in a good coal fire for half an hour; let the pureſt part of the calx be pulverized and ſifted; mix with three parts of this powder one part of the flowers of ſulphur; let this mixture be rammed into a crucible of about an inch and a half in depth, till it be almoſt full; and let it be placed in the middle of the fire, where it muſt be kept red hot for one hour at leaſt, and then ſet by to cool: when cold, turn it out of the crucible, and cutting, or breaking it to pieces, ſcrape off, upon trial, the brighteſt parts; which, if good phoſphorus, will be a white powder; and may be preſerved by keeping it in a dry phial with a ground ſtopple. The quantity of light a little of this phoſphorus gives, when firſt brought into a dark room, after it has been expoſed for a few ſeconds, on the outſide of a window to the common light of the day, is ſufficient to diſcover the time by a watch, if the eyes have been ſhut, or in the dark for two or three minutes before.

According to Dr. Lemery, the expoſing the Bolognian ſtone to the ſun wears it out; but by experiments made with this phoſphorus, it appears probable that what the Doctor imputes to the light of the ſun was cauſed by the moiſture of the air. Lemery and Muſſchenbroek likewiſe aſſert, that the phoſphorus will imbibe leſs light when hot than when cold, as it appears leſs bright when carried into a dark room. But this appearance is proved to be cauſed by its parting with the light it has received faſter when in the former ſtate than when in the latter. For if two glaſs balls, containing phoſphorus, be illuminated at the ſame time, and to the ſame degree, and carried into a dark room, and one of them be put into a baſon of boiling water, it will become much brighter than the other, and part with its light ſo faſt, as to be quite dark in leſs than ten minutes; whereas the other would be viſible for more than two hours, when even the heat of the hand would plainly increaſe its light. But if the phoſphorus, which had parted with its light in boiling water, be expoſed to a greater degree of heat, it will become again luminous, but will be entirely exhauſted of it in leſs than a minute; and then will ſhine no more by the ſame treatment, till after it has been expoſed to the light again. Phoſphorus, which had been kept in darkneſs more than ſix months, will, by this treatment, be found to give a conſiderable degree of light. From theſe experiments Mr. Canton is of opinion with Sir Iſaac Newton, that the rays of light are very ſmall bodies emitted from ſhining ſubſtances, and not motion propagated through a fluid medium. For, that a ſubſtance ſhould either give light or not, when its parts are agitated by the ſame degree of heat, according as it has, or has not, been expoſed to light, for a few ſeconds of time, more than ſix months before, ſeems plainly to indicate a ſtrong attraction between that ſubſtance and the particles of light; by which it keeps many of them, in the common heat of the air, a long time, if not always: for the light the phoſphorus gives by being heated to a certain degree, appears to be cauſed by its throwing off adventitious particles, and not by any of its own; ſince its light will decreaſe, and be entirely gone, before the phoſphorus will be hot enough to ſhine of itſelf, or to emit particles of light from its own body.

to

to Dr. Franklin the inſtantaneous light acquired by ſome of this phoſphorus from the near diſcharge of an electrified bottle, the Doctor immediately exclaimed, "And God "ſaid, let there be light, and there was light." The Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's having, in a letter to the Preſident, dated March the 6th, 1769, requeſted the opinion of the Royal Society relative to the beſt and moſt effectual method of fixing electrical conductors to preſerve that Cathedral from damage by lightning, Mr. Canton was one of the Committee appointed to take the letter into conſideration, and to report their opinion upon it. The gentlemen joined with him in this buſineſs were Dr. Watſon, Dr. Franklin, Mr. Delaval, and Mr. Wilſon. Their report was made on the 8th of June following; and the mode recommended by them has been carried into execution. This will probably contribute, in the moſt effectual manner, to preſerve the noble fabric of St. Paul's from being injured by lightning. The laſt paper of our author's, which was read before the Royal Society, was on the 21ſt of December, 1769; and contained 'Experiments to prove that the luminouſneſs of the ſea ariſes from the 'putrefaction of its animal ſubſtances.' In this paper, Mr. Canton, without entering into the conſideration of the ſeveral opinions of philoſophers concerning this luminous appearance, contents himſelf with relating a few experiments, which any perſon may eaſily make, and which he thinks will point out its true cauſe [*K*]. In the account now given of his communications to the public, we have chiefly confined ourſelves to ſuch as were the moſt important, and which threw new and diſtinguiſhed light on various objects in the philoſophical world. Beſides theſe, he wrote a number of papers, both in earlier and in later life, which appeared in ſeveral different publications, and ſhall be mentioned in the note below [*L*]. We may add, that he was very particular with

[*K*] *And which he thinks will point out its true cauſe.*] Into a gallon of ſea-water, in a pan about fourteen inches in diameter, he put in the evening a ſmall freſh whiting, and took notice that neither the whiting, nor the water, when agitated, gave any light. The next night that part of the fiſh which was even with the ſurface of the water was luminous, but the water itſelf was dark. The end of a ſtick being drawn through the water, it appeared luminous all the way behind it, but gave light only where diſturbed. When all the water was ſtirred, the whole became luminous, and appeared like milk. The water was moſt luminous when the fiſh had been in it about twenty-eight hours, but could not give any light by being ſtirred after it had been in three days.

Having put a gallon of freſh water into one pan, and a gallon of ſea-water into another, a freſh herring was put into each; the next night the whole ſurface of the ſea-water was luminous without being ſtirred, but much more ſo when put in motion; and the upper part of the herring, which lay conſiderably below the ſurface of the water, was very bright. The freſh water, and the fiſh in it, were both dark. There were ſeveral very bright luminous ſpots on different parts of the ſurface of the ſea water; and the whole, when viewed by the light of a candle, ſeemed covered with a greaſy ſcum. The light of the ſea water was not quite gone before the ſeventh night; but the freſh water, and fiſh in it, were perfectly during the whole time. The thermometer was generally above ſixty.

Into a gallon of freſh water common or ſea ſalt was put, till by an hydrometer it was found to be of the ſame ſpecific gravity with ſea water. In another gallon of freſh water two pounds of ſalt were diſſolved: and into each of theſe a ſmall freſh Herring was put. The artificial ſea water appeared exactly like the real in the preceding experiment; its light laſted about the ſame time, and went off in the ſame manner. The other water never gave any light; and the Herring, which was taken out of it the ſeventh night, and waſhed from its ſalt, was found firm and ſweet; but the other Herring was very ſoft and putrid: much more ſo than one which had been kept as long in freſh water. From theſe experiments, it is evident that the quantity of ſalt in ſea water haſtens putrefaction, as the fiſh which had been kept in water of that degree of ſaltneſs, was found to be much more putrid than that which had been kept the ſame time in freſh water. It may be worth remarking, that, though the greateſt ſummer heat is well known to promote putrefaction, yet twenty degrees more than that of the human blood ſeem to hinder it: for the heat of one hundred and eighteen degrees was found to deſtroy the luminouſneſs of fiſh in leſs than half a minute. The paper concludes with ſome circumſtantial accounts of the ſea's luminous appearance.

[*L*] *And ſhall be mentioned in the note below.*] In the Ladies Diary for 1739, 'The time and quantity 'of an eclipſe of the moon.' In the Gentleman's Magazine for January 1739, 'A queſtion on the 'cauſe of the thunder and lightning which happened 'on the fourth of that month.' In ditto for Auguſt 1739, 'The number of Mr. Whitfield's hearers cal-'culated.' In ditto for September 1739, 'The 'number of Mr. Whitfield's hearers juſtified.' In the Ladies Diary for 1740, 'The time and quantity 'of two eclipſes of the moon.' In the Gentleman's Magazine for October 1748, 'A letter to Mr. 'Urban, on the remarkable variation of heat and 'cold in Fahrenheit's thermometer.' In ditto for December 1748, 'Obſervations on the common ther-'mometer, &c.' In ditto for June 1752, 'The 'true length of the year determined by ſcripture 'data, in imitation of the Rev. Mr. John Kennedy.' In the Philoſophical Tranſactions, vol. xlvii. p. 568, 'Part of a letter to Mr. Watſon, on extracting elec-'trical fire from the clouds.' In the ſupplement to Martin's Magazine for 1760, 'A letter to the au-'thor, on the electricity of a mop-ſtick.' In the Gentleman's Magazine for September 1761, 'A 'letter ſigned Indigator, occaſioned by a ſuppoſed 'accidental diſcovery of an attraction between tallow 'and the magnetic needle, mentioned in the pre-'ceding Magazine for Auguſt.' In ditto for November 1761, 'Another letter ſigned Indagator, 'occaſioned by Mr. Chapple's in that for October, 'on the ſuppoſed attraction between tallow, &c.' In the Gentleman's Magazine for December of the ſame year, Mr. Chapple takes notice of a letter ſent to him at Powderham Caſtle, near Exeter, againſt his imagined attraction between tallow and the magnetic needle, ſigned Amicus. This came from the ſame hand as thoſe ſigned Indagator. In the Gazetteer for June the 8th, 1764, 'A letter to the 'printer, concerning the appearance of Venus in the 'day time; ſigned Aſtronomus.' In the Philoſophical Tranſactions, vol. liv. p. 208, 'An account 'of melting ſmall braſs-wire, by artificial lightning 'from a caſe of thirty-five bottles.' In ditto, vol. lvii. p. 203, 'Obſervations on the heat of Bath 'and Briſtol water.' In Dr. Owen's enquiry into the preſent ſtate of the ſeptuagint verſion of the Old Teſtament, p. 136, 'A ſcheme to reconcile the

with regard to the neatneſs and elegance of his apparatus; and that his addreſs in conducting his experiments was remarkably conſpicuous.

The cloſe and ſedentary life of Mr. Canton, ariſing from an unremitted attention to the duties of his profeſſion, and to the proſecution of his philoſophical enquiries and experiments, probably contributed to ſhorten his days. The diſorder into which he fell, and which carried him off, was a dropſy. It was ſuppoſed, by his friend Dr. Milner, to be a dropſy in the thorax. His death was on the 22d of March, 1772, in the 54th year of his age, to the great regret of his family, and of his literary and other acquaintance. Nor was his deceaſe a ſmall loſs to the intereſts of knowledge; ſince from the time of life in which he died, and his happy and ſucceſsful genius in philoſophical purſuits, he might have been expected to have enriched the world of ſcience with new diſcoveries. Mr. Canton was a man of very amiable character and manners. In converſation he was calm, mild, and rather ſparing than redundant: what he did ſay was remarkably ſenſible and judicious. He had much pleaſure in attending the meetings of the Royal Society, and ſome voluntary private ſocieties, of learned and intelligent perſons, to which he belonged. Among the reſt of his friends whom he frequently met at one or other of theſe ſocieties, may be mentioned Dr. Bradley, Mr. Thomas Simpſon, Dr. Pemberton, the Rev. Dr. Owen, the Rev. Mr. Thoreſby, Dr. Franklin, Dr. Price, Dr. Prieſtley, Dr. Savage, Mr. Burgh, Mr. Roſe, Dr. Amory, Dr. Jeffries, Dr. Furneaux, Mr. Radcliff, Mr. Denſham, Mr. Collings, and Dr. Rees. At moſt of theſe agreeable and literary converſations, the writer of the preſent article had many years the happineſs of knowing and eſteeming the underſtanding and the virtues of Mr. Canton. By his wife, who ſurvived him, he left ſeveral children. His eldeſt ſon, Mr. William Canton, ſucceeded him in the academy at Spital-Square, which he carries on with great reputation; and he alſo purſues with advantage, the ſame philoſophical ſtudies to which his ingenious and worthy father was ſo eminently devoted.] K.

' fourth and fifth verſes of the thirty-fifth chapter of ' the book of Numbers.' See the appendix to that work, p. 174. In the Philoſophical Tranſactions, vol. lix. p. 192, ' A letter to the Aſtronomer Royal, ' containing obſervations on the tranſit of Venus, ' June the 3d, 1769; and on the eclipſe of the ſun ' the next morning.' In the Gazetteer for October 31, 1770, ' A card from Aſtronomus to Coper- ' nicus.' When Dr. Prieſtley wrote his Hiſtory of Electricity, Mr. Canton communicated to him ſeveral new experiments and obſervations, which are inſerted in that very valuable work. They are as follows: 1. On electric atmoſpheres, with a figure, p. 246. 2. On glaſs-balls hermetically ſealed, p. 279. 3. Obſervations on Mr. Wilſon's experiment concerning light in vacuo, p. 289. 4. On the tourmalin, p. 305. 5. Compariſon of the poſitive and negative electricity in the clouds, p. 316. 6. A new method of electrifying the air, p. 196. 7. Gold and ſilver vitrified by the heat of electrical exploſions, p. 647. 8. All the priſmatic colours produced by electrical exploſions of fine wire of different metals, extended over the ſurface of glaſs, p. 679. See alſo the Philoſophical Tranſactions, vol. lviii. p. 73. In Dr. Prieſtley's hiſtory of viſion, &c. p. 434, are obſervations, by our author, on light tranſmitted through thick and thin ſubſtances. We might add, that Mr. Canton, in early life, wrote ſeveral enigmas and poems in the London and Gentleman's Magazines. But ſuch productions, though ſometimes the amuſements of the moſt ingenious minds when young, ſcarce deſerve to be particularly marked out.

CAPEL (ARTHUR) created Baron Capel of Hadham in 1641, was the ſon of Sir Henry Capel, Knight [*A*], and Theodoſia, ſiſter to Edward Lord Montagu, of Boughton, and to Henry Earl of Mancheſter (*a*). What ſchool and Univerſity he was educated in, is no where mentioned; but there is reaſon to think, that he had an education ſuitable to his quality and fortune. At his firſt appearance into the world, he became very eminent for his piety [*B*], hoſpitality to his neighbours, and great charity to the poor; which ſo endeared him to the people, that he was choſen one of the Knights for Hertfordſhire (*b*), in the Parliament which met at Weſtminſter, April 13, 1640 (*c*). The ſixteenth of that month, he delivered a petition from the Freeholders of the county of Hertford, complaining of ſhip-money, projects, monopolies, Star-Chamber, High-Commiſſion-Courts, &c. being the firſt of that kind which was preſented to the Houſe (*d*): from whence it may be inferred, that he was a true lover of his country, and an enemy to oppreſſions of all ſorts. This Parliament being ſoon after (*e*) abruptly diſſolved, Mr. Capel was unanimouſly choſen again one of the Knights for the county of Hertford, in the Long Parliament, which began November 3, 1640 (*f*).

(*a*) Peerage of England, &c. by A. Collins, Lond. 1735, 8vo. vol. ii. P. i. p. 272. Hiſt. of Eſſex by N. Tindal, in Rayne parva, No. ii. p. 82. Britiſh Compen. in Capel Earl of Eſſex.

(*b*) Collins, and Tindal, *ibid.*

(*c*) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, &c. Part ii. vol. ii. edit. 1680, p. 1107.

(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 1127, 1128.

(*e*) *Viz.* May 5

(*f*) Ruſhworth, Part iii. vol. i.

[*A*] *Was the ſon of Sir Henry Capel, Knight.*] The firſt that laid the foundation of riches, for ſupporting the honour of this family, was, William Capel, of London, Draper, knighted in 1485, Sheriff in 1489, and Lord Mayor of London in 1503 (1); being the ſecond ſon of John Capel, of Stoke-Neyland, in the county of Suffolk, Eſq; deſcended from an ancient family, who were Lords of the Manor of Capel in that town for ſeveral ages. Sir William ſuffered, among others, from the extortions of Empſon and Dudley, to whom he was forced to pay 2000l. and refuſing to pay them 1000l. more, was committed to the Tower, but ſoon after releaſed upon the death of King Henry VII. He died, immenſely rich, September 6, 1515, and was buried in a chapel built by him on the ſouth-ſide of St. Bartholomew's church, near the Royal-Exchange, in London (2). His deſcendants were, Sir Giles Capel, Knight, who reſided at Raines-hall, in Eſſex, and was a brave warrior: Sir Henry Capel, Sir Edward, Knights; Sir Henry, Knight, who had ten children: Sir Arthur, Knight, who had nineteen. The eldeſt of them was Sir Henry, Knight, father of Arthur Lord Capel, who is the ſubject of this article. Sir Giles, Sir Edward, Sir Henry, and Sir Arthur, were ſucceſſively Sheriffs of Hertfordſhire (3).

(1) Stow's Survey of London with Strype's Additions, edit. 1720, Book v. p. 127, vol. ii.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 181. and Peerage of England by A. Collins, edit. 1735, vol. ii. P. ii. p. 270, 271.

(3) Collins, *ibid.* and Hiſt. of Hertfordſhire, by N. Salmon, Lond. 1728, p. 364.

[*B*] *He became very eminent for his piety.*] As a proof of which, he wrote a book of Meditations, publiſhed after his death (4); wherein much judicious piety may be diſcovered.

(4) Fuller's Worthies, in Hertfordſhire, p. 89.

When

When the city of London promiſed to advance an hundred thouſand pounds, for the payment of the Engliſh and Scotch armies, and wanted ſecurity for that ſum, till an Act was paſſed for the raiſing of it; he ſtood up in the Houſe, and offered his ſecurity for one thouſand pounds, and above a hundred more of the Houſe did the like (*g*). He was one of thoſe who voted for the Earl of Strafford's attainder, April 21, 1641 (*h*); of which he very much repented afterwards [*C*]. Hitherto, he had acted againſt the Court; but now he began to alter his inclinations, and to act in favour of it: either becauſe he was gained by the King, or could not come into all the violent meaſures which the Houſe of Commons were running into. In conſequence of this change, he was, on the ſixth of Auguſt 1641, advanced to the dignity of a Baron of this realm, by the title of Lord Capel of Hadham (*i*). On the fifteenth of June 1642, he ſubſcribed, at York, among ſeveral other Lords, a Declaration, wherein they teſtified, they were fully perſuaded that his Majeſty had no intention to make war upon his Parliament (*k*). Two days after, he entered into an engagement, to raiſe a hundred Horſe [*D*] for his Majeſty's uſe (*l*). In 1643, the King ſent him to Shrewſbury, with a Commiſſion of Lieutenant-General of Shropſhire, Cheſhire, and North-Wales; and his Lordſhip quickly brought thoſe parts into an Aſſociation, and raiſed a body of horſe and foot, which gave Sir William Brereton great trouble at Nantwich (*m*). The ſame year, he was named one of the Counſellors to the Prince of Wales; being deſigned to attend his perſon, with a regiment of horſe, and one of foot, which the Lord Capel was to raiſe upon his own credit and intereſt, and to have the command of (*n*). In 1644-5 he was one of the Commiſſioners for the King at the treaty of Uxbridge (*o*). The ſummer following, he was employed in the King's and Prince's ſervice in the Weſt of England, chiefly at Briſtol and Exeter, and about the ſiege of Taunton (*p*). He prevented a deſign that was formed, of ſeizing the Prince (*q*); and was very inſtrumental in preſerving and ſecuring his perſon in Pendennis-caſtle, and afterwards in Scilly-iſland (*r*): where he waited upon his Highneſs, on the eleventh of April 1646 (*s*), and the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth of that month, ſailed along with him to Jerſey (*t*). From thence he was ſent with the Lord Colepeper to Paris, to diſſuade the Queen from ſending for her ſon, the Prince of Wales, out of Jerſey (*u*). And ſo bent was he againſt that Prince's going to France, that he offered to take a journey himſelf to Newcaſtle (where King Charles then was in the hands of the Scots) to receive the King's poſitive commands about that affair (*w*): But, notwithſtanding the very material reaſons he gave againſt his Highneſs's going to France [*E*], the Queen's and Lord Digby's arguments prevailed (*x*). After the Prince's departure to France, Lord Capel remained in Jerſey, to expect the King's pleaſure, and to wait for an opportunity of appearing again in his Majeſty's ſervice (*y*). In the mean time the Houſe of Commons voted, that his eſtate ſhould be ſold to raiſe money for Ireland (*z*). In the year 1647 he left Jerſey, and made a journey to Paris to the Prince, that he might receive his Highneſs's approbation of his going for England: which having obtained, he came to Zealand, his friends having adviſed him to be in thoſe parts before they endeavoured to procure a paſs for him, which they eaſily did as ſoon as he came thither (*a*). Upon this he croſſed over into England, and having made his compoſition with the uſurping powers, retired to his manor of Hadham, in Hertfordſhire (*b*), where he was exceedingly beloved, and hated no where (*c*). Some time after, he took an opportunity to wait upon the King at Hampton-Court; and gave him a particular account of all that had paſſed at Jerſey, before the Prince's remove from thence, and of the reaſons which induced thoſe of the Council to remain ſtill there, and of many other particulars, of which his Majeſty had never before been thoroughly informed. The King imparted to him all his hopes and all his fears; and what great overtures the Scots had made to him:

(*g*) Diurnal Occurrences of Parliament, &c. Lond. 1641, 4to, p. 6.

(*i*) See Trial of the Earl of Strafford, by J. Ruſhworth. State Worthies, by D. Lloyd, ſecond edit. 1679, p. 1022.

(*i*) Pat. 17 Car. I. Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 466. Peerage of England by A. Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 273.

(*k*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, &c. by Edward Earl of Clarendon, vol. i. Part ii. edit. 1731, 8vo, p. 655, 656.

(*m*) Lord Clarendon, vol. ii. Part i. p. 146.

(*l*) See Liſt, at the end of the King's Anſwer to the Petition of the Lords and Commons preſented to his Majeſty at York, June 17, 1642. Printed at London, 1642, 4to.

(*n*) Clarend. vol. ii. Part ii. p. 560—602.

(*o*) *Ibid.* p. 575. Whitelock's Memorials, edit. 1732, p. 125. Relation of the Treaty at Uxbridge, at the end of Sir William Dugdale's Short View of the Troubles in Engl. Oxon. 1681.

(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 734.

(*p*) Clarend. vol. ii. Part ii. p. 634, 637, 645, 703, 704, 705.

(*q*) *Ibid.* p. 732.

(*w*) *Ibid.* p. 14, 15.

(*x*) *Ibid.* p. 27.

(*s*) Clarend. vol. iii. Part i. p. 20.

(*t*) *Ibid.* p. 4.

(*y*) *Ibid.* p. 29.

(*u*) *Ibid.* p. 7.

(*z*) Whitelock, *ubi ſupra*, p. 223. In 1644 they granted 300*l.* out of his woods to the widows of two perſons ſlain in the Parliament's ſervice. *Idem.* p. 98.

(*c*) Clarend. *ibid.*

(*a*) Clarend. *ubi ſupra*, p. 70.

(*b*) Peerage of England by A. Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 273.

[*C*] *He——voted for the Earl of Strafford's attainder——of which he repented afterwards.*] This appears from his ſpeech on the ſcaffold, in which he thus expreſſes himſelf upon that point. '——I do 'here profeſs to you, that truly I did give my vote 'to that bill of the Earl of Strafford; I doubt not 'but God Almighty hath waſhed that away with 'more precious blood, and that is, with the blood 'of his own ſon, and my dear Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; '——truly this I may ſay, I had not the leaſt part, 'nor the leaſt degree of malice, in the doing of it; 'but I muſt confeſs again to God's glory, and the 'accuſation of mine own frailty, and the frailty of 'my nature, that truly it was an unworthy cowardice, not to reſiſt ſo great a torrent as carried that 'buſineſs at that time. And truly, this I think I 'am moſt guilty of, of not courage enough in it, 'but malice I had none——(5).'

(5) Speeches of Duke Hamilton, Lord Capel, &c. upon the Scaffold, &c. Printed at London in 1649, 4to.

[*D*] *He entered into an engagement to raiſe an hundred horſe.*] He raiſed in all for the King about 900 horſe at his own charge, and lent him twelve thouſand pounds in money and plate (6).

(6) Hiſt. of Eſſex, *ubi ſupra*.

[*E*] *He gave material reaſons againſt the Prince's going to France.*] In the firſt place he thought it adviſable, to take no final reſolution, till farther notice was received of the King's pleaſure. Next, he obſerved, that if the Court of France had ſo great a deſire, as was pretended, that the Prince of Wales ſhould repair thither, it was a wonder, in the two months his Highneſs had been in Jerſey, they had never ſent a gentleman to ſee him, and invite him to come over; nor had thoſe who came to him from the Queen, brought ſo much as a paſs for him to come into France: That all they had hitherto propoſed to themſelves from France, had proved in no degree anſwerable to expectation; as the five thouſand foot which the French had promiſed to ſend into the Weſt of England, before the Prince's departure from thence: That they had more reaſon to be jealous than ever, ſince it had been by the advice of France, that the King had put himſelf into the hands of the Scots; and therefore they ought to be more watchful in diſpoſing of the perſon of the Prince, by their advice, likewiſe (7).

(7) Clarendon, vol. iii. p. i. p. 26.

him: that he did really believe, it could not be long before there would be a war between the two nations; in which the Scots promiſed themſelves an univerſal concurrence from all the Preſbyterians in England; and that, in ſuch a conjuncture, he wiſhed his own party would put themſelves in arms, without which he could not expect great benefit by the ſucceſs of the other; and therefore deſired Lord Capel to watch ſuch a conjuncture, and draw his friends together, which he promiſed to do effectually (*d*). Accordingly that Lord was, from the firſt, made privy to the Scots deſigns, of entering England with a powerful army, in order to ſet the King at liberty, and reſtore him to his throne (*e*); being entirely truſted by thoſe who would not truſt any of the Preſbyterians, nor communicate their purpoſes to them (*f*). When he thought the project was in good forwardneſs, he wrote in the beginning of May 1648, to Sir Edward Hyde, to ſend for the Prince of Wales to Jerſey, that he might be in a readineſs to paſs over to England (*g*). At the ſame time he was very active in Hertfordſhire, in raiſing forces for the King's ſervice (*h*), with which he joined the Earl of Norwich, and Sir Charles Lucas, in Eſſex (*i*). Thoſe brave gentlemen having gathered together a body of about four thouſand men, went and ſhut themſelves up with them in Colcheſter (*k*), where they endured a long and cloſe ſiege from the twelfth of June to the twenty-eighth of Auguſt (*l*); during which, the Lord Capel was one of the moſt reſolute [*F*], and indefatigable in the defence of that place (*m*). Upon the ſurrender of it, he was forced to yield himſelf to the mercy of the Lord General [*G*], and afterwards was aſſured of quarter (*n*). Upon this he was remitted to the Parliament for farther public juſtice and mercy, to be uſed as they ſhould ſee cauſe (*o*). But not behaving with ſo much condeſcenſion as was expected from a man in his circumſtances [*H*], he was, on that account chiefly, ſacrificed to his enemies paſſion and revenge (*p*). From Colcheſter he was ſent priſoner to Windſor-caſtle (*q*); where whilſt he remained (on the twenty-fifth of September, 1648) an Act of Attainder was ordered by the Houſe of Commons to be brought in againſt him (*r*). Hearing of it, he ſent and informed the Houſe, that quarter was given him by the General, who had written to the Houſe to that purpoſe (*s*). Hereupon, the Lord Fairfax being called upon by the Commons, to explain his letter of the twenty-ninth of Auguſt to them, as to that point; anſwered, That it did not extend to any other but the military power, and that they were, notwithſtanding, liable to trial and judgment by the Civil Power (*t*). The tenth of November following, the Houſe voted, That he, and ſome others, ſhould be baniſhed out of the kingdom (*u*). But that puniſhment not being thought ſevere enough, he was removed to the Tower of London (*w*); and on the firſt of February 1648-9, it was voted, that he, the Lord Goring, and ſome others, ſhould be the next perſons to be proceeded againſt for juſtice (*x*). That ſame evening he eſcaped out of the Tower [*I*]: But ſtrict ſearch being

(*d*) Clarend. *ibid.*

(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 72.

(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 130.

(*g*) *Ibid.* p. 131.

(*h*) Whitelock, *ubi ſupra*, p. 311.

(*i*) *Ibid.* and Clarendon, *ubi ſupra*, p. 154.

(*k*) Whitelock, *ubi ſupra*, p. 312. Clarend. vol. iii. P. i. p. 154, 155.

(*l*) See Relation of the honourable and unfortunate Expedition of Kent, Eſſex, and Colcheſter, by M. Carter, 1650, Reprinted in 1740.

(*m*) See Whitelock, *ubi ſupra*, p. 313, 315, 318, 321.

(*n*) Letter from Lord Fairfax to the Houſe of Lords, concerning the Surrender of Colcheſter, Aug. 29, 1648.

(*o*) *Ibid.* Whitelock, *ubi ſupra*, p. 333.

(*p*) Clarend. vol. iii. Part. i. p. 178, 179.

(*q*) *Ibid.* p. 179.

(*r*) Whitelock, *ubi ſupra*, p. 338.

(*s*) *Ibid.* p. 342.

(*t*) *Ibid.* p. 348.

(*u*) *Idem.* p. 348.

(*w*) Clarend. vol. iii. P. i. p. 269.

(*x*) Whitelock, *ubi ſupra*, p. 376.

[*F*] *The Lord Capel was one of the moſt reſolute.*] Mr. Whitelock informs us (8), That he, and the Lord Goring, carried things very high: And that once, General Fairfax having ſent a ſummons to them, to ſurrender the town to the ſervice of the Parliament, they returned for anſwer, That if any more letters of that kind were ſent to them, they would hang up the meſſenger (9). The Lord Capel in particular, during the ſiege, marched himſelf a-foot, with a halberd on his ſhoulder, in the head of his company to the guard, that none might make any ſcruple or exception againſt the ſervice (10).

(8) Memorials, p. 318.

(9) *Ibid.* p. 321.

(10) Relation, &c. as above, by M. Carter, edit. 1650, p. 167.

[*G*] *He was forced to yield himſelf to the mercy of the General.*] When Lord Fairfax demanded, in one of his letters, That the perſons of all the officers, above the quality of a Lieutenant, ſhould render themſelves to mercy; the Lord Capel, and the reſt, unanimouſly reſolved, not to yield to the mercy of any other, but that of God alone (11). However, a mutiny, and great diſcontents, ariſing among the beſieged, as if the officers, and the reſt of the gentlemen, were reſolved to break through the beſiegers, and leave the private ſoldiers behind, expoſed to the fury of their incenſed enemies (12); the commanding officers were at length forced to ſubmit to thoſe hard terms, which they had at firſt ſo ſcornfully rejected. Though, as appears, by the ſequel, they expected, and thought they had reaſon to expect, that their lives would be ſafe.

(11) Whitelock, *ubi ſupra*, p. 332.

(12) Relation, &c. as above, by M. Carter, p. 184.

[*H*] *Not behaving with ſo much condeſcenſion*, &c.] After the execution of Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Liſle, the Lord Fairfax, with the chief Officers, went to the Moot-hall to viſit the priſoners, and told them, 'That having done what the mili-'tary juſtice required, all the lives of the reſt were 'ſafe, and they ſhould be well treated, and diſpoſed 'of as the Parliament ſhould direct.' But the Lord Capel telling them with ſome roughneſs, 'That they 'ſhould do well to finiſh their work, and execute the 'ſame rigour to the reſt;' there paſſed two or three ſuch ſharp and bitter replies between him and Ireton, as coſt him his life in few months after (13).

(13) Clarendon, vol. iii. Part i. p. 178, 179.

[*I*] *That ſame evening he eſcaped out of the Tower.*] Having a cord, and all things neceſſary conveyed to him, he let himſelf down out of the window of his chamber in the night, over the wall of the Tower; and had been directed through what part of the ditch he might beſt wade. Whether he hit upon the right place, or there was none ſafer, he found the water and the mud ſo deep, that, if he had not been by the head taller than other men, he muſt have periſhed, ſince the water came up to his chin. The way was ſo long to the other ſide, and the fatigue of drawing himſelf out of the mud ſo intolerable, that his ſpirits were near ſpent, and he was once ready to call out for help. But he got at laſt to the other ſide, where his friends expected him, and carried him to a chamber in the Temple, where he remained two or three nights ſecure from any diſcovery. At length, a friend whom he truſted much, conceiving he might be more ſecure in a place to which there was leſs reſort, and not ſo many harboured that were every day ſought after, provided a lodging for him in a private-houſe in Lambeth-marſh. Calling upon him in an evening, when it was dark, to go thither, they choſe rather to take any boat they found ready at the Temple-ſtairs, than to truſt one of that people with the ſecret; and it was ſo late, that there was only one boat left. In that the Lord Capel (as well diſguiſed as he thought neceſſary) and his friend, put themſelves, and bid the waterman row them to Lambeth. Whether, in their paſſage thither, the other gentleman

being made after him, and a hundred pounds reward offered for re-taking him; he was discovered and apprehended, two days after, at Lambeth, and committed again to the Tower (*y*). The tenth day of that month, he was brought before a High Court of Justice in Westminster-Hall (*z*), to be tried for treason and other high crimes (*a*). And though he strenuously insisted, that he was a prisoner to the Lord General, that he had conditions given him, and was to have fair quarter for his life [*K*], so that if all the magistrates in Christendom were combined together, they could not call him in question (*b*); yet his plea was over-ruled. The thirteenth he was brought again before the Court [*L*], when the Council moved, that he should be hanged, drawn, and quartered (*c*). However, on the sixth of March being brought a fifth time before the Court [*M*], he was condemned only to be beheaded (*d*). After his condemnation his Lady petitioned the Parliament, which occasioned a long debate (*e*), but at length it was voted [*N*], That he should not be reprieved (*f*). Accordingly, on the ninth of March, the day appointed for his execution, he was carried from St. James's (†) in a sedan, with a guard, to Sir Thomas Cotton's house at Westminster; where he continued about two hours, which he spent mostly in religious conference with Dr. Morley, who attended him (*g*). Then being brought to the scaffold erected before Westminster-hall, he made a speech to the people [*O*]: After which, submitting to the block, as Duke

(*y*) Whitelock, *ubi supra*, p. 377. and Clarendon, *ubi supra*.

(*z*) Whereof about fifty of the Members were present. Whitelock, p. 380. See also Clarendon, vol. iii. P. i. p. 266, 267.

(*a*) Whitelock, *ibid.*

(*b*) *Ibid.*

(*c*) *Ibid.* p. 381.

(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 386.

(*e*) March 8.

(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 386. Clarendon, *ubi supra*, p. 270.

(†) Where he, and the two other Lords, had been confined after their condemnation. Clarendon, *ubi supra*, p. 268.

(*g*) Account of the Execution, with the several Speeches of Duke Hamilton, Lord Capel, &c. published by authority. Lond. 1649. 4to. Whitelock, p. 387, 388. Clarendon, *ubi supra*, p. 271, 272.

gentleman called him *My Lord*, as was confidently reported, or whether the waterman had any jealousy who he was, or knew him; when they were landed, the waterman, undiscerned, followed them till he saw into what house they went; and then he went to an officer, and demanded, 'What he would give 'him, to bring him to the place where the Lord 'Capel lay.' The officer promising to give him ten pounds, he led him presently to the house, where his Lordship was seized upon, and the next day carried to the Tower (14). Mr. Whitelock says (15), that it was two watermen who discovered and apprehended him, for which they received forty pounds.

(14) Clarendon, vol. iii. Part i. p. 270.

(15) Memorials, *ubi sup.*, p. 377.

[*K*] *Was to have fair quarter for his life.*] The articles were, 'That the Lords, and all Captaines, 'and superiour officers, should render themselves to 'the mercy of the Lord General:' Which was thus explained at that time, 'That they be rendered, or 'render themselves, to the Lord General, or whom 'he shall appoint, without certaine assurance of quarter, so as the Lord General may be free to put 'some immediately to the sword, if he see cause, 'although he intends chiefly, and for the generality 'of those under that condition, to surrender them to 'the mercy of the Parliament and General (16).' The Lord Capel had afterwards quarter granted him. See above.

(16) Articles for the Surrender of Colchester, Aug. 27, 1648.

[*L*] *The* 13*th he was brought again before the Court.*] And then it was made appear, by General Fairfax's letter to the Parliament upon the surrender of Colchester, and the articles with the explanation of that surrender; as also by the testimony of Lord Fairfax himself, and of Ireton, Whaley, and Barksted, then present, 'That the Lord Capel was to have *fair* '*quarter* for his life,' which was explained to be, 'a 'freedom from any execution of the sword, but not 'any protection from the judicial proceedings of a 'Civil Court;' and 'Mercy was explained to be 'only from the promiscuous execution of the sword, 'but that he might be tried by a Council of War.' *But of this Learning*, as Mr. Whitelock there rightly observes, *I hope none of this nation will have use hereafter*. It was also proved, 'That the articles were 'only to free him from the present power of the 'sword to take away his life.' And Colonel Barksted swore, 'That he told him, the day after the 'articles, that he believed the Parliament would 'proceed against them that were taken at Colchester, 'as traitors (17).'

(17) Whitelock, *ubi supra*, p. 381. See also Clarendon, vol. iii. P. i. p. 266, 267.

[*M*] *Being brought a fifth time before the Court.*] He was brought before it, for the third time, February 17, when he was questioned for his escape out of the Tower; and then he pleaded, 'That he did 'not escape as he was a prisoner of war, but as he 'was sent to the Tower in another condition.' The fourth time of his appearance before it, was the 21st of the same month, when he pleaded, 'That he was 'to be comprehended wholly in the martial law; and 'urged the articles again, which excepted trial after 'by Parliament: That divers that were in Colchester in his condition, had compounded: That 'breaking prison for Treason, by Common Law, 'was but Felony, and benefit of Clergy might be 'had.' When he could not be allowed to be tried by Martial Law, then he moved, 'That he might not 'be barred of additional defence; and that, if he 'must be judged by the Common Law, he hoped he 'might have the full benefit of it.' He recommended to the Court Magna Charta, and the Petition of Right, &c. Moreover, he desired to see his Jury, and that they might see him, and to be tried by his Peers, and said, 'He believed, that a pre-'cedent could not be given, of a subject tried for 'his life, but either by bill in Parliament, or by a 'Jury.' But all he could say, was disregarded and rejected (18).

(18) Whitelock, p. 383.

[*N*] *His Lady's petition occasioned a long debate*, &c.] When it was read, many gentlemen spoke on his behalf, and mentioned the great virtues which were in him; 'that he had never deceived them, or 'pretended to be of their party; but always reso-'lutely declared himself for the King.' Cromwell, who had known him very well, spoke so much good of him, and professed to have so much kindness and respect for him, that all men thought he was now safe;—but then he concluded——'That his affection 'to the public so much weighed down his private 'friendship, that he could not but tell them, that 'the question was now, whether they would preserve 'the most bitter and most implacable enemy they 'had: that he knew the Lord Capel very well, and 'knew that he would be the last man in England, 'that would forsake the royal interest; that he had 'great courage, industry, and generosity; that he 'had many friends who would always adhere to him; 'and that as long as he lived, what condition soever 'he was in, he would be a thorn in their sides, and 'therefore, for the good of the Commonwealth, he 'should give his vote against the petition.' Ireton's hatred was immortal: he spake of him, and against him, as of a man of whom he was heartily afraid. And so, after a long debate, though there was not a man who had not a value for him, and very few, who had a particular malice, or prejudice against him, he was cast (19).

(19) Clarendon, vol. iii. Part i. p. 270.

[*O*] *He made a speech to the people.*] In this he first prays the God of all mercies, that those who were the cause of his violent death, might be partakers of his inestimable and boundless mercies in Jesus Christ, and beseeches the God of Heaven, to forgive any injury they had done to him: 'From my soul, 'says he, I wish it.' Then he declares, 'That he 'was a Protestant, and very much in love with the 'profession of it, after the manner as it was esta-'blished in England by the XXXIX Articles; a 'blessed way of profession, and such a one, as truly, 'says he, I never knew none so good.'—Soon after he says, 'Something I shall say to you as a citizen

Duke Hamilton and the Earl of Holland had done immediately before, he ſuffered death with great reſolution (*b*). His body being carried to Little-Hadham in Hertfordſhire, where he had a ſeat and eſtate, was buried in the chancel of that church (*i*); and a black marble was ſoon after laid over his grave, with an inſcription [*P*]. He married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir Charles Moryſon, Knt. of Caiſhiobury in Watford, Hertfordſhire, by whom he had four ſons; Arthur, of whom we ſhall give an account in the next article; Henry created Baron of Tewkſbury in 1692, and who died Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1696; Edward; and Charles: and four daughters (*k*). His character is thus given by the Earl of Clarendon (*l*). He was a man in whom the malice of his enemies could diſcover but very few faults, and whom his friends could not wiſh better accompliſhed; whom Cromwell's own character well deſcribed (*m*), and who indeed would never have been contented to have lived under that government. His memory all men loved and reverenced, though few followed his example. He had always lived in a ſtate of great plenty and general eſtimation, having a very noble fortune of his own by deſcent, and a fair addition to it by his marriage with an excellent wife, a Lady of very worthy extraction, of great virtue and beauty, by whom he had a numerous iſſue of both ſexes, in which he took great joy and comfort: ſo that no man was more happy in all his domeſtic affairs; and he was ſo much the more happy, in that he thought himſelf moſt bleſſed in them. And yet the King's honour was no ſooner violated, and his juſt power invaded, than he threw all thoſe bleſſings behind him; and having no other obligations to the Crown, than thoſe which his own honour and conſcience ſuggeſted to him, he frankly engaged his perſon and his fortune from the beginning of the troubles, in all actions and enterprizes of the greateſt hazard and danger; and continued to the end, without ever making one falſe ſtep. In a word, he was a man, that whoever ſhall, after him, deſerve beſt of the Engliſh nation, he can never think himſelf undervalued, when he ſhall hear, that his courage, virtue, and fidelity, are laid in the ballance with, and compared to, that of the Lord Capel.

(*b*) *Ibid.* He ſeemed rather to fright death than to be frighted with it, as Fuller obſerves. Worthies in Hertfordſhire, p. 29.

(*i*) The Hiſt. of Hertfordſhire by N. Salmon, Lond. 1728, fol. p. 282.

(*k*) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 466. Peerage of Engl. by A. Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 273.

(*l*) Hiſt. vol. iii. Part i. p. 273.

(*m*) See note [*N*].

' of the whole world, and in that conſideration I am ' here condemned to die, contrary to the law that ' governs all the world, that is, the Law of the ' Sword; I had the protection of that for my life, ' and the honour of it.——You that are Engliſhmen, ' behold here an Engliſhman now before you, and ' acknowledged a Peer, not condemned to die by any ' law of England; nay, which is ſtrangeſt of all, ' contrary to all the laws of England that I know of. ' ——I die, I take it, for maintaining the fifth commandment, injoined by God himſelf, which injoins ' reverence and obedience to Parents, that is, to ' Magiſtracy and Order.'——Then ſpeaking of King Charles I.——' Truly, in my opinion, ſays he, there ' was not a more virtuous, and more ſufficient Prince ' known in the world, than our gracious King ' Charles that died laſt.' After this, he gives a very great character of King Charles II. and beſeeches God to give him much happineſs, and to his ſubjects. He concludes, as he had begun, by praying, That God Almighty would confer of his infinite and ineſtimable grace and mercy, to thoſe that were the cauſers of his coming thither, and give them as much mercy as their own hearts could wiſh. ' Truly, ' ſays he, for my part, I will not accuſe any one of ' them of malice, truly I will not; nay, I will not ' think there was any malice in them: what other ' ends there is, I know not, nor I will not examine; ' but let it be what it will, from my very ſoul I forgive them every one: And ſo the Lord of Heaven ' bleſs you all,' &c. And, after a little ſtop, he concluded, ' God Almighty bleſs all this people, ' God Almighty ſtench this blood, God Almighty ' ſtench, ſtench, ſtench this iſſue of blood; this will ' not do the buſineſs, God Almighty find out another ' way to do it.'——Dr. Morley attended him from the time ſentence was paſſed upon him; but the ſoldiers ſtopping the Doctor at the foot of the ſcaffold, his Lordſhip took his leave of him, and ſaid he ſhould go no farther, apprehending that he might receive ſome affront from the populace (20).

(20) Clarendon, vol. iii. Part i. p. 272.

[*P*] *A black marble was laid over his grave with an inſcription.*] Which runs thus. ' Here under lieth ' interred the Body of Arthur Lord Capel, Baron of ' Hadham, who was murthered for his Loyalty to ' King Charles I. March 9, 1648 (21).' M.

(21) Hiſtory of Hertfordſhire by N. Salmon, *ubi ſupra*, p. 282.

*** [' It was a remarkable ſcene, ſays Mr. Walpole, exhibited on the ſcaffold on which Lord ' Capel fell. At the ſame time was executed the ' once gay, beautiful, gallant Earl of Holland, ' whom neither the honours ſhowered on him by his ' Prince, nor his former more tender connections ' with the Queen, could preſerve from betraying and ' engaging againſt both. He now appeared ſunk ' beneath the indignities and cruelties he received ' from men, to whom and from whom he had deſerted: While the brave Capel, who, having ' ſhunned the ſplendor of Charles's fortunes, had ' ſtood forth to guard them on their decline, trod the ' fatal ſtage with all the dignity of valour and conſcious integrity (22).'

(22) Royal and noble Authors, vol. i. p. 212.

Dr. Smollet, ſpeaking of Lord Capel's execution, obſerves, that he died a ſhining example of worth, valour, and fidelity (23). Mrs. Macauley, on the other hand, hath treated his Lordſhip's memory with no ſmall degree of contempt. ' The Lord Capel, ' ſays ſhe, though once diſtinguiſhed as a friend of ' liberty, yet as a title had immutably fixed him to ' the intereſts of the Crown, was in high renown ' with the cavaliers, who, miſtaking inſolence for ' magnanimity, ſuperſtition for religion, and an obſtinate adherence to particular intereſts for patriotiſm, have handed him down to poſterity, ' adorned with all the epithets of heroiſm (24). We believe, however, that the greater part of thoſe who differ the moſt in political ſentiments from Lord Capel, will be ready to do juſtice to his integrity and fortitude.

(23) Hiſtory of England, vol. v. p. 276, third edition.

(24) Hiſt. of England, vol. v. p. 5, 6, octavo edition.

His Lordſhip's device was a ſceptre and crown, or, on a field azure, with this motto, " Perfectiſſima " Gubernatio (25);" expreſſive, probably, of his moſt zealous attachment to monarchical government.] K.

(25) Walpole, *ubi ſupra*, p. 279.

CAPEL (ARTHUR) eldeſt ſon of Arthur Lord Capel, mentioned in the laſt article, ſucceeded his father in his honour; and, after the reſtoration of King Charles II. on account, both of his father's loyalty and ſufferings, and his own perſonal merit, was advanced to the dignity of Viſcount Maldon, and Earl of Eſſex, April 20, 1661 (*a*), with

(*a*) Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 466. Peerage of Engl. by A. Collins, Eſq; vol. ii. p. edit. 1735, p. 274.

with remainder of the ſame honour, for want of iſſue male, to Henry Capel, Eſq; his brother, and the heirs male of his body; and, for want of ſuch iſſue, to Edward Capel, Eſq; his younger brother (*b*). He was alſo made *Cuſtos Rotulorum*, and Lord Lieutenant of the county of Hertford; and, ſome time after, of the county of Wilts, during the minority of the Duke of Somerſet (*c*). In his younger years, his education was neglected, by reaſon of the civil wars; but, when he came to man's age, he learned the Latin tongue, and made a great progreſs in Mathematics, and in all the other parts of learning. He knew our law and conſtitution well, and was a very thoughtful man. As he appeared early againſt the Court, King Charles, imputing it to his reſentments, reſolved to make uſe of him; and accordingly, in 1670, ſent him Embaſſador to Denmark (*d*), where his behaviour in the affair of the Flag gained him great reputation [*A*]. At his return, in 1672, he was ſworn of the Privy-Council (*e*), and made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. How he came to be raiſed to this poſt he could never underſtand; for he had not pretended to it; and he was a violent enemy to Popery, not ſo much from any fixed principle in religion, in which he was too looſe, as becauſe he looked on it as an invaſion made on the freedom of human nature (*f*). He began his journey towards Ireland July 22, with a very noble equipage, and arriving at Dublin, had, on Auguſt 5, the Sword of State delivered to him (*g*). In his government of that kingdom, he exceeded all that had gone before him, and was a pattern to all that ſhould come after. He ſtudied to underſtand well the conſtitution and intereſt of the nation. He read over all their council-books, and made large abſtracts out of them, to guide him, ſo as to advance every thing that had been at any time ſet on foot for the good of the kingdom. He made ſeveral volumes of tables of the ſtate, and perſons that were in every county and town; and got true characters of all that were capable to ſerve the public. And he preferred men always upon merit, without any application from themſelves; and watched over all about him, that there ſhould be no bribes going among his ſervants (*h*). But notwithſtanding theſe noble qualifications, and his great ſervices, he was recalled in 1677 (*i*), for complaining that payments were not regularly made in Ireland [*B*], and refuſing to paſs the accounts of the Earl of Ranelagh, who had the management of the revenue in that kingdom (*k*). Upon his return to England, he became one of the leading men in the Houſe of Lords (*l*); and one of thoſe that declared againſt the Earl of Danby (*m*). That Lord being ſoon after diſplaced, the Earl of Eſſex was admitted into the new Privy-Council, which was formed upon Danby's diſgrace, and was one of thoſe four leading members of it, who had the direction of affairs: the treaſury likewiſe being put in commiſſion, he was appointed firſt and chief Commiſſioner of it [*C*], on the twenty-firſt of April 1679 (*n*). He reſigned that office [*D*] the nineteenth of November following (*o*), but continued however ſtill of the Privy-Council (*p*). When the excluſion of the Duke of York was debated

(*b*) Collins, *ibid.*

(*c*) *Ibid.*

(*d*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, edit. fol. 1724, vol. i. p. 396.

(*e*) Collins, *ubi ſupra*; and Burnet.

(*f*) Burnet, p. 397.

(*g*) Compleat Hiſt. of England, by Kennet, edit. 1719, vol. iii. p. 316.

(*h*) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 397.

(*i*) Letter, in the 2d vol. of R. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland; before the Appendix, p. 14.

(*k*) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 398.

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 431.

(*m*) Rapin's Hiſt. of Engl. edit. 1733, fol. vol. ii. p. 697, 704. He joined with the Duke of Monmouth and Earl of Sunderland to preſs the King to change his counſels; for which he was much blamed. Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 454.

(*n*) The Hiſtorian's Guide, in 1679. Kennet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 357. Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 454.

(*o*) Hiſtorian's Guide, in 1679.

(*p*) Kennet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 367. Rapin, *ubi ſupra*, p. 704.

[*A*] *His behaviour in the affair of the Flag gained him great reputation.*] The King of Denmark had ordered the Governor of Croonenburgh to make all ſhips that paſſed ſtrike to him. So when Lord Eſſex was ſailing by, the Governor ſent to him, either to ſtrike to him, or to ſail by in the night, or to keep out of his reach: otherwiſe he muſt ſhoot, firſt with powder, but next with ball. Lord Eſſex ſent him a reſolute anſwer, 'That the Kings of England made 'others ſtrike to them, but their ſhips ſtruck to none: 'He would not ſteal through in the dark, nor keep 'out of his reach; and if he ſhot at him he would 'defend himſelf.' The Governor did ſhoot at him, but on deſign ſhot over him: Or, according to ſome (1), tore his rigging. This was thought great bravery in his Lordſhip: Yet he reckoned, it was impoſſible the Governor would endeavour to ſink a ſhip that brought an Embaſſador. Lord Eſſex's firſt buſineſs was to juſtify his behaviour in refuſing to ſtrike. Now, at his going from England, Sir John Cotton had deſired him to take ſome volumes of his library that related to Daniſh affairs; which he took, without apprehending that he ſhould have great occaſion to uſe them: But this accident made him ſearch into them. And he found very good materials to juſtify his conduct; ſince by formal treaties it had been expreſsly ſtipulated, that the Engliſh ſhips of war ſhould not ſtrike in the Daniſh ſeas. This raiſed his character ſo high at Court, that it was written over to him, he might expect every thing he ſhould pretend to at his return (2). The Governor of Croonenburgh was ordered to beg his pardon upon his knees in the open ſtreet, which he did, the Earl ſtanding in a balcony of his lodgings (3).

(1) Hiſtory of Hertfordſhire, by W. Salmon, Lond. 1728, p. 281.

(2) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 396, 397.

(3) Salmon, *ubi ſupra*.

[*B*] *He was recalled——for complaining that payments were not regularly made in Ireland.*] The Earl of Ranelagh, who then managed the revenue of that kingdom, had undertaken to furniſh the King with money, for the building of Windſor, out of the revenue of Ireland: and it was believed, the Ducheſs of Portſmouth had a great yearly penſion out of his office. By this means, payments in Ireland were not regularly made, of which the Earl of Eſſex complained. The King would not own how much he had from Lord Ranelagh, but preſſed Lord Eſſex to paſs his accounts. He anſwered, He could not paſs them as accounts: But if the King would forgive Lord Ranelagh, he would paſs a diſcharge, but not an ill account. The King was not pleaſed with this, nor with his exactneſs in that government; it reproached his own too much. So he took a reſolution about this time to diſplace the Earl of Eſſex, and to put the Duke of Ormond again in his room (4).

(4) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 398.

[*C*] *He was appointed Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury.*] Wherein he applied himſelf to the regulating the King's expence, and the improvement of the revenue. His clear, though ſlow, ſenſe made him very acceptable to the King (5).

(5) Burnet, Hiſt. *ubi ſupra*, p. 456.

[*D*] *He reſigned that office.*] Upon the diſcovery of the Meal-Tub plot, he and the Earl of Halifax preſſed the King vehemently to call a Parliament immediately. But the King thought, that if a Parliament ſhould meet while all mens ſpirits were ſharpened by this new diſcovery, he would find them in a worſe temper than ever: When the King could not be prevailed on to do that, the Earl of Eſſex left the Treaſury. The King was very uneaſy at this. But Lord Eſſex was firm in his reſolution, not to meddle with that poſt more, ſince a Parliament was not called: Yet, at the King's earneſt deſire, he continued, for ſome time, to go to Council (6).

(6) *Idem*, p. 476.

in

in the Houſe of Lords, the Earl of Eſſex appeared againſt it; and he, and the Earl of Halifax, propoſed ſuch limitations of the Duke's authority, when the crown ſhould devolve on him [*E*], as would diſable him from doing any harm in Church or State (*q*). He was alſo thus far ſubſervient to the Court, as to be for the diſſolution, rather than the prorogation, of the Parliament, in July 1679 (*r*); and was one of the chief perſons that occaſioned the Duke of Monmouth's, and the Earl of Shafteſbury's, diſgrace (*s*). But ſeeing what violent meaſures were going on, and particularly being named as an accomplice in the meal-tub-plot (*t*), he reſigned his place, and turned againſt the Court. Accordingly, when the Bill of Excluſion was brought a ſecond time into the Houſe of Lords, he argued vehemently for it (*u*): and made an extraordinary propoſal (*w*), for ſecuring the expedients offered in the room of that bill [*F*]. In February 1680-1, attended by fifteen Peers, he preſented to the King a petition (*x*), ſubſcribed by himſelf and them, wherein they requeſted, that the Parliament might not ſit at Oxford, but at Weſtminſter [*G*]. Alſo, he had an interview with the Earl of Shafteſbury, before he ſet out for Holland (*y*): and generally converſed with him, and the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Ruſſel, Algernoon Sidney, and other perſons that were thought diſaffected (*z*); all which ſteps rendered him ſo obnoxious to the Court, that he was ſtruck out of the liſt of the Privy-Counſellors (*a*). In June 1683, being accuſed by the Lord Howard of Eſcrick, of being concerned in the Rye-houſe conſpiracy, called otherwiſe the Fanatic or Proteſtant-plot (*b*), he was committed to the Tower [*H*]. On the thirteenth of July following, he was found in a cloſet in his lodgings there, about nine o'clock in the morning, with his throat miſerably cut (*c*). The Coroner's Jury brought in their verdict, the next day, that he had voluntarily and felonioufly killed and murthered himſelf (*d*); but it was then, and hath ſince been, thought, that he was murdered by Paul Bomeney, a French ſervant who attended him [*I*]. His body was carried into Hertfordſhire, and interred in a vault belonging to

(*q*) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 455.

(*r*) *Ibid*, p. 468.

(*s*) Rapin, *ubi ſupra*, p. 711.

(*t*) See that Plot in Col. Manſel's Narrative, printed at London in 1680, fol. p. 19, and Burnet, p. 476. Rapin, *ubi ſupra*, p. 711.

(*u*) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 482.

(*w*) *Ibid*. p. 486.

(*x*) Kennet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 383, and Rapin, *ubi ſupra*, p. 720.

(*y*) Burnet, p. 537.

(*z*) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 537, 538.

(*a*) Rapin, *ubi ſupra*, p. 720.

(*b*) Account of that Conſpiracy, by Biſhop Sprat. Kennet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 400.

(*c*) Bomeney's and Ruſſel's Informations in the Coroner's Inqueſt, Lond. 1683, fol.

(*d*) Edward Farnham's the Coroner's Account, &c. Printed at Lond. fol. 1683.

[*E*] *He propoſed——limitations of the Duke of York's authority.*] Such as, The taking out of his hand all power in eccleſiaſtical matters; the diſpoſal of the public money; with the power of peace and war, and the lodging theſe in both Houſes of Parliament; and that whatever Parliament was in being, or the laſt that had been in being at the King's death, ſhould meet without a new ſummons, upon it, and aſſume the adminiſtration of affairs. The Lords Eſſex, Sunderland, and Halifax, three of the leading members in the new Privy-Council, were for theſe limitations; but the Earl of Shafteſbury, the fourth of the managers, declared highly againſt any limitations: which occaſioned a breach between thoſe Lords; and the three firſt, joining together, were called the Triumvirate (7).

(7) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 455, 456.

[*F*] *And made an extraordinary propoſal, for ſecuring the expedients*, &c.] He moved in the Houſe of Lords, That an aſſociation ſhould be entered into to maintain thoſe expedients, and that ſome cautionary towns ſhould be put into the hands of the Aſſociators during the King's life, to make them good after his death. But though this was agreed to, in a thin houſe, it came to nothing; the King looking upon it as a depoſing of himſelf (8).

(8) *Idem*, p. 486.

[*G*] *He preſented a petition*, &c.] At the preſenting of it, he made a ſpeech to the King, in the name of himſelf, and the Lords by whom it was ſubſcribed; wherein he declares, That obſerving from hiſtory and records, how unfortunate many aſſemblies had been, when called at a place remote from the capital city [of which he brings inſtances], and conſidering the preſent poſture of affairs, the many jealouſies and diſcontents that were among people, they had great cauſe to apprehend, that the conſequences of a Parliament at Oxford might be as fatal to his Majeſty and the nation, as thoſe he had mentioned.—— The grounds and reaſons which they gave for their opinions in the petition itſelf, were, That the Lords and Commons could not be in ſafety at Oxford, but would be daily expoſed to the ſwords of the Papiſts, and their adherents, of whom too many were crept into his Majeſty's guards: The liberty of ſpeaking, according to their conſciences, would be thereby deſtroyed; and the validity of all their acts and proceedings, concerning it, left diſputable: The ſtreightneſs of the place did no way admit of ſuch a concourſe of perſons as now follows every Parliament: The witneſſes that were neceſſary to give evidence againſt the Popiſh Lords, Judges, and others, whom the Commons had impeached, or had reſolved to impeach, could neither bear the charge of going thither, nor truſt themſelves under the protection of a Parliament, that was itſelf evidently under the power of guards and ſoldiers (9).

(9) Kennet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 383, 384.

[*H*] *Being accuſed——of being concerned in the Rye-houſe conſpiracy——he was committed to the Tower.*] Before he was impeached, he ſtaid for ſome time at his houſe in the country, and ſeemed ſo little apprehenſive of danger, that his own lady did not imagine he had any concern on his mind. He was offered to be conveyed away very ſafely; but he would not ſtir. His tenderneſs for Lord Ruſſel was the cauſe of it: For he thought his going out of the way might incline the Jury to believe the evidence the more, for his abſconding. He ſeemed reſolved, as ſoon as he ſaw how that went, to take care of himſelf. When a party of horſe, that was ſent to fetch him up, came to his houſe, he was at firſt in ſome diſorder, yet he recovered himſelf. But when he came before the Council, he was in much confuſion. He was ſent to the Tower; and there he fell under ſo great a depreſſion of ſpirit, that he could not ſleep at all. He had fallen before that twice under great fits of the ſpleen, which returned now upon him with more violence. He ſent by a ſervant, whom he had long truſted, a very melancholy meſſage to his wife; 'That what he was charged with was true: He was 'ſorry he had ruined her, and her children.'—— But when he found, how ſhe took his condition to heart, without ſeeming concerned for her own ſhare in it, he was much calmer (10). As to this plot, very few now believe that the Earl of Eſſex, Lord Ruſſel, &c. had ſo great a ſhare in it, as the Court then affirmed. 'Tis very poſſible, that the evident violations of Liberty and Property, improved by the nearer proſpects of Popery, might provoke many of the Nobility and Gentry to enter into ſome meaſures for ſtopping the torrent of the Court, and providing for the enjoyment of their eſtabliſhed Laws and Religion; but ſtill without having recourſe to thoſe violent and bloody means, into which a few raſh and inconſiderate deſperadoes perhaps ran headlong.

(10) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 552.

[*I*] *It was then, and has ſince been, thought, that he was murdered*, &c.] The world was very much divided about this Lord's murder, at the time when it happened, and hath been ſo ever ſince. One ſide maintained, *That he murdered himſelf*; and ſo the Coroner's Inqueſt found it. The information given by Bomeney in favour of this opinion, was as follows:

to the family, in the pariſh church of Watford (e). As to his character, he was a perſon of an agreeable ſtature, ſlender in body, adorned with a comely countenance, mixed with gravity and ſweetneſs, and was eaſy of acceſs: his mind was ſedate, but his diſcourſes were generally free and pleaſant, and his demeanour very civil; his promiſes were real and ſincere; his reprimands ſmart and ingenious, having a quick apprehenſion, good elocution, ſound judgment, great courage, and reſolution unalterable. He was always wary and circumſpect in Council, where he endeavoured to obſtruct all arbitrary power, and the increaſe of the Popiſh intereſt; having a particular regard for the eſtabliſhed religion of his country (f): tho' others affirm, that he was too looſe in point of religion (g); and that he had an odd ſet of ſome ſtrange principles (h). With regard to his political notions, he thought, the obligation between Prince and Subject was

(e) Peerage, &c. by A. Collins, p. 274.

(f) Collins, *ibid.*

(g) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 397.

(h) *Ibid.* p. 570.

(11) It is printed before the Coroner's Inqueſt, intituled, 'An Account how the Earl of Eſſex killed himſelf in the Tower of London, the 13th of July, 1683.' Lond. fol. 1683.

lows (11): 'That when my Lord Eſſex came to the 'Tower, which was the 11th of July, he aſked him '(Bomeney) for a penknife to pare his nails as he was 'wont to do; to which Bomeney anſwered, Being 'come in haſte he had not brought it, but he would 'ſend for one; and accordingly ſent the footman 'with a note for ſeveral things for my Lord, amongſt 'which the penknife was inſerted; and the footman 'went, and gave the bill to my Lord's ſteward, who 'ſent the proviſions, but not the penknife, and told 'the footman he would get one next day.——Ac-'cordingly, on the 12th in the morning, before my 'Lord was up, Bomeney ſent the footman home 'with a note to the ſteward, in which, amongſt 'other things, he aſked for a penknife for my Lord: 'When the footman was gone, about, or a little after 'eight o'clock, my Lord ſent Mr. Ruſſel, his 'warder, to Bomeney, who came, and then he aſked 'him, If the penknife was come? Bomeney ſaid, 'No, my Lord, but I ſhall have it by and by;" 'to which my Lord ſaid, "That he ſhould bring "him one of his razors, it would do as well:" And 'then Bomeney went and fetched one, and gave it 'my Lord; who began to pare his nails, and then 'Bomeney went out of the room into the paſſage by 'the door, on Friday the 13th, and began to talk 'with the warder, and a little while after he went 'down ſtairs; and ſoon after came the footman with 'the proviſions, and brought alſo a penknife, which 'Bomeney put upon his bed, and thought my Lord 'had no more need of it, becauſe he thought he had 'pared his nails; and then Bomeney came up to my 'Lord's chamber, about eight or nine in the fore-'noon on Friday the 13th, with a little note from 'the ſteward; but not finding his Lordſhip in the 'chamber, went to the cloſe-ſtool cloſet door, and 'found it ſhut; and he thinking his Lord was buſy 'there, went down and ſtaid a little, and came up 'again, thinking his Lord had been come out of 'the cloſet; and finding him not in the chamber, 'he knocked at the door with his finger, thrice, and 'ſaid, "My Lord?" But nobody anſwering, he 'took up the hanging, and looking through the 'chink, he ſaw blood, and a part of the razor; 'whereupon he called the warder, Ruſſel, and went 'down to call for help; and the ſaid Ruſſel puſhed 'the door open, and there they ſaw my Lord of 'Eſſex all along the floor, without a peruke, and 'all full of blood, and the razor by him.'——Thomas Ruſſel's information, printed at the end of this, is to the ſame purpoſe, excepting, that it mentions only the 13th of July. To render this account the more probable, it is ſaid, That Lord Eſſex had got into an odd ſet of ſome ſtrange principles: And in particular he thought, a man was the maſter of his own life; and ſeemed to approve of what his wife's great grandfather, the Earl of Northumberland, did, who ſhot himſelf in the Tower after he was arraigned. He had alſo very black fits of the ſpleen (12).

(12) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 553, 570.

But, on the other hand, in order to prove, *That the Earl of Eſſex did not murder himſelf*, it is alledged, 1. That he was a Nobleman of moſt virtuous and religious principles; of the greateſt ſedateneſs of mind, leaſt ſubject to the undue agitation of unruly paſſions, and moſt under the conduct of a calm, ſteady, ſtrong, clear, and well-poiſed reaſon, of any man: That the perſons, who were reported to have heard him ſay what is mentioned above, concerning his great-grandfather, being aſked about it, declared, They never heard any ſuch thing from him: That his Lady in particular affirmed, That he uſed to ſpeak againſt ſelf-murder with an emotion beyond what was cuſtomary to him; and that he often declared, That no circumſtances whatſoever could extenuate the guilt, or leſſen the infamy, of ſo unnatural and wicked a fact (13). 2. That he could have no ſuch premeditated deſign. For, the day before his murder, he had ordered his ſervants to bring up out of the country ſeveral veſſels of ſilver, neceſſary for dreſſing his victuals; and had laid in a conſiderable quantity of the beſt of wines. Moreover, that he had given private directions to his ſteward, to place himſelf as conveniently as he could at the Lord Ruſſel's trial, the better to take the evidence againſt him in ſhort-hand, and convey it to him (14). 3. That the news of the Earl of Eſſex's murder was publicly talked of at ſeveral diſtant places, before it was perpetrated; namely, two days before, at Andover in Hampſhire; the day before, at Warminſter in Wiltſhire: and the ſame day it was committed, at Frome in Somerſetſhire, ninety miles from London (15). And, therefore, that it was contrived and done by others. 4. That Jane Lodeman, a young woman about thirteen; and William Edwards, a youth between thirteen and fourteen years of age, being at the Tower that morning the Earl of Eſſex was found murdered, they ſaw a bloody razor thrown out of his chamber-window: Which the boy going to take up, a ſhort woman, in a white hood, came out of Captain Hawley's houſe, where the Earl lodged, and ſnatching up the razor, carried it in; immediately after which, murder was cried out. The boy denied this afterwards, but is ſaid to have been terrified by one of his ſiſters, who told him, that he would ruin his father (who had a place in the Cuſtom-houſe) and the reſt of the family, if he perſiſted in it, and would bring both himſelf and his father to be hanged (16). The prevarication of Chief Juſtice Jefferies and Captain Hawley was very glaring upon this point (17). For they inſiſted, That nothing could be well thrown *out of the cloſet-window* where the Earl was found murdered; whereas the boy and girl both ſpoke *of the chamber*, not of the cloſet, *window*. 5. That the print of a bloody foot appeared upon one of my Lord's ſtockings. 6. That the neck, or middle of his cravat, was cut in four pieces; and tied ſo hard, that there was reaſon to gueſs, an attempt had been made to ſtrangle him with it (18). 6. That his Lordſhip's body was taken out of the cloſet, where it was found; ſtripped, and waſhed, and the cloaths carried away; and, alſo, the cloſet and room were waſhed, before the Coroner's Inqueſt was permitted to ſit upon the body: which was not till the day after the murder was committed. One of the Jury deſiring to ſee the clothes, the Coroner told him, 'They were called to ſit upon my Lord's body, and 'not on his clothes; and that it was ſufficient they 'had ſeen the body, and received an account upon 'oath how it was found (19).' 7. That it was impoſſible the Earl ſhould cut his own throat in the manner it was found done. The two Chirurgions, who viewed the body with the Coroner, depoſed, 'That the throat was cut from one jugular to the 'other, and through the wind-pipe and gullet, unto 'the vertebres of the neck, both jugular veins being 'alſo quite divided (20).' Now, the razor where-with

(13) An Enquiry into, and Detection of, the barbarous Murther of the late Earl of Eſſex, &c. ſaid in my copy to be written by Hugh Speake, Gent. Lond. 1689, 4to. p. 5, 6.

(14) *Ib.* p. 8, 11.

(15) *Ibid.* p. 16, 17, 18, 19.

(16) *Ibid.* p. 65. Edwards, the father, was afterwards turned out of his place, for witneſſing at Mr. Braddon's trial what he had heard from his ſon, *ibid.* p. 28.

(17) At Mr. L. Braddon's trial, p. 58, &c.

(18) Enquiry, &c. as above, p. 54, 55.

(19) Enquiry, &c. as above, p. 53—61.

(20) Informations of Robert Sherwood, and Rob. Andrews, Chirurgions, printed with the Coroner's Inqueſt. Lond. 1683, fol.

was ſo equally mutual, that upon a breach on the one ſide, the other was free (*i*). He was very temperate in his diet, ſtrict in his juſtice, tender of his honour, and conſtant to his friend: he delighted much in his library, which enabled him to ſpeak on all occaſions with great applauſe, and would ſpend his vacant hours in viewing of Records, and learning the Mathematics: theſe were his diverſions, together with recreating himſelf in his fine gardens, and pleaſant groves, which were of his own plantation (*k*). He married Elizabeth, daughter of Algernon Earl of Northumberland, by whom he had ſix ſons, and two daughters. But, only *Algernon*, the fifth ſon, and the youngeſt daughter, ſurvived him. Her name was *Anne*, and ſhe was married to Charles Earl of Carliſle.

(*i*) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 540.

(*k*) Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 275.

Algernon

with he was ſaid to have killed himſelf, being a ſmall French razor, about four inches and a half long at moſt, without ſpill or tongue at the end of the blade, it could not be held with ſtrength and ſteadineſs ſufficient to make ſuch a wound, a wound eight inches long and four inches deep, unleſs the hand and fingers graſped two inches of it at leaſt; and how the other two inches and a half of the razor could make ſuch a long and deep wound, as deſcribed by the Chirurgions, is incredible (21). 8. In ſhort, it is ſaid, That this murder was committed by the Duke of York's contrivance and direction, and perpetrated by the Earl of Sunderland, Lord Feverſham, and Paul Bomeney, my Lord's valet de chambre (22). In proof of this it is obſerved, 9. That the King and Duke of York were that morning in the Tower, from ſix o'clock till nine, where they had not been for twelve years before. 10. That the centinels, which uſed to be changed every two hours, continued upon duty from four to ten o'clock in the morning (23); being, probably, perſons that could beſt be truſted. However, that the day but one after the murder, they were called together, and ſtrictly charged not to ſpeak of what they had ſeen or heard (24). But Captain Hawley, having whiſpered ſomething about it, was found murdered (25): And Robert Meak, one of the centinels, not having been ſo ſilent as deſired, was murdered, and thrown into the Tower-ditch (26). 11. That a gate, at the lower-end of thoſe apartments where my Lord Eſſex was confined, which uſed to ſtand open from morning till night, was all that morning kept ſhut, by a ſpecial order, till his Lordſhip was dead. 12. That the King and Duke having been at the Lieutenant's houſe, about the middle of the alley where the Earl was impriſoned, the Duke did, ſoon after, with ſeveral waiting upon him, withdraw from the King, down into the alley, the gate whereof was ſtill kept ſhut. 13. That the Duke having withdrawn from the King, ſeveral perſons were immediately ſent from his ſide towards the Earl of Eſſex's lodgings, which returned not till after his death (27). 14. That P. Bomeney was juſtly ſuſpected by the reſt of my Lord's ſervants, by the laſt Earl of Eſſex, and many other perſons, to be the author of his maſter's death. Upon that ſuſpicion, the Counteſs diſmiſſed him out of her family. But he was, thereupon, cheriſhed and entertained by the Court, and made one of the Life-guards (28). As an evidence of his guilt, he was extremely frightened at the enquiry that was made into his maſter's death. 15. But that the Court was alſo acceſſary to this murder, is ſtrongly ſuſpected; becauſe they ſo earneſtly diſcouraged all manner of enquiry into it (29). For one Mr. Laurence Braddon, who was very active in diſcovering the true authors of this barbarous murder, was fined 2000l. in the King's-Bench; and Mr. Hugh Speke 1000l. (30). After all, by whom it was committed, is one of thoſe ſecrets, which cannot be fully revealed till the laſt great day of accounts. M.

(21) Enquiry, &c. as above, p. 44, 45.

(22) *Ibid.* p. 23, 35, 41.

(23) *Ibid.* p. 37.

(24) *Ibid.* p. 26.

(25) *Ib.* p. 39, 40.

(26) *Ibid.* p. 37, 38, 70.

(27) *Ib.* p. 62, 63.

(28) *Ibid.* p. 41, 42, 43.

(29) *Ib.* p. 24, &c.

(30) See the Trial of Laur. Braddon and Hugh Speke, Lond. 1684.

*** [The following obſervations on the arguments here produced in ſupport of the Earl of Eſſex's having been murdered, have been communicated to us by a gentleman of diſtinguiſhed eminence in a judicial capacity; and, as they tend to throw freſh light on an event which hath ſo much divided the opinions of men, we doubt not of their being very acceptable to our readers.

1. This proves nothing. The Earl of Eſſex's fits of madneſs may have been ſudden. I knew a man intended for the Church: He never wrote but one ſermon; it was againſt Self-Murder, and yet he murdered himſelf. 2. Had the Earl formed a premeditated deſign, he would have acted preciſely in the ſame manner, in order to prevent ſuſpicion. 3. Theſe reports, if true, only prove, what is now univerſally acknowledged, that there were great ſuſpicions of the men in power, as men who would ſtick at nothing to get rid of an enemy. 4. The declarations of the children, though laughed at by party-men, prove, in my apprehenſion, this fact: "That "a bloody razor was thrown from a window of Lord "Eſſex's lodging much about the time of the Earl's "death." Obſerve: Two children, unknown to each other, report this circumſtance immediately after the time at which, if true, it muſt have happened. They could not have been ſuborned at that time. The girl had ſo little idea of the conſequences drawn from the circumſtances ſhe related, that ſhe reported it as a proof that Eſſex had murdered himſelf. This ſurely is the language of nature, not of artifice. But it is ſaid, that the boy departed from his evidence. True; when Jefferies examined him he firſt aſſerted the truth of the circumſtance, and then denied it: But what then? It appears, from the trial of Braddon and Speke, that the boy was intimidated even before he appeared in Court. Beſides, a boy, examined in Court, may contradict what he had before declared in a more private manner, and yet his firſt aſſertion may be true, and his *latter* denial falſe. I ſaw a boy, in the trial of Andrew Wilſon for poiſoning his wife, who had given a diſtinct evidence before perſons in the country; and yet when he came to be examined in the Court of Juſticiary by other ſort of Judges than Jefferies, he would ſay nothing. Yet it was proved that what he had formerly ſaid was true; and there was no ſuſpicion of any foul play. Here the boy Edwards aſſerted a fact, and he afterwards denied it; his denial will not make it leſs true in itſelf, though it may derogate from the credit of his teſtimony. The great queſtion is, if Edwards did not ſee the razor, how came he to ſay that he did? How came he to make ſuch a lye? How was it poſſible for the girl Lodeman to make the ſame lye? It was ſaid that Edwards, when he played the truant, uſed to tell lies to excuſe himſelf; that on the 13th of July he had played the truant; and it muſt be preſumed that he told this lye to excuſe himſelf. But how could ſuch a lye excuſe him, or how could he think that it would? Such, however, was the logic of the Courts in the days of Charles the Second. 5. This might have happened by ſome one engaged in lifting the dead body from the place where it lay weltering in blood. 6. This proves *imprudence*, if true. 8, 9. The King and Duke of York's being at the Tower, ſeems to me a proof of their innocence, rather than of their guilt. For if they had meant to order Lord Eſſex to be murdered, what occaſion was there for their preſence in the Tower? 10. At the trial of Braddon and Speke, only one centinel made his appearance, Lewis, and he ſaid that he was the centinel on that day; and it would ſeem it was underſtood that there was no other centinel there at the time. 11, 12, 13. All theſe are circumſtances of no ſort of moment, although they were proved to be true. 14. Lady Eſſex's ſuſpicions are nothing to the purpoſe. If Bomeney was diſmiſſed from her ſervice, it was natural for the Court to provide for him. The office

(31) Month Review, vol. p. 121.

beſtowed

Algernon Earl of Eſſex, was Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to King William, Colonel of a regiment of dragoons, ſerved under him in Flanders, diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the battle of Landen, and attended at the great Congreſs in 1690. In the reign of Queen Anne, he was Conſtable of the Tower of London, Lieutenant-General of her armies, and Colonel of Dragoons. He was alſo, in both reigns, Lord Lieutenant, and

beſtowed on him could ſcarcely be conſiderable enough, had it been intended as the reward of his villainy. 15. The Earl of Eſſex's murdering himſelf was uſed by the Court partly as a proof of the conſpiracy, which was very poorly proved, againſt Lord Ruſſel and Col. Sidney. I blame this; but ſtill it was conſiſtent in the Court to aſſert that Lord Eſſex killed himſelf, and to puniſh thoſe who induſtriouſly reported the contrary, and endeavoured to collect evidence to that effect.

Mr. Hume treats the ſuſpicion of the Earl of Eſſex's having been murdered as very frivolous; and it is certain that moſt of Speke's arguments in ſupport of that ſuſpicion, have little ſolidity. But our learned correſpondent, at the ſame time, obſerves, that the writer of the Earl's article acted with much judgment and candour in leaving the queſtion undecided.

In the year 1770 were publiſhed, in one volume, quarto, "Letters written by his Excellency Arthur "Capel, Earl of Eſſex, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, "in the year 1675. To which is prefixed, An "hiſtorical account of his life." The hiſtorical account of the Earl's life, prefixed to theſe letters, is entirely taken from the BIOGRAPHIA, without any acknowledgment of the obligation owing to our learned predeceſſor. Neither has the editor otherwiſe been willing to impoſe much labour upon himſelf: for he has not added an index, or even a table of contents, to his publication; nor ſo much as acquainted us where his materials were preſerved, or by whom communicated. There is, however, no reaſon to doubt of their authenticity. The letters are generally written with eaſe, and are not deſtitute of elegance. They ſhew, likewiſe, the noble author's integrity, good ſenſe, and capacity for buſineſs. At the ſame time, we agree, with a periodical critic, that the work does not throw any conſiderable light on the period to which it refers. Many of the letters are of little importance, and regard matters which the public is no wiſe intereſted to know. A very ſmall volume would have been ſufficient to have contained thoſe of them which are of real value (31).

(31) Monthly Review, vol. xliii. p. 121.

In 1675, the Earl of Eſſex was deſirous of obtaining leave to come over to England, to lay before his Majeſty the ſtate of affairs in Ireland. The following letter, written whilſt he was urging this requeſt (which he obtained) will afford a ſpecimen of his manner of compoſition, and do honour to his character and views:

'To Sir HENRY CAPEL.

'DEAR BROTHER, Dublin Caſtle, June 12, 1675.

'I HAD not leiſure to write to you by the laſt, and 'therefore I directed Mr. Harbord to acknowledge the receipt of your letters. The various conjectures that men have of my coming over, and 'their gueſſes at the reaſons why I ſhould propoſe it, 'are as ridiculous as any thing I have ever met with. 'The truth is, this age is ſo ſubtle, that it is hard 'for any man living in it to believe there is one 'plain-dealing man left in the world. I never 'conſulted any one in England whatever, concerning 'my going; and there is but one ſingle perſon on 'this ſide the water who knew it, till I had diſpatched Mr. Godolphin (wherefore I would be 'glad that yourſelf and Mr. Harbord would enquire 'out who were the authors of that report of my 'being ſent for, four days before Mr. Godolphin 'reached London); I debated the matter calmly 'with myſelf, at leaſt, one month before I took the 'reſolution; and finding clearly, that there will be 'now an opportunity of ſettling this poor country in 'quiet and eaſe, if the King ſo think fit, I thought 'it worthy the offering my ſenſe upon that ſubject, 'and the propoſing my coming over, in order to a 'great and good end. I have ſpent now almoſt 'three years here, to inform myſelf of the true ſtate 'of this kingdom, and the ſeveral intereſts therein; 'and I hope I have not been an unprofitable obſerver of all matters relating to the conſtitutions of 'this government. When I entered upon my charge, 'I came from a retired life, and never had any thing 'of this nature committed to my truſt; and it was a 'hazard whether I would be able to perform it, ſo 'as might be for his Majeſty's ſervice. If there were 'nothing more than this in the caſe, that his Majeſty, having put a man unexperienced in government, into the greateſt command he has to give, 'where he has reſided near three years, and his 'Majeſty ſhould think fit to diſcourſe with him, and 'try if in this time he underſtands thoſe affairs which 'have been under his charge, and would hear him 'upon ſome debates at the committee for Iriſh buſineſs, to ſatisfy himſelf whether he be a man that 'has uſed diligence in his employment, and endeavoured to make himſelf maſter in the knowledge of 'that country, and has parts and capacity thereunto: 'if, upon theſe trials, the King ſhould find this 'perſon ignorant, and not able to ſpeak ſenſe in the 'concerns of that kingdom, it were doubtleſs reaſonable he be immediately removed, and another 'ſent that would ſerve better. But if his Majeſty 'ſhould find, that his chief governor has been induſtrious to inform himſelf of the ſtate of all things 'under his command, and has been virtuous and 'true to him in the diſcharge of his duty, this may 'confirm his Majeſty in his choice, and he may with 'honour be ſent back again to the government, as 'being capable to do his Majeſty more ſervice in that 'poſt, than any other. If there were, I ſay, no 'more than this in the caſe, it were ground ſufficient 'for his Majeſty to deſire to ſpeak with him. But 'if over and above all this, there is now an article 'of time approaching, wherein great good may be 'done to this country, and I have prepared myſelf 'to make propoſals thereunto, it ſeems a moſt wonderful thing to me, what ſhould be the reaſon that 'his Majeſty ſhould ſcruple the ſending for me over; 'and as ſtrange that men ſhould conjecture and have 'wild notions, as if I were put upon this journey by 'ſome or other who intend to miſchief me, and that 'I had over-reached myſelf therein: the plain truth 'being no more than this, that I find conſiderable 'matters may be done, and the ſeaſon of putting 'them into execution draws near; therefore I have 'offered my ſervice to his Majeſty, to be preſent at 'the debates of them. And if the King like of my 'coming, I am ready; and if not, having diſcharged 'my duty, I have no more to ſay. As to Mr. 'Godolphin's diſcourſing with you or Mr. Harbord 'upon this ſubject, he was not at all forbidden: 'and, I confeſs, I am much at eaſe now that my 'letters are delivered; for if I be commanded to 'come, I know it may conduce to the good of the 'kingdom; and if I do not go over, and any miſchief or irregularities happen to be done, let them 'bear the blame who take upon them to eſtabliſh 'rules for the government of this kingdom. By the 'next I ſhall return you the writings you ſent over, 'as alſo a particular of my brother Ned's eſtate, the 'latter of which I thought I had ſent long ago.

'I am your moſt affectionate brother,

'ESSEX (32).'

(32) Letters written by Arthu Capel, Earl of Eſſex, p. 335, 338.

Dr. Leland, ſpeaking of the Earl of Eſſex's adminiſtration in Ireland, obſerves, that neither King Charles nor his brother ſeem to have been ſatisfied with a Lord Lieutenant whoſe integrity was more rigid than their own, who objected to ſeveral exceptionable and clandeſtine meaſures, however authoriſed, and even refuſed obedience to the royal orders, when not exactly conformable to law (33).] K.

(33) Hiſtory of Ireland, vol. iii. p. 468.

Cuſtos

Cuſtos Rotulorum, of Hertfordſhire and St. Alban's. He died January 10, 1709-10, leaving iſſue, by the Lady Mary Bentinck, eldeſt daughter of William Earl of Portland, *William* the late Earl of Eſſex, and two daughters, the Lady *Elizabeth*, and the Lady *Mary* (*l*).

(*l*) Collins, *ibid.*

CAREW. The ſurname of an ancient family in Devonſhire and Cornwall, which hath produced ſeveral illuſtrious and eminent perſons. Some (*a*) fetch the original of that family from the Dukes or Kings of Suevia, now Schwabia, in High Germany: But others (*b*) with more probability, derive it from France[*A*], and think they came into England with William the Conqueror; that name occurring in Battle-Abbey-roll (*c*), though that roll is of little authority. The firſt of this line in England, was *Walter de Windſor*, ſo called from his being Caſtellan or Governor of the caſtle of Windſor: He had two ſons, William, from whom the Lords Windſors are deſcended; and Gerald, from whom the Carews and Fitzgeralds. This Gerald was Caſtellan or Governor of the caſtle of Pembroke in Wales; and in great favour with King Henry I. who granted him the lordſhip of Mullesford in Berkſhire (†). He married Neſta, daughter of Rees, Prince of South-Wales; whoſe dowry was the caſtle of Carew in thoſe parts[*B*]. By this Lady he had three ſons, William, Maurice, and David. David, the youngeſt, was Biſhop of St. David's. From Maurice Fitz-gerald, the ſecond ſon, are iſſued the noble families of Kildare and Deſmond in Ireland. William, the eldeſt, Lord of Carrio, had iſſue Raymond who died without iſſue, Otho, and others. Otho had iſſue William, the firſt that took the ſurname of *de Carrio*, or *Carru* (*d*). His ſucceſſors, for ſome generations, were, William; Nicolas; William; Sir Nicolas, Knt; and Sir Nicolas, Baron of Carru and Mullesford, ſummoned by writ to Parliament, in the reign of King Edward I. This Sir Nicolas married the ſiſter and heir of Sir John Peverel, of Weſton-Peverel near Plymouth, by whom he had a large eſtate in thoſe parts, as Weſton-Peverel, Aſhford-Peverel, Manhead, and other places. He had iſſue by this Lady four ſons, Sir John, Thomas, Nicolas, and William. From Nicolas deſcended the family of *Carew*, of Beddington in Surrey. Sir John, the eldeſt ſon, married firſt, Eleanor, daughter and heir of Sir William Mohun, of Mohun's-Ottery, Knt. by whom he had Nicolas: he married, to his ſecond wife, Joan, daughter of Gilbert Lord Talbot, by which he had Sir John, to whom his brother Nicolas, dying without iſſue, left his eſtate (*e*). On this Sir John I ſhall enlarge a little in the next article.

(*a*) Weſtcot's Deſcript. of Devonſhire in Bicklegh. MS. cited by Mr. Prince, Worthies of Devonſh. &c. Exeter, 1701, p. 148.

(*b*) R. Carew, Survey of Cornwall, edit. 1602, 4*to*, p. 103, B. ii.

(*c*) See Stow's Annals, edit. 1631, fol. p. 105.

(†) Camden's Britannia, edit. 1722, vol. i. col. 163.

(*d*) Prince, Worthies, *ubi ſupra*, p. 149.

(*e*) *Ibid.*

[*A*] *Others, with more probability, derive it from France.*] Particularly Richard Carew, Eſq; in the place cited above, ſpeaks thus:

Carew, of ancient, Carru was;
And Carru is a plow †:
Romans the trade, Frenchmen the word;
I do the name avow.

(†) *Vix.* in old French; for the preſent French word is *Charuë*.

[*B*] *Whoſe dowry was the caſtle of Carew in thoſe parts.*] This caſtle ſtands in Pembrokeſhire; and either gave name to, or took it's name from, the family of Carew. Which of the two it was, cannot eaſily be determined at this diſtance of time. Mr. Camden inclines to the latter opinion (1), and affirms, that it 'gave both name and original to the illuſtrious family 'of Carew.' So doth alſo Mr. Wood (2), *A Carew caſtro in agro Pembrochienſi Cognomen ſortitus eſt*, viz. *Georgius Carew*. i. e. He took his ſurname from Carew-caſtle in Pembrokeſhire. M.

(1) Britannia, edit. 1722, fol. vol. ii. col. 754.

(2) Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 63.

CAREW (Sir JOHN) Knt. Baron of Carew and Mullesford, was born at Mohuns-Ottery, ſo called from its Lords the Mohuns (*a*); and which paſſed unto the Carews in the manner above-mentioned. He was a great ſoldier, and valiantly ſerved King Edward III. in his wars in France (*b*). Very probably, he was preſent at the ever-memorable battle of Creſſy; in which was ſlain his brave ſon, Sir John Carew, whoſe courage and conduct had preferred him to the honour of knighthood (*c*). In the year 1348, John, Baron of Carew, was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, and after having continued in that honourable poſt about two years, returned to England (*d*). He died May the 16th, 1363 (*e*). Beſides his ſon, who was ſlain as is above related, he had another, named Leonard, who had iſſue Sir Thomas Carew, of whom in the next article. M.

(*a*) Prince, p. 148.

(*b*) Riſdon, Survey of Cornwal, in Mohuns-Ottery.

(*c*) *Idem.*

(*d*) Campion's Hiſt. of Ireland, Dublin, fol. 1633, p. 90.

(*e*) Sir W. Pole, under the head F. Soldiers, MS. in Prince, *ubi ſupra*, p. 149, 150.

CAREW (Sir THOMAS.) This Sir Thomas was alſo a brave ſoldier. He had the charge of the navy, and three thouſand Engliſh ſoldiers committed to him, for ſecuring the Emperor Sigiſmund, during his abode in England (*a*). In the beginning of the reign of King Henry V. he valiantly ſerved that heroic Prince in his wars in France, and was undoubtedly at the battle of Agincourt (*b*). In the year 1418, he was appointed to keep and defend the paſſage over the river Seine, and was made Captain of Harfleur (*c*). He died January 25, 1430-1, leaving iſſue Sir *Nicolas*, Baron Carew: who married Joan, daughter of Sir Hugh Courtenay, of Haccombe, Knight, by Philippa his wife, daughter, and one of the heirs of Sir Warren Ercedecon, or Archdeacon (*d*), of that place, Knight. Sir Nicolas had, by his ſaid Lady Joan, three ſons; Sir *Thomas*, Knight, Nicolas, Hugh, Alexander (*e*). Sir Thomas happening

(*a*) Riſdon, *ubi ſupra*.

(*b*) Prince, *ubi ſupra*, p. 150.

(*c*) Sir W. Pole, *ubi ſupra*, as cited by Mr. Prince, p. 150.

(*d*) Or Lerchdeckne; as he is called elſewhere by Mr. Prince, p. 178.

(*e*) Prince, p. 150, 178.

pening to diſoblige his mother in a very high degree, ſhe ſettled ſeventeen manors on her younger ſons, which proved the foundation of three great families, that have flouriſhed ever ſince. *Haccombe* [*A*], with four manors, ſhe ſettled on Nicolas her ſecond ſon, to whom fell, by entail, the third brother's inheritance. To Hugh, ſhe gave *Biry*; from whom is deſcended Carew of *Stodelegh*. And to Alexander, ſhe gave *Anthony* in Cornwal (*f*). Sir Thomas above-mentioned, was the father of Sir *Nicolas* Carew; who married Margaret, eldeſt daughter of Sir John Dinham, Knight, ſiſter and one of the heirs of John, Lord Dinham, of Nutwel, in Devonſhire, Lord High-Treaſurer of England; and left iſſue, Sir *Edmund* Carew, Knight (*g*), who was a brave ſoldier. Among other children, he had Thomas Carew, of whom in the next article.

(*f*) Prince, p. 178. See alſo Camden's Britannia in Devonſhire.

(g) Prince, p. 150.

[*A*] *Haccombe.*] Mr. Prince informs us (1), That, as to number of dwellings, this pariſh of Haccombe is the ſmalleſt in England; conſiſting but of two dwellings, the Manſion or Manor-houſe, and the Parſonage. But it enjoys privileges beyond the greateſt: for it is out of any hundred, and beyond the precincts of any officer, civil or military, to take cognizance of any proceedings therein. And, by a royal grant from the Crown, is exempted from all duties and taxes, for ſome noble ſervices done by ſome of the anceſtors of this family, towards its ſupport. The Rector of that Church hath alſo great privileges; namely, a ſinecure in Cornwal of good value; and, as Rector of Haccombe, he is Archprieſt; and, it is ſaid, may claim the privilege of wearing lawn-ſleeves, and of ſitting next the Biſhop; and is under the viſitation only of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

M.

(1) Worthies of Devon. *ubi ſupra*, p. 178.

CAREW (Thomas) his ſecond ſon; and the firſt of the name of Carew, who ſettled at *Bicklegh*, in the county of Devon (*a*). He was born at Mohuns-Ottery, and became poſſeſſed of Bicklegh, by marrying the only daughter and heir of Humphrey Courtenay, Eſquire [*A*]. He was like his father, a perſon of a martial ſpirit, and got great honour and renown in the wars. In the year 1513, he attended, Thomas, Earl of Surrey in his expedition againſt Scotland; and was at the battle of Floddenfield, fought the 9th of September the ſame year, wherein the Scots were defeated, and their King James IV. ſlain (*b*). Before this battle, a Scottiſh Knight, having made a challenge to any Engliſh gentleman to fight with him for the honour of his country, Mr. Carew deſired to anſwer the challenge (*c*), and conquered his bragging adverſary; which brought him into great favour with his General, the Earl of Surrey. But, after the battle, he had another opportunity of gaining farther his eſteem and affection. For his Lordſhip taking Mr. Carew along with him, as he rode out upon ſervice, deſcried a band of Scots coming towards them. Having a very ſtrait paſſage over a bridge to croſs, the Earl was in great danger of being there entrapped and taken. To prevent that, Carew perſuaded him to exchange armour and dreſs with him, that he might, if occaſion were, make his eſcape the more eaſily, which the General readily conſented to. The enemy coming on to this narrow paſs, Mr. Carew, in his rich habit, well mounted, croſſed the bridge with his horſe; and for a time ſo valiantly defended it, that no man could paſs; by which means he gained time, and provided for his General's eſcape. However, Mr. Carew himſelf was at laſt taken priſoner, to the great joy of the enemy, who imagined they had taken the General himſelf. But finding themſelves diſappointed, they carried him to the Caſtle of Dunbar, where he remained a priſoner for ſome time. At length he was redeemed, and the Earl of Surrey never forgot the noble ſervices he had done him, but entertained him, ever after, with all courteſy and friendſhip; made him his Vice-Admiral, and aſſiſted him in all his affairs (*d*). The time of this Mr. Carew's death is unknown (*e*). He out-lived his firſt wife, the heir of Courtenay, who ſettled on him and his heirs for ever, all her eſtate (*f*). For his ſecond wife, he had the daughter of ——— Smart, by whom he had iſſue, *Humphrey* Carew, Eſquire. He left a ſon, named *Peter*, who, by the daughter of George Cary, of Clovelly, Eſq; had iſſue, Sir *Henry* Carew, the laſt heir male of this line. He married one of the daughters of Sir Reginald Mohun, of Cornwal, Knight, by whom he had iſſue, two daughters and heirs; the eldeſt of which was married to Sir *Thomas* Carew, of Haccombe, Baronet, and ſo theſe two houſes of *Bicklegh* and *Haccombe* came to be united (*g*). This honourable family hath flouriſhed in thoſe parts ever ſince.

(*a*) Prince, p. 176.

(*b*) Buchanan in James IV. Hollingſhed's Chron. edit. 1587, p. 825, &c. Prince, *ubi ſupra*, p. 177.

(*c*) Weſtc. Surv. of Devon. in Bicklegh, MS. cited by Mr. Prince, *ubi ſupra*, p. 177.

(*d*) Prince, *ubi ſupra*.

(*e*) *Idem.* p. 178.

(*f*) *Idem.* p. 177.

(*g*) *Idem.* p. 178.

[*A*] *He became poſſeſſed of Bicklegh, by marrying the only daughter and heir of Humphrey Courtenay, Eſq;*] Bicklegh was formerly the inheritance of the honourable family of the Courtenays, of Powderham-caſtle (1), and uſed to be a portion for a younger ſon of that houſe. At length it came to be ſettled upon Humphrey, the youngeſt ſon of Sir Philip Courtenay; which Humphrey dying before his father, left his only daughter and heir under Sir Philip's care. Sir Philip intruſted her to Sir William Carew (eldeſt brother to this Thomas whom we are now about) who had married his eldeſt ſon's daughter, couſin-german to this Lady. Mr. Thomas Carew living with his brother, became very familiar with this young fortune, courted her, and having obtained her good-will, carried her away ſecretly by night, and married her. This being highly reſented by Sir Philip, the young Lady's grandfather, and alſo by Sir William, Mr. Thomas Carew's brother, Mr. Carew to avoid the effects of their indignation, and to give them time to cool, reſolved to go into the wars; and ſo entered himſelf into the army, that was then preparing to march againſt the Scots (2).

(1) Sir W. Pole's Deſcr. of Devon. in Bicklegh.

(2) Prince, *ubi ſupra*, p. 176, 177.

CAREW (George) afterwards Earl of Totnes (deſcended from an ancient family in the Weſt of England, originally ſo named from Carew-Caſtle (*a*) in Pembrokeſhire) was born in 1557 (*b*). His mother was Anne, daughter of Sir Nicolas Harvey, Knight (*c*), and his father, George, Archdeacon of Totnes, and ſucceſſively Dean of Briſtol, of the Queen's Chapel, of Windſor, of Chriſt-Church Oxon, and of Exeter; beſides ſeveral other preferments (*d*), moſt of which he reſigned before his deceaſe. Mr. George Carew, in 1572, at the age of fifteen, was admitted Gentleman Commoner of Broadgate-Hall (now Pembroke-College) in Oxford; where he made a good proficiency in learning, particularly in the ſtudy of Antiquities (*e*). But being of an activ temper, he left the Univerſity without a degree; and applying himſelf to military affairs, went and ſerved in Ireland againſt the Earl of Deſmond (*f*). In the year 1580, he was made Governor of Aſketten-Caſtle (*g*). In 1589, he was created Maſter of Arts at Oxford, being then a Knight (*h*). Some time after, being conſtituted Lieutenant-General of the Artillery, or Maſter of the Ordnance in Ireland, he was one of the Commanders at the expedition to Cadiz, in 1596; and again, the next year, in the intended expedition againſt Spain (*i*). Having in 1599, been appointed Preſident of Munſter (*k*), he was in 1600, made Treaſurer of the army, and one of the Lords Juſtices of Ireland (*l*). When he entered upon his government, he found every thing in a deplorable condition; all the country being in open and actual rebellion, excepting a few of the better ſort, and himſelf having for his defence but three thouſand foot and two hundred and fifty horſe. However, he behaved with ſo much conduct and bravery, that he reduced to the Queen's obedience the Caſtles and Forts of Loghguyre, Cahir, Ballitrarſnie, Crome, Glyn, Carrigfoyle, Lixnaw, Rathowin, Tralee, Mayne, Ardart, Liſtoell, Dingle, *&c.* took James Fitz Thomas, the titular Earl of Deſmond, and Oconnor, priſoners; and brought the Bourkes, Obriens, and many other Iriſh rebels, to ſubmiſſion (*m*). He did alſo very good ſervice againſt thoſe ſix thouſand Spaniards, who landed at Kinſale, October 1, 1601, and had ſo well eſtabliſhed the province of which he was Preſident, by apprehending the chief of thoſe he miſtruſted, and taking pledges of the reſt, that not any one perſon of conſideration joined the Spaniards (*n*). In 1602, he made himſelf Maſter of the Caſtle of Donboy, which was a very difficult undertaking, and reckoned almoſt impracticable. But the taking of it was of great conſequence; for it ſtopped the coming of an army of Spaniards, which were ready to ſail for Ireland (*o*). He had for ſome time been deſirous of quitting his burdenſome office of Preſident of Munſter [*A*], but he could not obtain permiſſion to do it till the beginning of the year 1603, when, leaving that province in a firm and univerſal peace, he arrived in England the 21ſt of March, three days before his miſtreſs, Queen Elizabeth's death (*p*). His merit was ſo great, that he was taken notice of by the new King, and made by him, in the firſt year of his reign, Governor of the Iſle of Guernſey, and Caſtle Cornet (*q*): and having married Joyce, the daughter and heir of William Clopton, of Clopton, in the county of Warwick, Eſq; he was, on the 4th of June 1605, advanced to the degree of a Baron, by the title of Lord Carew, of Clopton (*r*). Afterwards he was made Vice-Chamberlain and Treaſurer to King James's Queen; and in 1608, conſtituted Maſter of the Ordnance throughout England for life; and ſworn of the Privy-Council to the King, as he had before been to Queen Elizabeth (*s*). Upon King Charles Iſt's acceſſion to the Crown, he was by him created, on February 1, 1625, Earl of Totnes. At length, being full of years and honours, he departed this life at the Savoy in London, March 27, 1629, aged ſeventy-three years and ten months; and was buried at Stratford upon Avon, near Clopton above-mentioned: leaving behind him the character (*t*) of a faithful ſubject, a valiant and prudent Commander, an honeſt Counſellor, a genteel Scholar, a lover of Antiquities, and a great Patron of Learning [*B*]. A ſtately monument was erected to his memory, by his widow (*u*), with a long inſcription reciting his actions above-mentioned.

(*a*) Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 423, col. 1.

(*b*) See Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. col. 529. He was entered in the univerſity in 1572, aged 15.

(*c*) Dugdale, *ibid.*

(*d*) Wood, *ubi ſupra*, Faſti, col. 32, and Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. p. 254. George Carew, who is the ſubject of this article, was his ſecond ſon. Prince, Worthies of Devon. Exon. 1701, p. 204.

(*e*) See Life of W. Camden.

(*f*) Camden's Annal. Eliz. ad Ann. 1579.

(*g*) *Ibid.* ad an. 1580.

(*h*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(*i*) Camden, Ann. under thoſe years. Stow, p. 772, 783.

(*k*) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, Part i. p. 423. Pacata Hibernia, p. 3.

(*l*) Camden, ad ann. 1600.

(*m*) Pacata Hibernia.

(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 197.

(*o*) *Ibid.* p. 291, 327.

(*p*) *Ibid.* p. 390. This ſhews A. Wood's miſtake, who ſays that he was called home after King James came to the crown, vol. i. col. 529.

(*q*) Dugdale, *ubi ſupra*, p. 423.

(*r*) *Ibid.*

(*s*) *Ibid.* and Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(*t*) Wood, *ibid.* Prince, Worthies of Devon, p. 198.

(*u*) See the figure of it in Dugdale's Antiq. of Warwickſhire, edit. 1730, vol. ii. p. 686, 687.

[*A*] *He had been—deſirous of quitting his—office of Preſident.*] As appears from the following paſſages in a letter of his to the Queen, dated June 3, 1601. ——'I live like one loſt to himſelf, and wither out 'my days in torment of mind, untill it ſhall pleaſe 'your Sacred Majeſtie to redeem me from this exile, 'which I doe humbly beſeech your Majeſtie to com-'miſerate, and to ſhorten the ſame as ſpeedily as may 'be, —— for better than a baniſhment I cannot 'eſteeme my fortune, that deprives me from behold-'ing your Majeſty's perſon——(1).'

(1) Pacata Hibern. p. 141.

[*B*] *A lover of Antiquities*, &c.] He wrote, or cauſed to be written under his direction and appointment, a book intitled, *Pacata Hibernia*, or The Hiſtory of the Wars in Ireland, eſpecially within the province of Mounſter, in the years 1599, 1600, 1601, and 1602; which, after his death, was printed at London, in 1633, fol. with ſeventeen maps; being publiſhed by his natural ſon, Thomas Staſford.——Sir George Carew collected alſo, in four large volumes, ſeveral Chronologies, Charters, Letters, Monuments, Maps, *&c.* relating to Ireland; which are preſerved in the Bodleian library:——And made Collections, Notes, and Extracts for writing *The Hiſtory of the reign of King Henry* V. which were inſerted in J. Speed's Chronicle (2). M.

(2) Wood, *ubi ſupra.* Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 423.

CAREW (Sir ALEXANDER) of Anthony in Cornwal, beheaded for endeavouring to deliver Plymouth to King Charles I. was born at Anthony. He had a very good education (*a*); and being a gentleman of a conſiderable fortune, was choſen one of the Knights for the county of Cornwal, in the Parliament, which met at Weſtminſter, November 3, 1640 (*b*). In this Parliament, he ſided with thoſe Members who oppoſed the Court-meaſures; and was one of the moſt violent amongſt them (*c*); and afterwards very active in ſettling the militia in Cornwal (*d*). He voted for the Earl of Strafford's attainder, in 1641, tho' he was preſſed to the contrary by Sir Bevil Greenville [*A*], the other Knight of the ſhire for Cornwal (*e*). When Plymouth was ſecured by the Parliament, Mr. Carew was intruſted with the cuſtody and government of St. Nicolas's iſland and fort, which command the harbour, and were looked upon as the ſecurity of the town, eſpecially as they had a ſufficient garriſon (*f*). But, after the battle of Stratton, when the forces of King Charles I. prevailed ſo far over the Weſt, that Briſtol was taken by them, and Exeter cloſely beſieged, Sir Alexander Carew [*B*] began to think, his iſland and fort would hardly ſecure his own eſtate in Cornwal; and underſtood the law ſo well, as to know, that the ſide he had choſen, would be no longer the better, than whilſt it ſhould continue the ſtronger: and having originally followed no other motives, than of popularity and intereſt, reſolved now to redeem his errors. So, he found means to correſpond with ſome of his old friends and neighbours in Cornwal, and by them to make a direct overture to ſurrender that fort and iſland to the King, upon the aſſurance of his Majeſty's pardon, and a full remiſſion of his offences (*g*). Sir John Berkley, who then lay before Exeter, was the next ſupreme officer, qualified to entertain ſuch a treaty; and he, inſtantly, by the ſame conveyance, returned him as ample aſſurance of his own conditions as could be; with advice, That he ſhould not upon any defect of forms (which, upon his engagement, ſhould be ſupplied with all poſſible expedition, to his own ſatisfaction) defer conſummating the work, which hereafter, poſſibly, might not be in his power to effect. But Sir Alexander was ſo careful of his own ſecurity, that he would not proceed, till he was ſufficiently aſſured, that his pardon had paſſed the great ſeal. Before this time, though all imaginable haſte was made, by the treachery of a ſervant whom he truſted (*h*), or elſe by his own ſoldiers (*i*), his treaty and deſign were diſcovered to the Mayor of Plymouth, and the reſt of the Committee there: whereupon, he was ſuddenly, and without reſiſtance, ſurprized in his fort, and carried priſoner to Plymouth (*k*); in which place the women were ſo enraged with him, that it was difficult to reſcue him from their execution (*l*). From Plymouth, he was ſent by ſea to London (*m*); where the Houſe of Commons voted him diſabled from being a member (*n*): and being tried at Guildhall, by a Court-Martial (*o*), or Council of War (*p*) [*C*], he was beheaded on Tower-hill, the twenty-third day of December 1644 (*q*); on purpoſe to deter others from attempts of the like nature.

(*a*) Lord Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, &c. Book v. p. 395, edit. 8vo. Oxon. 1731.

(*b*) Notitia Parliamentaria, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; vol. ii. edit. 1716, p. 13.

(*c*) Clarendon, *ubi ſupra.*

(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 128.

(*e*) Short View of the late Troubles in England, &c. by Sir William Dugdale, Oxford, 1681, p. 198. The Rebellion of England, &c. by Sir Rog. Manley, Knt. 8vo. Lond. 1628, p. 80.

(*f*) Clarendon, *ubi ſupra.*

(*g*) *Ibid.*

(*h*) Clarendon, *ubi ſupra.*

(*i*) Whitelock's Memorials, &c. edit. 1732, p. 72.

(*k*) Clarendon, *ubi ſupra.*

(*l*) Whitelock, *ibid*

(*m*) Clarendon, *ib.*

(*n*) Whitelock, *ibid.*

(*o*) *Ibid.*

(*p*) Dugdale, *ubi ſupra.*

(*q*) *Ibid.* Whitelock, p. 121. Memorable Occurrences in 1644, at the end of Mercurius Ruſticus.

[*A*] *Tho' he was preſſed to the contrary by Sir Bevil Greenville.*] Who ſat next to him in the houſe; and thus ſpoke to him: 'Pray, Sir, let it never be ſaid, 'that any member of our county ſhould have a hand 'in this fatal buſineſs; and therefore, pray ye give 'your vote againſt the bill.' But Mr. Carew inſtantly replied, 'If I were ſure to be the next man that 'ſhould ſuffer upon the ſame ſcaffold, with the ſame 'ax, I would give my conſent to the paſſing of it.' And it ſeems he was afterwards beheaded with the ſame ax (1). But this, tho' related as ſomething wonderful, was really but accidental: And it ſhows the ſincerity of Mr. Carew, however miſtaken he might be.

(1) Dugdale's Short View, &c. *ubi ſupra*, and Manley, *ubi ſup.*

[*B*] *Sir Alexander Carew*, &c.] He is named in Br. Willis (2), only Alexander Carew, Eſq; and by Whitelock (3), Mr. Carew. But by Sir William Dugdale, and Sir Roger Manley (4), he is named from the firſt, Sir Alexander Carew, even when he voted againſt the Earl of Strafford. So great is the negligence and inaccuracy of Hiſtorians! His father, Richard Carew, Eſq; was created a Baronet, Auguſt 9, 1641 (5), and in all likelihood was dead before 1644. For then Mr. Whitelock (6) ſtyles the perſon whom we are ſpeaking of, Sir Alexander Carew; as doth alſo the Earl of Clarendon.

(2) *Ubi ſupra.*

(3) Memorials, edit. 1732, p. 72.

(4) *Ubi ſupra.*

(5) See Liſt of Baronets, in ſeveral authors.

(6) *Ubi ſupra*, p. 112, 114.

[*C*] *Being tried by a Court-Martial*, &c.] After he was condemned, his Lady petitioned the Parliament, alledging, That he was diſtracted and unfit to die, and prayed a reprieve for him, which was granted (7).

C.

(7) Whitelock, p. 114.

CAREW (THOMAS) a celebrated Poet of the laſt Century, *famed*, as Anthony Wood expreſſes it (*a*), *for the charming ſweetneſs of his Lyric odes and amorous ſonnets*, was younger brother of Sir Matthew Carew, a great Royaliſt in the time of the civil war, of the family of the Carews in Glouceſterſhire, but deſcended from the ancient family of that name in Devonſhire. The year of his birth is not known. He had his academical education at Corpus-Chriſti College, in Oxford, but was not matriculated as a member of that houſe, nor took any degree. Afterwards improving his parts by travelling, and converſation with men of learning and ingenuity at London, he became *reckoned among the chiefeſt of his time for delicacy of wit and poetic fancy*. His abilities recommending him to the Court, he was made Gentleman of the privy chamber, and Sewer in ordinary to his Majeſty King Charles I. who always eſteemed him as one of the moſt celebrated wits of his Court. He was much reſpected, if not adored, by the Poets of his time, particularly Ben Jonſon and Sir William Davenant.

(*a*) Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 630.

nant [*A*]. This ingenious gentleman died in the prime of his life, about the year 1639, leaving behind him ſeveral poems, and a maſque called *Cœlum Britannicum* [*B*].

[*A*] *He was much reſpected, if not adored, by the poets of his time, particularly Ben Jonſon and Sir William Davenant.*] Sir William addreſſed ſome ſtanzas to Mr. Carew, celebrating his wit and talent in poetry, among which are theſe lines (1):

(1) See Langbaine's Account of the Dramatic Poets, Oxf. 1691, p. 45.

Not but thy verſes are as ſmooth and high
As glory, love, and wine from wit can raiſe;
But now the devil take ſuch deſtiny!
What ſhould commend them turns to their diſpraiſe.

Thy wit's chief virtue is become it's vice;
For every beauty thou haſt raiſed ſo high,
That now coarſe faces carry ſuch a price,
As muſt undo a lover that wou'd buy.

Sir John Suckling, that gay wit, who delighted to rally the beſt poets, and ſpared not Ben Jonſon himſelf, has thus played upon our author in his *Seſſion of the Poets* (2).

(2) See Sir John Suckling's Poems, p. 8.

Tom Carew was next, but he had a fault,
That wou'd not well ſtand with a *Laureat:*
His muſe was hide-bound, and iſſue of's brain,
Was ſeldom brought forth, but with labour and pain.

All that were there preſent did agree,
That a Laureat Muſe ſhou'd be eaſy and free;
Yet ſure 'twas not that; but 'twas thought that his Grace
Conſider'd he was well, he had a cup-bearer's place.

[*B*] *Several poems, with a maſque called* Cœlum Britannicum.] They have been ſeveral times reprinted, the fourth edition being in 8*vo*. Lond. 1670. The maſque was performed at Whitehall on Shrove-Tueſday night, the 18th of February 1633, by the King's Majeſty, the Duke of Lenox, the Earls of Devonſhire, Holland, Newport, *&c.* with ſeveral other young Lords and Noblemen's ſons. Mr. Carew was aſſiſted in the contrivance by Mr. Inigo Jones, the famous Architect; and all the ſongs were ſet to muſic by the celebrated Mr. Henry Lawes, Gentleman of the King's Chapel, and one of the private muſic to King Charles I. As this piece was written by the King's eſpecial command, our author put this diſtich in the front, when printed:

Non habet ingenium; Cæſar ſed juſſit; habebo:
Cur me poſſe negem, poſſe quod ille putat?

This maſque was formerly, through a miſtake, aſcribed to Sir William Davenant, and is therefore not mentioned, either by Mr. Philips or Mr. Winſtanley in their Lives of the Poets (3). B.

(3) Langbaine, *ubi ſupra*, p. 44.

*** [Mr. Carew was one of the gentlemen with whom the great Earl of Clarendon, when a young man, and a ſtudent of the law, was particularly acquainted. Accordingly, in his Life and Continuation, the noble hiſtorian has drawn our poet's character, which is too honourable to his memory to be here omitted. 'Thomas Carew was a younger 'brother of a good family, and of excellent parts, 'and had ſpent many years of his youth in France 'and Italy; and returning from travel followed the 'court; which the modeſty of that time diſpoſed 'men to do ſome time, before they pretended to be 'of it; and he was very much eſteemed by the moſt 'eminent perſons in the court, and well looked upon 'by the King himſelf, ſome years before he could 'obtain to be Sewer to the King; and when the King 'conferred that place upon him, it was not without 'the regret even of the whole Scotch nation, which 'united themſelves in recommending another gentleman to it; of ſo great value were thoſe relations 'held in that age, when Majeſty was beheld with the 'reverence it ought to be. He was a perſon of a 'pleaſant and facetious wit, and made many poems '(eſpecially in the amorous way) which for the 'ſharpneſs of the fancy, and the elegancy of the language, in which that fancy was ſpread, were at 'leaſt equal, if not ſuperior, to any of that time: 'But his glory was, that after fifty years of his life 'ſpent with leſs ſeverity or exactneſs than it ought 'to have been, he died with the greateſt remorſe for 'that licenſe, and with the greateſt manifeſtation of 'chriſtianity, that his beſt friends could deſire (4).' It is evident, from this account, that Mr. Carew's deceaſe did not, as repreſented in the text, take place in the prime of his life. As his works may probably now be little known to many of our readers, we ſhall inſert one of his ſonnets (which have been much admired) as a ſpecimen of his poetical talents:

(4) Clarendon's Life, vol. i. p. 36. third edition.

'BOLDNESS IN LOVE.

'Mark how the baſhful morn in vain
'Courts the amorous marigold
'With ſighing blaſts, and weeping rain;
'Yet ſhe refuſes to unfold.
'But when the planet of the day,
'Approacheth with his powerful ray,
'Then ſhe ſpreads, then ſhe receives
'His warmer beams into her virgin leaves.

'So ſhalt thou thrive in love, fond boy,
'If thy tears and ſighs diſcover
'Thy grief, thou never ſhalt enjoy
'The juſt reward of a bold lover:
'But when with moving accents thou
'Shalt conſtant faith and ſervice vow,
'Thy Celia ſhall receive thoſe charms
'With open ears, and with unfolded arms (5).' K.

(5) Cibber's, or rather Shiels's Lives of the Poets, vol. i. p. 251.

*** [As our learned predeceſſors have thought proper to give a ſhort account of ſo many of the Carews, we ſhall add two other perſons of the ſame name and family, who had an equal right to a place in this work with moſt of thoſe who have already been mentioned.

CAREW (RICHARD), author of the *Survey* of Cornwal, was the eldeſt ſon of Thomas Carew [*A*], of Eaſt Anthony, Eſq; by Elizabeth Edgecombe, daughter of Richard Edgecombe, of Edgecombe, Eſq; both in the ſame county, and was born in the year 1555. When very young, he became a Gentleman Commoner of Chriſt-Church College, Oxford; and at fourteen years of age had the honour of diſputing, *extempore*, with the afterwards famous Sir Philip Sydney, in the preſence of the Earls of Leiceſter, Warwick, and other nobility. After ſpending three years at the Univerſity, he removed to the Middle Temple, where he reſided the ſame length of time, and then travelled into foreign parts. Whilſt he was in France, he applied himſelf diligently to

[*A*] *Of Thomas Carew.*] 'This Thomas Carew 'was ſon and heir of Sir Wymond Carew, of Eaſt 'Anthony, Knight, by Martha, daughter of Ed-'mund, and ſiſter of Sir Anthony Denny, Knight. 'Sir Wymond was ſon and heir of John Carew, 'the ſon and heir of Alexander Carew, of Eaſt Anthony, Eſq; third ſon of Nicholas, Baron Carew, 'who lived in the reign of Henry the Sixth (1).'

(1) Birch's Hiſtorical View of the Negotiations between the Courts of England, France, and Bruſſels. Introduction, p. xvi. note.

the acquiſition of the French language; and, by reading and converſation, he gained a compleat knowledge of it in three quarters of a year. Not long after his return to England, he married, in 1577, Juliana Arundel, of Trerice. In 1581, Mr. Carew was made Juſtice of the Peace, and in 1586 was appointed High-Sheriff of the county of Cornwal; about which time he was, likewiſe, Queen's Deputy for the Militia. In 1589, he was elected a Member of the College of Antiquaries, a diſtinction to which he was entitled by his literary abilities and purſuits. What particularly engaged his attention was his native county, his *Survey* of which was publiſhed, in quarto, at London, in 1602 (*a*). It hath been twice reprinted, firſt in 1723, and next in 1769 (*b*). Of this work Camden hath ſpoken in high terms, and acknowledges his obligations to the author (*c*). In the preſent improved ſtate of topographical knowledge, and ſince Dr. Borlaſe's excellent publications relative to the county of Cornwal, the value of Mr. Carew's *Survey* muſt have been greatly diminiſhed. Mr. Gough remarks, that the hiſtory and monuments of this county were faintly touched by Mr. Carew; but it is added, that he was a perſon extremely capable of deſcribing them, if the infancy of thoſe ſtudies at that time had afforded him light and materials (*d*). Another work of our author was a tranſlation from the Italian, entitled, 'The Examination of Men's 'Wits. In which, by diſcovering the Variety of Natures, is ſhewed for what Pro-'feſſion each One is apt, and how far He ſhall profit therein.' This was publiſhed at London, in 1594, and afterwards in 1604; and, though Richard Carew's name is prefixed to it, hath been principally aſcribed by ſome perſons to his father. According to Wood, Mr. Carew wrote, alſo, 'The true' and ready Way to learn the Latin 'Tongue,' in anſwer to a query, whether the ordinary method of teaching the Latin by the rules of grammar, be the beſt mode of inſtructing youths in that language. This tract is involved in Mr. Samuel Hartlib's book upon the ſame ſubject, and with the ſame title. It is certain that Mr. Carew was a gentleman of conſiderable abilities and literature, and that he was held in great eſtimation by ſome of the moſt eminent ſcholars of his time. He was particularly intimate with Sir Henry Spelman, who extols him for his ingenuity, virtue, and learning. Amongſt his neighbours, he was celebrated as the moſt excellent manager of bees in Cornwal. He died on the ſixth of November, 1620, and was buried with his anceſtors, in the church of St. Anthony, where a ſplendid monument, with a large inſcription, in Latin, was erected to his memory. In an epigram written upon him, he was ſtiled, 'another Livy, another 'Maro, another Papirian (*e*).' Such were the abſurd and extravagant encomiums which the learned men of that age often beſtowed upon each other!] K.

(*a*) Wood's Athenæ, vol. i. col. 452, 453.

(*b*) Gough's Britiſh Topography, vol. i. p. 265.

(*c*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(*d*) Britiſh Topography, *ubi ſupra.*

(*e*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

*** [CAREW (GEORGE), brother to the ſubject of the laſt article, and ſecond ſon of Thomas Carew, Eſq; and Elizabeth his wife, was probably born at his father's ſeat at Eaſt Anthony, but in what particular year we are not able to aſcertain. He was educated in the Univerſity of Oxford, after which he ſtudied the law in the inns of court, and then travelled to foreign countries for farther improvement. On his return to his native country, he was called to the bar, and after ſome time was appointed Secretary to Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, Lord Chancellor of England. This was by the eſpecial recommendation of Queen Elizabeth herſelf, who gave him a Prothonotaryſhip in the Chancery, and conferred upon him the honour of Knighthood (*a*). In 1597, Sir George Carew, who was then a Maſter in Chancery, was ſent Embaſſador to the King of Poland. In the next reign, he was one of the Commiſſioners for treating with the Scotch concerning an union between the two kingdoms; after which he was appointed Embaſſador to the Court of France, where he continued from the latter end of the year 1605 till 1609. During his reſidence in that country, he was regarded by the French Miniſters as not well affected to their nation, and as giving a preference to the Spaniſh intereſt. What reaſons they had for this opinion, it is not at preſent eaſy to diſcover. Perhaps their diſguſt to him might ariſe from his not being very tractable in ſome points of his negotiation, and particularly in the demand of the debts due to the King his maſter. Whatever might be his political principles, it is certain, that he ſought the converſation of men of letters; and formed an intimacy with Thuanus, to whom he communicated an account of the tranſactions in Poland, whilſt he was employed there, which was of great ſervice to that admirable author in drawing up the 121ſt book of his Hiſtory. After Sir George Carew's return from France, he was advanced to the important poſt of Maſter of the Court of Wards, which honourable ſituation he did not long live to enjoy; for it appears from a letter written by Thuanus to Camden, in the ſpring of the year 1613, that he was then lately deceaſed. In this letter, Thuanus laments his death as a great misfortune to himſelf; for he conſidered Sir George's friendſhip not only as a perſonal honour, but as very uſeful in his work, and eſpecially in removing the calumnies and miſrepreſentations which might be raiſed of him in the Court of England. Sir George Carew married Thomaſine, daughter of Sir Francis Godolphin, great grandfather of the Lord Treaſurer Godolphin, and had by her two ſons and three daughters. Francis, the elder ſon, was created Knight of the Bath, at the coronation of King Charles the Firſt, and attended the Earl

(*a*) Wood's Athenæ, vol. i. col. 530. Birch's Hiſtorical View of the Negotiations between the Courts of England, France, and Bruſſels. Introduction, p. xvi, xvii.

of Denbigh in the expedition for the relief of Rochelle, where he acquired great reputation by his courage and conduct; but, being ſeized with a fit of ſickneſs in his voyage homeward, he died in the Iſle of Wight, on the 4th of June, 1628, at the age of twenty-ſeven. Richard, the younger ſon, attained only his ſeventeenth year; and of the three daughters, two died ſingle. Anne, the eldeſt, was married to a gentleman of the name of Rawlins (*b*).

(*b*) Birch's Hiſt. View, *ubi ſupra*, p. xvi—xix.

When Sir George Carew returned, in 1609, from his French embaſſy, he drew up, and addreſſed to King James the Firſt, 'A Relation of the State of France, with the 'Characters of Henry the Fourth, and the principal Perſons of that Court;' which reflects great credit upon his ſagacity and attention as an Embaſſador, and his abilities as a Writer. In this piece are conſidered, 1. The name of France. 2. Its ancient and modern limits. 3. Its quality, ſtrength, and ſituation. 4. Its riches. 5. Its political orders. 6. Its diſorders and dangers. 7. The perſons governing, with thoſe who are likely to ſucceed. 8. In what terms the French live with their bordering neighbours. And laſtly, the ſtate of matters between the King of England's dominions and theirs. Theſe heads are divided, as occaſion requires, into other ſubordinate ones. The characters are drawn from perſonal knowledge and cloſe obſervation, and might be of ſervice to a general hiſtorian of that period. The compoſition is perſpicuous and manly, and entirely free from the pedantry which prevailed in the reign of King James the Firſt: but this is the leſs ſurprizing, as Sir George Carew's taſte had been formed in a better æra, that of Queen Elizabeth. The valuable tract we are ſpeaking of lay for a long time in manuſcript, till happily falling into the hands of the preſent Earl of Hardwicke, it was communicated by him to Dr. Birch, who publiſhed it, in 1749, at the end of his 'Hiſtorical View of the Negotiations between the Courts of England, France, and Bruſſels, from the year 1592 to 1617.' That intelligent and induſtrious writer juſtly obſerves, that it is a model, upon which Embaſſadors may form and digeſt their notions and repreſentations; and the late celebrated Poet, Mr. Gray, hath ſpoken of it as an excellent performance (*c*).] K.

(*c*) Maſon's Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Gray. Second edition, p. 205. *Ibid*, p. 243.

CARLETON (GEORGE) a learned Biſhop in the XVIIth Century, ſon of Guy, ſecond ſon of Thomas Carleton, of Carleton-hall, in Cumberland (*a*), was born at Norham, in Northumberland, of whoſe important caſtle his father was then Governor (*b*). By the care of the moſt eminent Bernard Gilpin, ſtiled the northern Apoſtle, he was educated in Grammar-learning; and, when fit for the Univerſity, ſent by the ſame generous perſon to Edmund-Hall in Oxford, in the beginning of the year 1576, by whoſe liberal hand he was encouraged and chiefly maintained in his ſtudies (*c*). On the 12th of February 1579-80, he took his degree of Bachelor of Arts; at the compleating of which, he exceeded all that performed their exerciſes at that time (*d*). The ſame year, namely 1580, he was elected probationer Fellow of Merton-College, and remained in that Society above five years before he proceeded in his faculty, not taking the degree of Maſter of Arts, till June the 14th, 1585 (*e*). While he remained in that College, he was eſteemed a great Orator and Poet; and in proceſs of time became a better diſputant in Divinity, than he had before been in Philoſophy (*f*). What preferments he had, is not mentioned any where; nor doth it appear that he was poſſeſſed of any dignity in the Church, till he became a Biſhop (*g*). After having continued many years in the Univerſity (*h*), and taken the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, May 16, 1594 (*i*), and that of Doctor, December 1, 1613 (*k*), he was advanced to the Biſhoprick of Landaff; to which he was elected, December 23, 1617, confirmed, July 11, 1618, and conſecrated at Lambeth the next day (*l*). The ſame year he was ſent, by King James I, with three other Engliſh Divines (*m*), and one from Scotland (*n*), to the Synod of Dort; where he ſtood up in favour of Epiſcopacy [*A*], and behaved ſo well in every reſpect, to the credit

(*a*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, vol. i. col. 517. He was born in 1559, as being 17 years old in 1576, *Ibid.*

(*b*) *Ibid.* Camden's Britan. in Northumberland, edit. 1722, vol. ii. col. 1099. Fuller's Church Hiſtory, B. xi. p. 131.

(*c*) Wood, *ibid.*

(*d*) *Ibid.* and Faſti, vol. i. col. 118.

(*e*) *Ibid.* Athen. and Faſti, col. 128.

(*f*) Athen. *ubi ſupra*, col. 517.

(*b*) Wood, Ath. *ubi ſupra.*

(*i*) *Idem*, Faſti, vol. i. col. 148.

(*g*) His name no where occurs in J. Le Neve's Faſti, Br. Willis's Surveys, New-court, nor any ſuch authors.

(*k*) *Ibid.* col. 195.

(*l*) Faſti Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, by J. Le Neve, edit. 1716, p. 522. Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, p. 1029.

(*m*) *Viz.* Joſeph Hall, afterwards Biſhop of Exeter, and then of Norwich; John Davenant, afterwards Biſhop of Sarum; and Samuel Ward, Maſter of Sidney-college, Cambr. Fuller's Church Hiſt. Book x. p. 77. and Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. ii. edit. 1714, p. 716.

(*n*) Namely, Dr. Walter Balcanquall, afterward Dean of Durham, *Ibid.*

[*A*] *He ſtood up, at the ſynod of Dort, in favour of Epiſcopacy.*] For, it being aſſerted in that ſynod (1), 'That the Miniſters of the word of God, in 'what place ſoever ſettled, have the ſame advantage 'of character, the ſame juriſdiction and authority, in 'regard they are all equally Miniſters of Chriſt, the 'only univerſal Biſhop, and head of the Church;' in oppoſition to that Biſhop Carleton made the following proteſtation.—'That, whereas in the Confeſſion there 'was inſerted a ſtrange conceit of the parity of Mi'niſters to be inſtituted by Chriſt, I declared our diſ'ſent utterly in that point. I ſhewed, that by Chriſt a 'parity was never inſtituted in the Church: That he 'ordained twelve Apoſtles, as alſo ſeventy Diſciples: 'That the authority of the Twelve was above the 'other: That the Church preſerved this order, left by 'our Saviour. And therefore, when the extraordinary 'power of the Apoſtles ceaſed, yet this ordinary au'thority continued in Biſhops, who ſucceeded them, 'who were by the Apoſtles left in the government of 'the Church, to ordain Miniſters, and to ſee that 'they who were ſo ordained ſhould preach no other 'doctrine: That in an inferior degree the Miniſters, 'who were governed by Biſhops, ſucceeded the ſeventy 'Diſciples: That this order hath been maintained in 'the Church from the times of the Apoſtles. And 'herein I appealed to the judgment of Antiquity, 'and to the judgment of any learned man now living '(2).'——At this learned Biſhop's return to England, the States ſent a letter to King James, wherein they highly extolled him, and the reſt of the Divines, for their virtue, learning, piety, and ardent deſire of peace. *In Theologis porro utriuſque Regni veſtri omnibus, & ſingulis, quorum agmen ducit vere Reverendiſſimus Dominus Georgius Landavenſis Epiſcopus, imago, atque expreſſa virtutis effigies; eam eruditionem, pietatem, pacis ſtudium, eumque zelum deprehendimus, ut, cum ipſius beneficii causâ Majeſtati Tuæ multum debeamus, magna pars ipſius beneficii nobis videatur, [q. debeatur] quod ipſi ad nos miſſi ſint* (3).

(1) Seſſ. CXLIV. Art. 31.

(2) Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. *ubi ſupra*, p. 717.

(3) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. Book x. p. 83, 84.

credit of our nation; that after his return, he was, upon the tranſlation of Dr. Harſnet (or Haſnoth) to Norwich, elected to ſucceed him in the See of Chicheſter, September 8, 1619, and confirmed the 20th of the ſame month (*o*). He was a man of conſiderable learning, and wrote ſeveral books, of which we ſhall give an account in the note [*B*]. Having at length arrived to the age of ſixty-nine, he departed this life in May 1628; and was buried, the 27th of that month, in the choir of his Cathedral Church at Chicheſter, near the altar (*p*). He was a perſon of ſolid judgment, and of various reading; well verſed in the Fathers and Schoolmen; wanting nothing that could render him a compleat Divine. But withal, he was a bitter enemy to the Papiſts, and in the point of Predeſtination a rigid Calviniſt (*q*). 'I have loved him, ſays Mr. Camden (*r*), for his excellent 'proficiency in Divinity, and other polite parts of learning.' A valuable character, coming from ſo great a man!

(*o*) J. Le Neve, *ubi ſupra*, p. 59. Wood, Athen. *ubi ſupra*.

(*p*) Wood, Ath. vol. i. col. 519.

(*q*) *Idem*, col. 517, 518.

(*r*) Beginning, *ubi ſupra*.

[*B*] *He wrote ſeveral books*, &c.] Which are as follow: I. *Heroici characteres, ad illuſtriſſ. equitem Henricum Nevillum*; i. e. Heroic characters, addreſſed to Sir Henry Nevil. Oxon. 1603, 4*to*. Several of his Latin verſes are alſo in the Univerſity-book of verſes made on the death of Sir Philip Sidney, in *Bodleiomnema*, and in other books. II. 'Tithes examined, and proved to be due to the Clergy by a Divine 'Right.' Lond. 1606, and 1611, 4*to*. III. 'Juriſdiction Regal, Epiſcopal, Papal: Wherein is declared 'how the Pope hath intruded upon the juriſdiction of 'Temporal Princes, and of the Church, &c.' Lond. 1610, 4*to*. IV. *Conſenſus Eccleſiæ Catholicæ contra Tridentinos, de Scripturis, Eccleſia, fide, & gratia*, &c. i. e. The conſent of the univerſal Church againſt the Council of Trent, on the Scriptures, the Church, Faith, &c. Lond. 1613, 8*vo*. Dedicated to the members of Merton College. V. 'A thankfull Remembrance of God's Mercy. In an Hiſtoricall Collection 'of the great and mercifull Deliverances of the Church 'and State of England, ſince the Goſpel beganne here 'to flouriſh, from the beginning of Queene Elizabeth.' Lond. 1614: the third edition came out, in 1627; and the fourth in 1630. It contains, a thankful enumeration of the ſeveral deliverances of this Church and State, from the cruel plots of the Papiſts; from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign to the Powder-treaſon, in 1605. The hiſtorical part is chiefly extracted from Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth: and the book is adorned, at the beginning of each chapter, with figures engraved in copper, repreſenting the moſt material things contained in the enſuing deſcription. VI. 'Short Directions to know the true 'Church.' Lond. 1615, &c. 12*mo*. VII. Oration 'made at the Hague before the Prince of Orange, and 'the Aſſembly of the High and Mighty Lords, the 'States General.' Lond. 1619, in one ſheet and a half, 4*to*. VIII. *Aſtrologimania:* or, the Madneſs of 'Aſtrologers: or, an Examination of Sir Chriſtopher 'Heydon's Book, entitled, *A Defence of judicial Aſtrology*.' Written about the year 1604, and publiſhed at London 1624, 4*to*, By Thomas Vicars, B. D. who had married the author's daughter. It was reprinted at London 1651 (4). IX. 'Examination of 'thoſe things, wherein the Author of the late Appeal (5) holdeth the Doctrine of Pelagians and Arminians, to be the Doctrines of the Church of England.' Lond. 1626, and 1636, 4*to*. X. 'A joynt 'Atteſtation avowing, that the Diſcipline of the 'Church of England was not impeached by the Synod of Dort.' Lond. 1628, 4*to*. XI. *Vita Bernardi Gilpini, viri ſanctiſſ. famaque apud Anglos aquilonares celeberrimi*. Lond. 1626, 4*to*. inſerted in Dr. W. Bates's collection of Lives, Lond. 1681, 4*to*. It was alſo publiſhed in Engliſh, under this title, 'The Life of Bernard Gilpin, a man moſt holy and 'renowned among the Northerne Engliſh.' Lond. 1629, 4*to*. and 1636, 8*vo*. XII. 'Teſtimony con-'cerning the Preſbyterian Diſcipline in the Low-'countries, and Epiſcopal government in England.' Printed ſeveral times in 4*to*. and 8*vo*. and at London in particular, in 1642, in one ſheet. XIII. Latin Letter to Mr. Camden, containing ſome Notes and Obſervations on his Britannia. Printed by Dr. T. Smith, amongſt *Camdeni Epiſtolæ*, N° 80. XIV. Several Sermons. XV. He had alſo a hand in the Dutch Annotations, and in the new tranſlation of the Bible, undertaken by order of the Synod of Dort, but not compleated and publiſhed, till 1637 (6). Dr. Fuller obſerves, That his good affections appears in his treatiſe, intitled, *A thankful Remembrance of God's Mercy*; ſolid Judgment in his *Confutation of judicial Aſtrology*; and clear invention in other juvenile Exerciſes (7). M.

(4) See below in the article of CHAMBER (JOHN).

(5) *Viz.* Rich. Montague, author of *Appello Cæſarem*, and afterwards Biſhop of Chicheſter.

(6) Wood, Ath. vol. i. col. 518, 519.

(7) Worthies of England, in Northumberland, p. 305.

*** [Mr. Granger, in his character of Biſhop Carleton, informs us, that his parts were ſhining and ſolid, and wore, without any ſenſible diminution, to an advanced age; that he diſtinguiſhed himſelf, whilſt he was at Oxford, as a Logician, an Orator, and a Poet, and ſtill more as a Divine; and that he wrote, perhaps, upon a greater variety of ſubjects than any other Clergyman of his time (8). His treatiſe againſt judicial aſtrology was a proof of his good ſenſe, and of his ſuperiority to ſome of the prejudices of the age in which he lived. By his firſt wife, Anne, daughter of Sir Henry Killegrew, Knight, and widow of Sir Henry Neville, of Billingbere, in Berkſhire, he had a ſon, named Henry, who was choſen repreſentative for Arundel, in Suſſex, in the ſhort Parliament which met at Weſtminſter, on the 13th of April, 1640. Mr. Henry Carleton embraced the cauſe of the Houſe of Commons in the civil war with King Charles the Firſt, accepted a Captain's commiſſion in the parliamentary army, and ſhewed himſelf to be an enemy to the Biſhops (9).

(8) Biographical Hiſtory of England, vol. i. p. 353, 354. octavo edition.

(9) Wood's Athenæ Oxonienſes, vol. i. col. 519.

A print of Dr. George Carleton, in quarto, was prefixed to the 4th edition of his "Thankful Remembrance of God's Mercy." This and the other prints of the ſame book were engraved by Frederic Hulſius. There is alſo an engraving of our learned Prelate, in ſmall quarto, in Boiſſard. At his breaſt hangs a medal of the ſynod of Dort (10.) Some farther circumſtances, concerning his conduct at that ſynod, might, we apprehend, be collected from Gerard Brandt's Hiſtory of the Reformation in the Low Countries; but the object is ſcarcely worthy of a particular enquiry. Two of the Biſhop's Letters to Sir Dudley Carleton, dated at Dort, in 1618-9, are inſerted in the Earl of Hardwicke's publication of the latter Gentleman's correſpondence, during his embaſſy in Holland (11).] K

(10) Granger, *ubi ſupra*.

(11) Letters from and to Sir Dudley Carleton, p. 331—333. 340.

*** [CARLETON (DUDLEY) an eminent Stateſman in the beginning of the laſt century, was the eldeſt ſurviving ſon of Anthony Carleton, Eſq; of Baldwin Brightwell, near Watlington, in Oxfordſhire; and was born at his father's ſeat on the 10th of March, 1573. His education was the beſt, and moſt complete, which that age, or indeed any other, could have afforded, to qualify a gentleman for the world and for buſineſs. His grammatical learning he received at Weſtminſter School, from whence he was removed to Oxford, where he became a ſtudent of Chriſt-Church College about the year 1591, and ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a young man of parts, from whom conſiderable things were expected. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts on the

2d of July, 1595, after which he went abroad for improvement (*a*). According to Lord Clarendon, he became Secretary to Sir Henry Neville, Embaſſador in France; but this we apprehend to be doubtful (*b*). Upon his return from his travels, he was created Maſter of Arts, at Oxford, on the 12th of July, 1600 (*c*). In the ſame year, he was received into the family of Sir Thomas Parry, Embaſſador in France, as his Secretary; in which ſituation he was not happy, the manners of the Embaſſador (who was much governed, likewiſe, by another Secretary, one St. Sauveur, a Hugonot) being preciſe and formal. In 1603, Mr. Carleton was taken, in the ſame capacity, into the houſe of Henry Earl of Northumberland. What ſhare he had in the Earl's confidence, or for what reaſons he quitted his ſervice, cannot now be aſcertained: but as that nobleman had no intereſt with Cecil, who had been engaged in a correſpondence with King James before his acceſſion, in oppoſition to Northumberland, it is probable that Mr. Carleton did not think a connection with him the road to preferment (*d*). It ſeems, from a paſſage in one of his letters to Mr. Winwood, that, about this time, he had a place of Gentleman Uſher quarterly Waiter: for he there ſays, "In Mr. Cham-"berlain's abſence, I come in *quarter*, and have waited ſo diligently at court this "Chriſtmas, that I have matter enough, if the report of maſks and mummings can "pleaſe you (*e*)." In the firſt parliament of King James, he repreſented the borough of St. Mawes in Cornwal, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf both as an active member and an able ſpeaker. The figure which he made in the Houſe of Commons, is thought to have been the principal thing that firſt recommended him to the notice and favour of that admirable judge of men, the Lord Treaſurer Saliſbury. In the beginning of April, 1605, he accompanied the Lord Norris into Spain, upon the terms of fifty pounds in hand, an hundred pounds at his return, and forty pounds a year after his arrival in England. The beſt judgment he could make of Spain, during the ſhort time of his ſtay there, was expreſſed in theſe words, *ſuperba miſeria*. On his return homewards, through France, he was detained ſome months at Paris, upon account of Lord Norris's indiſpoſition. In the latter end of the year 1605, he was ſummoned to England, by a letter from the Lords of the Council, which gave him great apprehenſions, upon hearing that his former patron, the Earl of Northumberland, had been taken into cuſtody, on the diſcovery of the Gun-powder Plot. Mr. Carleton himſelf, on his arrival in London, was put under confinement; but his innocence being ſoon manifeſted, he was honourably diſcharged (*f*). In 1607, he married a niece of Sir Maurice Cary, with whom he reſided ſome time in Chancery-lane; after which he took a houſe in Little St. Bartholomew's, near Weſt-Smithfield. Whilſt he here continued, in expectation of preferment, he thus deſcribes his ſituation, in a letter to Sir Ralph Winwood: "You "may well think, that unleſs I were under the protection of ſome little ſaint, I would "not ſo venturouſly ſet up for myſelf, with ſuch an army of difficulties, as a dear year, "a plaguy town, a growing wife, and a poor purſe. But of hard beginnings many "times enſue good effects; and of the two parts of happineſs which the philoſopher "required in *patrifamilias*, the maſter of a family, (that is, *quies & abundantia*, quiet "and plenty) the defects of the one are ſupplied with the overplus of the other (*g*)." At length, by the favour of the Earl of Saliſbury, he was deſigned, in 1610, for a poſt in Ireland; but that reſolution being changed, he was appointed in May, the ſame year, to ſucceed his intimate friend, Sir Thomas Edmondes, as Embaſſador to the court of Bruſſels. He had begun to make preparations for that employment, and an hour was even fixed for his taking leave of the King: but a reaſon of ſtate intervened, and ſtopped his journey; for as the Archduke Albert had recalled his Embaſſador here, it was thought proper that he ſhould ſend another in the ſame character, before his court was honoured with one from England (*h*). Mr. Carleton, however, did not loſe his deſtination to a foreign ſervice, having been immediately nominated to the embaſſy at Venice; and before he ſet out, which he did in September 1610, he received from King James the honour of Knighthood. On his arrival at the place of his reſidence, which was in the November following, he immediately applied himſelf to a diligent and able diſcharge of his miniſterial functions; and he muſt ſoon have convinced his ſuperiors, that he was equal to any negotiation, however difficult or delicate, in which he might happen to be engaged. This is evident from his diſpatches, a complete ſeries of which is preſerved in the Paper Office, and from ſeveral of his Venetian letters, that are printed in Winwood's Memorials During Sir Dudley Carleton's Embaſſy at Venice, he was a principal agent in concluding a treaty between the King of Spain and the Duke of Savoy [*A*]. Not long after this event, Sir Dudley had inſtructions from his Court, to invite

(*a*) Hiſtorical Preface to Sir Dudley Carleton's Letters, p. i, ii. ſecond edition. Biographia Britannica, vol. ii. p. 1173, firſt edition.

(*b*) Biog. Brit. *ubi ſupra.*

(*c*) Wood's Athenæ, vol. i. Faſti, col. 149. 158.

(*d*) Hiſtorical Preface, *ubi ſupra.*

(*e*) Biog. Brit.

(*f*) Birch's Hiſtorical Review of the Negotiations between England, France and Bruſſels, p. 204. 227. 239. Hiſtorical Preface, *ubi ſupra.*

(*g*) Birch's View, p. 303. Biog. Brit. *ubi ſupra.*

(*h*) Biog. Brit. *ubi ſupra.* Birch's View, p. 316. Hiſtorical Preface, p. ii, iii.

[*A*] *A principal agent in concluding a treaty between the King of Spain and the Duke of Savoy.*] Of this treaty the following account is given, by the noble editor of Sir Dudley Carleton's Letters. "Whilſt he reſided in Italy, the war broke out between Charles Duke of Savoy, a Prince of great ſpirit and ambition, and Ferdinand Duke of Mantua, on account of the former's pretenſions, in right of his daughter, to Montferrat. The prudent Republic of Venice was greatly alarmed at theſe differences; being unwilling on the one hand, that the Duke of Savoy ſhould aggrandize himſelf, at the expence of a weak neighbour; and apprehenſive on the other, that the council of Spain, though at that time directed by an indolent and rapacious Miniſter, the Duke of Lerma, ſhould build ſome ſcheme of farther acquiſitions or

invite the Republic of Venice to accede to the league between the King of Great-Britain and the Proteſtant Princes of the union in Germany. His propoſal, however, received only a civil and courteous anſwer, importing rather the embracing of the thing, than the name; and, indeed, the conjuncture was, on ſeveral accounts, wholly unfavourable to the affair (*i*). Towards the end of the year 1615, Sir Dudley Carleton was relieved in his Venetian employments by Sir Henry Wotton, and returned to England, where he found things in a very different ſtate from that in which he had left them. The great Earl of Saliſbury had been dead above three years: the power of Somerſet was entirely overſet by the diſcovery of the infamous murder of Sir Thomas Overbury; and a new court meteor, Sir George Villiers, was ariſen, who ſoon engroſſed to himſelf all the dependance, which perſonal favour, miniſterial power, and an accumulation of offices, could beſtow. The two Secretaries of State were Sir Ralph Winwood and Sir Thomas Lake, who had both of them been educated in the ſchools of Cecil and Walſingham. Whilſt Sir Dudley was engaged in foreign ſervices, the Secretaries of State were often changed; and, in fact, were all of them Miniſters of the ſecond order, who only executed the directions of the King himſelf, or of his favourite Buckingham. Soon after Sir Dudley Carleton's arrival in England from Venice, he was appointed to one of the moſt important embaſſies in the diſpoſal of the crown, that to the States General, which was then vacant. For this appointment he was indebted to the recommendation of Sir Ralph Winwood, a worthy and ſincere man, but who, in conſequence of a harſhneſs of temper, and roughneſs of behaviour, had not an agreeable manner of conferring a favour. Of this Sir Dudley complained, in a letter to his intimate correſpondent, Sir Thomas Edmondes. "From a hand, ſays he, where I promiſed myſelf much contentment, I had my ſhare of mortification; which notwithſtanding was well tempered betwixt four looks, curſt words, and good deeds, ſo as I have the leſs cauſe to complain." It does not, however, appear, that Carleton, during the courſe of the correſpondence ariſing from his new employment, received any ill uſage from Sir Ralph Winwood; and the death of the latter, in 1617, was a real loſs to the public (*k*). It was in his embaſſy to the States General, that Sir Dudley Carleton ſpent the moſt active part of his life; for he continued in it, excepting the interval of one year, from 1616 to 1628. He was the laſt Engliſh Miniſter, who had the honour of ſitting in the Council of State for the United Provinces; a privilege that Queen Elizabeth had wiſely obtained, when ſhe undertook the protection of theſe provinces, and which was annexed to the poſſeſſion of the cautionary towns. After the towns themſelves were given up, this privilege was ſtill granted to Carleton, as a matter of courteſy, during his reſidence at the Hague. Upon his arrival in Holland, he was ſoon involved in the diſputes which then raged with great violence in that country, between the Arminians and the Calviniſts; of which religion was made the pretence, though the real ſources of them were

(*i*) Hiſt. Preface, *ubi ſupra.*

(*k*) Birch's Hiſtorical View, p. 394, 395. Hiſtorical Preface, p. v.

influence in Italy, on the ſpecious pretence of defending the rights of a diſtreſſed ally and vaſſal. For which reaſons, the Venetians readily interpoſed their good offices, in conjunction with the courts of Rome, England, and France, to accommodate this quarrel. Sir Dudley Carleton was ſent from Venice to Turin, with an offer of his maſter's mediation in June 1615. He found the Duke of Savoy entrenched under the walls of Aſti; and the Spaniſh army encamped on the plain, and endeavouring to force his quarters. After ſome conferences and journies between the two camps, an accommodation was concluded, which was called the treaty of Aſti; by which Charles Emanuel obliged himſelf to diſarm, and to refer his pretenſions to the judgment of the Emperor, with other conditions not neceſſary to be mentioned here. One of the inſtruments of this treaty was made out in the names of the Nuncio and the French Embaſſador, with a ſeparate article of guaranty to the Duke, ſigned by the Venetian Miniſter; and another was copied from it *verbatim*, in which Sir Dudley's name was inſerted, inſtead of the Nuncio's, and an engagement was annexed on the part of the King of Great-Britain, to take the perſon and ſtate of Charles under his royal protection, in caſe the Spaniards ſhould fail in the performance of their conditions. We find Carleton returned to Venice in Auguſt; from which place he gives the following account to Sir Thomas Edmondes, at Paris, of the Piedmonteſe negotiation. 'It ſeems you are 'no better ſatisfied with our peace in Piedmont, 'than they are in other parts, Italy and England 'only excepted. His Majeſty has approved the 'ſame, and ratified what was promiſed on his behalf; 'and over all this country, there continues a general 'jubilee. Spain, they ſay, takes exceptions againſt 'the form of the peace, as too much to the honour 'and advantage of the Duke of Savoy. Our friends 'in Germany and the Low Countries condemn the 'ſubſtance as diſadvantageous to their affairs; and 'out of Switzerland, from the Proteſtant Cantons, 'I have received letters of the ſame tenor, they 'marvelling much at the Duke of Savoy's conſenting to peace, ſince they were reſolved to give him 'ſuccours of men to a conſiderable number. But 'both your's in France, and theirs, were but in project, when they ſhould have been in action; and 'by that time they could have appeared in Piedmont, all they could do, would but have ſerved to 'ſupply thoſe which the war and ſickneſs would have 'conſumed in the mean time; ſo as the right uſe, 'to which they were intended, which was to enter 'by ſome other way into the ſtate of Milan, whereby 'to make a diverſion, could not have been effected; 'and the ſeat of the war would ſtill have been in the 'Duke's ſtate. Money there was none, to give theſe 'new ſupplies contentment, nor none to be expected 'from any place, this ſtate being cloſe-handed; 'and other Princes, who wiſhed well to the cauſe, 'empty-handed. Thoſe forces the Duke had at Aſti 'were in this reſpect, for want of pay, hardly induced to do their ordinary duties; and when they 'were in guard, there was no aſſurance of them. 'Other neceſſities were great; but nothing, I muſt 'confeſs, in compariſon of the enemy, who ſuffered 'much more: but they had Genoa near, which furniſhed them with money; and having all Italy to 'friend, I ſee not how they could want men, beſides 'the levies they might ſtill make amongſt the Tudeſchi and the Catholic Cantons. Theſe, with the 'continual danger of the Duke's perſon, were the 'conſiderations that perſuaded the peace (1).'

(1) Hiſtorical Preface to Sir Dudley Carleton's Letters, p. iii, iv.

the mutual jealouſies, and the conteſts for power between thoſe two great perſons, Prince Maurice and Penſionary Barnevelt. As the French ſupported the latter in the ſtrongeſt manner, the Engliſh Embaſſador was of courſe engaged in the oppoſite intereſt (*l*). Beſides the diſtinguiſhed part which Sir Dudley Carleton took in the affairs of the Synod of Dort, and in the politics which had given riſe to that famous Eccleſiaſtical Aſſembly, it appears, from his diſpatches, that he was a zealous well-wiſher to the Palatine cauſe, and the public liberty of Germany, and recommended theſe objects at home as far as was conſiſtent with his own ſafety. His ſentiments in this reſpect were, for ſome time, but little regarded; ſo that partly owing to the inactivity of the Court of England abroad, and partly in conſequence of our commercial diſputes with the Dutch, his ſituation at the Hague was not very agreeable from 1620 to 1623. In that year, the Duke of Buckingham, influenced by the diſguſt he had conceived againſt Count Olivares, and by a ſudden deſire of popularity, broke through, at once, all that ſcheme of friendſhip which his maſter had been building with the Houſe of Auſtria. The firſt ſtep naturally taken on this change of political views, was the renewal of a good underſtanding with our neighbours, the Dutch; and in a long converſation between Sir Dudley and the Prince of Orange on that ſubject, the Prince uſed theſe remarkable words to him, 'That when the King would be to their Republic as Queen 'Elizabeth was, their Republic would be to him as they were to Queen Elizabeth.' Theſe overtures being well improved by our Embaſſador, an extraordinary embaſſy was diſpatched the next ſpring to England, and a defenſive alliance concluded in June 1624; by which an aid was granted to the States of 6000 foot, to be paid by Great-Britain. It was in the courſe of this ſummer, that the account was brought to Europe of the inhuman maſſacre at Amboyna; the conſequence of which was the total loſs to the Engliſh of their ſhare in the ſpice trade, which great pains had been taken to regulate in 1620, by an amicable convention between the two Eaſt-India Companies of England and Holland. This unhappy affair had very nearly overturned our reviving friendſhip with the Dutch, at a juncture when it was equally neceſſary to both nations; and it was, therefore, the moſt diſagreeable incident that had ever attended Sir Dudley Carleton in his negotiations. His firſt memorial upon it to the States was preſented in Auguſt 1624, and was followed with ſeveral others on his part, and with many replies and counter-propoſitions from their High Mightineſſes. Through all the turns of this long controverſy, the Embaſſador conducted himſelf with great firmneſs and prudence. He never gave up the juſt claim which his country had to juſtice and ſatisfaction on the authors of that ſhocking ſcene of barbarity, but enforced our proofs of it with dignity and ſpirit; and yet he did not manage the cauſe with ſo much heat and vic ence, as to involve the two nations in an unſeaſonable rupture in Europe. 'In ſhort,' ſays the noble Hiſtorian to whom we are almoſt wholly indebted for the preſent article, 'he 'acted up to his inſtructions; and neither went beyond, nor fell ſhort of them (*m*).'

(*l*) Hiſt. Preface, *ubi ſupra*, p. vi.

(*m*) *Ibid*, p. vi, vii.

Sir Dudley Carleton began now to think, that he had an equitable title to ſome extraordinary recompence for his ſervices; and as nothing could be done at Court without the intereſt of the Duke of Buckingham, he addreſſed himſelf to his Grace on the ſubject in that language of ſervility and adulation, which, whilſt it receives conſiderable extenuation from the manners of the age, cannot be read without diminiſhing, in a certain degree, our eſteem of the writer. Though the reaſons urged by the Embaſſador in favour of his ſuit (*n*) appear to have been deſerving of attention, they were not productive of any immediate effect. The importance of our tranſactions with the United Provinces at that criſis, and perhaps the difficulty of providing for Sir Dudley in the manner he expected, kept him fixed to his poſt for ſome months longer. In 1625 ſeveral remarkable events happened; the deaths of King James and the Prince of Orange; the loſs of Breda, after an obſtinate and bloody defence; and a fruitleſs attempt made to relieve it by the new Stadtholder Prince Frederick Henry, in which the Engliſh troops under the command of Sir Horace Vere and the Earl of Oxford gained immortal honour. During theſe tranſactions, Sir Dudley Carleton was laborioufly and uſefully employed at the Hague in ſupplying Count Mansfield's army, which, by unſkilful management on the part of our Court, was reduced to the laſt extremity; and in ſettling with the States General the proportion of ſhips and landmen, with which they were to join the Engliſh fleet in any enterprize againſt the King of Spain. Our Embaſſador was aſſiſted in his conferences upon theſe points by Sir William Leger and Mr. Secretary Morton, who had been ſent expreſsly from England; and the reſult of the negotiations was, that their High Mightineſſes agreed to ſend an auxiliary ſquadron of twenty ſhips to the general rendezvous at Plymouth, and gave leave of abſence to ſeveral officers, and ſome draughts from the old Engliſh corps in the ſervice of the States. All theſe were afterwards employed in the unſucceſsful expedition to Cadiz, the failure of which could not derogate from the merit of our Miniſters abroad. A treaty offenſive and defenſive having been ſigned with the Embaſſadors of the United Provinces at Southampton, in September the ſame year, the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Holland were ſent over, in November, to the Hague, to improve the foundations laid by it into a grand

(*n*) For the letter and the reaſons, ſee Hiſtorical Preface, *ubi ſupra*, p. viii, ix.

alliance againſt the Houſe of Auſtria, for the recovery of the Palatinate, and the reſtoration of the liberty of Germany. Sir Dudley was joined in commiſſion with theſe two great noblemen, and appears to have worked himſelf into a large degree of confidence with the former of them. He drew up the ſpeech made by the Duke to the States at his public audience, and accompanied his Grace to England on the concluſion of their negotiation; the conſequence of which was, the framing of a league between the Kings of Great-Britain and Denmark, and the States General, for the ends above-mentioned. France declined openly engaging againſt the Houſe of Auſtria; and the King of Sweden, who was expected to have ſent a plenipotentiary to this Congreſs, was prevented by his wars in Poland. Much was not to be expected from a confederacy, which, though right in its principles, was unequal to the effects it was intended to produce; and nothing contributed ſo much to the diſſolution of it, as the conſtant miſunderſtanding between King Charles and his Parliaments, who, from diſlike to the favourite Miniſter, and his method of conducting the war, refuſed to contribute towards the ſupport of a great foreign meaſure, in which they had unanimouſly adviſed the Crown to engage (*o*).

(*o*) *Ibid*, p. ix, x, xi.

In December, 1725, ſoon after Sir Dudley Carleton's return to England, he was appointed Vice Chamberlain of his Majeſty's Houſhold; and, at the ſame time, had an opportunity offered him of diſplaying his talents for negotiation in France. In this Commiſſion he was joined with the Earl of Holland, one of the moſt inſinuating Courtiers and fineſt Gentlemen of the age; and who was thought to be particularly acceptable to the French Court, where, in concert with the Earl of Carliſle, he had concluded the marriage of Queen Henrietta Maria with King Charles the Firſt. The object and ſucceſs of the Earl's and Sir Dudley's embaſſy, will be related in the note below [*B*]. When the two Plenipotentiaries returned to England, in the month of March, 1725-6, they found the Parliament ſitting, and inflamed to the higheſt degree at the miſmanagement of public affairs. At this criſis, Sir Dudley Carleton was elected, upon a vacancy, repreſentative for the Borough of Haſtings in Suſſex; and, during the height of the proſecution of the Duke of Buckingham, his patron, he endeavoured to bring the Commons into a better temper. The topics on which he chiefly inſiſted, in a ſpeech made by him, on the

[*B*] *The object and ſucceſs of the Earl's and Sir Dudley's embaſſy, will be related in the note below.*] "The points on which theſe two Embaſſadors extraordinary received their inſtructions, which bear date the laſt of December 1625, were, firſt, to preſs earneſtly for the reſtitution of the ſhips, which had been lent to Lewis XIII. and were employed againſt the Rochellers. This tranſaction had raiſed a great clamour in England, and was made, in the next ſeſſion of Parliament, one of the articles of impeachment againſt the Duke. Secondly, to interpoſe the good offices of King Charles to obtain a peace for the French Proteſtants agreeably to former edicts; and, thirdly, to ſupport the inſtances of the Miniſters of the allies, viz. the States General, Duke of Savoy, and the King of Denmark, for obtaining the French acceſſion to the treaty of the Hague. Our Embaſſadors arrived at Paris about the middle of January 162⅝, and immediately entered upon their negotiation, in a long conference with the Cardinal de Richelieu, who had then, in concert with Mary of Medicis, Queen mother, the principal ſhare in the French councils. They choſe to invert the order of their inſtructions, and 'to begin with deſiring to know, 'how far the French King would concur towards the 'reſtitution of the German liberties, of which ſome 'of his royal anceſtors had declared themſelves the 'protectors. Next, as a conſequence of what they 'hoped would be the public-ſpirited reſolution of 'his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, they begged leave to 'recommend to him the peace of his own kingdom, 'by leaving thoſe of the religion to the liberty of 'their conſciences, and ſafety of their lives and 'goods, according to the edicts. And, thirdly, as 'a dependence on both the former points, they demanded the reſtitution of our ſhips, the better to 'enable the King their maſter to carry on the war by 'ſea; which was the more neceſſary, as the Spaniſh 'navy was greater than it had been, and therefore 'none of ours could be ſpared to any other ſervice.'

"The plan of negotiation was judiciouſly laid, and diſcreetly and diligently purſued by the Engliſh Embaſſadors; but met with obſtructions from different quarters. Blainville, the French Embaſſador here, was on very ill terms with our Court, and aggravated every thing by his diſpatches. Several French ſhips had been condemned in our Admiralty Courts, for having Spaniſh goods on board; and the French council of ſtate, not admitting the captures to be juſt, made repriſals on the Engliſh veſſels which came into their harbours. The reſult of many private and public conferences between our Embaſſadors and the French Miniſters was, that the French King abſolutely refuſed to enter into any offenſive meaſures againſt the Houſe of Auſtria, but promiſed ſubſidies to the King of Denmark.

"Richelieu was ſo far from thinking it a proper juncture to proſecute the war againſt Spain, that he actually concluded a private convention with that Court about the Valteline, at the ſame time that the Prince of Piedmont and the Venetian Embaſſador at Paris were preſſing for, and expecting a more vigorous ſupport of, the war in Italy. With regard to a peace with the Proteſtants, the French Miniſters conſented, that our Embaſſadors ſhould interpoſe, not a formal mediation, but their good offices with the deputies of the religion, to bring about an accommodation. This was attended with ſucceſs; and an agreement was ſoon concluded, in oppoſition to the endeavours and offers of the Clergy, with the Cardinal Rochefoucault at their head, more advantageous to the Proteſtants (as the Earl and Sir Dudley affirm) than the treaty of Montpelier; for which they received the particular thanks of the Queen-mother on one hand, and of all the Proteſtant deputies on the other. They gave to the latter an act, in both their names, containing a more favourable interpretation of ſome general words in one of the articles relating to the town of Rochelle; which ſerved as a proof at the ſame time, that they were authorized by the French Miniſters to interpoſe in this treaty.

"The Embaſſadors, before they took their leave, had the good fortune to obtain a general releaſe of all our merchants ſhips and goods, which had been embargoed in France; but on condition, as the edict expreſſed it, that reſtitution ſhould be made in England, within a limited time, of ſuch effects and merchandiſe, as ſhould be proved to be French property. With regard to our ſhips, which had ſerved againſt Rochelle, they were immediately ſent home on the ſigning of the peace. One of them was the Vanguard belonging to the royal navy, and lent as an act of friendſhip from King to King. The reſt were merchants veſſels taken up here on contract (2)."

(2) Hiſt. Preface, *ubi ſupra*, p. xi —xiii.

twelfth

twelfth of May, 1626, were not ſuch as were calculated to give ſatisfaction to the Houſe; nor, indeed, were ſome of them proper for a Member of Parliament, and a true patriot, to argue from at any time. He forewarned the Commons 'not to make too 'free with the King's prerogative, leſt they put him out of love with Parliaments;' and obſerved, 'That other Countries had ſuch aſſemblies formerly, till Monarchs, ſeeing 'their turbulent ſpirit, and finding out their own ſtrength, at laſt ſuppreſſed them.' He remarked from his own experience, 'the condition of the ſubjects in foreign ſtates, 'where they looked like ghoſts, not men, and could neither eat good meat, nor wear 'good clothes, without paying heavy taxes for it. Let us (ſaid Sir Dudley) preſerve the 'King's good opinion of Parliaments, leſt we loſe the repute of a free-born nation by 'turbulency in Parliament.' He concluded with aſſigning reaſons for the King's commitment of Sir Dudley Digges, and Sir John Elliot, two of the managers againſt the Duke; the firſt of whom was impriſoned for ſaying, 'that he forbore to ſpeak farther of 'the giving the plaiſter to King James on his death-bed, in regard to the King's ho-'nour;' and the other for uſing what were thought indecent and violent expreſſions againſt the Duke's perſon, ſtiling him *the Man*, and comparing him to ſo deteſtable a character as Sejanus. A few days after (*p*), when Sir John Elliot was diſcharged, Sir Dudley Carleton took occaſion to make a ſpeech in explanation of his former one; and Sir John, in anſwer to Sir Dudley, treated him with reſpect. Elliot, at the ſame time, in reply to certain objections propoſed to him by the Speaker, defended himſelf in a manner ſo entirely ſatisfactory to the Commons, that they came to an unanimous reſolution, that neither he nor Digges had, as managers, exceeded the commiſſion which they received from the Houſe (*q*). The Vice Chamberlain's conduct, though diſpleaſing to the friends and ſupporters of liberty in Parliament, was very acceptable to an arbitrary Court, and immediately procured him one of the rewards which he had probably in view. On the twenty-ſecond of May, two days after the vote before mentioned, he was called up to the Houſe of Peers, by the ſtile and title of Baron Carleton of Imbercourt in the County of Surry. The new Baron was ſoon employed in buſineſs better adapted to his talents, than that in which he had laſt been engaged; for in Auguſt he was ſent Embaſſador extraordinary to France, though upon a very diſagreeable commiſſion; namely, to excuſe and juſtify the ſending away of the Queen of England's French ſervants. In this unpleaſant negotiation, he conducted himſelf with great prudence and good ſenſe; and, notwithſtanding the unfavourable reception he met with from a Court which was highly exaſperated, he had the ſkill to ward off any impertinent uſage. His Lordſhip was in a ſhort time recalled by the King his Maſter, to ſhew his reſentment at the refuſal of the French Miniſters to admit Mr. Montagu to an audience, who carried letters of congratulation to the Duke of Orleans, on his marriage; and at the delays of that Crown, in reſtoring the effects belonging to the Engliſh ſubjects (*r*).

(*p*) May the 20th.

(*q*) Hiſt. Preface, *ubi ſupra*, p. xiii, xiv. See alſo the Appendix, No. 1, p. xxxvii—xlv. for Sir Dudley Carleton's explanatory Speech, and Sir John Elliot's Defence; ſee, likewiſe, the Parliamentary Hiſtory, vol. vii. p. 159—162.

(*r*) *Ibid.*

During Lord Carleton's ſtay in England, he appears to have been much conſulted on the executive parts of foreign buſineſs; beſides which, he made ſeveral draughts of public papers, and had a large ſhare of the Duke of Buckingham's confidence. But as ſeveral incidents had ariſen, ſince his departure from the Hague, which produced ſome coldneſs between the Dutch Adminiſtration and ours, and the States began to be very uneaſy at the proſpect of a war between France and England, his Lordſhip was ordered, in March 1626-7, to reſume his character of Embaſſador in Holland. When he arrived there, which was not till the middle of June, he found our intereſt declining apace; and all his experience in buſineſs and knowledge of the country were requiſite, to preſerve it on a tolerable footing. He had not the ſame admittance as before into the Councils of the States General; and, by a particular reſolution, from which they would never recede, he had, during his abſence, been deprived of his ſeat in the Council of State. The Dutch Miniſters, and eſpecially the Prince of Orange, were much diſſatisfied at our precipitate breach with France; and all the reaſons alledged by the Engliſh Embaſſador, could never bring them to approve of ſo imprudent a meaſure. Being apprehenſive of offending one or other of the two Kings, who were ſupporting them againſt the power of Spain, and to the ſervice of whoſe troops in their armies they owed moſt of their ſucceſſes in the field, they were determined to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality. The Prince of Orange was ſuſpected to have rather a bias towards France, which was imputed to the influence, which Hautrive, one of the French Colonels, had gained over him. The States, at the requeſt of Charles the Firſt, had taken up conſiderable ſums of money for the payment of Count Mansfield's troops; and Lord Carleton had brought over with him neither principal nor intereſt for the diſcharge of the debt. Two of the points which he had to negotiate with them, on his firſt arrival, were not of a very acceptable nature: one of them, was to obtain the revocation of Coen, who was appointed Governor-general of their ſettlements in the Eaſt-Indies; and who, on account of his former conduct in that part of the world, was particularly obnoxious in England. The other point was to prevail with the States, to grant a farther leave of abſence to ſeveral Engliſh officers in their ſervice, who were then preparing to attend the Duke of Buckingham in his expedition to the Iſle of Rhé; and who had been indulged with that leave, only with a view

of

(*t*) In 162

of being employed againſt Spain. There was another affair, of ſtill ſuperior importance, which gave Lord Carleton a great deal of trouble. The French were at that time beginning, not only to purchaſe large quantities of naval and military ſtores, but even to buy and build ſhips in the Dutch ports. Four of conſiderable ſtrength were then almoſt ready in the Texel, and their agents had contracted for fourteen more. Againſt this proceeding our Embaſſador remonſtrated, as ſoon as he came over; but though he endeavoured to alarm the fears of the States General with an apprehenſion (for which there were ſufficient grounds) that Cardinal Richlieu and the Count d'Olivares were concerting a treaty for the junction of the French and Spaniſh fleets, the immediate object of which was to be the ſhutting up the port of Rochelle, he was not ſucceſsful in exciting the jealouſies of the Hollanders with regard to the deſigns of the Court of France. His Lordſhip was equally unſucceſsful in his application to the Prince of Orange upon the ſame ſubjects: but he was more fortunate in preventing the ratification of a new ſubſidy treaty, which Langerac, the Dutch Embaſſador at Paris, had concluded in that city, without ſufficient inſtructions from his ſuperiors. About this time (*s*), the States appointed an extraordinary commiſſion, for the trial of the Amboyna Judges; and the Lord Carleton ſeemed to think, that they were fairly choſen. Several circumſtances, however, and particularly the ſeizure of three Dutch Eaſt-India ſhips at Portſmouth, put a ſtop to the progreſs of the affair. Lord Carleton, finding that a categorical anſwer to his memorials was ſtill delayed, under the pretence of the Prince of Orange's abſence, grew very uneaſy at his ſtay in Holland, and earneſtly preſſed to be recalled. Whilſt he continued to reſide in Holland, an incident happened, which made a great noiſe in that country. Sir Sackville Trevor, with an Engliſh ſquadron, entered the Texel, and attacked the French ſhips which lay there, ready to come out. One of the largeſt of them, called the St. Eſprit, of 46 guns, was taken; but the reſt eſcaped, by throwing their cannon overboard, and getting over the flats into the Zuyder-Zee. The States immediately ſent deputies to the Engliſh Embaſſador, to complain of this breach of the neutrality of their ports; and the French Embaſſador, Monſieur d'Eſpeſſes, talked in a very high ſtile of the reſentment which his maſter would ſhew, if he did not receive compleat ſatisfaction: and, in the mean while, he detained in his hands a remittance of money from France, which was due upon the treaty of Compeigne. The Prince of Orange behaved in this affair with particular moderation, and ſuggeſted an expedient, by which both the Engliſh and Dutch men of war, that lay in the Texel after Sir Sackville's attempt, might come off with honour. The expedient was, that the former ſhould immediately put to ſea, and the latter make a feint of oppoſing them. This was accordingly carried into execution, and the punctilio of the two nations was ſatisfied, at the expence of throwing away a few rounds of powder. In the beginning of November (*t*), an alarm having been brought to the Hague, that the Dunkirk ſquadron was got out, and were ſailed down the Channel, to join the French ſhips in the ports of Britanny, Lord Carleton ſeized the opportunity of preſſing the States to ſend orders to Dorp, their Admiral, to follow and attack the Spaniſh ſhips, wherever he met them, though joined by the French; declaring, that if this was refuſed to him, his Maſter would conſider the treaty of Southampton as broken on the part of Holland. Although their High Mightineſſes were very unwilling to take any ſtep which might embroil themſelves with France, they could not avoid ſending orders to Dorp, to join the King of England's fleet, in oppoſition to any attempts from the Spaniards, and to do all in his power for the ſecurity of the Britiſh dominions. Dorp, however, had left the purſuit of the Dunkirkers, and returned to the Hague, before he received theſe laſt inſtructions; and the intelligence that the latter had gone down the Channel, turned out to be groundleſs. Soon after, intelligence came to the Hague, from all quarters, of the Duke of Buckingham's ill ſucceſs at Rhé. By private accounts among Lord Carleton's papers, it doth not appear that our loſs of men in that unfortunate expedition, was nearly ſo great as is commonly repreſented; and the French, after the attack on our rear, were repulſed, our works regained, and the troops re-embarked without moleſtation. The return of the Duke with diſgrace, and the confuſion in the domeſtic affairs of England, kept our Embaſſador for ſome weeks without any full or explicit inſtructions. When they were ſent, which was not till the third of February, 1627-8, he received with them, in the diſpatch from Lord Conway, the following ſtrong approbation of his conduct: "The "paſſage from all foreign parts is ſo ſhut up, that the greateſt and beſt informations "which his Majeſty hath, come from you, and are acceptable to him; and ſo are your "judicious and diligent negotiations and remonſtrances with that State, well vouchſafed "and eſteemed by his Majeſty; and I am right glad, I can with ſo much truth give you "the knowledge and aſſurance of it." In purſuance of the orders which came to his hands by this expreſs, Lord Carleton preſented a memorial to the States General, complaining of their conduct with regard to the French, and requiring their quota of ſhips, to join with the fleet of the King his Maſter, againſt the common enemy. His Lordſhip was directed, likewiſe, to prevail with their High Mightineſſes to favour the levy of a thouſand German horſe, intended to ſerve in England, under the command of Colonel

(*s*) In September 1627.

(*t*) In 1627.

Dolbier and Sir William Balfour. But the Dutch adminiſtration abſolutely refuſed to give it any countenance, pretending that it would interfere with the recruting of their own cavalry; and the project was equally diſagreeable in England, where the Parliament condemned it as dangerous to liberty; ſo that Charles the Firſt was obliged to revoke the commiſſion. A final anſwer to the Engliſh Embaſſador's memorial was not returned till the beginning of April, 1628; and then it was ſuch, as he could by no means recommend to his Court as ſatisfactory. Theſe were the laſt public offices, which paſſed between the Lord Carleton and the States. He had received his letters of revocation in February; but as the time of making uſe of them was referred entirely to his diſcretion, he determined to continue at the Hague, ſo long as his reſidence there might be of any importance to his Maſter's buſineſs. That being now over, he took his leave of their High Mightineſſes, and preſented his re-credentials on the 12th of April, 1628. It appears, however, that on the 17th of May, he was waiting for a paſſage at the Brill, whence he ſent an account to England of the ſurrender of Stade, after a long ſiege, to Count Tilly, the Emperor's General; and he had an opportunity of doing ſome conſiderable ſervices to the Engliſh garriſon, under Sir Charles Morgan, which had defended the place with great gallantry. This was, by taking proper meaſures for the reception of his countrymen, and the payment of their arrears; when, agreeably to their capitulation, they were to return back to the United Provinces. At his departure, he left the King's affairs at the Hague, in the hands of his nephew, Mr. Dudley Carleton, who had diſcharged that truſt before, during his abſence, with diligence and capacity (*u*).

(*u*) Hiſt. Preface, *ubi ſupra*, p. xv —xx. where the facts we have mentioned are related more at large. During Lord Carleton's long reſidence in Holland, he had been conſtantly informed of domeſtic tranſactions, by his old friend Mr. John Chamberlain, of the Court of Wards.

Before Lord Carleton's return to England, he had the ſatisfaction of being aſſured, by his old acquaintance, the Earl of Carliſle, who took the Hague in his way to Italy, as extraordinary Embaſſador to the Duke of Savoy and the republic of Venice, that King Charles intended to make him Secretary of State. Soon after his coming over (*w*), as an earneſt of the more important promotion deſigned for him, he was created Viſcount Dorcheſter. In the mean while, he continued to attend the Court in his office of Vice-Chamberlain; and was employed in foreign buſineſs of the moſt ſecret nature, as an aſſiſtant to the Duke of Buckingham. When that Miniſter ſet out for Portſmouth, to take the command of the fleet and army, which was preparing for the relief of Rochelle, the Lord Dorcheſter accompanied him, and was entruſted by Contarini, the Venetian Embaſſador here, to manage the firſt overtures of an accommodation with France. The treaty was in conſiderable forwardneſs, when a ſtop was ſuddenly put to it at that time, by the murder of the Duke of Buckingham. The alteration made by the Duke's death in the domeſtic ſtate of affairs was, that King Charles declared he would, for the future, be his own firſt Miniſter, and leave the executive part of the adminiſtration to every man within the compaſs of his province. The firſt queſtion of importance, which came before the Council, was, whether the Parliament ſhould ſit on the day appointed, which was the 20th of October. Some were of opinion, that it would be the moſt probable method of reſtoring a happy union between the King and his people; but his Majeſty cut the matter ſhort at the council-table, by declaring his pleaſure for a farther prorogation till the 20th of January, 1628-9. "Laudatur ab his, "culpatur ab illis," ſays Lord Dorcheſter, in a manuſcript letter to the Earl of Carliſle, "but ſurely it is the wiſeſt courſe; for that fourneſs, which was in men's minds, re-"quires time to take it away; and I will give your Lordſhip the comfort, that the "medicine of a conſtant and ſettled form of government (which is indeed the only "remedy for the diſtemper of our affairs, both at home and abroad) is like to be ap-"plied." The King was now determined to execute the deſign which he had for ſome time formed, of giving the ſeals of Secretary of State to the Lord Dorcheſter; and as the meaſure was taken, though not yet divulged, of making peace as ſoon as poſſible, both with France and Spain, he judged it of the utmoſt conſequence to have one in that department, whoſe judgment and ſkill in negotiation had been exerciſed in a long courſe of foreign employment. Lord Conway had for ſeveral years diſcharged that great truſt, according to the Earl of Clarendon's expreſſion, with *notable inſufficiency*. He had been put in ſolely at the Duke of Buckingham's recommendation, and had been kept in for no other reaſon, but becauſe he was wholly ſubſervient to that proud favourite. As old age and ſicklineſs were now added to his original incapacity, the Court and Nation muſt, with great ſatisfaction, have ſeen him ſucceeded by ſo able a Miniſter as the Lord Dorcheſter. The Parliament, when it met on the day appointed, acted totally contrary to the expectations of the Miniſtry, by agreeing no better with the Court than it had done in the preceding ſeſſion. The Lord Treaſurer Weſton, and Dr. Laud, Biſhop of London, were become as great objects of national diſlike as Buckingham had ever been. The Commons ſhewed their averſion to Weſton's authority in the ſtate, and to Laud's power in the church, by warm remonſtrances againſt the illegal exaction of tonnage and poundage, and the increaſe of Popiſh and Arminian doctrines; on which account the King diſſolved the Houſe, in an angry manner, on the 10th of March (*x*). According to ſome writers, the Lord Dorcheſter, in this Parliament, propoſed the laying an *exciſe* upon the nation; which was taken ſo heinouſly ill, that though he was a Privy-Counſellor, and

(*w*) On the 25th of July, 1628.

(*x*) Hiſt. Preface, *ubi ſupra*, p. xxi, xxii, xxvii.

and principal Secretary of State, he with difficulty eſcaped being committed to the Tower (*y*). Of this ſtory, which, we believe, originated in Howel's letters, and is referred to in Lloyd's State Worthies, we find no traces in the parliamentary hiſtory, or in the Lords and Commons journals. It is, however, generally ſuppoſed, upon the authority of the Earl of Clarendon, that the Lord Dorcheſter was better acquainted with the management of foreign affairs, than with the conſtitution, laws, and cuſtoms of his own country. In his capacity of Secretary of State, he was a chief agent in carrying on and compleating the treaties with France and Spain; for a particular relation of his conduct in which reſpects, we muſt content ourſelves with referring to the valuable work (*z*) already ſo often cited [*C*]. Beſides the negotiations with France and Spain, he directed, in the courſe of the years 1629, and 1630, thoſe of Sir Henry Vane in Holland, and Sir Thomas Roe in Poland and the maritime parts of Germany. The former was ſent to the Hague, to explain to the States the motives of our treaty with Spain, and to ſound their diſpoſitions about joining in it; and the latter was employed as mediator between the Kings of Sweden and Poland; after which he was very inſtrumental, in working up the heroic Guſtavus Adolphus to undertake his German expedition. The Lord Dorcheſter appears, likewiſe, to have kept up a private correſpondence with the Queen of Bohemia, whoſe vigour of mind, and vivacity of ſpirits, roſe ſuperior to her misfortunes. He uſed the beſt offices in his power to prevent miſunderſtandings between her and the King her brother; and he gave advice, when the occaſion required it, with the freedom and ſincerity of an old friend and ſervant to her and her family (*a*).

(*y*) Biog. Brit. p. 1174. note [*G*] firſt edition. Granger's Biog. Hiſtory, v. i. p. 384. ſecond edition.

(*z*) Hiſt. Preface, *ubi ſupra*, p. xxiii—xxii.

(*a*) Hiſt. Preface, p. xxxiii. Appendix to ditto, p. lix—lxvii.

Our worthy and well intentioned Secretary of State, did not live to ſee an end of the perplexed negotiations he was engaged in with reſpect to the affairs of Germany and the reſtitution of the Palatinate, and which were the weak efforts of a diſtracted reign; for, having long ſtruggled with the diſorders occaſioned by frequent returns of the ſtone

[*C*] *We muſt content ourſelves with referring to the valuable work already ſo often cited.*] With regard, however, to the treaty with Spain, we cannot avoid tranſcribing a paſſage, relative to Lord Cottington's conduct, which is peculiarly curious. "Some private tranſaction there was between the two Kings with regard to the Palatinate; and the concluding paragraph in a letter from Sir Francis Cottington of November the twelfth relates to it; but we may preſume it was rather calculated to ſave the honour of King Charles, than really intended to be performed: 'When I tell them all here, that this peace cannot 'hold, unleſs ſatisfaction be given in the buſineſs of 'the Palatinate, putting them in mind, that the 'treaty is grounded on the *promiſe* made in that be-'half; they confeſs that they do all ſo underſtand 'it. But of that I have written ſo much in my let-'ter to his Majeſty, as I ſhall not here need to repeat 'it.'

"The ſecret of this buſineſs has ſince come to light, from Secretary Windebanke's papers, which make a part of that noble collection of State Letters formed by the firſt Earl of Clarendon. The King of Spain (Philip the Fourth) wrote a private letter in his own hand to Charles the Firſt, at the time of ſigning the treaty; in which he abſolutely engaged for the reſtitution of ſuch parts of the Palatinate as were in his poſſeſſion, and admitted that the good underſtanding between Great-Britain and Spain, ſhould depend on the accompliſhment of this condition; but together with the public treaty, a ſecret one was concerted by Sir Francis Cottington and the Duke de Olivarez, in which the former moſt ſhamefully agreed to a partition of the Seven Provinces with the Crown of Spain, and engaged his maſter to join his arms to thoſe of his Catholic Majeſty, againſt the ancient Proteſtant ally of this nation, the Republic of Holland. From what motives Cottington ventured to bring along with him to England this extraordinary convention, does not appear; but it is certain that King Charles the Firſt never ratified it. The Court of Spain never fulfilled the condition, for which its King had pledged his honour; and probably conſidered the non-ratification of the ſecret treaty, as a ſort of defeaſance on the part of Charles the Firſt. It entangled him ever afterwards in his negotiations with the Court of Spain, and reminds one too ſtrongly of ſimilar tranſactions with France, in the reign of his ſon and ſucceſſor; of which that elegant and intereſting hiſtorian Mr. Hume has given the firſt authentic account, from King James's Memoirs, and which have been more fully laid open, in the later diſcoveries of Sir John Dalrymple and Mr. Macpherſon.

"The cauſe of Popery was undoubtedly at the bottom of both; the Dutch were to have been the ſacrifice; and the faith of treaties, and the national honour, were alike ſacrificed in them. But Charles the Firſt had luckily in his councils a virtuous Miniſter, who adviſed him to ſhun the ſnare, The convention in Spaniſh is publiſhed in the firſt volume of the Clarendon Papers, and the tranſlation of it in the ſecond, together with an extract (communicated by the editor) of a remarkable diſpatch from the Lord Dorcheſter to Sir Robert Anſtruther. For the further illuſtration of this dark tranſaction, it is thought proper to print at length, two very material letters relative to it. It appears from them, that the Spaniards diſcovered this ſecret treaty to the Auſtrian Miniſtry; and that Charles the Firſt abſolutely denied having any knowledge of the negotiation at Madrid, and would not even caſt his eye on the draught of it, when produced by Cottington at his return. It is, however, very ſingular, and not eaſy to be explained, why Charles did not diſavow more ſtrongly the preſumption of his Embaſſador, in giving any countenance to ſo extraordinary a project, and ſuffering his name to be uſed in the preamble, and to be ſigned at the bottom of the inſtrument. Cottington was no novice in the forms and eſſence of buſineſs, and more likely to impoſe on Olivarez, than to be his dupe. He was, all along, a notorious partiſan of the Spaniſh cauſe, in his politics; and with regard to his religion, his noble friend, Lord Clarendon, owns that he changed it, during his firſt reſidence at Madrid; then, with a ſcandalous duplicity, he conformed again to the Proteſtant, and finally was reconciled to the Church of Rome, in order to ſecure a retreat and a penſion from Spain. When he came home from his embaſſy in 1631, he ſays, in a private letter, that he brought the *ſhoeing-horn* of the whole buſineſs with him; by which is plainly intended this ſecret treaty: the Court of Spain never loſt ſight of it during their intercourſe with that of England, till the troubles broke out, and always conſidered it as an inſtrument regularly agreed upon, and ſigned by Olivarez and Cottington, and not, as the letter from Lord Dorcheſter treats it, a project (*ſine auctore*) given in by one of the parties, without the ſanction of the other; and conſequently they availed themſelves of the non-ratification, as an excuſe for not fulfilling the engagement in the King of Spain's private letter (3)."

(3) Hiſt. Preface, *ubi ſupra*, p. xxxi, xxxii.

and gravel, he died on the 15th of February, 1631-32, in the 59th year of his age, and was interred in Weſtminſter Abbey, where a handſome monument is erected to his memory. He was twice married; firſt, to Anne, daughter and coheir of George Gerrard, Eſq; by whom he had one ſon, who died an infant; and ſecondly, to a daughter of Sir Henry Glenham, and the widow of the Lord Viſcount Banning, who was left with child of a daughter, that lived but a few months (*b*). There are two prints of Sir Dudley Carleton, the firſt of which was engraved in 1620, in quarto, by W. Delff, from a painting of Mierevelt; the other is by Sturt. His portrait is at Chriſt Church, in Oxford. In the inſcription to Delff's print, Sir Dudley is deſcribed, not only as an admirer of the art of painting, but as eminently ſkilled in it (*c*). With regard to the general abilities and character of the Lord Dorcheſter, it appears, from all his political remains, that he was a judicious, faithful, and diligent Miniſter; and better qualified for his department, than any who were his immediate predeceſſors, or ſucceſſors in the ſame office. King Charles himſelf, who was a good judge of his ſervants abilities, uſed to ſay, as Sir P. Warwick relates in his Memoirs, "that he had two Secretaries of State, "the Lords Dorcheſter and Falkland; one of whom was a dull man in compariſon of "the other, and yet pleaſed him the beſt; for he always brought him his own thoughts "in his own words: the latter cloathed them in ſo fine a dreſs, that he did not always "know them again." Allowing for ſome defects of ſtiffneſs and circumlocution, which are common to all the writings of that time, Lord Dorcheſter's diſpatches are drawn up in that plain, perſpicuous, and unaffected ſtile, which was fitteſt for buſineſs. Domeſtic concerns were no part of his province, but entirely managed by the Lord Treaſurer Weſton and Archbiſhop Laud. He held the pen ſingly in foreign affairs, and was regretted by thoſe, who were uſed to receive the inſtructions of government from a Secretary of State, upon whom they could depend that he would make a juſt report of their ſervices, and that he would not miſlead or miſrepreſent the Miniſters with whom he correſponded. That he died much lamented by the public in general, and with the reputation of an honeſt and well deſerving Stateſman, is declared by Sir Thomas Roe, in a manuſcript letter to a friend in Holland (*d*). The famous Poet Cowley wrote an elegy on the death of Lord Dorcheſter, of which the following are the concluding lines.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. xxxiv.

(*c*) Granger's Biogr. Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 383.

(*d*) Hiſt. Preface, *ubi ſupra*, p. xxxiv, xxxv.

"An angry fever,
"Whoſe quenchleſs thirſt by blood was ſated never,
"Envying the riches, honour, greatneſs, love,
"And virtue (loadſtone, that all theſe did move)
"Of noble Carleton, him ſhe took away,
"And like a greedy vulture ſeiz'd her prey.
"Weep with me, each who either reads or hears,
"And know his loſs deſerves his country's tears!
"The Muſes loſt a patron by his fate,
"Virtue a huſband, and a prop the ſtate.
"Sol's chorus weeps, and to adorn his hearſe,
"Calliope would ſing a tragic verſe.
"And, had there been before no ſpring of theirs,
"They would have made a helicon with tears (*e*)."

(*e*) Johnſon's Poets, vol. i. p. 64, 65.

The Earl of Clarendon's aſſertion that, though the Lord Dorcheſter underſtood very well all that related to foreign employments, and the condition of other Princes and nations, he was unacquainted with the government, laws, and cuſtoms of his own country, and the nature of the people, is diſputed by Dr. Birch, who conſiders it as abſolutely incompatible with the experience which he muſt have acquired in the Houſe of Commons (*f*). But, not to mention that the noble Hiſtorian, who had no prejudice againſt his Lordſhip, could not well be deceived in the fact, it is, we think, confirmed by the unhappy figure he made in the Parliament of 1626, and by his acquieſcence in all the obnoxious meaſures of Buckingham, Weſton, and Laud. Several things were written by him [*D*], and a compleat ſeries of his diſpatches is preſerved in the Paper-Office (*g*). The

(*f*) Birch's View, *ubi ſupra*, p. 204.

(*g*) Hiſt. Preface, *ubi ſupra*, p. iii.

[*D*] *Several things were written by him.*] The account of his writings, as given in Wood's Athenæ, the firſt edition of the Biographia Britannica, and Mr. Walpole's royal and noble Authors, is as follows. 1. "Balance, pour peſer en toute Equité & "Droicture la Harangue fait vagueres en l'Aſſem-"blee des illuſtres & puiſſans Seignoures Meſſeig-"neurs les Eſtats generaux des Provinces Unies du "pais bas, &c." 1618, quarto. 2. "Harangue "fait au Counſeile de Meſſ. les Eſtats generaux des "Provinces Unies, touchant le Diſcord & le "Troubles de l'Egliſe & la Police, cauſés par la "Doctrine d'Arminius." 6 Oct. 1617. Stil. nov. printed with the former. 3. Various Letters in the Cabala, or Scrinia ſacra, London, folio, 1663. 4. Various Letters to George, Duke of Bucks, in Cabala, or Myſteries of State, London, 1654, quarto. 5. Several French and Latin Letters to the learned Ger. Jo. Voſſius, printed in *Ger. Jo. Voſſii & clarorum Virorum ad eum Epiſtolæ*, London, 1690, folio. Publiſhed by Paulus Colomeſius. 6. Several Speeches in Parliament, in 1626, in Ruſhworth's Collections. In one of theſe ſpeeches, Sir Dudley Carleton ſays, that in his voyage to Venice, the ſhip in which he was, ſtruck thrice upon a ſand. 7. Several Letters in the three volumes of Sir Ralph Winwood's

The letters from and to Sir Dudley Carleton, during his embaſſy in Holland, from January 1615-16, to December 1620, properly ſelected, and as occaſion required, abridged, or only noted, were publiſhed by the preſent Earl of Hardwicke, in one volume quarto, in 1757, with an hiſtorical preface. The ſecond edition of the ſame work, with large additions to the hiſtorical preface, appeared in 1775. By this preface, which is drawn from materials that are entirely new, and which ſhews, in the ſtrongeſt manner, what excellent uſe may be made of the many untouched manuſcript collections in the kingdom, we have been enabled to give a totally different form to the preſent article, from what was in the power of our learned predeceſſors. The letters contained in Lord Hardwicke's publication, if ſome allowances be made for party violences and prejudices, contain more clear, accurate, and intereſting accounts of that remarkable period of Dutch hiſtory to which they relate, than are any where extant. There are likewiſe diſcuſſed in the courſe of them, many points of great importance, at that time, to the Engliſh commerce; ſuch as the conteſts between the two nations about the exportation of dreſſed cloths; the Greenland fiſhery; that upon the coaſt of Scotland; and the Eaſt-Indian territorial and commerical differences. The reader will find alſo, within the compaſs of the volume, the riſe and progreſs of the famous Bohemian war, till after the loſs of the battle of Prague; and muſt feel, with indignation, that the generous efforts of the States General, to animate King James in the ſupport of that great quarrel, in which both the religious and civil intereſts of this country were deeply concerned, were repaid with neglect and ſilence; whilſt the Engliſh Embaſſador was preſſing for inſtructions upon the ſubject for months together, and could receive none (*b*). Mr. Walpole having obſerved (*i*), that it was not the fault of the Miniſter or of the editor, that the tranſactions related in Sir Dudley Carleton's letters turned chiefly on the Synod of Dort; the noble writer of the hiſtorical preface, hath concluded the ſecond edition of it with the following remarks: "The editor cannot finally diſmiſs this ſubject, without acknowledging the polite mention which Mr. Walpole has made of him in his elegant account of noble authors; but he may be allowed to ſay, that had the negotiations of Sir Dudley during this period turned chiefly on the Synod of Dort, the publick would never have been troubled with them. Whoever looks into theſe letters with any ſort of attention, muſt agree, that a very ſmall part of them relates to that venerable council: the political conteſts which gave riſe to it, are as remarkable as any in the annals of the United Provinces; Maurice and Barnevelt were amongſt the firſt ſtateſmen and politicians of the time, and Bogerman and Utenbogardt are very ſubordinate figures in the piece. The riſe and progreſs of the thirty years war in Germany, forms no inconſiderable *part* of Sir Dudley's correſpondence: and though his maſter *negotiated*, when he ſhould have drawn *the ſword*, yet ſtill it is not in the diſputes between Vorſtius or Epiſcopius, that the Embaſſador or the Monarch take up the pen; and the Editor profeſſes that he has not the leaſt ambition to be a compiler, or a writer, in the quinque-articular controverſy. He therefore claims a right to rank this correſpondence amongſt the materials for no unintereſting period of Civil Hiſtory (*k*)."] K.

(*i*) Royal and noble Authors, vol. i. p. 194, 195.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. vi.

(*k*) P. xxxv, xxxvi.

Winwood's Memorials, publiſhed at London, in folio, 1725. 8. A Letter to the Earl of Saliſbury, printed in Howard's Collection. 9. Memoirs for Diſpatches of political Affairs relating to Holland and England, ann. 1618; with ſeveral Propoſitions made to the States. Manuſcript. 10. Particular Obſervations of the military Affairs in the Palatinate, and the Low Countries, annis 1621, 1622. Manuſcript. 11. Letters relating to State Affairs, written to the King and Viſcount Rocheſter, from Venice, ann. 1613. Manuſcript (4). The manuſcript pieces here mentioned, are probably no more than parts of the collections preſerved in the Paper Office.

(4) Athenæ, vol. i. col. 563, 564. Biogr. Brit. vol. ii. p. 1175, note [*H*] firſt edition. Royal and noble Authors, vol. i. p. 196, 197.

CARPENTER (Richard), a Divine and Poet of the laſt age, had his education at Eaton-College near Windſor, and from thence was elected Scholar of King's-College in Cambridge, in the year 1622: where continuing about three years, he afterwards went out of England, and ſtudied in Flanders, Artois, France, Spain, and Italy; and at length received holy orders at Rome from the hands of the Pope's ſubſtitute. Soon after, having taken upon him the order of St. Benedict, he was ſent into England to make proſelytes; in which employment having continued ſomewhat above a year, he returned to the Proteſtant Religion, and, through the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's intereſt, obtained the ſmall vicarage of Poling by the ſea-ſide, near Arundel Caſtle, in Suſſex. Here he was expoſed to the inſults and abuſes of the Romiſh party, particularly one Francis à S. Clara, living in that neighbourhood under the name of Hunt, who would be very free with him, and expoſe him to ſcorn before his pariſhioners. In the time of the Civil War, he quitted his living, and retired to Paris, where, reconciling himſelf to the Romiſh Church, he made it his buſineſs to rail againſt the Proteſtants. Afterwards returning to England, he ſettled at Ayleſbury in Buckinghamſhire, where he had ſome relations; and, being once more a Proteſtant, he would often preach there in a very fantaſtical manner, to the great mirth of his auditors. He was living there in 1670; but, before his death, he returned a third time to Popery, cauſing his pretended wife to embrace that perſuaſion; and in that faith he died. He publiſhed ſome *Sermons* and a *Comedy*,

Comedy, called *The Pragmatical Jeſuit* [*A*]. He was generally eſteemed a man of the moſt fantaſtical character, one that changed his opinions as often as his cloaths, and, for his juggles and tricks in religion, a Theological Mountebank (*a*).

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. vol. i. col. 515, 516.

[*A*] *Some* Sermons, *and a* Comedy *called* The Pragmatical Jeſuit.] His ſermons are theſe following. I. *The perfect Law of God, being a Sermon and no Sermon, preached and yet not preached.* Printed in 1652, in *octavo*. II. *Aſtrology proved harmleſs, uſeful, pious*; on *Gen.* i. 14. *And let them be for ſigns.* Lond. 1657, in 4to. Dedicated to Elias Aſhmole. At the end of the Epiſtle Dedicatory is Richard Carpenter's picture, with a face looking towards him, out of the mouth of which iſſues a ſerpent, and out of the ſerpent's mouth fire. Underneath are written theſe words: *Ricardus Carpenterus porcello cuidam Geraſenorum, ſcilicet in omnia præcipiti, fluctibuſque devoto, eidem porco loquaci pariter & minaci mendacique indicit ſilentium, & obmuteſcit.* III. *Rome in her fruits.* Preached the 1ſt of November 1662, near the Standard in Cheapſide; in anſwer to a Pamphlet intitled, *Reaſons why the Roman Catholics ſhould not be perſecuted.* Lond. 1663, 4to. on *Matth.* vii. 16. There is extant by the ſame author, a treatiſe intitled, *Experience, Hiſtory, and Divinity, in five books.* Lond. 1642, in a thick *octavo*. Dedicated to the Parliament then ſitting; with his picture before it. This book was republiſhed in 1648, under the title of *The Downfall of Antichriſt*. His comedy, called *The Pragmatical Jeſuit*, came out after the Reſtoration. The picture before it repreſents him in a very genteel lay-habit; whereas that before his *Experience*, &c. exhibits him in the dreſs of a formal Clergyman, with a mortified countenance (1). Mr. Langbaine (2) ſpeaks with ſome commendation of this play. He ſays, 'it is very 'inſtructive, tending chiefly to morality, ſhewing the 'difference between true religion and hypocriſy; the 'author having made it his buſineſs to expoſe all the 'ſubtilties and inventions of the Romiſh Clergy to 'gain profelytes, and promote their religion.'

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. vol. i. col. 515.

(2) Account of the Dramatic Poets, Lond. 1691, 8vo. p. 50.

*** [Prints of Richard Carpenter are prefixed to ſeveral of his publications. In the upper part of that which is before the firſt edition of his "Expe-"rience, Hiſtory, and Divinity," he is repreſented kneeling to the Pope. Juſt below is this inſcription, "Mitto te in Angliam, ad paſcendos Ca-"tholicos, & Hæreticos reducendos." In this work, which is a ſtrange medley, may be found ſome particulars of the author's perſonal hiſtory. He tells us in his book, in which he ſpeaks with great freedom of the corruptions of the Church of Rome, that his *whole heart* was never converted to that Church; 'and we are ſure, ſays Mr. Granger, that it was never *half* converted to the Church of England.' The ſame Biographer hath given a ſpecimen of Carpenter's ſtile, from before the table of errata at the end of the work above-mentioned. "I humbly de-"ſire all clean-hearted and right-ſpirited people, "who ſhall reade this book, (which becauſe the preſſe "was oppreſſed, ſeems to have been ſuppreſſed, "when it was by little and little and impreſſed; but "now at leaſt hath preſſed through the preſſe into "the publicke) firſt to reſtore it by correcting the "following errata." One would imagine, as Mr. Granger juſtly obſerves, that the author, during his reſidence in Spain, had been particularly converſant with books of chivalry. This ſpecimen is exactly of a piece with the following, which was taken by Cervantes from one of the Spaniſh Romances, and is the ſtile which is ſuppoſed to have turned Don Quixote's brain; "The reaſon of your unreaſonable "uſage of my reaſon, does ſo enfeeble my rea-"ſon, that I have reaſon to expoſtulate with your "beauty (3)."] K.

(3) Biogr. Hiſt. of England, vol. ii. p. 201, 202. Vol. iii. p. 345, 346, octavo edition.

There was another RICHARD CARPENTER, a Divine, of a very different character from the above, and prior in order of time: he was a Corniſh man, and became a Batler in Exeter-College in Oxford, in 1592, and four years after Fellow of that houſe, being then Bachelor of Arts. By the advice and direction of the Rector, Dr. Holland, he applied himſelf to Theological ſtudies, and, in a few years, proved a learned Divine, and an excellent Preacher. In 1611, he was admitted to the reading of the ſentences; and about that time was made Rector of Sherwill, and of Loxhore adjoining, in Devonſhire; and afterwards obtained the benefice of Ham near Sherwill. He died the 18th of December 1627, aged fifty-two, and was buried in the chancel of the Church of Loxhore (*b*) [*B*]. He publiſhed ſome *Sermons* [*C*]. Langbaine (*c*) confounds theſe two *Carpenters* [*D*].

(*b*) Wood, Ath. Oxon, vol. i. col. 514.

(*c*) In his account of the Dramatic Poets, London, 1691, 8vo. p. 50.

[*B*] *He was buried in the chancel of the church of Loxhore.*] Over his grave is a large epitaph in proſe and verſe, beginning thus: *Richardus Carpenter S. Theol. D. ab eruditione multiplici venerandus, pietate vitæ, integritate, morumque comitate valde clarus: hujus & eccleſiæ Sherwillenſis paſtor fidus*, &c. i. e. 'Richard Carpenter, Doctor in Divinity, reſpectable 'for his extenſive learning, famous for piety of life, 'integrity, and courteous manners; and a faithful 'Paſtor of this and the Church of Sherwill, &c.'

[*C*] *He publiſhed ſome* Sermons.] I. *The Soul's Centinel.* Preached at the funeral of Sir Arthur Acland, Knt. 9 *Jan.* 1611, *on* Job xiv. 14. *Lond.* 1612, 8vo. II. *A Paſtoral Charge, faithfully given and diſcharged at the Triennial Viſitation of* W. *Biſhop of* Exon, *at* Barnſtaple, 7 *Sept.* 1616. *on* Acts xx. 28. London, 1616. 8vo. III. *Chriſt's Larum-bell of Love re-ſounded*, &c. *on* John xv. 12. Lond. 1616, 8vo. IV. *The conſcionable Chriſtian*, &c. Being three Aſſize Sermons at Taunton and Chard in Somerſetſhire, 1620, on *Acts* xxiv. 16. Lond. 1623, 4to (3).

(3) Wood, *ubi ſupra*, col. 514, 515.

[*D*] Langbaine *confounds theſe two* Carpenters.] Speaking (4) of the play called *The Pragmatical Jeſuit*, written by the firſt-mentioned Richard Carpenter, he ſays: 'I know not whether or no it might not be 'writ by a Divine of that name, the author of ſe-'veral ſermons, particularly three, of keeping a good 'conſcience, printed in *quarto*, London, 1623.' Theſe are the three *Aſſize Sermons*, mentioned in the laſt remark. B.

(4) *Ubi ſupra.*

CARPENTER (GEORGE, Lord) Baron Carpenter of Killaghy, in the county of Kilkenny, in the kingdom of Ireland, a Nobleman during the latter end of the laſt and beginning of the preſent Century, and who by his military atchievements greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf through the whole courſe of the wars in Ireland, Flanders, and Spain; whoſe courage and prudence raiſed him, by gradual promotions, through the ſeveral ſtations and degrees of the army to almoſt the higheſt pitch of military honours (*a*). He was deſcended from an ancient family in Herefordſhire [*A*], and born at Pitchers Ocull, in

(*a*) See his epitaph in note [*H*].

[*A*] *Deſcended from an ancient family in Herefordſhire.*] We alſo find the name, and, in all probability, the ſame family, of great antiquity and repute, in other parts of England, particularly in the Weſt. In 1303,

in that county, on the 10th of February 1657, and was the ſon of Warncomb Carpenter, ſixth ſon of Thomas Carpenter, Eſq; Lord of the manor of the Homme or Holme, in the pariſh of Dilwynne, near Weobley in this county; which manor, with a conſiderable eſtate, has been in this family, and lineally deſcended from father to ſon for above four-hundred years, and is now in the poſſeſſion of the preſent Earl of Tyrconnel (*b*):——Mr. Warncomb Carpenter married Eleanor, daughter of William Taylor, Eſq; of the ſame county, and widow of John Hill, Eſquire [*B*], by whom ſhe had only one ſon [*C*]: But by Mr. Warncomb Carpenter ſhe had ſeven, of whom, George (Lord Carpenter) was the youngeſt. He had his education at a private Grammar-ſchool in the country, where he made much improvement in claſſical learning; and was upon his arrival in London, ſoon recommended, as well by the ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition, his behaviour, and accompliſhments, as by his friends, to be Page to the Earl of Montague, whom he attended in his embaſſy to the Court of France in 1671, at the age of fourteen. Upon his return in 1672, he rode as a private gentleman in the third troop of guards, which was then looked upon as an honourable poſt, none but the youngeſt ſons of noblemen and gentlemen of fortune being admitted. He was ſhortly after appointed Quarter-maſter to the regiment of horſe, commanded by the Earl of Peterborough, and paſſed through all the commiſſions of Cornet, Lieutenant, and Captain (*c*), till he was advanced to be the Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment, in which poſt he continued thirteen years, till 1685, though the regiment was almoſt conſtantly in ſervice. In the year 1693, he married Alice, daughter of the Right Honourable William Baron Cawfield, afterwards created Viſcount Charlemont (and always known by the memorable epithet of good Lord Charlemont) who had a conſiderable jointure by her firſt huſband, James Margetſon, Eſq; by the ſale of part of which, he was enabled to purchaſe the King's own regiment of dragoons, which he commanded till he died. He ſerved through the whole courſe of the wars with France, Ireland, Flanders, and Spain, with unblemiſhed honour and reputation; and diſtinguiſhed himſelf to great advantage, by his courage, conduct, and humanity (*d*). For the particulars of his military atchievements, we muſt refer the reader to the ſeveral Hiſtories of thoſe wars, in which, all his actions are recorded greatly to his honour. At the unfortunate battle of Almanza in 1707, by his prudent conduct in bringing up the rear in the laſt ſquadron of the retreat, he preſerved the baggage of the whole army (*e*). In the action at Almenara, July 27, 1710, he was wounded, and had, among the other Generals, the honour of receiving the compliments of his Majeſty Charles III. King of Spain, for his judicious conduct and bravery in that engagement (*f*). In defending the breach at Brihuega, he was again deſperately wounded; and had his advice been followed, the town had certainly held out till relieved by Count Staremberg [*D*]; inſtead of which, all our forces, after an obſtinate reſiſtance againſt the whole French and Spaniſh army, were here taken priſoners. The wound Col. Carpenter received was by a muſket-ball, which broke part of his jaw-bone, beat out all his teeth on one ſide, and lodged itſelf in the root of his tongue, where it remained a whole year before it was extracted; during which time he underwent the moſt exquiſite pain, and he wholly ſubſiſted by liquids, being incapable of ſwallowing any other food. In 1705, he was made Brigadier-General, in 1708 Major-General,

(*b*) This, and great part of this article, is taken from Memoirs communicated by the family.

(*c*) See his epitaph in note [*H*]. As alſo, The Preamble to his patent in note [*G*].

(*d*) See the Preamble to his Patent, note [*G*].

(*e*) Annals of Queen Anne, vol. ix. p. 89.

(*f*) Annals of Queen Anne, vol. ix. p. 94.

1303, the 33d of Edward I. John Carpenter was Member of Parliament for the Borough of Leſkard in the county of Cornwal; as in the 35th of that reign, was Stephen le Carpenter for the borough of Crediton in the county of Devon; and in the 19th of Edward II. 1325, Henry le Carpenter was Member for the town of Derby (1).

(1) The Iriſh Compendium, p. 359.

[*B*] *Mr. Warncomb Carpenter* (*Lord Carpenter's father*) *married Eleanor daughter of William Taylor, and widow of John Hill, Eſq*;] With this Lady he had a conſiderable jointure, beſides fifteen hundred pounds his own private fortune, given him by his father; a large patrimony at that time for a younger ſon, eſpecially a ſixth. This enabled him to ſupport himſelf, and his large family, in a handſome and genteel manner, to give all his ſons a proper education, and to purſue the bent of his own natural inclinations, in eſpouſing the Royal Cauſe, to which he was moſt zealouſly attached; and by which he was a conſiderable ſufferer, loſing not only great part of his fortune, but even his life, in defence thereof; for being an active officer in the King's army, and a man of high ſpirit, he was, in the heat of the battle of Naſeby, June 14, 1645, wounded by a muſket-ball, which went through both his legs. This, though not the cauſe, of his immediate death, the wound being curable, proved ſo however at laſt; for breaking again out ſome years afterwards, it became incurable, and ſo was the occaſion of his death.

[*C*] *Widow of John Hill, Eſq; by whom ſhe had only one ſon.*] Named William, who being a favourite ſervant of his Royal Highneſs James Duke of York, then Lord High-Admiral of England (2), and afterwards King James II. he gave him the command of the ſhip Coventry; and not long afterwards made him Governor, and Captain-General of the Leeward Iſlands; which being afterwards taken by the French, he bravely re-took them, and continued Governor of them to the time of his death.

(2) The Duke of York's Naval Memoirs, 8vo. p. 125, 126.

[*D*] *And had his advice been followed, the town had certainly held out till relieved by Count Staremberg.*] In the Council of War, called upon the imminent danger in which they found themſelves, upon being inveſted by the French and Spaniſh armies, Lieutenant-General Carpenter was of opinion, that all the horſe and dragoons ſhould march out of the town over the bridge, and that the foot, with the heavy baggage, ſhould be left; where, by caſting up entrenchments and barricadoes, they might hold out two or three days, till they could get ſuccour from Count Staremberg. This counſel was the more to be regarded, in that they had not a ſufficient quantity of powder and ſhot for all the troops; they who ſhould have taken care of it, having neglected to provide them before the armies ſeparated. But whether, upon expectation of being timely relieved, or out of fear of loſing their baggage and plunder, the majority reſolved, that all the troops ſhould ſtay in and defend the town. Count Staremberg, upon notice of their danger, marched with all poſſible expedition to their reſcue: but before he could come up, they had been forced to yield priſoners of war for want of ammunition (3).

(3) Boyer's Reign of Queen Anne, p. 495.

[*E*] *This*

General, and in 1710 Lieutenant-General. In 1714 he was chosen Member of Parliament for Whitchurch in Hampshire, and the year following was appointed Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Vienna, having acquired the personal regard and esteem of the Emperor, by serving under him in Spain. But when he had prepared all things in readiness, and was just setting out for his embassy, the rebellion in 1715 broke out, and he was sent into the North; where he not only prevented the rebels from seizing upon Newcastle, and marching into Yorkshire, but having overtaken them at Preston, where they were invested by Major-General Willes, he, by altering the disposition which that General had made, cut off entirely both their escape and receiving any fresh supplies; and obliged them to send out hostages, that they should raise no works for the defence of the town, nor endeavour to escape themselves, or suffer any of their party to do so till the next morning, when they were to determine whether they would surrender at discretion or not; which, however, they accordingly did in the morning (g). This was all the treaty the General made with the rebels, nor were any hopes of pardon or mercy so much as suggested to them [E]. At the beginning of February 1716, General Carpenter sent a challenge by Col. Churchill to General Willes [F]. The motives reported for this were some words which had passed between them in Spain, and were revived again at Preston. But this duel was honourably compromised, by the generous interpositions of the Dukes of Marlborough and Montague. In 1716 he was constituted Governor of Minorca, and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's forces in Scotland; and in 1719, was created Baron

(g) See an Account of his conduct in this affair, in *A True Relation of the Pursuit of the Rebels in the North, and of their Surrender at Preston to Lieutenant-General Carpenter, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces there*; joined to a Plan published under this title, *An exact Plan of the Town of Preston, with the Barricadoes of the Rebels, and the Dispositions of the King's Forces under the Command of Lieutenant-General Carpenter, and Major-General Willes*. See likewise, The Political State of Great-Britain, for Feb. 1715-6, vol. xi. p. 179, &c.

[E] *This was all the treaty the General made with the rebels, nor was any hope of pardon or mercy so much as suggested to them.*] As is, without foundation, asserted by some favourers of those unhappy sufferers in that rebellion. Upon this account, we think it incumbent upon us to clear the General's conduct in this respect, which we cannot better do, than by giving the circumstances of these proceedings from the trial of Lord Wintoun (4).

(4) State Trials, vol. vi. p. 38.

'*Sir J. Jekyll.* Mr. Carpenter, please to inform my 'Lords what passed at Preston after you came there?

'*Gen. Carp.* After I came, the rebels sent out to 'know, what terms they might expect? and were 'answered, None, but at discretion. They soon after sent out one Captain Dalziel, to desire a cessation till next morning; upon which I sent in Colonel Churchill, to tell them I agreed to a cessation, provided they sent out an English Lord, and 'a Scotch Lord, as hostages:——and he brought 'out my Lord Derwentwater, and Colonel Mackintosh, as hostages, that they should make no attempt 'to escape, nor any works for defence in the town.

'*Att. Gen.* Pray, Sir, acquaint my Lords who you 'sent in with Colonel Churchill?

'*Gen. Carp.* Colonel Cotton.

'*Att. Gen.* When did they agree to surrender the 'place?

'*Gen. Carp.* Not till the next morning. The 'hostages were, That none should attempt to escape, 'nor any defences should be made in the town, till 'the next morning; at which time they would determine, whether they would surrender, or not.

'*Att. Gen.* I desire you to acquaint my Lords, 'whether these were all the terms offered; or whether 'there were any hopes of mercy given them?

'*Gen. Carp.* I gave them none at all myself, and 'it is very unlikely any body else should. I commanded in Chief his Majesty's forces there: No 'body ought to have done it; and if any officer took 'upon him so to do, without my order or leave, it 'was very unanswerable by the rules and discipline 'of war, and what he cannot answer: I hope no body 'did: I am sure, I gave no such directions: Colonel 'Churchill can acquaint your Lordships, whether I 'directed him to mention any other conditions to 'them, than at discretion.

'*Sir J. Jekyl.* Did you hear any other officer give 'them any hope or expectation of mercy?

'*Gen. Carp.* No, I did not.

[*In relation to General Carpenter's evidence, Colonel Churchill was sworn, and asked*, viz.]

'*Mr. Cowper.* The question proposed is, Whether 'you were sent into Preston, and by whom?

'*Col. Churchill.* I came up to Preston on Sunday 'morning, under General Carpenter's command, 'about ten o'clock; about one, they sent out to capitulate; about five, I was sent in by General 'Carpenter; their request being, that they might 'have till next morning to consider whether they 'would surrender, or not. My directions were they 'should have that, upon condition they sent out 'hostages that none should attempt to escape, and 'that no defence should be made in the town. The 'people named to me by General Carpenter, were 'my Lord Derwentwater, or my Lord Widdrington; and my Lord Kenmure, or Mackintosh, was 'mentioned for the Scotch. I directed them to send 'hostages to me. They could not find my Lord 'Derwentwater nor Widdrington, and Mackintosh 'was gone to bed. A little before eight I went with 'them, and told them the terms I was to deliver to 'them, that they were to throw up no works to 'fortify themselves; and should answer that none of 'them should escape. My Lord Derwentwater and 'Mackintosh went out with me: I carried them to 'the two Generals there, and at seven o'clock next 'morning they surrendered themselves.

'*Mr. Cowper.* Please to give me leave to ask you, 'whether you had any commission from the General 'that sent you into the town; or whether you of 'yourself, without such commission, gave them any 'hopes of mercy?

'*Col. Churchill.* I had not any power to do it; and 'was so far from doing it, that I don't remember a 'single syllable was mentioned either on our side, or 'theirs, about it.

'*Mr. Cowper.* Did you at any other time hear any 'other officers give them such assurance?

'*Col. Churchill.* I never heard a single word like it.'

Surrendering at discretion between an enemy and an enemy (said the General to a friend in the Court of Request who asked him the question) *always implies mercy, and is never refused*; *but*, added he, *the Law of Arms is the very reverse in cases of intestine commotions*; thus illustrating the case: *If a robber attempted my life, and missing his aim, threw himself at my feet, I would shew him mercy: but if my servant attempted my life, and missed his aim, were he ever so submissive, I would shoot him through the head* (5).

(5) The Life of the late Right Hon. George Lord Carpenter, a pamphlet published in 1736.

[F] *In the beginning of February* 1715-16, *he sent a challenge to General Willes.*] We shall represent this affair in the words of Mr. A. Boyer, the author of *The Political State of Great-Britain* (6). 'On Monday, 'February 6, the town was surprized, and all the 'well-affected concerned, to hear that Lieutenant-'General Carpenter and Lieutenant-General Willes, 'two officers, who on all occasions had distinguished 'themselves for their bravery and conduct, were like 'to fight a duel. The truth is, a challenge was sent 'for that purpose from General Carpenter to General 'Willes; and Colonel Churchill, who carried it, was 'to be second to the first, and Brigadier Honeywood 'to the other. But this affair having taken vent, and 'reached the ears of the Duke of Montague, his Grace 'prevented

(6) The Political State of Great-Britain, for Feb. 1715-16, vol. xi. p. 168.

Baron Carpenter of Killaghy in the county of Kilkenny in the kingdom of Ireland [G]. In the year 1722, Lord Carpenter was choſen member of Parliament for the city of Weſtminſter, and was now as diligent in the ſervice of his country in the Houſe, as he had before been in the field; on all occaſions voting for what he thought the good of his country, without any regard to party, from the ſtricteſt principles of honour, juſtice, and integrity; never giving a vote, till upon the matureſt deliberation he was fully convinced of its equity. After ſeven years conſtant attendance in Parliament, age came upon him, and he declined apace. In October 1731, being nearly ſeventy-four years of age, he began to labour under a failure of appetite; and having had a fall by which his teeth were looſened on that ſide which had not been wounded, he was capable of receiving but little nouriſhmen. This complaint, together with old age and a gradual decay of nature, ended his life on the 10th of February 1731-2. His body was interred, purſuant to his own directions in his will, at *Owſelbury* in Hampſhire, near his Lady, where a neat monument of white and blue-veined marble is erected to his memory, by his ſon [H] the late Lord Carpenter, who was all the iſſue he left.

'prevented the combat by ſending a guard into the 'field. After which, the Duke of Marlborough in-'terpoſed in, and allayed this unhappy quarrel, at 'which all the enemies of the government did heartily 'rejoice. The ſubject-matter of it is not yet fully 'known, but was then, and is ſtill, reported to be, 'an old grudge upon a diſpute that happened between 'theſe two great men in Spain; and which having 'bled afreſh at Preſton upon the competition of the 'command, they wiſely thought fit to defer the de-'ciſion of it, till they met in London, and in the 'mean time, to act with all the chearfulneſs and 'unanimity againſt the rebels.'

[G] *In* 1719, *he was created Baron Carpenter of Killaghy, in the county of Kilkenny, in the kingdom of Ireland.*] The preamble to his patent is as follows, in Engliſh (7). 'Since we and our predeceſſors have 'liberally beſtowed titles of honour on perſons emi-'nent for arts and qualifications proper to a peaceable 'reign; we judge it moſt reaſonable, that military 'virtue, which ſeems, for many years paſt, to have 'been a principal ſupport of the government, ſhould 'be diſtinguiſhed by due rewards: For this reaſon 'eſpecially, we have thought fit to advance our 'faithful and well-beloved GEORGE CARPENTER, 'Eſq; Lieutenant-General of our armies, to the 'peerage of this kingdom; a perſon who, having ap-'plied himſelf early to the profeſſion of arms, has 'paſſed through all the military employs, to the rank 'he now bears, by ſlow and gradual promotions, his 'ſervice always preceding his advancement. When 'Britain was delivered from arbitrary power, he rea-'dily embraced the intereſt of the Revolution, and 'ſerved under King William of Glorious Memory, 'and afterwards in Flanders, behaving himſelf as a 'brave and induſtrious officer. After a ſhort interval 'of an unſafe peace, the war breaking out again with 'great violence, and ſpreading itſelf almoſt through 'all Europe, Spain was the ſcene of his ſervices. 'Earl Stanhope, Chief Commander of the Britiſh 'forces in that kingdom, freely imparted to him his 'deſigns, and in the execution of them ſucceſsfully 'experienced his courage and conduct. And when 'that General's preſence was required in England, he 'intruſted him with the command of his troops, as 'being fully aſſured that the public cauſe would ſuf-'fer no diſadvantage by his management; for his 'diligence and circumſpection in performing the 'duties of his employment were not leſs remarkable, 'than his conſtancy and preſence of mind in the time 'of action and moſt imminent danger. By his in-'tegrity, prudence, and evenneſs of temper, he not 'only gained the affections of his countrymen, but 'the eſteem and regard of the Generals of the Al-'lies, and even of his Imperial Majeſty. We have 'had a proof of his loyalty and abilities in an 'inſtance very beneficial to the public; for when 'ſedition, which was ſeaſonably repreſſed in other 'places, had taken root in the county of Northum-'berland, and there broke out into an open rebel-'lion, he, by our command, haſtened thither to 'extinguiſh this flame of civil war, though with 'unequal numbers. He prevented the rebels ſeiz-'ing Newcaſtle, intended by them for their place of 'arms; hindered their march into Yorkſhire; and 'at laſt having overtaken them at Preſton, where 'they were inveſted by other parts of our troops, 'blocked them up more cloſely, and obliged them 'to ſurrender; by which ſucceſs peace was reſtored 'to England, which greatly conduced to the ſub-'duing the rebels in Scotland. For theſe reaſons, 'that a perſon ſo well deſerving of Great-Britain 'and Ireland, allied by marriage to a noble family 'of that kingdom, may from himſelf tranſmit an 'honour to poſterity, we create him a Peer, as be-'ing every way worthy of that honour, &c.'

(7) The Iriſh Compendium, p. 359.

[H] *Where a neat monument of white and blue-veined marble is erected to his memory by his ſon.*] Having the following inſcription. 'Here lies the Right 'Honourable George Lord Carpenter, Colonel of 'his Majeſty's own regiment of Dragoons, Gover-'nor of the Iſland of Minorca, Lieutenant-General 'and Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's forces 'in North-Britain; deſcended from an ancient fa-'mily in Herefordſhire, and bred in arms; having 'been fifty-nine years in the army, and paſſed 'through all the military employs, from a private 'gentleman in the Horſe-guards, to the rank in 'which he died, by ſlow and gradual promotions; 'his ſervices always preceding his advancement. 'He ſerved through the whole courſe of the laſt wars 'of England with France, in Ireland, Flanders, and 'Spain, with honour and reputation; was never 'abſent from his poſt, when there was any action, 'or that action was expected; and was as remarkable 'for his great humanity, as for his courage and pre-'ſence of mind in time of ſervice and moſt immi-'nent danger. By his prudence, integrity, and 'evenneſs of temper, during the Spaniſh war, he 'not only gained the affections of his countrymen, 'but the eſteem and regard of the Generals of the 'Allies, and of the Emperor himſelf; to whom he 'was appointed Envoy-Extraordinary and Plenipo-'tentiary in 1715. He married Alice daughter of 'the Lord Charlemount, by whom he left iſſue only 'one ſon; who erected this monument to the me-'mory of the beſt of fathers. *Obiit* 10 *die Februarii* '1731, *ætat.* 74.' H———n.

*** [It is remembered, that General Gueſt uſed to flatter Lord Carpenter on account of his conduct at the battle of Almanza, and to put him in mind, particularly of his horſe *Crop*, which he rode in that battle. His Lordſhip, it ſeems, was not a little pleaſed with being reminded of a circumſtance, that brought fully to his recollection an event which he regarded as one of the moſt glorious actions of his life. It hath been ſaid, that Lord Carpenter's chief merit conſiſted in his ſkill as a Quarter Maſter General, and in his induſtry in providing for the ſubſiſtence of the troops (8).

(8) From private information.

Mr. Jonathan Richardſon, jun. as an inſtance that the poor never fairly forgive the rich their conveniencies and ſuperiority, but are ſure, on every occaſion, to ſeize an opportunity of exerting their own pride, and little temporary boaſt of power, relates, that Lord Carpenter, at a Weſtminſter election, where the event of the conteſt was very doubtful, could not prevail on four ſturdy butchers to poll as he would have them, but by letting them ride in his coach, whilſt he himſelf walked at the horſes heads, and led them (9).] K.

(9) Richardſoniana, p. 259.

CARSTARES (WILLIAM) an eminent Scotch Clergyman, who was Confidential Secretary to King William the Third, and afterwards Principal of the Univerſity of Edinburgh, was born on the 11th of February 1649, at Cathcart, in the neighbourhood of Glaſgow. His father, the Rev. Mr. John Carſtares, was a younger branch of a very ancient family of that name in Fifeſhire; and his mother was a daughter of Muir of Glanderſton, an equally reſpectable family in the county of Renfrew. As their ſon gave early indications of uncommon abilities, it was determined that he ſhould have the beſt education the country could afford. Accordingly, he was ſent to Ormiſton, in East-Lothian, and put under the tuition of Mr. Sinclair, a Preſbyterian Clergyman, who kept an academy, where many young gentlemen of the chief families in Scotland were educated. Here it was that Mr. Carſtares formed thoſe connections, which ſubſiſted betwixt him and ſome of the greateſt men in the nation during the whole of his life; and at this place, he firſt acquired that taſte for the learned languages for which he was afterwards diſtinguiſhed. Mr. Sinclair was ſo great a devotee to the Latin tongue, that he would ſuffer no other to be ſpoken in his family; a circumſtance, which enabled his pupils to expreſs themſelves in it with peculiar eaſe and fluency. When Mr. Carſtares left this academy, his father ſent him to the Univerſity of Edinburgh, under the particular inſpection of Mr. Paterſon, then one of the regents of the College, afterwards Sir William Paterſon, and Clerk to the Privy-Council of Scotland. Under the care of this gentleman, he made great progreſs in the ſeveral parts of School-Philoſophy then in vogue, and afterwards devoted himſelf particularly to the ſtudy of Divinity, for the profeſſion of which he was intended (*a*). The ardour, however, of his literary purſuits was damped, by the unhappy ſituation of Scotland at that period. Being naturally of an active, bold, and enterprizing ſpirit, and having connections, both of blood and friendſhip, with many of the perſons who had ſuffered the moſt ſeverely under the perſecutions of King Charles the Second's reign, he gave early indications of a diſpoſition to unite with them in obtaining a redreſs of grievances, and in defending the civil and religious liberties of his country. To prevent, therefore, the ill conſequences that might ariſe from his engaging too deeply in deſigns of this kind, his father, under the pretence of affording him the beſt aſſiſtances for furniſhing his Theological Studies, ſent him to the Univerſity of Utrecht. It happened, that the very meaſure which old Mr. Carſtares took to keep his ſon from being involved in political intrigues, was the occaſion of his entering into them more fully than before. When he ſet out from Scotland, he carried from his father a letter, recommending him to the kind offices and beſt advice of a phyſician at London, who was a particular friend of his family. This was at the time, when England had begun to take the alarm about the Popiſh Succeſſion; and when many, who were diſſatisfied with the ſtate of publick affairs, had entered into a correſpondence with ſeveral who belonged to the Court of the Prince of Orange, and eſpecially with Mr. Fagel, Penſionary of Holland. Amongſt theſe correſpondents with the Hollanders, was the very phyſician to whom Mr. Carſtares had been recommended; and this gentleman, finding that he was a young man who was well acquainted with the ſituation of things in Scotland, and qualified to give the fulleſt information upon that head, put a letter into his hands, directed to the Prince's phyſician. The conſequence of this letter was, that Mr. Carſtares was firſt introduced to the Penſionary Fagel; and after that, by means of the Penſionary, to the Prince of Orange himſelf, who was highly pleaſed with the ſagacity and penetration which he ſhewed in the intelligence communicated by him concerning the affairs of Great-Britain, and with the ſentiments he diſcovered relative to the ſtate of parties at that time. During his reſidence at the Univerſity of Utrecht, and whilſt he applied himſelf to his literary purſuits, Mr. Carſtares improved ſo well the opportunities his ſituation afforded him of waiting upon the Prince, and ſo far ingratiated himſelf into his favour, that nothing of conſequence was tranſacted in the Dutch Court, in reſpect to Britiſh concerns, with which he was not entruſted. By the time he returned to his native country, he had, as Dr. Burnet obſerves, all the ſecrets of the Prince of Orange in his breaſt. By his reſidence in Holland, and by his perſonal attachment to a Prince who was the avowed patron of the friends of liberty, Mr. Carſtares's principles, both in religion and politics, were ſtrongly confirmed. In conſequence of theſe principles, the wretched condition of Scotland, at the period of his return to it, could not avoid making a deep impreſſion upon his mind. He beheld with the moſt ſenſible regret, the encroachments which arbitrary power was daily making upon the rights and privileges of his fellow-citizens; and accordingly, he entered with zeal into the counſels and ſchemes of thoſe noblemen and gentlemen, who oppoſed the tyrannical meaſures of Government. Mr. Carſtares's political engagements did not, however, make him forget his purpoſe of embracing the profeſſion of Divinity. Being not only by education, but by principle, a Preſbyterian, he paſſed his trials according to the forms of that ſyſtem of Church Government, and obtained a licence to preach the goſpel. But finding that all his hopes of uſefulneſs in the character of a Clergyman, were blaſted in his own country, by the ſeverities which were then practiſed againſt the Preſbyterians, he formed the reſolution of returning again to Holland, that he might enjoy, under a more

(*a*) Life of Mr. Carſtares, prefixed to his State Papers, publiſhed by Dr. M'Cormick, 1774, quarto, p. 3, 4.

indulgent and auſpicious Government, the liberty he was denied at home (*b*). As he intended to paſs through London, in his way to the Low Countries, he was employed by Argyle, and the other Scotch Patriots, in treating with the Engliſh Excluſioniſts. When he arrived at the metropolis, which was in the month of November 1682, he had many conferences both with the principal leaders, and the ſubordinate inſtruments of the party; and he was engaged in a ſeries of negotiations with the male-contents in England, Scotland, and Holland, in order to effect, though without ſucceſs, an union of deſigns and efforts in the common cauſe (*c*). In a converſation which he had with Robert Fergusſon, commonly called the *Plotter*, that violent man threw out ſome hints concerning the aſſaſſination of the King and his brother; but the ſuggeſtion was rejected by Mr. Caſtares with the utmoſt indignation. Although he treated Fergusſon's propoſal with an honeſt reſentment, yet having good reaſon to think that it was merely the idea of a ſingle perſon, he continued his intercourſe with the other conſpirators (*d*), and was concerned with them in what hath been called the Rye-Houſe Plot, ſo far as it related to obtaining a free Parliament, the redreſs of publick grievances, and the excluſion of the Duke of York; and he thought it juſtifiable to take up arms for procuring thoſe conſtitutional remedies, which had repeatedly been denied to complaints and remonſtrances. On the diſcovery of the conſpiracy, Mr. Carſtares was ſeized at Tenterden in Kent, thrown into the jail of that place, and thence conducted to London, and committed to cloſe cuſtody at the Gate-houſe, Weſtminſter, where he continued upwards of eleven weeks. During this time, he was often brought before the Privy-Council, to whom he always proteſted his utter abhorrence of any deſigns againſt the life of the King or the Duke of York; but never could be prevailed upon to reveal any particulars, which could affect thoſe who had been concerned in the ſcheme for preventing the Popiſh Succeſſion. Finding, at laſt, that he had nothing to expect in the way of favour from his Majeſty, but upon terms with which he was incapable of complying, he gave in a petition to the Court of King's Bench, for his *Habeas Corpus*. Inſtead of obtaining it, he was ſent the next day down to Scotland, to take his trial in that kingdom, contrary to his own warm remonſtrances, and the manifeſt dictates of reaſon and juſtice; which required that he ſhould be tried by the laws of that country, wherein the crimes he was charged with were alledged to have been committed. At that period, the Privy Council of Scotland, into the hands of which he was conſigned, deſerved no better a character than that of a political inquiſition. The inhuman practice of extracting evidence by torture ſtill ſubſiſted in all its rigour, though baniſhed from the courts of England, as repugnant to the genius and conſtitution of a free people. Upon Mr. Caſtares's being brought to Edinburgh, in 1684, he was immediately thrown into irons, and continued in them ſome weeks; during which time he was frequently viſited by Lord Melfort, one of the Secretaries of State, who urged him in the moſt earneſt manner to reveal what he knew, and promiſed him a full pardon in caſe of his compliance. As he firmly refuſed to comply with his Lordſhip's offers, he was produced before the Privy Council, in the preſence of whom he was put to the torture; which he endured with great compoſure and firmneſs, though it was inflicted with ſuch ſeverity, that all the Privy Counſellors were ſo affected as to be obliged to quit the room, excepting the odious Earl of Perth, the Lord Chancellor of the kingdom, who did not diſcover the leaſt ſymptom of compaſſion for the ſufferer. When the Privy Council found, by experience, that all attempts to bring Mr. Carſtares to a confeſſion by violence, would probably prove ineffectual, they empowered Lord Melfort to treat with him upon milder terms. They ſpecified certain queſtions to be put to him; and, upon condition that he would anſwer them, they authorized the Secretary to procure him an ample pardon to himſelf, and that he ſhould never be produced as a witneſs in any trial. Not only ſo, but if Mr. Carſtares inſiſted upon it, they farther engaged, that none of his anſwers to the interrogatories they were to put to him, ſhould ever be urged in evidence, either directly or indirectly, againſt any perſon, or before any judicatory whatſoever. By ſuch inſidious terms, the ſtubbornneſs of his fortitude and virtue was in ſome degree relaxed, after he had firſt ſtipulated that the promiſe of the Privy Council to him ſhould be ratified by a deed of Court, and recorded in their books. He told them, that the reaſon why he inſiſted upon this, was, not that he had any thing to reveal, which could, in the eye of the law, be hurtful to his friends, but that he was determined rather to die an hundred deaths, than to ſubmit to the diſhonour of having his teſtimony produced in Court, againſt any one of thoſe who were at that time under proſecution before the criminal judicatures. This agreement, as might, perhaps, have been expected from the temper of the men and the character of the age, was violated in the moſt ſhameful manner. The Privy Council cauſed a paper to be printed, entitled, *Mr. Carſtares's Confeſſion*; and containing a moſt lame, falſe, and imperfect account of the whole tranſaction. Not content with this, in direct violation of the only condition upon which he would conſent to anſwer the queries propoſed to him, they ſuffered his evidence, as they falſely termed it, to be produced in open Court againſt one of his moſt intimate friends, Mr. Baillie of Jarviſwood. Before they went this length, they had endeavoured to prevail

(*b*) *Ibid*, p. 4—8.

(*c*) Carſtares's Life, *ubi ſupra*, p. 8—15, where theſe negotiations are related more at large.

(*d*) *Ibid*, p. 10, 11.

vail with Mr. Carſtares, judicially to acknowledge before the Juſticiary Court, his anſwers to their interrogatories; but he told them that he had ſpirit enough left to reject their propoſal with diſdain, and to endure any ſeverities they could inflict, rather than comply with ſo diſhonourable and unjuſt a demand. The treacherous uſe which was made of his confeſſion, affected him in the moſt ſenſible degree. His natural fortitude could ſupport him under perſonal ſufferings, but it almoſt ſunk under the imputation of his being in any meaſure acceſſary to the ſufferings of a friend; a friend too, as the Hiſtorians generally agree, of moſt excellent character, and whoſe public ſpirit merited a better fate than that of an ignominious death; to which, however, he ſubmitted with the courage of an ancient Hero, and the reſignation of a primitive Martyr (*e*). After theſe tranſactions, Mr. Caſtares was releaſed from his confinement in a dungeon of the caſtle of Edinburgh, where he had continued for ſome months, cut off from all communication with his friends, and ſtruggling under the infirmities of a ſhattered conſtitution. Whilſt he was in theſe diſagreeable circumſtances, having procured a copy of Thuanus, who was his favourite Author, he ſpent moſt of his time in the peruſal of that excellent Hiſtorian. As he had no variety of books, he read that volumnious work no leſs than three times over; and the effect of this was, that beſides its contributing greatly to relieve the irkſomeneſs of a priſon, it became as familiar to him to think and to ſpeak in Latin as in Engliſh (*f*). Another anecdote reſpecting his impriſonment, which he uſed to take great pleaſure in relating, ſhall be inſerted below [*A*].

(*e*) Life of Carſtares, *ubi ſupra*, p. 15—22.

(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 22.

When Mr. Carſtares was releaſed from the Caſtle of Edinburgh, he was permitted to retire to Holland, and obtained a paſs from Lord Melfort for that purpoſe. From his firſt leaving that country, until he was apprehended in England, he had maintained a correſpondence with Penſionary Fagel, and Mr. Bentinck, afterwards Earl of Portland. This correſpondence he had taken ſuch effectual methods to conceal, that no ſuſpicion appears to have been entertained of it by the Engliſh Government. When, therefore, he arrived in Holland, at the latter end of the year 1684, or the beginning of 1685, the invariable fidelity and profound ſecrecy which he had preſerved with regard to ſo important an article, obtained for him a moſt favourable reception from the Prince of Orange, who appointed him one of his own Chaplains, and procured him to be elected Miniſter of the Engliſh Proteſtant Congregation at Leyden. Mr. Carſtares was now more capable than ever of being ſerviceable to his illuſtrious Patron. As, during his reſidence in Britain, he had had full occaſion for the exerciſe of his talents in judging of political men and political conduct, he was hence enabled to give an exact delineation of the principal characters concerned in the adminiſtration of public affairs, and of the meaſures they purſued. Accordingly, the Prince frequently had recourſe to him on this head, and particularly for information concerning the diſpoſitions and views of thoſe who reſorted to Holland; and his Highneſs uſed to obſerve, that he never, in a ſingle inſtance, had reaſon to charge him with attempting to miſlead him. It appears, likewiſe, from ſome of Mr. Carſtares's papers, that he was one of the channels through which the Britiſh male-contents conveyed their private intelligence (*g*). When the Prince of Orange had formed the deſign of tranſporting an army into England, in order to reſcue this country from the ſlavery with which it was threatened, he reſolved that our Divine, in quality of his Domeſtic Chaplain, ſhould accompany him in his expedition. Upon the diſembarkation of the troops at Torbay, Mr. Carſtares ſuggeſted to the Prince, that, as one chief deſign of his undertaking was to protect the Proteſtant Religion as by law eſtabliſhed, it might have a good effect upon the forces, and make a favourable impreſſion on the minds of the people, to conclude the landing with a religious ceremony. The thought being approved of by his Highneſs, Mr. Carſtares, as ſoon as the ſoldiers had landed, performed divine ſervice at the head of them; after which all the army

(*g*) *Ibid.* p. 25—30.

[*A*] *Another anecdote, reſpecting his impriſonment, ſhall be inſerted below.*] "One day, ſays Dr. M'Cormick, not long after his commitment, a boy, about twelve years of age, ſon to Erſkine of Cambo, Lieutenant-governor of the Caſtle, in the courſe of his rambles through the court, came to the grate of his apartment. As he always loved to amuſe himſelf with young people, he went towards the grate, and began a converſation with him. The boy was captivated with the gentle and engaging manner in which he accoſted him; and, mightily pleaſed with his firſt interview, he reſolved to cultivate his new acquaintance. In a day or two after, he returned at the ſame hour to the grate; and, in the courſe of a few periodical viſits of this kind, he conceived the ſtrongeſt attachment to the priſoner——would ſit by him for hours, lamenting his unhappy ſituation, and telling a thouſand ſtories to divert him. He would ſometimes load his pockets with proviſions of different ſorts, and oblige him to partake with him. At other times, he would purchaſe for him pen, ink, and paper; and, when he had written his letters, he would come at night and carry them to the Poſt Office himſelf. He was quite unhappy, if Mr. Carſtares had no errand to ſend him, or no favour to aſk. This intimacy ſubſiſted between them ſo long as Mr. Carſtares continued in cuſtody; and, when their intercourſe was broken off by his releaſe, the ſeparation was attended with tears on both ſides. It was not many years before Mr. Carſtares had an opportunity of teſtifying his gratitude. One of the firſt private favours he aſked of King William, was, that he would beſtow the office of Lord Lyon upon his young friend, to whoſe humanity and kind offices he had owed his chief conſolation in his deepeſt diſtreſs; and he obtained his requeſt, with this additional compliment, that it ſhould be hereditary in the family. He did not, however, live long to enjoy it in his own perſon; and his eldeſt ſon forfeited the ſucceſſion, by engaging in the rebellion of 1715 (1)."

(1) Life of Mr. Carſtares, prefixed to his State Papers, p. 22, 23.

joined in ſinging the 118th Pſalm. From this time, until the ſettlement of the Crown upon King William and Queen Mary, he continued about the Prince's perſon; and from ſome private papers it appears, that he had been conſulted and employed in the negotiation of various affairs, and in the diſtribution of certain ſums of money [*B*]. At the period of the Revolution, Mr. Carſtares had it in his power to be of eminent ſervice both to his own country and to the Prince of Orange. Nothing of conſequence was tranſacted relative to the ſettlement of Scotland, in which the Prince did not conſult him in private. He was inſtrumental in procuring from the Preſbyterian Clergy of that kingdom, an addreſs, full of gratitude to the Prince of Orange, for his ſeaſonable interpoſition; and this addreſs was the more acceptable, as it was thought to contain the general ſentiments of the common people of the country, who regarded their preachers as oracles. As ſoon as William and Mary were proclaimed King and Queen of Scotland, their Majeſties gave Mr. Carſtares a proof of their eſteem, by appointing him to be their Chaplain for Scotland; and by annexing to that office, the whole revenue belonging to the Chapel Royal, which he continued to enjoy to the end of his life. His Majeſty intimated to him, at the ſame time, that he required his conſtant attendance upon his perſon. For this purpoſe, apartments were aſſigned him in the Palace, when in England; and when the King went abroad, Mr. Carſtares was allowed five hundred pounds, every campaign, for camp-equipage (*b*) [*C*]. The eaſy acceſs which his ſituation gave him upon all occaſions, to the preſence of his Royal Maſter, was improved by him, in ſuggeſting, without reſerve, whatever he judged conducive to the intereſt of his native country, or the honour and ſtability of his Majeſty's Government. It appears, that he was not a little inſtrumental in promoting the ſettlement of Preſbytery in Scotland, a meaſure to which the King's conſent was with difficulty obtained; not, as we may well be aſſured, from a diſlike to that mode of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, but from a deſire which he had, that, in conjunction with a toleration, the ſame form of Church Government ſhould be eſtabliſhed over the whole Iſland. The act for aboliſhing patronage was ſtill more contrary to his Majeſty's private inclinations; nor was it approved of by Mr. Carſtares, who, though the beſt friend the Preſbyterians ever had at Court, knew too well, that the zealots of the party would abuſe any power which ſhould be put into their hands. The effects of the liberal conceſſions which were made to them, juſtified his apprehenſions. The Preſbyterian miniſters, inſtead of conducting themſelves with that temper and moderation which ſound policy dictated, and the King earneſtly enjoined, diſguſted him ſo much, by narrowing the terms of aſſumption for the Epiſcopal Clergy, and by rejecting the plan of accommodation which was offered in their name, and approved of by his Majeſty, that his Commiſſioner to the General Aſſembly, according to his inſtructions, ſuddenly diſſolved that Court in the year 1692; and William the Third, was not eaſily prevailed with to countenance its meeting for the future. The reſult of this bigotry in the violent Preſbyterians was, that few of the preachers who favoured epiſcopacy, choſe to incorporate with the eſtabliſhment; in conſequence of which, whole provinces, eſpecially in the Northern parts of the kingdom, were deprived of the means of religious inſtruction (*i*). Theſe proceedings of his brethren were very diſagreeable to Mr. Carſtares, who, though ſincerely attached to the cauſe of Preſbytery, wiſhed to maintain it with temper and with candour. He was not a friend to the abſolute predominance of any ſet of men whatſoever. It had been his advice to the King with regard to the contending parties, whether in Church or State, that he would not permit himſelf to be ſo far engroſſed or monopolized by any of them, as to adopt their private animoſities and reſentments, but to let them underſtand that he would have his ears open to the juſt complaints of ſuch as were injured or oppreſſed. Another maxim recommended by our political Divine to his Majeſty was, to be extremely cautious in giving up any one branch of the royal prerogative; as being a danger to which the King was the more expoſed, from having been raiſed to the throne by the voice of the people,

(*b*) Life of Carſtares, *ubi ſupra*, p. 32—38.

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 38—50.

[*B*] *In the diſtribution of certain ſums of money.*] In a paper concerning accounts of money diſburſed by him for the Prince's ſervice, he informs his Highneſs that he had diſpoſed of ſuch and ſuch ſums in concert with Lord Melvil; but with regard to other ſums, he mentions that none were privy to the diſtribution of them but himſelf. Among the reſt of the particulars, there is a ſum ſtated as paid to a Captain Wiſhart, who was maſter of the veſſel in which the Earl of Argyle went home; "of whoſe honeſty and willingneſs to ſerve his Highneſs, ſays Mr. Carſtares, I am fully aſſured."

'This, adds Dr. M'Cormick, is the only evi-
'dence I have ever met with, that Monmouth and
'Argyle were countenanced in their undertaking by
'the Prince of Orange. Here we have William
'giving money to the perſon who brought Argyle
'over, in order to aſſiſt the Duke of Monmouth in
'his rebellion, at the very time when he was offer-
'ing to James to come in perſon to extinguiſh that
'rebellion (2)."

[*C*] *And when the King went abroad*, &c.] 'That
'Monarch, ſays Dr. Mac Cormick, amidſt all the
'hurry of ſecular affairs in which he was involved,
'found leiſure for performing the duties of piety
'and devotion, at which Mr. Carſtares frequently
'aſſiſted him. Upon the day of battle, he always
'accompanied him in his chariot to the field. He
'had thus many opportunities of ſtudying the cha-
'racter of that great man in the moſt trying circum-
'ſtances, and of admiring his tranquillity and
'compoſure immediately before action, as well as
'his abſolute contempt of danger in the field. Mr.
'Carſtares aſcribed both the one and the other to
'the influence of religious principles, no leſs than
'to conſtitutional courage (3).'

(2) Life of Carſtares, *ubi ſupra*, p. 35. note.

(3) *Ibid.* p. 38. note.

in oppoſition to the encroachments of the royal prerogative in the preceding reign (*k*). The wiſdom of this counſel is highly extolled by the Writer of Mr. Carſtares's Life; but different perſons will think differently of it, according to the reſpective turn of their ſentiments. It might be alledged, that if Princes are made for the people, and not the people for Princes, it behoves the latter to conſent to ſuch enlargements of the liberty of the ſubject, as the reaſon of things, the progreſs of knowledge, and the circumſtances of the times may require; and that this is particularly incumbent upon thoſe Sovereigns who are at the head of a free nation, and who have been exalted to the Crown, out of the line of the regular ſucceſſion, for the very purpoſe of ſecuring and extending the rights and privileges of the community.

(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 40—42.

In 1693, an event happened, which gave Mr. Carſtares a ſignal opportunity of diſplaying his regard for his native country, and his influence with his royal Maſter. In the Parliament which ſat in Scotland in that year, an act was paſſed, obliging all in office to take the oath of allegiance to their Majeſties, and at the ſame time to ſign the aſſurance, (as it was called) whereby they declared William to be King *de jure*, as well as *de facto*. As this was the firſt inſtance of an oath and declaration of that kind impoſed upon the Church; and as thoſe who urged it were known not to be her friends, the Preſbyterian Miniſters took the alarm, and conſidered it as intended with a view to involve them in the ſame ſituation with the Epiſcopal Clergy. From a paper, inſerted in Mr. Carſtares's Life (*l*), it appears that the Preſbyterian Clergy had reaſon to be diſſatisfied on this occaſion. But be that as it may, they refuſed ſigning the declaration, and applied for redreſs to the Privy Council; who, by the law, had a power to diſpenſe with the requiſition of the oath, in ſuch caſes as they ſhould think proper. The Privy Council, however, were ſo far from complying with their demands, that they recommended to his Majeſty, that an order ſhould be iſſued out for every Miniſter's taking the oath, and ſigning the aſſurance, before he ſhould be admitted to his ſeat in the general aſſembly. Advantage being taken of the abſence of Mr. Carſtares from Court, the King was prevailed upon to give inſtructions to his Commiſſioner, the Lord Carmichael, to require all the repreſentatives of the Clergy, in the enſuing general aſſembly, to ſign the aſſurance; and, if they refuſed, to diſſolve the aſſembly in his Majeſty's name. When Lord Carmichael communicated his orders to ſome of the Clergy in Edinburgh, he found them obſtinate in their reſolutions not to comply; and he ſaw, that all his attempts to bring them to a better temper would be fruitleſs. As the Commiſſioner was ſenſible that the diſſolution of the aſſembly would not only prove fatal to the Church of Scotland, but alſo to his Majeſty's intereſt in that kingdom, he undertook to lay the matter, as it ſtood, fully before the King; and for that purpoſe, ſent off a flying packet, which he expected to return from London, with William the Third's final determination, the night before the appointed meeting of the aſſembly. At the ſame time, the Clergy ſent up a memorial to Mr. Carſtares, urging him to uſe his good offices in this critical conjuncture, for the preſervation of that Church in the eſtabliſhment of which he had been peculiarly active. The flying packet reached Kenſington in the morning of that day upon which Mr. Carſtares returned. But before his arrival, his Majeſty, at the inſtance of Lord Stair and Lord Tarbot, who repreſented the obſtinacy of the Clergy as an act of rebellion againſt his government, had renewed his inſtructions to the Commiſſioner, and commanded them to be ſent off by the ſame packet. When Mr. Carſtares came to Court, and had peruſed his letters, he immediately enquired into the nature of the diſpatches which had been ordered to be forwarded to Scotland; and, upon learning their contents, he went directly to the meſſenger, who was juſt ſetting off, and required him, in the King's name, to deliver them up. It was now late at night, and the meeting of the general aſſembly was ſo near, that no time was to be loſt. He ran, therefore, to his Majeſty's apartment; and being informed that he was gone to bed, Mr. Carſtares told the Lord in waiting, that it was a matter of the laſt importance which had brought him at that unſeaſonable hour, and that he muſt ſee the King. On entering the chamber he found his Majeſty faſt aſleep; upon which, drawing aſide the curtain, he fell down on his knees, and gently awakened him. The King, greatly ſurprized to ſee him at ſo late an hour, and in ſuch a poſture, enquired of him what was the matter. He anſwered, that he had come to aſk his life. And is it poſſible, replied his Majeſty, that you have been guilty of a crime which deſerves death? He acknowledged that he had, and at the ſame time produced the diſpatches which he had brought back from the meſſenger. And have you, ſays the King, with a ſevere frown, have you indeed preſumed to countermand my orders? Mr. Carſtares then intreated only to be heard a few words, after which he was ready to ſubmit to any puniſhment that his royal maſter ſhould think proper to inflict upon him. Accordingly, he repreſented the reaſons of his conduct to his Majeſty [*D*], who heard him with great attention, and when he had finiſhed, deſired him to

(*l*) P. 52—57.

[*D*] *He repreſented the reaſons of his conduct to his Majeſty.*] "He ſaid, that the King had now known him long, and knew his entire fidelity and attachment to his perſon and government. Some of his ſervants

to throw the dispatches into the fire; after which, he ordered him to draw up the instructions to the Commissioner in what terms he pleased. Mr. Carstares immediately wrote to Lord Carmichael, signifying, that it was the King's pleasure to dispense with putting the oaths to the Ministers. When his Majesty had signed the letter, it was instantly forwarded by the messenger, who did not arrive at Edinburgh till the morning of the day which had been fixed for the sitting of the general assembly. By this time the Commissioner and the Clergy were in the utmost perplexity. Lord Carmichael was obliged to dissolve the assembly, if the members of it continued obstinate in refusing to sign the declaration; and they, on the other hand, were determined to assert their own authority, independently of the civil magistrate. The fate of the Church of Scotland depended upon the event of this day's contest; when, to the inexpressible joy both of the Commissioner and the Clergy, their terrors were removed by the arrival of the packet. Next to the establishment of Presbytery in that kingdom, there was no act of William the Third's administration, which endeared him so much to the Presbyterians as this. It was soon, likewise, understood, how highly they had been indebted to the interposition of Mr. Carstares. The eminent service he had performed for them, gave him entire credit with the whole body of his brethren, many of whom had of late begun to suspect that he had deserted their cause; and the obligation was gratefully acknowledged by most of the Clergy, after he came to reside in Scotland. In one case, indeed, he was laid under a necessity of recalling it to their remembrance. When some of the violent Presbyterian Ministers, in the heat of debate in a general assembly, charged him with want of zeal for the interests of their Church, he was provoked to such a degree, that, notwithstanding his usual modesty and coolness of temper, he rose up, and begged leave, in justice to his own character, to observe, 'That such a reflection came with a very bad grace from any man who sat in that Court, which, under God, owed its existence to his interposition; that if ever, in any one instance, his zeal had carried him beyond the bounds of discretion, it was in favour of the Church of Scotland; and that he never received a frown from the greatest and best of masters, but once, and that was on her account (*m*).'

(*m*) Life of Carstares, *ubi supra*, p. 51—64.

It would extend this article to too great a length, were we to mention distinctly every political transaction in which Mr. Carstares was engaged. It must suffice, therefore, to observe, that during the period of King William's reign, he had, by his intimate friendship with the Earl of Portland, and by his personal favour with his master, the chief direction of Scottish affairs; and was considered by his correspondents, as a kind of Viceroy for Scotland. Lord Portland's letters to him are full of the warmest expressions of affection and esteem. Another eminent person, with whom Mr. Carstares cultivated a particular friendship, during his residence at Court, was the famous Mr. Harley, afterwards Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, and Lord High Treasurer of England. His correspondence with this gentleman, began before the latter was brought into administration by King William; and it was continued in Queen Anne's reign, chiefly with relation to the settlement of the Protestant succession, the union of the kingdoms, and the management of the Church of Scotland. Mr. Carstares, though firmly attached

servants in Scotland might find it their interest to impose upon his Majesty, to screen themselves from his merited displeasure. Others might, under the mask of zeal for his service, seek only to gratify their own private resentments; and, whilst they pretended to conciliate all parties to his government, might pursue such measures as would only unite them in opposing it.

" That this was the foundation of all those factions which had hitherto rent that kingdom, and made its crown sit so uneasy upon his head: That, for his own part, he could call God to witness, that, ever since he entered into his Majesty's service, he had no interest, for he could have none, separate from that of his master: That, though he had been educated a Presbyterian, and, on that account, had a natural bias to this form of Church-government; yet his Majesty knew, that, when he recommended the establishment of Presbytery in Scotland, he did it, because he was firmly persuaded the Presbyterians were the only friends his Majesty had in that country: That his regard to their principles had not rendered him blind to their faults: That he had been aware of the indiscreet use they would make of the liberal concessions in their favour in Lord Melvil's Parliament, and had freely given his sentiments upon that head: That, with the same freedom, he had remonstrated against the precipitate measures adopted in the last session of Parliament, under the pretext of correcting the errors of the former: That the effects had justified his opinion of both. The first had alienated all the Episcopals, the last, great part of the Presbyterians, from his administration. One thing alone was wanting to complete the wishes of his enemies, and that was, to cement the two parties by one common bond of union: That nothing could be better calculated for this purpose, than the advice which had been given to his Majesty to push the administration of the oaths to the Ministers before the sitting down of the assembly: That, although there was nothing unreasonable in what his Majesty required, yet some who had credit with them had fallen upon methods to represent their compliance as inconsistent with their principles, and had been so far successful, that they were determined not to comply: That, however unjustifiable in other respects their conduct might be, it proceeded from no disaffection to his person and government; and that, whilst this was the case, it was more for his Majesty's interest to confirm their attachment, by dispensing with the rigour of the law, than to lose their affections by enforcing it. What avail oaths and promises to a Prince, when he has lost the hearts of his subjects? Now was the time, therefore, to retrieve his affairs in that kingdom: That, by countermanding the instructions he had sent down to his commissioner, he conferred the highest obligations upon the whole body of the Presbyterian Clergy, gratified all his friends in that kingdom, and effectually thwarted the insidious arts of his and their enemies (4)."

(4) Carstares's Life, p. 59, 60.

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to the Whigs, could not bear any perſonal reflections againſt the Earl of Oxford, or any intimations that he would be in the leaſt acceſſary to the deſign of ſetting aſide the ſucceſſion in the Houſe of Hanover. This ſucceſſion the Earl had been greatly concerned in eſtabliſhing; and, therefore, it was the leſs likely that he ſhould be deſirous of overturning a ſettlement, to which he had contributed with ſo much apparent ſincerity and zeal. The principal correſpondents of Mr. Carſtares in Scotland, were, James Johnſon, Secretary of State; his brother Alexander Johnſon; Lord Tarbat; Sir James Ogilvie, afterwards Earl of Seafield; Sir James Stewart, Lord Advocate; the Earl of Marchmont; the Dukes of Queenſbury and Argyle; Lord Carmichael; Cockburn of Ormiſton; and Murray of Philiphaugh. Many other perſons, likewiſe, of eminence, wrote and applied to him on various occaſions. As Mr. Carſtares's Scotch correſpondence was carried on at a moſt intereſting period, and when faction raged in all its violence, it exhibits a juſt picture of the ſtate of the nation in general, and an exact portrait of the chief characters who acted their part in the ſeveral ſcenes to which it relates. The game which he had to play was a difficult one, and he managed it with ſkill and addreſs. Whilſt all parties poured out their complaints to him as their friend, and laid their ſeveral pretenſions before him, none of them ever accuſed him of partiality or neglect. It was not, however, poſſible, that, with ſo great a ſhare of power and influence, Mr. Carſtares ſhould eſcape creating the envy of ſome who were ſuperior to him in rank and fortune. This tax, the uſual concomitant of diſtinguiſhed merit, he chearfully paid. Amongſt his friends, he uſed to divert himſelf with aſſuming the title of *Cardinal*, which certain of his enemies had beſtowed upon him, in alluſion to Cardinal Ximenes, who boaſted that he could play at foot-ball with the heads of the Caſtilian Grandees. The adverſaries of Mr. Carſtares attempted, on different occaſions, though wholly without ſucceſs, to ſupplant him in his Royal Maſter's favour. The longer that Monarch knew him, the more highly he eſteemed him; nor was he ever ſo much conſulted by his Majeſty, as between the time of the Earl of Portland's retirement from buſineſs and the King's death. The laſt event affected him in ſo ſenſible a manner, that he could never afterwards ſpeak of it, or hear it mentioned, without a ſenſible concern. It is greatly to the honour of Mr. Carſtares, that he was a man of ſuch a diſintereſted temper, as to pay no attention to his private fortune. With the faireſt opportunities of acquiring wealth, he was left, at his Maſter's deceaſe, as poor as when he firſt entered into his ſervice; and this, we are told, was a circumſtance which never gave him one moment's uneaſineſs (*n*).

(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 64—68.

The connection of Mr. Carſtares with public buſineſs, which had been entirely founded on his perſonal favour with King William, in a great meaſure ceaſed upon that Monarch's demiſe. However, he was of too much conſequence to government to be wholly forgotten or neglected in the ſucceeding reign. Queen Anne, without any ſolicitation, nominated him to be her Chaplain for Scotland, with the ſame appointments which had been annexed to that office by her predeceſſor. About this time, there was a vacancy in the College of Edinburgh, by the death of Dr. Rule, the Principal of the Univerſity. The ſtation, though far from being lucrative, was, on ſeveral accounts, a ſtation of conſiderable honour and reſpect, as well as of uſefulneſs; and Mr. Carſtares received an invitation to accept of it, which was ſupported by the united ſolicitations of all his friends in Scotland. After ſome deliberation and heſitation, he yielded to their importunity, and was admitted, in 1704, Principal of the College, and firſt Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of Edinburgh. In this public character, it ſoon appeared to the world, that his employment as a Stateſman had not excluded his literary purſuits. In his firſt Oration, which was pronounced before a numerous and reſpectable audience, he diſplayed ſuch a fund of erudition, ſuch a thorough acquaintance with claſſical learning, ſuch a maſterly talent for compoſition, and ſuch eaſe, fluency, and purity in the uſe of the Latin tongue as delighted his hearers. It was the obſervation of the famous Dr. Pitcairn, whoſe claſſic elegance and taſte are ſo well known, that, when Mr. Carſtares began to addreſs his auditors, he could not help fancying himſelf tranſported to the forum in the days of ancient Rome. The new Principal was no ſooner placed at the head of the Univerſity, than by the gentleneſs and affability of his manners, united with a becoming dignity of deportment, he ſecured both the affection and the reſpect of the maſters and ſtudents. The ſalaries of the ſeveral regents being at that time extremely ſmall, he immediately formed a ſcheme for getting them augmented. For this purpoſe he made a journey to London, and exerted his influence with Queen Anne and her Miniſters, to obtain a gift out of the Biſhop's rents, to all the Univerſities of Scotland. At length he ſucceeded, and the Queen left the diſtribution of her Royal Bounty to the Univerſity of Edinburgh ſolely to his diſpoſal. With his uſual generoſity, he refuſed to appropriate any part of it to the augmentation of his own ſalary. In other reſpects he manifeſted his zeal to promote the intereſts of the learned Seminary over which he preſided (*o*) In the ſame year in which Mr. Carſtares was appointed Principal of the College of Edinburgh, he received an unanimous call to be one of the Miniſters of that city. This invitation he accepted, and he diſcharged the duties of the paſtoral office

(*o*) *Ibid.* p. 63—71.

with

with great fidelity and diligence. It is underſtood that his ſermons were generally eſteemed, although he had been a conſiderable time out of the habit of preaching. He had ſuch a comprehenſive view of the general ſubjects of religion, and ſo happy a talent of arranging his ideas, that this part of his duty was performed by him with facility. An inſtance of it will be inſerted below [*E*]. The firſt general aſſembly which met after Mr. Carſtares became a member of the Church of Scotland, made choice of him for their Moderator. This honour was conferred upon him no leſs than four ſeveral times in the ſpace of eleven years; and it was an honour to which he was juſtly entitled, by his ſervices to the Church, and by his abilities for commanding the reſpect, and moderating the heats of ſo numerous, and in thoſe days, ſo turbulent a judicatory. His manner of ſpeaking, in conjunction with his influence over the moſt conſiderable members of the aſſembly, gave great weight to his opinion in every debate. The authority which he had acquired, he knew well how to maintain: in matters of ſmaller moment, he ſeldom ſpoke at all; and in buſineſs of conſequence, he ſpoke only in the cloſe of the debate. By thus preſerving his influence in the Church, he rendered himſelf of real importance in the State, and preſerved his intereſt with the Court to the laſt. When the negotiation for the union of the two kingdoms was in agitation, his conduct was of ſignal ſervice to Government. There was nothing done with regard to that important tranſaction, in which he was not conſulted. It was well underſtood by Queen Anne and her Miniſters, that if the Preſbyterian Clergy had ſtated themſelves in formal oppoſition to the treaty, it could not have taken effect; and it was equally known, that the intended remonſtrances and complaints of the Clergy to Parliament againſt that meaſure, were chiefly, if not ſolely, prevented by the influence of Mr. Carſtares. The Queen was ſo ſatisfied with his good offices on this occaſion, that, upon his going to London the year after, ſhe took an opportunity of returning thanks to him in private; and, at the ſame time, preſented him with a ſilver medal, ſtruck on occaſion of the union—a very few of which ſhe had ordered to be caſt off for her particular friends (*p*).

(*p*) Life of Carſtares, *ubi ſupra*, p. 71—78.

One of the conſequences ariſing from the union of the two kingdoms, was, that the Church of Scotland, from that time, loſt much of its importance in the eye of Government. The General Aſſembly ceaſed likewiſe to be ſo formidable to Adminiſtration, as from the revolution it had conſtantly been. To all this was added, that Adminiſtration, during the latter end of Queen Anne's reign, had no diſpoſition to favour the claims of the Preſbyterian eſtabliſhment. Theſe circumſtances, however, did not teach the Scottiſh Clergy that prudence and moderation, which the delicate ſituation they were placed in required. They continued, with their uſual violence, to carry on proſecutions againſt the epiſcopal miniſters, ſome of whom, upon the moſt frivolous pretexts, were turned out of their livings. Mr. Carſtares endeavoured, though in vain, to reſtrain the bigotry of his rigid brethren, and to prevent them from giving any juſt occaſion of offence to government. On this account, ſo high did the ſpirit of party run, that, although he was the moſt reſpectable, he was, perhaps, the moſt unpopular Clergyman in the Church. He uſed frequently to complain of it, as a peculiar hardſhip, that he was forced, firſt to draw on himſelf the cenſure of his brethren by encountering their prejudices, and putting a ſtop to their violent proceedings; and then to juſtify to adminiſtration, thoſe very meaſures which he had diſapproved, and unſucceſsfully attempted to fruſtrate. His condeſcenſion, in this reſpect, might poſſibly be carried too far; and his conduct with regard to the two bills for the reſtoration of patronages, and the toleration of the epiſcopal Clergy of Scotland. we can by no means commend. When theſe acts were brought into Parliament, Mr. Carſtares was one of the agents ſent up to London to oppoſe them, and he appears to have done it with ſincerity. Whatever

[*E*] *An inſtance of it will be inſerted below.*] "About the time of the union, a national faſt had been appointed, which the violent oppoſers of that ſcheme amongſt the Clergy would not obſerve, as they could not approve the reaſons for which it was appointed. Mr. Carſtares had given his advice againſt the appointment; but, as a zealous friend of the union, he obſerved the faſt. His colleague, who was equally zealous in his oppoſition to that meaſure, not only refuſed to obſerve it, but next Sunday took occaſion, in the forenoon-ſermon, to throw out ſome bitter reflections upon the union in general, and upon certain contrivers and promoters of it in particular; who, he alledged, were traitors to their country and to the Church of Scotland, although ſome of them were Miniſters of that Church, and had too great influence over their deluded brethren.

"As this violent attack was directly pointed at Mr. Carſtares, it fixed the whole eyes of the congregation upon him, whilſt, with great compoſure, he began to turn over the leaves of his Bible. His colleague's diſcourſe being conſidered by the people as a formal challenge to Mr. Caſtares to vindicate his conduct, a great crowd from all corners of the city were aſſembled to hear him in the afternoon, when he gave out for his ſubject theſe words of the Pſalmiſt, *Let the righteous ſmite me, it will not break my bones.* From which he took occaſion, with great calmneſs of temper, to vindicate his colleague from any ſuſpicion of being deficient in point of regard and affection for him: That difference in opinion was the natural effect of the weakneſs and corruption of the human mind: That, though he differed from him in his ſentiments upon ſome points, yet he was ſure both of them had the ſame end in view: And that, as he knew the uprightneſs of his colleague's intentions, and the goodneſs of his heart, he was determined to conſider any admonitions or rebukes directed to himſelf from that place as the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of his love.

"This diſcourſe had a wonderful effect upon the whole audience: It effectually obliterated every prejudice they had conceived againſt him; obliged his colleague to confeſs, that he had obtained a complete victory; and that ſo ſoft an anſwer had turned away wrath (5)."

(5) Life of Carſtares, *ubi ſupra*, p. 72, 73.

reaſons he might have found to change his opinion concerning patronage, the abolition of which he had diſliked at the time of the Revolution, his oppoſition to the law of toleration was the indication of a narrow mind. He was, indeed, carried away with the terrors which had ſeized the generality of his brethren, who conſidered the acts in queſtion as preludes to the reſtoration of Prelacy and the Pretender. But no apprehenſions of this kind ought to have prevailed againſt complying with the dictates of reaſon, of juſtice, of humanity, and of the Chriſtian Religion. Although Mr. Carſtares was happily unſucceſsful in the commiſſion entruſted to him [*F*], his preſence in London was of conſiderable ſervice to the Church of Scotland. It gave him an opportunity of defeating certain projects which would have been really hurtful to the power of that Church. It was propoſed by ſome of the adminiſtration, to diſcontinue her annual aſſemblies, or, if they met, to prorogue them, as ſoon as they were conſtituted; and a bill was talked of, which ſhould take away the only pretext for holding them for the future. Mr. Carſtares, therefore, wiſely thought proper to compound matters with Queen Anne's Miniſtry; and, upon condition that he might be authoriſed to aſſure his brethren, that no attempt would be made to introduce any alterations in the government or diſcipline of the church, he undertook to uſe all his influence to allay the ferments which the late proceedings in Parliament had occaſioned. In theſe endeavours he was remarkably ſucceſsful. The Queen and the Adminiſtration were aſtoniſhed at the peaceable temper of the next general aſſembly; and expreſſed, by various letters, their approbation of Mr. Carſtares's prudent management. So great a reſpect was retained for him by the Engliſh Court, that, before the meeting of the aſſembly in 1713, he was deſired, by the Earl of Oxford, to name whom he would chuſe to be commiſſioner, and to ſend up a copy of ſuch inſtructions as he judged to be ſeaſonable at that juncture. This was accordingly done by him; and the Duke of Athol, whom he recommended as a proper perſon, was appointed to the office (*q*).

(*q*) *Ibid.* p. 78—85.

All this time, Mr. Carſtares was remarkably active in expreſſing his zeal for the Proteſtant ſucceſſion in the Houſe of Hanover. He had been inſtrumental, in 1711, in procuring the order for prayers to be put up in the Churches of Scotland, for the Princeſs Sophia and her family. Every addreſs of the general aſſemblies, till the demiſe of the Queen, was full of the warmeſt proteſtations of their inviolable attachment to the ſucceſſion eſtabliſhed by law; and they were among the foremoſt in their congratulations of King George the Firſt, upon his coming to the Crown. The addreſs on that occaſion was drawn up by Mr. Carſtares. His Majeſty, two years before his arrival in England, had ſignified by a letter from his Secretary, his acknowledgments to our Divine for the part he had acted; and continued him in the office of Chaplain for Scotland. This office Mr. Carſtares did not live long to enjoy. In the month of Auguſt, 1715, he was ſeized with an apoplectic fit, which gave ſuch a ſhock to his conſtitution, as impaired his faculties, and carried him off, on the 28th day of the following December, in the 66th or 67th year of his age, being lamented by his country as a true patriot; by the Church, as her beſt benefactor; and by the Univerſity, as her greateſt ornament. Mr. Carſtares's private character was, in every view of it, amiable and reſpectable. His religion was not tinctured with the extravagancies of enthuſiaſm, or debaſed by the rigours of ſuperſtition. He was diſtinguiſhed for his diſcharge of the duties of hoſpitality; and his charity was unbounded. Such of the epiſcopal Clergy as had been deprived of their

(7) Life o
ſtares, p. 9

[*F*] *Mr. Carſtares was happily unſucceſsful in the commiſſion entruſted to him.*] The advantages which have ariſen from the patronage and toleration acts, are thus repreſented by Dr. Mac Cormick. "The experience of ſixty years has at laſt evinced, what it was impoſſible for human ſagacity then to diſcover, that the act of toleration, and the act reſtoring patronages, which were conſidered by the friends of the Church of Scotland as fatal to her intereſts, and which were probably intended as the preludes to greater changes, have proved the ſource of her greateſt ſecurity, and the remedy of thoſe evils which Mr. Carſtares dreaded moſt from the conceſſions in favour of Preſbytery at the revolution.

"Upon the one hand, the act of toleration, by taking the weapon of offence out of the hands of the Preſbyterians, removed the chief ground of thoſe reſentments which the friends of Prelacy entertained againſt them, and, in a few years, almoſt annihilated Epiſcopacy in Scotland. Upon the other hand, the act reſtoring patronages, by reſtoring the nobility and gentlemen of property to their wonted influence in the ſettlement of the Clergy, reconciled numbers of them to the eſtabliſhed Church, who had conceived the moſt violent prejudices againſt that mode of election, and againſt the Preſbyterian Clergy who were ſettled upon it. It is likewiſe an inconteſtible fact, that, from the date of theſe two acts, the Church of Scotland has enjoyed a ſtate of tranquillity to which ſhe was an utter ſtranger before.

"There is another advantage flowing from the act of toleration, which it was impoſſible to foreſee, viz. that the very people, whoſe principles led them moſt eagerly to oppoſe it, have derived the greateſt, if not the ſole, benefit from it. For, although the act was certainly intended for no other purpoſe but to give relief to thoſe of the Epiſcopal perſuaſion, who judged themſelves aggrieved by the Church-judicatories in Scotland; yet, by the moderation of the Church ſince that period, and by the lenity of Adminiſtration, Diſſenters of every denomination have been permitted to take the benefit of that ſtatute without any moleſtation; and long may they continue to enjoy it unmoleſted! It will give a ſenſible pleaſure to every worthy member of the Church of Scotland, to reflect, that, whilſt his diſſenting brethren vie with him in loyalty to his Sovereign, and attachment to the civil conſtitution, they enjoy at leaſt a legal protection in the exerciſe of their religion. That man is unworthy of thoſe privileges which belong to members of an eſtabliſhment, who can grudge his fellow-citizens thoſe rights which belong to them as men and as Chriſtians (6)."

(6) Life of Mr. Carſtares, p. 85, 86.

livings

livings at the Revolution, he always treated with peculiar tenderneſs and humanity. He often relieved their families when in diſtreſs, and was ſolicitous to diſpenſe his benefactions in the manner that would be the leaſt offenſive to the delicacy of their feelings. His ingenuity was ſometimes exerciſed, in deviſing methods of impoſing upon the modeſty and pride of ſuch as would have rejected his good offices with diſdain, if he had not diſguiſed his intentions [*G*]. Several of the epiſcopal Clergy, who were his annual penſioners, never knew from what channel their relief flowed, till they found by his death that the ſource of it was dried up. The body of Mr. Carſtares was interred in the Gray-friars Church-yard, Edinburgh; where a monument was erected ſome time after, with a ſuitable inſcription in Latin. The inſcription already begins to wear out; but his eulogium was pronounced, long before his deceaſe, by King William; who, in the preſence of ſeveral of his courtiers, declared, "That he had known Mr. Carſtares long: That he knew him well; and knew him to be an [*H*] HONEST MAN (*r*)."] K.

(*r*) Life of Carſtares, *ubi ſupra*, p. 80—91.

[*G*] *If he had not diſguiſed his intentions.*] An inſtance, out of many that are told of him, is given by Dr. Mac Cormick. "One Caddel, an ejected Epiſcopal Clergyman, ſometimes waited upon him when he came to Edinburgh. One day, when Caddel came to call upon him, he obſerved that his cloaths were threadbare; and, eying him narrowly as he went away, he deſired him to call again two days after, pretending he had ſome commiſſion to give him before he went to the country. He was no ſooner gone, than Mr. Carſtares ſent for his taylor, and deſired him to make a ſuit of cloaths that would anſwer himſelf as to length, but not ſo wide by two or three inches, and to have them ſent home about the hour at which Caddel had engaged to call upon him. Caddel kept his appointment; but, upon entering the room, found Mr. Carſtares in a violent fit of paſſion at his taylor for miſtaking his meaſure, ſo that neither coat, waiſtcoat, nor breeches, would ſit upon him. At laſt, turning to Caddel, who agreed with him that it was impoſſible he could ever wear them; then, ſays he, they are loſt if they don't fit ſome of my friends; and, by the bye, adds he, I am not ſure but they may anſwer you: be ſo good as try, for it is a pity they ſhould be thrown away. Caddel complied, after ſome importunity; and, to his ſurprize, found they anſwered as if they had been made for him; upon which Mr. Carſtares ordered the cloaths to be packed up, and ſent to his lodgings. Next day, upon putting them on, he found a ten pound note in one of the pockets, which he naturally imagined Mr. Carſtares had forgot to take out when he threw off the cloaths. Returning directly to the College, he told Mr. Carſtares, he had come to reſtore him a note, which he had neglected to take out of the pocket of the ſuit of cloaths he had ſent him. By no means, ſays he, Caddel, it cannot belong to me; for when you got the coat you acquired a right to every thing in it (7)." Without derogating from the delicacy of Mr. Carſtares's generoſity, we can ſcarcely help thinking, that there was ſomething too operoſe, and full of contrivance, in this method of proceeding; ſomething which indicated that circuitous turn of mind, ſo habitual to a Stateſman. He might, otherwiſe, as in the caſes mentioned above, have ſupplied Mr. Caddel's neceſſities, without letting him know his benefactor. The exerciſe of ſo much ingenuity, almoſt puts us in mind of the political Lady in Young's Satires;

(7) Life of Carſtares, p. 90, 91.

Nor takes her tea without a ſtratagem.

[*H*] In 1774, were printed, in one volume quarto, "State Papers and Letters, addreſſed to William "Carſtares, confidential Secretary to King William, "during the whole of his Reign; afterwards Prin"cipal of the Univerſity of Edinburgh, relating to "public Affairs in GREAT-BRITAIN, but more par"ticularly in SCOTLAND, during the Reigns of "King William and Queen Anne. To which is "prefixed, the Life of Mr. Carſtares. Publiſhed "from the Originals, by Joſeph Mac Cormick, D. D. "Miniſter at Preſtonpans." To this publication we are wholly indebted for the materials of the preſent article.

"The life of Mr. Carſtares is followed by an abſtract of the Hiſtory of the Stateſmen, whoſe letters are contained in this publication. This abſtract, which is an agreeable appendage to the work, is taken from a manuſcript communicated by the Earl of Hyndford to the publiſher. It ſeems to have been written in the year 1704, or in the beginning of 1705, although there are ſome additions to it of a poſterior date, and in a different hand. The author intended it for the private uſe of the Princeſs Sophia, and the Elector of Hanover.

"The perſons, of whom a ſhort account and character are here given, are, Secretary Johnſton; the Earl of Argyle; Secretary Ogilvy, afterwards Earl of Seafield, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland; Lord Tarbat; the Earl of Melville; Sir James Stewart, Lord Advocate; the Duke of Queenſberry; the Earl of Tullibardine; the Marquis of Annandale; the Earl of Stair; Cockburn of Ormiſton; Murray of Philliphaugh; Mr. Carſtares; the Earl of Marchmont; Sir Hugh Dalrymple, Preſident of the Court of Seſſion; and Andrew Fletcher of Salton. Though the laſt-named gentleman bore no part in the correſpondence now publiſhed, Dr. Mac Cormick juſtly obſerves, that his character merits a place in a work intended to illuſtrate the hiſtory of a period in which he made ſo great a figure.

"This collection of letters and papers includes a period of more than twenty years; beginning in the latter end of 1689, and ending in 1711. Something of Argyle's correſpondence with Monmouth, Ruſſel, and the excluſioners is prefixed; but it is ſo obſcured by the cyphers, and the intelligence communicated by it is ſo inſignificant in itſelf, that, perhaps, it might well have been ſpared.

"Though the papers in the preſent publication extend to the year 1711, the far greater part of them relate only to the reign of King William. The letters are very few after the deceaſe of that Monarch, except about the time of the union, when they become more numerous.

"From the papers here given, a good account might be extracted of the affairs of Scotland, from the acceſſion of King William to his death. We ſee the various meaſures of Adminiſtration, and the different views of the parties and factions into which the country was divided. We have, in particular, a full detail of the proceedings and *management* of the Scotch Parliaments; and may perceive, that the arts of cajolement and corruption were not then unknown. Many of the letters diſplay the private concerns, pretenſions, jealouſies, rivalſhips, and diſlikes of Mr. Carſtares's correſpondents; and it is apparent, that perſons who were very oppoſite to one another, did not ſcruple to write their ſentiments freely to him, having a great confidence in his wiſdom and integrity.

"The papers relative to the two affairs of Glenco and Darien, form no inconſiderable part of the collection. In brief, this work exhibits a juſt picture of the politics and principles of the leading men in Scotland, at the period to which it is confined. On all theſe accounts, it may be deemed intereſting to North Britons; and, in ſeveral reſpects, it will ſerve to gratify the hiſtorical curioſity of the Engliſh reader. But, after all, it will not, we think, be regarded, in general, as peculiarly important or entertaining. Neither the facts here communicated, nor the manner in which moſt of the letters are written, are ſuch as will excite univerſal attention.

"Mr. Carſtares's correſpondence, though chiefly, was not wholly confined to the Stateſmen of Scotland.

land. There are two letters to him from Lord Sunderland, ſeven from the Earl of Portland, and the ſame number from Robert Harley, afterwards Earl of Oxford (8)."

(8) The preceding extract is from another publication, by the writer of the preſent article.

Beſides the letters of Mr. Harley, publiſhed in the collection, three others are inſerted in Dr. Mac Cormick's life of Mr. Carſtares. A tranſcript of one of them will probably be acceptable to our readers, ſome of whom will undoubtedly ſmile at the religious ſpirit with which it is written. Whether the language uſed in it was intended to pleaſe Mr. Carſtares as a Preſbyterian Clergyman, or whether it aroſe from the Earl of Oxford's puritanical education, we leave others to determine.

" SIR, *8th May*, 1711.

" Although I have not recovered ſufficient ſtrength to reſiſt the attacks of the ill weather we have had ſince I have been abroad, yet I cannot longer delay my acknowledgments to you for your moſt chriſtian and affectionate letter. I do not doubt but I have had the advantage of your prayers; for which I return you my hearty thanks, and deſire their continuance. My ſole view is, the ſervice and glory of God, and the peace and happineſs of the Queen and country. My daily ſupplications are, that he who hath delivered my ſoul from death, would keep my feet from falling, that I may walk before him; and that he would guide me in his truth, and teach me the way wherein he would have me to walk.

" I did intend you a much longer letter; but my cold makes writing uneaſy to me at preſent; therefore I muſt refer what I would ſay to another time. But I cannot omit aſſuring you, that the Queen, and all who have the honour to have credit with her Majeſty, are not only reſolved to maintain the union in all its parts, both religious and civil, but there will be no attention given to any propoſals which may juſtly alarm your friends; and, particularly, as to that affair of patronages, it was never entertained, and was really an invention, ſuggeſted to two raſh perſons, with a deſign to create jealouſies; but it never was in the leaſt countenanced or entertained. As to the penſions; I have laid your deſire before the Queen, who has commanded me to ſignify to you her pleaſure, that ſhe intends to continue the ſame payments to the Univerſities. I doubt not you will continue your beſt endeavours to calm the ſpirits of people in the aſſembly, that they may give no occaſion to blaſpheme; and I am confident, they will have no juſt grounds to apprehend any danger from hence. I am, with great ſincerity, Reverend Sir, your's, &c. (9)"

(9) Carſtares's Life, p. 81, 82.

This collection of State Papers and Letters doth not tend to inſpire us with any exalted opinion of the great men who flouriſhed in Scotland, at and after the revolution. Some of them, however, appear to have been perſons of integrity. It is to be feared, that a minute examination of the characters of Stateſmen, of whatever age or country, will not greatly redound to the honour of human nature in general, or to the credit of Courts in particular; which will be found, at all times, to have been powerful corruptors of patriotiſm and virtue.

(a) For the materials of this article we are indebted to Mr. Nichols, who obliged us with the proof ſheets of the quarto edition of his Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer, not then publiſhed.

*** [CARTE (THOMAS) (*a*) a very learned and laborious hiſtorian in the preſent century, was born at Clifton upon Dunſmoor, in Warwickſhire; at which place his father, the Rev. Samuel Carte, at that time reſided as Vicar [*A*]; and was baptized there by *immerſion*, on the 23d of April, 1686. If this account be exact, his progreſs in grammatical learning muſt have been very rapid and extraordinary; for it appears that he was admitted a member of Univerſity College (*b*), in Oxford, and matriculated on the fourth day of July 1698, having then not long entered into the thirteenth year of his age. He took his degree of Bachelor of Arts on the 25th of January 1702; after which he was incorporated at Cambridge, where he became Maſter of Arts in 1706. All this, if his baptiſm quickly ſucceeded his birth, muſt have been tranſacted when he was little more than twenty years old. In due time he entered into holy orders; and the only notice we find of any preferment he received, is, that he was appointed reader of the Abbey Church at Bath. Whilſt he was in this ſituation, he preached a ſermon, on the 30th of January, 1713-14, in which he took occaſion to vindicate King Charles the Firſt from the aſperſions that have been caſt upon that unhappy Monarch with regard to the Iriſh rebellion. This drew Mr. Carte into a controverſy with Mr. Chandler, a diſſenting miniſter at Bath, and father of the celebrated Dr. Samuel Chandler. The diſpute gave riſe to our Hiſtorian's firſt publication, which was entitled, " The Iriſh " Maſſacre ſet in a clear light; wherein Mr. Baxter's account of it in the hiſtory of his " own life, and the abridgment thereof by Dr. Calamy, are fully conſidered; together " with two letters from Mr. Chandler, reviving the aforeſaid account, to the Rev. Mr. " Thomas Carte, at Bath; with his two replies to Mr. Chandler." This is inſerted in the collection called Somers's Tracts. Upon the acceſſion of King George the Firſt to the Crown, Mr. Carte's principles not permitting him to take the oaths to the new government, he aſſumed a lay habit. What particular concern he had in the rebellion of 1715 does not appear; but that he had ſome degree of guilt in this reſpect, or, at leaſt, that he was ſtrongly ſuſpected of it by adminiſtration, is evident, from the King's troops having

(*b*) It is ſaid, that he afterwards removed to Braſenoſe College.

[*A*] *At which place his father, the Rev. Samuel Carte, at that time reſided as Vicar.*] Samuel Carte was the ſon of Thomas Carte, a Clothier at Coventry, where he was born October 21, 1652, and in the Free-ſchool of which place he received his grammatical education. From that ſchool he was removed to Magdalen College, Oxford, where he took both his degree of Bachelor of Arts, 1672; and Maſter of Arts, 1675. After he entered into holy orders, he had ſeveral preferments, the chief of which were, a Prebend in the cathedral Church of Litchfield, the Rectory of Eaſtwell in Leiceſterſhire, and, laſt of all, the Vicarage of St. Martin's, in the town of Leiceſter. We ſuppoſe that he reſigned his preferments at the acceſſion of King George the Firſt, as at one time he aſſiſted the celebrated Jeremiah Collier, in preaching to a Nonjuring congregation in Broad-ſtreet, London. However, Mr. Samuel Carte ſeems to have ſpent the latter part of his life chiefly at Leiceſter, where he died, on the 16th of April, 1740, in the 87th year of his age. A high, and, we doubt not, a juſt character is given of him, in an inſcription to his memory in the chancel of St. Martin's church. He publiſhed two Sermons, and " Tabula chronologica Archiepiſcopatuum & Epiſ- " copatuum in *Anglia & Wallia*, Ortus, Diviſiones, " Tranſlationes, &c. breviter exhibens; una cum " Indice alphabetico Nominum, quibus apud Au- " thores inſigniuntur." Folio, without date. He left, likewiſe, a ſmall manuſcript, concerning the antiquities of Leiceſter. A more compleat enumeration of particulars concerning him, may be ſeen in the Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer.

having orders to diſcover and apprehend him. He had the good fortune to elude their ſearch, by concealing himſelf at Coleſhill, Warwickſhire, in the houſe of a Clergyman, Mr. Badger, then Curate of that town. Mr. Carte himſelf officiated for a time as Curate in the ſame place; after which, it is certain that he acted as Secretary to the celebrated Biſhop Atterbury *. This connection threw him into freſh difficulties. So deeply was he thought to be engaged in the conſpiracy aſcribed to that eminent prelate, that a charge of high treaſon was brought againſt him; and a proclamation was iſſued, on the 13th of Auguſt, 1722, offering a reward of a thouſand pounds for ſeizing his perſon. He was again ſucceſsful in making his eſcape, and fled into France, where he reſided ſeveral years, under the borrowed name of Philips. Whilſt Mr. Carte continued in that country, he was introduced to the principal men of learning and family, and gained acceſs to the moſt eminent libraries, public and private, by which means he was enabled to collect large materials for illuſtrating an Engliſh edition of Thuanus. The collection was in ſuch forwardneſs in 1724, that he conſulted Dr. Mead, at that time the great patron of literary undertakings, on the mode of publication. The Doctor, who perceived that the plan might be rendered more extenſively uſeful, obtained Mr. Carte's materials at a very conſiderable price, and engaged Mr. Buckley in the noble edition of Thuanus [*B*], in ſeven volumes, folio, which was compleated in 1733. Whilſt this grand work was carrying on, Queen Caroline, whoſe regard to men of letters is well known, received ſuch favourable impreſſions of Mr. Carte, that ſhe obtained permiſſion for his returning to England in ſecurity; which he did ſome time between the years 1728 and 1730. He had not long been reſtored to his own country, before he engaged in one of the moſt important of his works, "The Hiſtory of the life of James "Duke of Ormonde, from his birth in 1610, to his death in 1688." This work is extended to three volumes folio. The third volume, which contains a collection of letters written by the Kings Charles the Firſt and Second, the Duke of Ormonde, the Secretaries of State, the Marquis of Clanrickarde, and ſeveral eminent men beſides, during the troubles of Great-Britain and Ireland, and which was intended to verify and clear up the matters related in the hiſtory, was printed and publiſhed firſt, that the references to the proper pages of it might be made in the other volumes. It came out in 1735, and the firſt and ſecond volumes appeared in 1736. Allowance being made for Mr. Carte's attachment to arbitrary principles of government, and for his predilection in favour of his Hero, whoſe abilities and talents he ſomewhat exaggerates, it muſt be acknowledged, that his Hiſtory of the Duke of Ormonde is a very valuable and uſeful performance [*C*]. It throws much light on the tranſactions of the time, and particularly on the affairs of Ireland; upon which account it hath been of ſignal ſervice to Dr. Leland, in the third volume of his Hiſtory of that country. From a letter of Mr. Carte's to Dr. Swift (*c*), dated Auguſt the 11th, 1736, it appears that, in writing the life of the Duke of Ormonde, he had availed himſelf of ſome inſtructions which he had derived from the Dean. In the ſame letter, he mentions his deſign of compoſing a general Hiſtory of England, and finds great fault not only with Rapin de Thoyras, but with Rymer's Fœdera. His accuſations of that noble collection, are in ſeveral reſpects miſtaken and groundleſs. It is highly probable, that the ſucceſs and popularity of Rapin's Hiſtory, gave conſiderable diſguſt to Mr. Carte and other gentlemen of the ſame principles, and ſuggeſted the ſcheme of a new undertaking. It is evident, from ſome letters † written about this time to Dr. Zachary Grey by our author, that he laid a great ſtreſs upon that part of his life of the Duke of Ormonde which vindicated King Charles the Firſt, in his tranſactions with the Earl of Glamorgan, and which brought a charge of forgery againſt

* It appears, by a report of the Houſe of Commons, that he ſucceeded Kelly in that office; and that a riotous election at Coventry had been greatly animated by Carte.

(*c*) Swift's works, vol. xxiv. p. 30—33. 24mo edition.

† Preſerved in the Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer.

[*B*] *And engaged Mr. Buckley in the noble edition of Thuanus.*] Mr. Carte himſelf would probably have been the principal editor, if he had not been abroad in exile at the time when the undertaking commenced. The Latin addreſs to Dr. Mead, prefixed to that work, and dated from the Inner Temple, 7 Kal. Jan. 1733, was ſigned *Thomas Carte.* It might poſſibly receive ſome corrections from Profeſſor Ward, who tranſlated into neat and perſpicuous Latin, Mr. Buckley's three introductory letters. Mr. Buckley, in one of his letters, expreſſes his particular acknowledgments to Mr. Carte, for having communicated his numerous collections from manuſcripts, and printed copies; for correcting the orthography of proper names; for his uſeful explanatory notes; for reviſing the life of Thuanus, and compiling the indexes. Mr. Buckley's words are as follow: "Variantes lectiones ex manuſcriptis cunctiſque editionibus collectas, & nominum proprierum interpretationes, *Cartius* in exemplari, quod prelo erat parandum, accurate deſcripſit. In quem finem dum totum opus evolvit, plurima quoque in utraque *Genevenſi* editione errata typographica correxit, notis etiam brevioribus in extrema pagina adſcriptis multa explicuit, & quædam emendavit. Ad hæc ingentem numerum propiorum nominum, quæ à *Puteano* prætermiſſa erant, ex auctoribus ipſis, unde narrationes ſuas hauſerat *Thuanus*, aliiſque illius ævi ſcriptoribus, interpretatus eſt. Qua in re de omnibus ſane eruditis, atque adeo de *Thuano* ipſo, optime meritus eſſe videtur.——Simile quoque ſtudium & induſtriam in vitâ auctoris recenſendâ idem vir doctus poſuit: quæ & in ſex hiſtoriæ tomorum, vitæque in ſeptimo tomo, indicibus quos conficere ſuſcepit eum adhibiturum pariter expectare licebit."

[*C*] *Is a very uſeful and valuable performance.*] Lord Orrery, in a letter to Mr. Carte, from Dublin, writes to him in the following terms. "Your Hiſtory is in great eſteem here. All ſides ſeem to like it. The Dean of St. Patrick's honours you with his approbation. Any name after his could not add to your ſatisfaction. But I may ſay, the worthy and the wiſe are with you to a man, and you have me into the bargain."

that Nobleman. But however well ſatisfied Mr. Carte might be with the arguments produced upon the ſubject, it is now certain that he was miſled. The authenticity of the commiſſion to the Earl of Glamorgan, hath lately been eſtabliſhed by the publication of the ſecond volume of the Clarendon State Papers, as we have had occaſion fully to ſhew in Dr. Birch's article (*d*). Some bookſellers of Dublin having formed a deſign of printing, in Ireland, a piratical edition of the Hiſtory of the Duke of Ormonde, Mr. Carte recollected an order of the Houſe of Lords, made in 1721, which was full to his purpoſe. By this order, which had been iſſued upon occaſion of Curll's publication of the Duke of Buckingham's writings, it was declared, that whoever ſhould preſume to print any account of the Life, the Letters, or other works of any deceaſed Peer, without the conſent of his heirs or executors, ſhould be puniſhed, as guilty of a breach of privilege of that Houſe. An atteſted copy of the order was carried by our Hiſtorian to the Earl of Arran, and his Lordſhip ſent it to his agent in Dublin, to ſerve upon the bookſellers concerned in the pirated impreſſion, and to diſcharge them in his name, from proceeding in the deſign. But as this was a remedy only in Mr. Carte's caſe, and ariſing from the particular nature of his work, he was very ſolicitous that a new act of parliament ſhould be paſſed, to ſecure the property of Authors in their writings, and drew up a paper recommending ſuch an act. Lord Cornbury, at the inſtance of the Univerſity of Oxford, had procured the draught of a bill to be prepared, which was approved by the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons; but we do not recollect that any farther meaſures were purſued in the affair. In April, 1738, Mr. Carte publiſhed, on a ſeparate ſheet, a general account of the neceſſary materials for a Hiſtory of England, of the ſociety and ſubſcriptions propoſed for defraying the expences of it, and the method in which he intended to proceed in carrying on the work. In the following October, he had obtained ſubſcriptions, or the promiſe of ſubſcriptions, to the amount of ſix hundred pounds a year. Not long after, he was at Cambridge, collecting materials for his Hiſtory, from the Univerſity and other libraries. Whilſt he was thus employed, his head quarters were at Madingley, the ſeat of Sir John Hinde Cotton, Bart. whoſe large collection of old pamphlets and journals, publiſhed during the grand civil war between 1639 and 1660, he methodized, and procured to be bound in a great number of volumes. On the 8th of March, 1744, a cauſe in Chancery was determined in his favour, againſt his brother Samuel and his ſiſter Sarah, with regard to a doubt concerning their father's will. Mr. Samuel Carte the elder, had made Thomas his eldeſt ſon executor and reſiduary legatee; but, in a clauſe added to the will, it was provided, that, if he ſhould be moleſted and proſecuted by the government, ſo as to incur a forfeiture, and be diſabled from diſcharging the duty of an executor, then Samuel and Sarah were to aſſume that office, and to poſſeſs what was given to Thomas. Not many weeks after, our Author, for what reaſons we know not, fell under the ſuſpicions of adminiſtration, and was taken into cuſtody, together with a Mr. Garth, at a time when the Habeas Corpus act was ſuſpended, in conſequence of ſome apprehended deſigns in favour of the Pretender. It is ſaid, that, whilſt he was under examination, the Duke of Newcaſtle aſked him if he was not a ‖ Biſhop; "No, my Lord Duke," replied Mr. Carte, "there are no Biſhops "in England but what are made by your Grace; and I am ſure I have no reaſon "to expect that honour." It is certain, that nothing material was diſcovered againſt him, for he was ſoon diſcharged out of cuſtody (*e*). This event did not detract from his popularity, or prevent his receiving great encouragement in his hiſtorical deſign. On the 18th of July (*f*), the court of Common Council of the city of London agreed, "to ſubſcribe fifty pounds a year for ſeven years to Mr. Carte, towards defray-"ing the expence of his writing the Hiſtory of England." In the next month was printed a collection of the ſeveral papers that had been publiſhed by him relative to his great work. On the 18th of October, the company of Goldſmiths voted twenty-five pounds a year, for ſeven years, towards defraying the expences of tranſcribing letters, negotiations, and other materials of the like nature; and, in the December following, the companies of Grocers and Vintners ſubſcribed twenty-five pounds a year each, to the ſame purpoſe. Propoſals for printing the Hiſtory were circulated in 1746, and the firſt volume of it, which concluded with the death of King John, was compleated in December 1747; when the credit of a work which had been uſhered into the world with ſo much preparation and expectation, and which had been ſupported by ſuch ample ſubſcriptions, was almoſt wholly overturned by a remarkable act of literary indiſcretion. As the firſt volume was confined to an early period of the Engliſh Annals, it might eaſily have been written without giving diſtinguiſhed offence to any party. But Mr. Carte, having taken occaſion to ſpeak of the unction of our Kings, and of the great effects annexed to it, (which ſection, and another on the cure of the King's evil by the royal touch, are ſufficiently replete with credulity and ſuperſtition), introduced, in a note a ſtory of one Chriſtopher Lovel, a native of Wells in Somerſetſhire, who is repreſented as having been healed of that diſorder, at Avignon, in 1716, by application to the Pretender (*g*). The fact appears to have been, that the man, by his journey, his change of diet, and the aſſiſtance of phyſicians, was conſiderably relieved; but his cure laſted only

(*d*) Biog. Britannica, vol. ii. p. 319—321. note [*F*].

‖ Soon after the acceſſion of King George I. walking in a heavy ſhower, he was plied with "A coach, your Reverence?" "No, honeſt friend," anſwered Carte, "this is not a *reign* for me to ride in a coach"

(*e*) On the 9th of May, 1744.

(*f*) In the ſame year.

(*g*) Carte's General Hiſtory of England, vol. i. p. 291, 292. *Ibid.* p. 357.

only for a ſhort time. His ſores broke out again, with violence, in many other parts of his body; and he returned, in hopes of the ſame ſucceſs, to France, where he died miſerably, before he reached Avignon (*b*). It has been alledged, in extenuation of our Author's conduct, that the note concerning Chriſtopher Lovel was not in reality his own; and that he was overperſuaded to inſert it, after the ſheet in which it was printed had been committed to the preſs. But he could not have been prevailed upon to introduce it, if he had not himſelf believed the fact; and if he had not, at the ſame time, been extremely ſolicitous to lay hold of any circumſtance which he thought would promote the Jacobite cauſe. In the preface to his ſecond volume, he continues to avow the truth of the ſtory. He had, according to his own account of the matter, been an unbeliever with regard to the cure of the King's evil by the royal touch, till he was convinced of his miſtake by Mr. Anſtis, who furniſhed him with thoſe proofs out of the Engliſh records, which atteſt the facts, and are printed in Tooker's Treatiſe on the ſubject, publiſhed in 1597. If, however, Mr. Carte's mind had riſen to a truly philoſophical enlargement, or if he had examined the narrations with a due degree of ſcepticiſm, he would not have been ſo eaſily miſled [*D*]. The indiſcretion he had been guilty of was hurtful

(*b*) Gent. Mag. vol. xviii. p. 14.

[*D*] *He would not have been ſo eaſily miſled.*] Three pamphlets were occaſioned by our Hiſtorian's obnoxious note. 1. "Remarks on Mr. Carte's general Hiſtory of England." 2. "A Letter to the "Jacobite Journaliſt, concerning Mr. Carte's Hiſtory, by *Duncan Mac Carte*, a *Highlander*;" and 3. "Some Specimens of Mr. Carte's Hiſtory of England, with Remarks thereon, by *Donald Mac "Carte*." Mr. Barrington has given the following account of what he heard, with reſpect to this ſuppoſed miraculous power of healing, from an old man who was witneſs in a cauſe. "He had, by his evi- "dence, fixed the time of a fact, by Queen Anne's "having been at Oxford, and touched him, whilſt "a child, for the evil. When he had finiſhed his "evidence, I had an opportunity of aſking him "whether he was really cured: Upon which he "anſwered, with a ſignificant ſmile, that he be- "lieved himſelf to have never had a complaint that "deſerved to be conſidered as the evil; but that "his parents were poor, *and had no objection to the "bit of gold*." "It ſeems to me," adds the honourable and learned writer, "that this piece of "gold, which was given to thoſe who were touched, "accounts for the great reſort upon this occaſion, "and the ſuppoſed afterwards miraculous cures. "Fabian Phillips, in his Treatiſe on Purveyance, "aſſerts, that the angels iſſued by the Kings of "England on theſe occaſions, amounted to a charge "of three thouſand pounds per annum, p. 257. "Queen Elizabeth was ſo tired of touching thoſe "who deſired to be cured for the evil, that, in Glou- "ceſterſhire, during one of her progreſſes, ſhe told "thoſe who were preſſing on her, that God only "could relieve them from their complaints. Sir "Kenelm Digby informed Monſ. Monconys, that "if the perſon cured loſt the piece of gold, the "complaint immediately returned. Gemelli (the "famous Traveller) alſo gives an account of 1600 "perſons being preſented for this purpoſe to Lewis "the Fourteenth, on Eaſter Sunday, in the year "1686. Gemelli was himſelf preſent at this cere- "mony, and ſays the words uſed were, *Le Roy te "touche, Dieu te gueriſſe*. Every Frenchman re- "ceived fifteen *ſous*, and every foreigner thirty, "after being touched.——This power of healing by "the Kings of France, occaſioned great reſort to "Francis the Firſt (whilſt priſoner at Madrid) by "the Spaniards, who did not conceive that their "own King's touch would effect the cure.——It "appears by a proclamation of the 25th of March, "and 14 James I. that the Kings of England would "not permit ſuch patients to approach them during "the ſummer. By another proclamation of the "18th of June, 1626, it is ordered, that no one "ſhall apply for this purpoſe, who does not bring a "proper certificate that he was never touched be- "fore. This regulation undoubtedly muſt have "ariſen from ſome ſuppoſed patients, who had at- "tempted to receive the bit of gold more than once "(1)." The following ingenious paper, upon the ſame ſubject, which hath been communicated to us by Mr. Nichols, will, we believe, be acceptable to our readers.

(1) Barrington's Obſervations on the more ancient Statutes, p. 107, 108. note. The fourth edition.

Remarks on Serjeant Surgeon Wiſeman's Teſtimony, concerning the Efficacy of the royal Touch in the King's Evil.

Though the ſuperſtitious notions reſpecting the cure of the King's evil by the touch of our Engliſh Kings, are, probably, at preſent, entirely eradicated, it is ſtill a curious, and not uninſtructive object of enquiry, by what means they were ſo long ſupported, and by what kind of evidence they have been able to gain credit, even in the dawning of a more enlightened period.

The teſtimony of Richard Wiſeman, Serjeant Surgeon to King Charles I. has been alledged as one of the ſtrongeſt and moſt unexceptionable in favour of the *touch*. He was a man of the greateſt eminence in his profeſſion, and his works bear all the marks of an honeſt and upright diſpoſition in their author. On the ſubject of the royal touch, he delivers himſelf in the following ſtrong and unequivocal terms. "I "myſelf have been a frequent eye-witneſs of many "hundreds of cures performed by his Majeſty's "touch alone, without any aſſiſtance of Chirurgery; "and thoſe, many of them, ſuch as had tired out "the endeavours of able Chirurgeons, before they "came thither. It were endleſs to recite what I "myſelf have ſeen, and what I have received ac- "knowledgments of by letter; not only from the "ſeveral parts of this nation, but alſo from Ireland, "Scotland, Jerſey, and Guernſey." The queſtion which will naturally ariſe upon this paſſage is, did Wiſeman really believe what he aſſerted, or was he knowingly promoting an impoſture? Both ſuppoſitions have their difficulties, yet both are in ſome degree probable. His warm attachment to the royal family, and early prejudices, might, in ſome meaſure, make his faith preponderate againſt his judgment; and, on the other hand, certain paſſages in his treatiſe, ſhow a neceſſary conſciouſneſs of colluſion and fraudulent pretenſions.

It was his buſineſs, as Serjeant Surgeon, to ſelect ſuch afflicted objects as were proper to be preſented for the royal touch. In the hiſtory of the diſeaſe, relating its various ſtates and appearances, he ſays, "Thoſe which we preſent to his Majeſty, are chiefly "ſuch as have this kind of tumour about the *muſ- "culus maſtoideus*, or neck, with whatever other cir- "cumſtances they are accompanied; nor are we "difficult in admitting the thick-chapped upper "lips, and eyes affected with a *lippitudo: in other "caſes we give our judgment more warily*."

Here is a ſelection of the ſlighteſt caſes, and a manifeſt doubt expreſſed concerning the ſucceſs in more inveterate ones. A little below, obſerving that the *ſtrumæ* will often be ſuppurated or reſolved unexpectedly, from accidental ferments, he ſays, "In "caſe of the King's touch, the reſolution doth often "happen, where our endeavours have ſignified no- "thing; yea, the very *gummata*, inſomuch that I "am cautious of predicting concerning them, "(though they appear never ſo bad) till fourteen "days be over." From this we learn, that the touch was by no means infallible; and that the pretence of its ſucceeding, was not given up till a fortnight

hurtful to his intereſt. The Corporation of London, in conſequence of a motion made by Sir William Calvert, and ſeconded by Sir John Barnard, unanimouſly reſolved, in April 1748, to withdraw their ſubſcription; and the Hiſtory fell into very general neglect. It is to the honour of Mr. Carte's fortitude, that he was not diſcouraged from proſecuting his undertaking; and perhaps he might receive private aid and ſupport, though public aſſiſtance was withdrawn. Whatever may have been the caſe in that reſpect, his ſecond volume, containing an account of all public tranſactions from the acceſſion of Henry the Third, in 1216, to the death of Henry the Seventh in 1509, appeared in 1750. The third volume, which extended to the marriage of the Elector Palatine with the Princeſs Elizabeth, daughter of James the Firſt, in 1613, was publiſhed in 1752. Both theſe volumes were printed for the Author, at his houſe in Dean's Yard, Weſtminſter. Twenty two copies of the three volumes were ſent, in 1752, to Monſ. Lemoignon, Grand Chancellor of France. The fourth volume, which Mr. Carte did not live to compleat, appeared in 1755. It was intended to have been carried on to the Reſtoration, but concludes with the year 1654. It was his deſign to have brought the narration down to the Revolution, for which purpoſe he had been at uncommon pains to collect materials, wherever they could be found. Notwithſtanding our Author's peculiar opinions and prejudices, his general Hiſtory is undoubtedly a work of great merit in point of information. It is written with eminent exactneſs and diligence, and with a perfect knowledge of original Authors. "In the early part of "the Engliſh Hiſtory, ſays Mr. Daines Barrington, I ſhould always prefer the authority "of Carte to any other Hiſtorian. He was indefatigable himſelf in his reſearches, "having dedicated his whole life to them; and was aſſiſted in what relates to Wales, by "the labours of Mr. Lewis Morris of Penbryn, in Cardiganſhire. As for his political "prejudices, they cannot be ſuppoſed to have had any bias in what relates to a tranſ-"action five hundred years ago, and which hath nothing to do with the royal touch for "the cure of the King's evil (*i*)." Without diſputing whether the laſt obſervation will ſtrictly hold good, we ſhall add the teſtimony of a foreign writer, Monſ. d'Eyverdun. This gentleman, in a note to his criticiſm on Mr. Walpole's Hiſtoric Doubts, inſerted in the "Memoires Litteraires de la Grand Bretagne," for the year 1768, has expreſſed himſelf as follows [*E*]: "Mr. Carte has publiſhed a general Hiſtory of England, in "four volumes, in folio, with the deſign of oppoſing that of Rapin. He died before "he had finiſhed this great undertaking, which he had carried on to the protectorate of "Cromwell. This learned work, which in other reſpects is but indifferently written, is "replete with very uſeful reſearches, though mixed with incurable prejudices." This character we apprehend to be preciſely the truth; and it will apply to ſome of Mr. Carte's other writings [*F*]. Our Hiſtorian departed this life, at Caldecot-Houſe, near Abingdon,

(*i*) Obſervations on the more ancient Statutes, p. 107. note. Fourth edition.

night had paſſed, without any change for the better. Indeed it appears very plain, that the worſt kind of caſes were ſeldom or never offered to the *touch*; for in no diſeaſe does Wiſeman produce more obſervations from his practice of difficult and dangerous chirurgical treatment, and in not one of theſe did he call in the aſſiſtance of the royal hand. It was indeed propoſed in a ſingle inſtance, but under ſuch circumſtances as furniſh a ſtronger proof of impoſture, than any thing hitherto related. A young gentlewoman had an obſtinate ſcrophulous tumour in the right ſide of the neck, under the maxilla. Wiſeman applied a large cauſtic to it, brought it to ſuppuration, treated it with eſcharotics, and cured it. "About a year after (he ſays) I ſaw her again in "town, and felt a ſmall gland of the bigneſs of a "lupin lying lower on that ſide of the neck. I "would have perſuaded her to admit of a *reſolvent* "*emplaſter*, and *to be touched*; but ſhe did not, as "ſhe ſaid, believe it to be the King's evil." Here, after allowing his patient to undergo a courſe of very ſevere ſurgery, he is willing to truſt the relics of the diſeaſe to the royal touch, *aſſiſted by a reſolving plaſter*; but the complaint was now too trifling to engage her attention. Surely the greateſt opponent of the *touch* could not place it in a more contemptible light!

Dr. Ducarel has informed Mr. Nichols, that being in 1746 on a viſit to the Rev. Mr. Buſh, Vicar of Wadhurſt, in Suſſex, he was ſhewn, in the Regiſter Book of that pariſh, certificates for divers perſons to recommend them for the touch in the reign of James the Second, ſigned by the Vicar and Church-wardens; ſetting forth, that they verily believed A. B. was afflicted with the King's Evil, and that *he had never been touched before*. By this it ſeems to have been underſtood, ſo late as the cloſe of the laſt century, that people could be preſented but once to the King on that account.—Charles the Second touched ninety-two thouſand one hundred and ſeven perſons, between May 1661 and April 1682.

[*E*] *Has expreſſed himſelf as follows.*] "Mr. "Carte a donné une Hiſtoire generale de l'Angle-"terre en 4 volumes en folio, dans le deſſein de "l'oppoſer à celle de Rapin. Il eſt mort avant "d'avoir achevé ce grand travail, qu'il a pouſſé "juſqu' au protectorat de Cromwell. Ce ſçavant "ouvrage, d'ailleurs aſſez mal ecrit, eſt mempli de "recherches fort utiles, & de prejuges qui ne le ſont "gueres." Mr. Carte, in his account of King Richard the Third, agrees with Buc, and hath advanced the very ſame ſentiments concerning that Monarch, which have been enlarged upon by Mr. Walpole (2).

(2) General Hiſt. of England, vol. ii. p. 809—821.

[*F*] *Mr. Carte's other writings.*] Beſides the works mentioned in the text, he was the author of the following publications. 1. A Collection of original Letters and Papers, concerning the Affairs "of England, from 1641 to 1660," in two volumes, octavo, 1739. 2. "The Hiſtory of the Revolutions "of Portugal, from the Foundation of that Kingdom to the Year 1567, with Letters of Sir Robert "Southwell, during his Embaſſy there, to the "Duke of Ormonde; giving a particular Account "of the depoſing Don Alfonſo, and placing Don "Pedro on the throne." Octavo, 1780. 3. "A "full Anſwer to the Letter from a Byſtander." A pamphlet, octavo, 1742. 4. "A full and clear Vindication of the full Anſwer to a Letter from a "Byſtander." Ditto, 1743. The letter from a byſtander was written by the late Corbyn Morris, Eſq; 5. "Catalogue des Rolles Gaſcons, Normans, "& Fran-

Abingdon, in Berkſhire, on the ſecond of April, 1754. At his deceaſe, all his papers came into the hands of his widow, who was a daughter of Colonel Brett, and who afterwards married Mr. Jernegan, a gentleman intended for Orders in the Church of Rome; which, however, he declined taking, after he had received an education for that purpoſe. Mrs. Carte left the papers to her ſecond huſband for life, and after his death to the Univerſity of Oxford. They are now depoſited in the Bodleian Library, having been delivered by Mr. Jernegan to the Univerſity, in 1778, for a valuable conſideration. Whilſt they were in this gentleman's poſſeſſion, the Earl of Hardwicke paid two hundred pounds for the peruſal of them. For a conſideration of three hundred pounds, Mr. Macpherſon had the uſe of them; who from theſe and other materials, compiled his Hiſtory and State Papers. Mr. Carte was a man of a ſtrong conſtitution, and indefatigable application. Dr. Mangey, whoſe great learning was univerſally allowed, uſed to ſay, that he always thought he could ſit as long at his ſtudies as any man, till he came to live in the ſame houſe with Mr. Carte; who, he obſerved, was accuſtomed to write or read from early in the morning till night, only allowing himſelf time to take a diſh or two of tea, or ſomething of that kind; "ſo that, added the Doctor, I could not keep "pace with him at all (*k*)." When the ſtudies of the day were over, our Hiſtorian would eat heartily; and in converſation he was very chearful and entertaining. With regard to his external appearance, he was extremely deficient in propriety and neatneſs (*l*); a fault, which was formerly more common amongſt men of letters than it is at preſent. From a general change in the habitudes of life, and the more extenſive diffuſion of polite manners, there are now not many ſtudious perſons who would chooſe to loſe in the ſcholar the outward form and attentions of the gentleman [*G*]. K.

(*k*) Supplement to the new general and biographical Dictionary, p. 75. Dr. Mangey acknowledges his obligations to Mr. Carte, for many communications out of the King of France's library, for his edition of Philo Judæus, and calls him "Vir præclaræ induſtriæ, eruditionis, & ingenii."

(*l*) *Ibid.*

"& François, conſervés dans les Archives de la "Tour de Londres; tiré d'après celui du Garde "deſdites Archives: & contenant la Precis & le "Sommaire de tous les Titres qui s'y trouvent con"cernant la Guienne, la Normandie, & les autres "Provinces de la France, ſujettes autre fois aux "Rois d'Angleterre, &c." In two volumes, folio, with two moſt exact and correct indexes of places and perſons. Paris, 1743. This valuable collection, being calculated for the uſe of the French, is introduced with a preface in that language. 6. "A Pre"face to a Tranſlation, by Mrs. Thompſon, of the "Hiſtory of the memorable and extraordinary Ca"lamities of Margaret of Anjou, Queen of Eng"land, &c. by the Chevalier Michael Bandier." Octavo, London, 1736. 7. "Advice of a Mother "to her Son and Daughter, tranſlated from the "French of the Marchioneſs de Lambert." This hath gone through ſeveral editions. 8. "Farther "Reaſons, addreſſed to Parliament, for rendering "more effectual an Act of Queen Anne, relating to "the veſting in Authors the Right of Copies, for "the Encouragement of Learning, by R. H." Mr. Carte wrote, alſo, a paper, the manuſcript of which is in Mr. Nichols's poſſeſſion, recommending a public library to be formed at the Manſion-Houſe, and that the twelve great Companies of the city of London, ſhould each of them ſubſcribe two thouſand pounds for that purpoſe. A tranſlation of Mr. Carte's general Hiſtory of England into French, was undertaken by ſeveral gentlemen in conjunction, but was never compleated. Some parts of the tranſlation are in Dr. Ducarel's poſſeſſion. Mr. Carte left behind him, in manuſcript, "A "Vindication of King Charles the Firſt, with regard "to the Iriſh Maſſacre." In 1758, was publiſhed a book, partly upon the ſame ſubject, entitled, "The "Caſe of the Royal Martyr conſidered with Can"dour," in two volumes, octavo, the author of which acknowledges his obligations to Mr. Carte. It was written by the Rev. John Boſwell, M. A. a Clergyman and Schoolmaſter, at Taunton, in Somerſetſhire. The ſame gentleman was the author of "A Method of Study, or a uſeful Library," printed in 1738, in octavo, a work of no diſtinguiſhed merit; and of two pamphlets, called "Remarks on "the free and candid Diſquiſitions," which appeared in 1750 and 1751.

[*G*] Mr. Carte had two brothers, Samuel and John. Samuel Carte was admitted a Scholar of Trinity-Hall, Cambridge, on the 5th of May, 1704, and proceeded LL. B. He was afterwards a Member of Symond's Inn, and practiſed as a Solicitor in Chancery, in which profeſſion he became eminent. He was alſo a learned Antiquary. Moſt of his manuſcripts and papers relative to antiquities, are ſuppoſed to have been ſold by his widow to the late Sir Thomas Cave, Bart. He aſſiſted Dr. Jackſon, Schoolmaſter of Coventry, in his account of the benefactions and charities belonging to that city; and was the editor, though without his name, of Brewſter's Collectanea Eccleſiaſtica, to which he added many learned notes. Mr. Samuel Carte was alive in 1760, but died not long after. Several manuſcript letters of his, relative to ſubjects of antiquity, are in Dr. Ducarel's poſſeſſion.

Mr. John Carte was entered at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, Jan. 9, 1707, where he was admitted to the degree of LL. B. Having taken holy orders, he became firſt Vicar of Tachbroke, in the county of Warwick, and was afterwards promoted, by the Dean and Chapter of Weſtminſter, to the Vicarage of Hinckley, in Leiceſterſhire, with the Rectory of Stoke annexed. At this place he reſided, from the year 1720, till his death, which was on the 17th of December, 1735. Mr. John Carte was very remarkable for his abſence of mind. Some years before his deceaſe, he paid his addreſſes to Miſs Dugdale, a deſcendant of the illuſtrious Antiquary, and the wedding-day was fixed. But he forgot to go to the place appointed for the celebration of the marriage, till the day after the time agreed upon; which the lady, as might juſtly be expected, reſented ſo much, that ſhe abſolutely refuſed him her hand. Being perpetually abſorbed in thought, he was careleſs in his dreſs, and deſtitute of œconomy. His inattention to money matters he carried to ſuch an exceſs, that, when the inhabitants of Stoke have brought to him the tithes, which he never took the trouble to aſk for, it was not unuſual with him, if he chanced to be engaged with a book, to requeſt that they would come at a future time, though perhaps he was the next hour obliged to borrow a guinea for his ſubſiſtence. The Parſonage-houſe adjoins to the Churchyard; and yet he was frequently ſo engaged in ſtudy, that the ſermon-bell uſed to ring till the congregation were weary of waiting, and the Clerk was obliged to remind him of his duty. During the fifteen years in which he was Vicar of Hinckley, he neglected to make any demand for tithes of the hamlet of Hide, belonging to that pariſh. Mr. John Carte's unaffected piety, his learning, his integrity, his ſimplicity of manners, and, we may probably add, his avoiding to inſiſt upon his legal dues, are ſtill remembered, with veneration, by his ſurviving pariſhioners. Some farther particulars of him are collecting, by Mr. Nichols, for an intended "Hiſtory "of the ancient Town of Hinckley," which is to form one number of a valuable work now publiſhing under the title of "Bibliotheca Topographica Bri"tannica."

*** [CARTERET (JOHN), Earl Granville, one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Orators and Stateſmen of the preſent century, was born on the 22d of April, 1690. His father was George Lord Carteret, Baron Carteret, of Hawnes in the county of Bedford, having been ſo created on the 19th of October 1681, when he was only fifteen years of age; and his mother was Lady Grace, youngeſt daughter of John, Earl of Bath. By both parents he was deſcended from very ancient and honourable families, and from anceſtors who had rendered themſelves illuſtrious by many notable exploits [*A*]. When he was no more

[*A*] *He was deſcended from very ancient and honourable families, and from anceſtors who had rendered themſelves illuſtrious by many notable exploits.*] The eminent and noble family of Greenvile, Grenville, or Granville, we ſhall not take notice of in this place, as an ample account is given of it under other articles (1); neither ſhall we enlarge greatly upon the Carterets, it not being our intention to convert the Biographia ſo much into a Peerage as our learned predeceſſors have ſometimes done. The family of the Carterets came originally from Normandy, where they were ſettled, and had conſiderable poſſeſſions, previouſly to the conqueſt. Two of them accompanied Duke William in his ſucceſsful expedition into this country. In proceſs of time, the Carterets loſt their Barony and lands in Normandy, upon account of their adherence to the crown of England, and fixed in the Iſlands of Guernſey and Jerſey, chiefly the latter, in both of which Iſlands they performed many valiant exploits againſt the French. Their brave and loyal conduct procured them, at different periods, a variety of honours and rewards. They were frequently knighted, had conſiderable poſts beſtowed upon them, and ſometimes ſhared in the chief government of Guernſey, Jerſey, Sark, and Alderney. The office of High Bailiff of Jerſey, an honourable ſtation, was uſually poſſeſſed by the family. In the latter end of the reign of Edward the Third, Reginald de Carteret, and his ſeven ſons, all received the honour of Knighthood in one day, for the great ſervice of having preſerved the Iſland of Jerſey from falling into the hands of the famous Bertrand de Gueſclin, Conſtable of France. During the contentions between Henry the Sixth, and Edward the Fourth, Sir Philip de Carteret ſignalized himſelf in many brave actions; and particularly, by his conduct and valour, was the means of again preventing Jerſey from being ſubjected to the French dominion. But not to purſue the Hiſtory of the family through all the perſons who reflected honour upon it, for which we ſhall refer to Collins (2), we proceed to the Gentleman who firſt occaſioned its being raiſed to an Engliſh Peerage. This was Sir George Carteret, the great grandfather to the ſubject of the preſent article. Sir George Carteret was born at Jerſey, in 1599, his father Helier Carteret, Eſq; being at that time Deputy Governor of the Iſland. He entered early into the ſea ſervice, and, by his courage and conduct, had acquired the character of an experienced officer, when King Charles the Firſt aſcended the throne. This circumſtance recommending him to the notice and eſteem of the Duke of Buckingham, he was appointed, by the intereſt of that great favourite, in 1626, joint Governor of Jerſey, with Henry, afterwards, Lord Jermyn; and, in 1639, he obtained a grant of the office and place of Comptroller of all his Majeſty's ſhips. He was in the poſſeſſion of theſe poſts at the commencement of the civil war, and at the ſame time, was of great eminency and reputation in naval command. When the Houſe of Commons, in concurrence with the Houſe of Lords, formed a peremptory reſolution for ſending out the Earl of Warwick as Admiral of the fleet, they alſo reſolved, that Captain Carteret ſhould be Vice-Admiral. But he, thinking that he ought not to accept the command without knowing the royal pleaſure, addreſſed himſelf to the King for direction; who ordered him to decline the employment, which he accordingly did without noiſe; and another officer of the Navy, Captain Batten, Surveyor-General, was ſubſtituted in his place. His Majeſty ſoon found much cauſe to repent of his error; as, if Captain Carteret had been permitted to accept of the charge, there was the higheſt reaſon to believe, that he would have prevented the greater part of the fleet from engaging in the cauſe of the Parliament. When Captain Carteret gave up the command he had been appointed to in the Navy, he likewiſe quitted the poſt of Comptroller, and retired, with his family, to the Iſland of Jerſey; the inhabitants of which received him with gladneſs, and were confirmed by him in their adherence to the King. However, his ardent couuage, and his fidelity to his Royal Maſter, not permitting him to continue long in this inactive ſtation, he tranſported himſelf into Cornwal, with the purpoſe of raiſing a troop of horſe. When he arrived in that country, finding there was a great want of powder, he went into France to procure that and other neceſſary ſupplies; in which he was ſo ſucceſsful, that, through the remainder of the war, the Corniſh army was never deſtitute of ammunition. This was ſo important and ſeaſonable a ſervice, that the King acknowledged it by a particular warrant of approbation; and by conferring upon him, at Oxford, the honour of Knighthood; which was ſpeedily followed by his being advanced, on the 9th of May 1645, to the dignity of a Baronet. Returning, the ſame year, into Jerſey, he found that ſeveral of the inhabitants had been induced to embrace the cauſe of the Parliament, on which account he threw ſome of them into confinement. This was ſo alarming and offenſive to the Members at Weſtminſter, that an order was made, that if *for the future*, he ſhould put to death any of the Iſland, whom he ſhould take priſoners, for every one ſo ſlain, three of the King's men ſhould be hung up. From the words here uſed, it ſeems evident, that Sir George Carteret had actually executed ſome one or more of the people of Jerſey who had appeared for the Parliament. If this was the caſe, his conduct, as circumſtances then ſtood, was highly impolitic; and, indeed, ſuch as could in no degree be juſtified. It is not, therefore, ſurprizing that the indignation of the Houſe of Commons ſhould riſe ſo high againſt him, that, in all the ſubſequent propoſitions for peace with the King, Sir George was amongſt the perſons of eminence who were excepted from pardon. When the Prince of Wales, and many perſons of diſtinction with him, came into Jerſey in 1646, and brought with them very little for their ſubſiſtence, they were all chearfully entertained, and at a large expence, by Sir George Carteret; who, being ſenſible how much it behoved him to take care for ſupplies, equipt about half a ſcore ſmall frigates and privateers, which ſoon ſtruck a terror through the whole channel, and made a number of captures. Upon the Prince's leaving the iſland, at the poſitive command of the Queen, ſeveral of the Council choſe to ſtay with Sir George; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer (afterwards Earl of Clarendon) reſided with him no leſs than five and twenty months. After Charles the Firſt was beheaded, Sir George Carteret, though the republican party and the army were ſo completely triumphant, and though Charles the Second was at the Hague in a very deſtitute condition, did not heſitate in teſtifying his allegiance to his new Royal Maſter, but immediately and ſolemnly proclaimed him at Jerſey, with all his titles. Some months afterwards, when his Majeſty was in the greateſt perplexity whither to bend his courſe, he determined to pay a ſecond viſit to the Iſland of Jerſey. Accordingly he arrived there in the latter end of September 1649, being accompanied by his brother the Duke of York, with ſeveral of the nobility. Here they were ſupplied by Sir George with all neceſſaries. The King, when Prince of Wales, had procured his father's leave for making Sir George Carteret his Vice-Chamberlain, and he now appointed him Treaſurer of his Navy; which, however, at this time chiefly conſiſted of the privateers that Sir George had provided,

(1) Biog. Brit. vol. iv. p. 227, &c.

(2) Collins's Peerage, ſeventh edition, p. 360—381.

more than four years and five months old, he became Lord Carteret, by the death of his father, who departed this life at the age of twenty-ſix (*a*). His Lordſhip received his grammatical education at Weſtminſter ſchool, from which he was removed to Chriſt Church College Oxford; in both which places he made ſuch extraordinary improvements, that he became one of the moſt learned young Noblemen of his time; and he retained to the laſt his knowledge and love of literature (*b*). Dr. Swift humorouſly aſſerts, that he carried away from Oxford, with a ſingularity ſcarcely to be juſtified, more Greek, Latin, and Philoſophy, than properly became a perſon of his rank; indeed, much more of each, than moſt of thoſe who are forced to live by their learning will be at the unneceſſary pains to load their heads with (*c*). Being thus accompliſhed, Lord Carteret was qualified to make an early figure in life. As ſoon as he was introduced into the Houſe of Peers, which was on the 25th of May, 1711, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ardent zeal for the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. His conduct, in this reſpect, procured him the early notice of King George the Firſt, by whom he was appointed, in 1714, one of the Lords of the Bedchamber; in 1715, Bailiff of the Iſland of Jerſey; and in 1716, Lord Lieute-

(*a*) Collins's Peerage, ſeventh edition, vol. iv. p. 399—401.

(*b*) Characters by Lord Cheſterfield, p. 36. quarto edition.

(*c*) Swift's works, vol. x. p. 249. 2to edition.

provided, and of the men of war with Prince Rupert. Charles the Second ſtaid in the Iſland till the latter end of March 1650, when he embarked for Holland, in order to be more commodiouſly ſituated for treating with the Scots, concerning their invitation of him into that kingdom. During his Majeſty's reſidence in Jerſey, he enjoyed more peace and ſatisfaction of mind than he had hitherto done, either within or without his dominions. By riding about the Iſland, he grew ſo well acquainted with all the parts of it, that he drew a map of it with his own hand; and he did not diſdain, in his various excurſions, to accept invitations and entertainments from the gentry, at their reſpective habitations. The defiance which Sir George Carteret had ſhewn to the ruling powers, by harbouring the King, and taking many of their trading veſſels, enraged them ſo much, that they determined to exert every nerve for the reduction of Jerſey. A formidable armament being prepared, it put to ſea in October 1651, under the command of Admiral Blake, and Major General Holmes, to the laſt of whom the charge of the forces for the deſcent was committed. In this criſis, Sir George Carteret behaved with the utmoſt courage and conduct. He prevented the landing of the republican army as long as poſſible; and when that was effected, and the remaining forts of the Iſland were taken, he retired into Elizabeth Caſtle, reſolving to hold it out to the laſt extremity. The King being ſafely arrived in France, after the fatal battle of Worceſter, Sir George informed him of the ſtate of the garriſon, and requeſted his aſſiſtance, if any ſuch could be obtained from the Court of France. This being out of his Majeſty's power to procure, he adviſed Sir George Carteret, rather to accept of a reaſonable compoſition, than, by too obſtinate a defence, to bring himſelf and the loyal Gentlemen who were with him, into danger of being made priſoners of war. Sir George, it ſeems, had the noble ambition, that Elizabeth Caſtle ſhould be the laſt of the King's garriſons (as was in fact the caſe) which ſhould bend under the prevailing powers. Seeing, therefore, that the caſtle was ſtill tenable, he determined to keep the enemies out ſome time longer, and concealed his Majeſty's permiſſion to treat, that the knowledge of it might not renew the cry, which had already been made, for a ſurrender. But, at length, proviſions growing ſcarce, the number of defenders leſſening daily by death and deſertion, and there being no poſſibility of ſupplies or recruits, he ſubmitted to neceſſity, as many other brave men have been compelled to do on ſimilar occaſions. Elizabeth Caſtle was ſurrendered in the latter end of December. When Sir George Carteret quitted the Iſland of Jerſey, he went firſt to St. Maloes, and thence to Paris, after which he travelled through ſeveral parts of Europe. To facilitate his reception at the different courts and places he might be diſpoſed to viſit, he obtained from his Royal Maſter a very honourable and remarkable certificate of recommendation. In 1657, Sir George had given ſuch offence to Oliver Cromwell, by ſome hoſtile deſign or attempt againſt the Engliſh veſſels trading to the French ports, that, by the Protector's intereſt with Cardinal Mazarine, he was committed priſoner to the Baſtile; from which he was, after ſome time, releaſed by the interceſſion of his friends, upon the condition of his quitting France. His deſign was to go to Savoy, and thence to Venice, to ſeek for ſome employment in that city. If this deſign was accompliſhed, he did not make a very long reſidence there; for, in 1659, we find him at Rheims, from which place he repaired to the King at Bruſſels, and followed him to Breda. Upon his Majeſty's being reſtored to his kingdoms, Sir George Carteret rode with him in his triumphant entry into the city of London, on the 29th of May 1660. The next day, Sir George was declared Vice-Chamberlain of the Houſhold, and ſworn of the Privy-Council, in conjunction with the Marquiſes of Hertford, Dorcheſter, Ormond, and others of the nobility. He was alſo conſtituted Treaſurer of the Navy; and at the coronation of the King, he had the honour of being ſpecially appointed, by his Majeſty, Almoner for the day. In the firſt Parliament called by Charles the Second, and which met at Weſtminſter, on the 8th of May, 1661, Sir George Carteret was elected Repreſentative for the Corporation of Portſmouth; and it appears, that he was an active Member of the Houſe. When the Duke of York, 1673, reſigned the office of High Admiral of England, Sir George was conſtituted one of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty; and in 1676, he was appointed one of the Lords of the Committee of Trade. He was alſo, Vice-Treaſurer of Ireland, and Treaſurer of the Military Forces there. At length, in conſequence of his merit and ſervices, the King determined to raiſe him to the dignity of a Peerage; but before the deſign could be accompliſhed, he departed this life, on the 14th of January, 1679, being nearly eighty years of age. On the 11th of February following, a royal warrant was iſſued, in which it is recited, "That whereas "Sir George Carteret died before his patent for his "Barony was ſued out, his Majeſty authorizes Eli-"zabeth, his widow, and her youngeſt children, "James Carteret, Caroline, wife of Sir Thomas "Scot, Knt. and Louiſa, wife of Sir Robert Atkins, "Knt. to enjoy their precedency and pre-emi-"nency, as if the ſaid Sir George Carteret had "actually been created a Baron." Sir George's eldeſt ſon, by his Lady Elizabeth, who was his couſin-german, being the daughter of Sir Philip Carteret, was named Philip after his grandfather. This gentleman eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Civil Wars, and was knighted by Charles the Second, at his arrival in Jerſey. After the King's Reſtoration, Sir Philip Carteret married Jemima, daughter of Edward Montague, the firſt Earl of Sandwich, and periſhed with that illuſtrious nobleman, in the great ſea-fight with the Dutch, in Solbay, on the 28th of May, 1672. Sir Philip determined, whilſt many others left the ſhip, to ſhare the fate of his father-in-law. His eldeſt ſon George, who was the firſt Lord Carteret, and whom we have mentioned in the text, as having been ſo created when only fifteen years of age, had that dignity conferred upon him, at this early period of life, upon account of the diſtinguiſhed merit of his father and grandfather, and eſpecially of the laſt (3).

(3) See Collins's Peerage, *ubi ſupra*, p. 381—400, where the facts we have mentioned are more fully related.

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nant and Cuſtos Rotulorum of the county of Devon; which laſt office he held till Auguſt, 1721, when he reſigned it in favour of Hugh Lord Clinton (*d*). His mother alſo, Lady Grace, was created Viſcounteſs Carteret, and Counteſs Granville, by letters patent, bearing date on the firſt of January, 1714-15, with limitation of theſe honours to her ſon John Lord Carteret (*e*). His Lordſhip, though ſtill young, became, from the early part of King George the Firſt's reign, an eminent Speaker in the Houſe of Peers. The firſt inſtance we find ſpecifically recorded of the diſplay of his eloquence, was in the famous debate on the bill for lengthening the duration of Parliaments. In this debate, he ſupported the Duke of Devonſhire's motion for the repeal of the Triennial Act, by thoſe peculiar and powerful arguments which the ſituation of affairs at that time afforded; but of which, in a former article, we have expreſſed our diſapprobation (*f*). On the 18th of February, 1717-18, he ſpoke in behalf of the bill for puniſhing mutiny and deſertion; and in the ſeſſion of Parliament, which met on the 11th of November following, he moved for the addreſs of thanks to the King, to congratulate his Majeſty on the ſeaſonable ſucceſs of his naval forces; and to aſſure him, that the Houſe would ſupport him in the purſuit of thoſe prudent and neceſſary meaſures he had taken to ſecure the trade and quiet of his dominions, and the tranquillity of Europe (*g*). The evidence Lord Carteret had given of his great abilities, exciting farther the attention of government, he was appointed, on the 25th of January, 1718-19, Embaſſador Extraordinary, and Miniſter Plenipotentiary to the Queen of Sweden. He did not, however, leave England till the 1ſt of June following, when he embarked in the river for Gottenburgh, in his way to Stockholm, where he arrived on the 30th of the ſame month. On the 6th of July he preſented his memorial to the Queen, and had her Majeſty's anſwer the ſame day. His firſt buſineſs was, to remove the difficulties which the Britiſh ſubjects had met with in regard to their commerce in the Baltick, and to procure ſatisfaction for the loſſes they had ſuſtained. In this he ſo happily ſucceeded, that the Queen ordered an equitable compenſation to be made to the rightful claimants; and ſhe farther ordered, that the ſhips belonging to Great-Britain, ſhould have freedom of trade and navigation in the Baltick, even though they were bounds to the ports which had been taken from her by the Czar of Muſcovy. On the 6th of November, 1719, Lord Carteret firſt took upon him the character of Embaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary; at which time, in a private audience, he offered his royal Maſter's mediation to make peace between Sweden and Denmark; and alſo his Majeſty's mediation, to effect the ſame purpoſe between Sweden and the Czar. Both theſe mediations were readily accepted by the Queen. A peace between Sweden, Pruſſia, and Hanover, having been concluded by Lord Carteret, it was proclaimed at Stockholm, on the 9th of March, 1719-20. This was the prelude to a reconciliation between Sweden and Denmark. His Lordſhip having ſettled a preliminary treaty between theſe two Crowns, and having been appointed, in conjunction with the Lord Polwarth, Embaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Congreſs of Brunſwick, for finally adjuſting all differences in the North, he had his audience of leave of the King and Queen of Sweden, at Carlberg, on the 9th of June, 1720. Upon the ſame day he had the honour of dining with their Majeſties, who expreſſed their eſteem for him in the moſt gracious terms. A few days after, he ſet out for Denmark; and on the 19th of June he had his firſt audience, at Frederickſburgh, of the Daniſh King, by whom he was received with great marks of attention and regard. He had brought with him the treaty of peace between Denmark and Sweden, which had already been agreed to and ſigned on the part of Sweden. After a conference of two days between Lord Carteret and the Daniſh Miniſters, the treaty was, likewiſe, acceded to by the King of Denmark, and ſigned on the 3d of July. From the Gazette of Auguſt the 19th, in this year, we find his Lordſhip appointed, together with Earl Stanhope and Sir Robert Sutton, Embaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at the Congreſs of Cambray; but whether he acted in this capacity doth not appear. The ratifications of the treaty of peace between Denmark and Sweden, were exchanged on the 22d of October, 1720; by which event an end was, in fact, put to the war, that had ſo long raged between Sweden, Ruſſia, Denmark, and the King of Pruſſia; for though the Czar ſtill held out, nothing very material was tranſacted; and that Monarch, at length, entered into an agreement with their Daniſh Majeſties, without the intervention of a mediator. Lord Carteret having concluded his important and ſucceſsful negotiation, left Denmark, and returned through Hanover, in his way to England, where he arrived on the 5th of December, with the ſatisfaction of having highly pleaſed his royal Maſter (*h*).

A few weeks after our noble Peer had returned from his Embaſſy, we find him taking a ſhare in the debates on the ſtate of the national credit, occaſioned by the unfortunate and iniquitous effects of the South-Sea ſcheme; and ſupporting Earl Stanhope's opinion, that the eſtates of the criminals, whether directors or not directors, ought to be confiſcated, to make good the public loſſes (*i*). Whilſt this affair was in agitation, King George the Firſt, in teſtimony of his approbation of Lord Carteret's late conduct in Sweden and Denmark, appointed him to the honourable and important ſtation of Embaſſador

(*d*) Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 401, 402.

(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 401.

(*f*) See the article of Earl BATHURST.

(*g*) Lords Debates, vol. iii. p. 31. 76. 78. 95.

(*h*) Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 402, 403.

(*i*) Lords Debates, *ubi ſupra*, p. 129.

Embaſſador Extraordinary to the Court of France. Accordingly, his Lordſhip received his inſtructions, and was on the point of ſetting out, when James Craggs, jun. Eſq; Principal Secretary of State, on whoſe character ſo much luſtre hath been ſhed by his friendſhip with Addiſon, and his connection with Pope, departed this life on the 17th of February, 1720-21. The reſult of this event was, that Lord Carteret's deſtination to the French Court was changed, and he was conſtituted, on the 4th of May, ſucceſſor to Mr. Craggs. On the next day he was admitted into that great office, and, at the ſame time, was ſworn one of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy Council (*k*). Whilſt Lord Carteret was Secretary of State, he not only diſcharged the general duties of his employment to the ſatisfaction of his royal Maſter, but ably defended in Parliament the meaſures of Adminiſtration. This he did in the debate concerning Mr. Law, the famous projector of the Miſſiſſippi ſcheme, whoſe arrival in England, in 1721, by the connivance, as it was thought, and even under the ſanction of the Miniſtry, excited no ſmall degree of diſguſt. Earl Coningſby having expreſſed the apprehenſions and jealouſies of the public upon the occaſion, and having aſked, whether Sir John Norris, who brought him over, had orders for that purpoſe, Lord Carteret replied, that Mr. Law had had, many years before, the misfortune to kill a gentleman in a duel; but that having, at laſt, received the benefit of the King's clemency, and the appeal which was lodged by the relations of the deceaſed being taken off, he had come over to plead his Majeſty's moſt gracious pardon. It was added by his Lordſhip, that there was no law to keep any Engliſhman out of his own country; and that, as Mr. Law was a ſubject of Great-Britain, it was not even in the King's power to hinder him from coming over, if he thought fit. Lord Carteret took, alſo, a part, on the ſide of government, in the debate on the navy debt, and with regard to the various other motions and bills of the ſeſſion (*l*). In the new Parliament, which met on the 11th of October, 1722, his Lordſhip was equally active in ſupporting the meaſures of Adminiſtration. The firſt ſubject which engaged the attention of the Peers being the diſcovery of Layer's plot, he ſpoke in favour of the Duke of Grafton's bill to ſuſpend the Habeas Corpus act for one year; acquainted the Houſe with the Biſhop of Rocheſter's, Lord North and Grey's, and the Earl of Orrery's commitment to the Tower; and defended the motion for the impriſonment of the Duke of Norfolk. In all the debates concerning this conſpiracy, and particularly with regard to the famous Atterbury, Lord Carteret vindicated the proceedings of the Court; as he did, likewiſe, in the caſe of the act for laying an extraordinary tax upon Papiſts (*m*). On the 26th of May, 1723, when the King's affairs called him abroad for the ſummer, his Lordſhip was appointed one of the Lords Juſtices of the kingdom; but this did not hinder him from following his Majeſty to Hanover, as Secretary of State. He went thither, in conjunction with Lord Townſhend, the other Secretary; and both theſe noblemen, in their return to England, had ſeveral conferences at the Hague, with the principal perſons of the Dutch Adminiſtration, on ſubjects of importance (*n*). In the ſucceeding ſeſſion of Parliament, which opened on the 9th of January, 1723-4, Lord Carteret, in the debate on the Mutiny Bill, ſupported the neceſſity of eighteen thouſand men being kept up, as the number of land-forces, in oppoſition to Lord Trevor, who had moved that the four thouſand additional men, who had been raiſed the year before, ſhould be diſcontinued. It was ſtrongly urged by our noble Secretary, that the public tranquillity proceeded from the ſecurity of government; and that as this ſecurity was in ſome meaſure owing to the additional forces, they were become neceſſary to preſerve that happy tranquillity (*o*). Not many days after this debate, which happened on the 16th of March, ſeveral alterations took place at Court. Among the reſt of the changes, Lord Carteret quitted the office of Secretary of State, in which he was ſucceeded by the Duke of Newcaſtle; and on the ſame day, being the third of April, 1724, he was conſtituted Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. It was not till the October following that he arrived at Dublin, where he was received with the uſual ſolemnity. The Iriſh were at that time in a great ferment about the patent for Wood's halfpence, which makes ſo ſignal a figure in the life and writings of Dr. Swift. One of the firſt things done by the Lord Lieutenant, was to publiſh a proclamation, offering a reward of three hundred pounds for a diſcovery of the author of the Drapier's Letters. When he was aſked, by Dr. Swift, how he could concur in the proſecution of a poor honeſt fellow, who had been guilty of no other crime than that of writing three or four letters for the good of his country, his Excellency replied, in the words of Virgil,

——————Regni novitas me talia cogit
Moliri——————

Lord Carteret lived at that very time in great friendſhip with the Dean; and, therefore, if he ſuſpected the real author, could have no ſincere wiſh that he might be diſcovered. Notwithſtanding the meaſures his Lordſhip was obliged officially to purſue, he was ſenſible that Wood's patent ought not to be ſupported; and, accordingly, procured its being revoked; by which means, one of the moſt univerſal and remarkable ferments

(*k*) Collins, *ubi ſupra*.

(*l*) Lords Debates, *ubi ſupra*, p. 186. 188. 191. 193, 194. 199, 200. 202. 205, 206. 211. 227. 231. 234. 236.

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 244, 245. 249. 253, 254. 268, 269. 273. 275. 277. 403.

(*n*) Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 403.

(*o*) Lords Debates, *ubi ſupra*, p. 406. 414, 415.

ments ever raiſed in Ireland ſpeedily ſubſided (*p*). The Lord Lieutenant uſed ſometimes to converſe with Dr. Swift on public affairs. The Dean, on ſome occaſion, happening to diſpute with him concerning the grievances ſuffered by the Iriſh, and the folly and nonſenſe of the Engliſh government, in the management of Ireland, his Excellency replied with ſuch maſtery and ſtrength of reaſon, that Swift was incapable of ſupporting his argument. Being diſpleaſed at this, he cried out in a violent paſſion, "What "the vengeance brought you among us; get you gone, get you gone; pray God Al- "mighty ſend us our boobies back again (*q*)." At another time, Dr. Swift having written two lines on a window of the Caſtle, in which his pride affected an abſolute independence, Lord Carteret gently rebuked his haughtineſs, by inſcribing under them the following couplet:

(*p*) Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 404. Supplement to the new and general Biographical Dict. p. 76. Britiſh Biography, vol. x. p. 47.

(*q*) Monthly Review, vol. xi. p. 59. from Delaney's Obſervations on Swift.

"My very good Dean, none ever comes here,
"But who hath ſomething to hope, or ſomething to fear (*r*)."

(*r*) Richardſoniana, p. 111.

His Lordſhip, however, kept on good terms with Swift, and obliged him by conferring preferment on Dr. Sheridan, and others of his friends. Even in the Drapier's Letters, the Dean expreſſed a very high opinion of the Lord Lieutenant. Having obſerved, that the Crown could not *devolve* upon *another* the power of obliging the people to accept of Wood's money in payment, he adds: "This I ſpeak with the utmoſt "reſpect to the *perſon* and *dignity* of his Excellency the Lord Carteret, whoſe character "was lately given me by a gentleman, that hath known him from his firſt appearance "in the world. That gentleman deſcribes him as a young man of great accompliſh- "ments, excellent learning, regular in his life, and of much ſpirit and vivacity. He "hath ſince, as I have heard, been employed abroad; was principal Secretary of State; "and is now, about the thirty-ſeventh year of his age, appointed Lord Lieutenant of "Ireland. From ſuch a governor, this kingdom may reaſonably hope for as much "proſperity as, *under ſo many diſcouragements*, it can be capable of receiving (*s*)." Beſides revoking Wood's patent, Lord Carteret's adminiſtration was, in other reſpects, very acceptable and beneficial to the Iriſh. He diſcharged the duties of his high ſtation, in general, with wiſdom and fidelity, and the people were happy under his government (*t*). On the 21ſt of September, 1725, his Excellency went with the uſual ſtate to the Houſe of Peers, and being attended there by the Commons, delivered a ſpeech from the throne. The ſeſſion, which was conducted with great harmony, and in which ſeveral acts were paſſed, evidently calculated for the good of the kingdom, was concluded by him, with the ſame ſolemnities, on the 3d of March, 1725-6 (*u*). After this, his Lordſhip having conſtituted Hugh, Archbiſhop of Armagh, R. Weſt, Lord Chancellor, and William Conolly, Eſq; Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, Lords Juſtices during his abſence, embarked for England, where he arrived in May, 1726, and received his Majeſty's approbation of his prudent conduct (*w*). During the times of his abſence from Ireland, the Primate Boulter kept up a continual correſpondence with him; and from that excellent Prelate's letters, may be learned many particulars concerning the ſtate of affairs, and the characters of perſons, in that kingdom, by thoſe who have the curioſity to enquire into the ſubject (*x*). On the 24th of January, 1726-27, Lord Carteret ably defended the King's ſpeech, which had been warmly animadverted upon by the oppoſition. In his Lordſhip's reply, there is one paſſage which ſhews the opinion he then entertained, concerning the general nature of a commerce to the Eaſt-Indies. Having taken notice that our ſhare in the Eaſt-India trade was neither ſo inconſiderable nor ſo unprofitable as ſome had been pleaſed to repreſent it, he added, that, indeed, as that commerce drained Europe of a great quantity of ſilver, and returned only trifling commodities, which ſerved to feed luxury, and which conſequently might well be ſpared, it ought, perhaps, to be wiſhed, that it might be entirely laid aſide. Such were the ſentiments which the wiſeſt politicians were then diſpoſed to entertain, concerning an object which hath ſince become of ſuch mighty importance in a national view. His Lordſhip, however, was of opinion, that the trade to the Eaſt-Indies ought not to be laid aſide, without the general conſent of all the nations concerned in it; becauſe, otherwiſe, they who gave it up would be obliged, at a dear rate, to purchaſe of them who ſhould carry it on, thoſe commodities which cuſtom had rendered in a manner neceſſary (*y*). On the 31ſt of May, 1727, Lord Carteret was appointed one of the Chief Juſtices for the adminiſtration of the government during his Majeſty's abſence. The ſame honour had been conferred upon him on the firſt of June, 1725. Upon the deceaſe of George the Firſt, who died ſuddenly at Oſnabrug, in his way to Hanover, on the 11th of June, 1727, Lord Carteret was one of the old Privy Council who aſſembled at Leiceſter Houſe, where the new King was proclaimed. This was on the 14th of June, and the ſame day he was ſworn of his Majeſty's Privy Council. On the 29th of July following, he was again appointed Lord Lieutenant and chief Governor of the kingdom of Ireland. Thither he paſſed over in the ſucceeding November, in conſequence of the calling of a new Parliament. On the 28th of the ſame month,

(*s*) Swift's works, vol. x. p. 97, 98.

(*t*) Britiſh Biography, *ubi ſupra*.

(*u*) Hiſtorical Regiſter, vol. x. p. 280—299. *Ibid.* vol. xi. p. 1—16. 94—102.

(*w*) Collins, *ubi ſupra*.

(*x*) See Boulter's Letters, vol. the firſt, *paſſim*; where are ſeveral particulars relative to Lord Carteret's ſecond, as well as his firſt Adminiſtration in Ireland.

(*y*) Lords Debates, *ubi ſupra*, p. 462.

month, the Parliament was opened, by his Excellency, with the uſual ſolemnities; and the ſeſſion continued till the 6th of May, 1728, when he gave the royal aſſent to twenty public acts, and concluded with a ſpeech, expreſſive of his high regard for the welfare of the kingdom. After this, having conſtituted the Archbiſhop of Armagh, Thomas Windham, Eſq; Lord Chancellor, and William Conolly, Eſq; Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, Lords Juſtices, during his abſence, he embarked for England, and arrived at St. James's about the middle of May. In 1729, Lord Carteret returned again to Ireland, and held another ſeſſion of Parliament, which began on the 23d of September, and ended on the 15th of April, 1730 (*z*). His Lordſhip's ſecond Vicegerency over the Iriſh nation, was as popular, if not more ſo, as the firſt. The many excellent laws that paſſed under his government, will be monuments to poſterity of his wiſe adminiſtration (*a*). His polite and ſociable manners were, likewiſe, highly acceptable to all ranks of people. What particularly recommended him was, his being above the little diſtinctions of party. He maintained a good correſpondence with ſeveral of thoſe who were called or reputed Tories, and occaſionally diſtributed a few preferments, of no great ſignificance, in that line. This having excited the complaint of ſome of the bigotted Whigs, gave occaſion to a facetious and ſenſible tract of Dr. Swift's, entitled, "A Vindication of his Excellency John Lord Carteret, from the "Charge of favouring none but Tories, High-church-men, and Jacobites." In this tract, the futility and folly of the accuſations brought againſt his Lordſhip are well expoſed (*b*). With Dr. Swift the Lord Lieutenant appears to have maintained a ſtrict friendſhip; and he was ſolicitous to act agreeably to the Dean's views of the intereſt of the kingdom. In one of his letters, written to the Dean ſome years afterwards, he thus expreſſes himſelf; "When people aſk me how I governed Ireland? I ſay, that I "pleaſed Dr. Swift (*c*)." The editor of Archbiſhop Boulter's letters ſeems to think, that this doth not redound to the honour of Lord Carteret (*d*); but we ſee no reaſon to believe that it derogates from his character, or from the wiſdom of his adminiſtration. The preferments which his Excellency beſtowed, at the inſtance of the Dean of St. Patrick's, were conferred on learned and worthy men, who did not diſgrace their recommender; and whatever may be thought of the pride, petulance, and peculiarities of Swift, it cannot rationally be denied, that he was ſincerely devoted to the welfare of the Iriſh nation. The great advantages which, with ſo much equity and good policy, have lately been granted to Ireland, and which that country would not have dared to expect at the period we are writing of, will never permit us to look back with a favourable eye on the narrow meaſures of former times, or to think that the indulgences of Lord Carteret were deſerving of cenſure. His Lordſhip, having continued the uſual time allotted to his high office, quitted it in 1730, and was ſucceeded by the Duke of Dorſet (*e*).

We now come to a part of Lord Carteret's life, including nearly twelve years; which, if we were to judge of it from the Peerages, and other biographical works, we might ſuppoſe to have been ſpent in the utmoſt inactivity. The very contrary, however, will be found to be the truth of the caſe: for though his Lordſhip was in no department of government from 1730 to 1742, his abilities were far from lying torpid. Hitherto his parliamentary talents had been exerted only on the ſide of Adminiſtration; but from this time he engaged in the grand oppoſition, that was carried on ſo long, and with ſo much pertinacity, againſt Sir Robert Walpole. In this oppoſition he took a very diſtinguiſhed part, and was one of its ableſt and moſt ſpirited leaders. There was ſcarcely any motion or queſtion on which his eloquence was not diſplayed. His powers of oratory are allowed to have been eminently great; and it is highly probable, that they were invigorated and increaſed by that ſuperior ardour which naturally accompanies an attack upon the meaſures of Government. If ſevere criticiſm were to examine all the ſpeeches of Lord Carteret in this mighty conteſt, it might, perhaps, be ſaid, that ſome of them would not appear entirely conſiſtent with thoſe which were delivered by him when he was employed by the Crown. The whole of what we can alledge, in anſwer to ſuch a charge, is, that different ſituations give riſe to different ſentiments, and that modern patriotiſm doth not always preſent to us uniform objects and characters. But, though men are changeable, this ought not to excite in us any prejudice againſt the topics upon which they inſiſt, when engaged on the ſide of oppoſition. Perſons who are out of power would not ſo ſtrenuouſly enlarge upon the neceſſity of good œconomy in government, upon the danger of large ſtanding armies, upon the importance of reſtraining the undue influence of the Crown, and upon the utility of ſhortening the duration of Parliaments, unleſs ſuch things were right in themſelves, agreeable to the principles of the conſtitution, and adapted to the wiſhes, feelings, and intereſts of the bulk of the people. Were we to mention every occaſion on which Lord Carteret exerted his oratorical abilities, this article would be extended to an undue length. We ſhall content ourſelves, therefore, with ſpecifying the more eminent debates in which he appeared. His courſe of oppoſition began, by his moving, on the 21ſt of January, 1730-31, for a clauſe of addition to be made, in the addreſs of the Peers,

(*a*) Britiſh Biog. *ubi ſupra*, p. 48.

(*b*) Swift's works, vol. x. p. 248—273.

(*c*) *Ibid.* vol. xxi. p. 234.

(*d*) Boulter's Letters, vol. i. p. 281.

(*e*) Collins's Peerage, *ubi ſupra*.

(*z*) Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 404, 405. Hiſtorical Regiſter, vol. xiii. p. 10—49. 192—200. *Ibid.* vol. xv. p. 25—53. 77—131. 193—201.

Peers, in anſwer to the King's ſpeech. In the ſame ſeſſion of Parliament, he ſupported the bill, from the Commons, againſt Penſioners being permitted to ſit in that Houſe; and defended the motion for an application to his Majeſty, that he would diſcharge the twelve thouſand Heſſian forces in the pay of Great-Britain (*f*). In the ſubſequent ſeſſion, which opened on the 13th of January, 1731-32, beſides ſpeaking in favour of the penſion bill, Lord Carteret exerted his whole ability againſt the paſſing of the act for reviving the ſalt duty. This tax he aſſerted to be grievous, pernicious, and inſupportable; oppreſſive to the lower part of the people; and dangerous to public liberty, by the numerous dependents it would create upon the Crown. When the bill was read the third time, he ſaid, that he would not let that opportunity ſlip of once more declaring his opinion againſt it. It was, he thought, the worſt bill that had ever been brought before that Houſe. He would not repeat what he had already alledged in oppoſition to it, as he was perſuaded that he had proved it to be contrary to the intereſt of England, contrary to the intereſt of Scotland, deſtructive to the landed intereſt, deſtructive to the trading intereſt; and, what was worſt of all, that it would ruin the conſtitution (*g*). At preſent, whatever opinion may be formed againſt the political wiſdom and expedience of reviving the ſalt duty, it will ſcarcely be ſuppoſed, that it was a meaſure which required to be condemned in ſuch ſtrong language. In the next year, the grand objects that engaged the attention of the Minority, were, the motion for the reduction of the land forces; the produce of the forfeited eſtates of the South-Sea Directors in 1720; and the bill for granting eighty thouſand pounds for the Princeſs Royal's marriage ſettlement, and a ſum out of the ſinking fund; on which occaſions Lord Carteret diſplayed his uſual energy and eloquence (*h*). Concerning the affair of the South-Sea Directors, he ſpoke no leſs than ſix different times. In the ſeſſion which began on the 17th of January, 1733-34, his Lordſhip, beſides enlarging on the other topics of oppoſition, made the motion for an addreſs to the King, to know who had adviſed the removal of the Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham from their regiments; and took the lead in the memorable debate which aroſe upon that queſtion (*i*). In the following year, he was the propoſer of an amendment to the Lords addreſs; but he doth not appear to have engaged in the grand conteſt, concerning the complaint of undue influence in the election for the ſixteen Peers of Scotland. Lord Carteret aſſumed an active part in the other matters that were agitated during the ſeſſion (*k*). The next ſeſſion was not remarkably diſtinguiſhed by the occaſions that called forth the exertions of his Lordſhip's eloquence. He ſupported, as uſual, the amendment propoſed in the Lords addreſs, and ſpoke in favour of the commitment of the Quaker's tythe bill (*l*). It is obſervable that, about this time, Dr. Swift had ſome doubts concerning Lord Carteret's ſteadineſs in the cauſe of oppoſition. In a letter written to Mr. Pulteney, the Dean ſays, "Will you engage your friend Carteret to oppoſe any ſtep towards arbi-
"trary power? He hath promiſed me, under a penalty, that he will continue firm;
"and yet ſome reports go here of him, that have a little diſconcerted me. Learning
"and good ſenſe he hath, to a great degree, if the love of riches and power do not
"overbalance (*m*)." Dr. Swift's ſuſpicions were groundleſs; for in the ſeſſion of Parliament which opened on the firſt of February, 1736-7, his Lordſhip diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly in the ſeveral queſtions concerning the riots at Edinburgh, and the affair of Captain Porteous; and he was the mover, in the Houſe of Peers, for the ſettlement of an hundred thouſand pounds a year, out of the Civil Liſt, upon the Prince of Wales; a matter which excited a very long and violent debate (*n*). Lord Carteret was equally active in the warm debates of the ſubſequent ſeſſion, concerning the army, and the Spaniſh depredations (*o*). But there was no occaſion upon which he more eminently diſplayed his parliamentary abilities, than in all the tranſactions relative to the convention with Spain. When that treaty was laid before the Houſe, on the fifth of February, 1738-9, his Lordſhip began the debate upon it; and he ſuſtained it, in various replies, with the greateſt energy and ſpirit. He exerciſed the ſame vigour with regard to all the motions and queſtions of that buſy ſeſſion; and it is evident, from the records of the times, that he was the prime leader of oppoſition, in the upper Houſe (*p*). This character was preſerved by Lord Carteret in the Parliament which met on the 15th of November, 1739, and ended on the 29th of April, 1740 (*q*); and it eminently appeared, in the following ſeſſion, when the Minority exerted their whole ſtrength to overturn the Adminiſtration; and with the more flattering hopes of ſucceſs, as all the abilities and addreſs of the Prime Miniſter had not enabled him to prevent a war from breaking out with Spain. Beſides various other attacks upon him, it was, at length, agreed upon by the Minority, that a motion ſhould be made to addreſs his Majeſty, that he would graciouſly be pleaſed to remove Sir Robert Walpole from his preſence and councils for ever. The motion took place on the ſame day, being February the 13th, 1740-41, in both Houſes of Parliament. In the Houſe of Peers the matter was opened by Lord Carteret, who ſummoned up all his eloquence on the occaſion, and prefaced his propoſal with the longeſt, as well as the ableſt ſpeech, that he ever appears to have delivered. The debate, which is eminently famous in our Parliamentary Hiſtory, laſted two

(*f*) Lords Debates, vol. iv. p. 38. 44. 49.

(*g*) *Ibid.* p. 55—57. 66—74. 88, 89.

(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 111—119. 133—135. 136—138. 143, 144. 155—157. 160—164. 170, 171. 175, 176.

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 207. 220. 222. 234. 252—257. 276, 277.

(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 360. 443. 448. 460. 477.

(*l*) Lords Debates, vol. v. p. 14. 92. 134.

(*m*) Swift's works, vol. xxi. p. 225, 226.

(*n*) Lords Debates, *ubi ſupra*, p. 136—143. 153, 154. 158. 161. 165. 168. 179.

(*o*) *Ibid.* p. 238. 253. 326. 335, 336.

(*p*) *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 402. vol. vi. p. 1. 5. 7, 8, 9. 19. 37. 40—42. 55—71. 106—115. 189, 190. 199—207. 230—232.

(*q*) *Ibid.* p. 256—266. 346, 347. 350—356. 366—372. 401—408.

two days (*r*). A year after this celebrated motion, the views of oppoſition were attained, ſo far as related to the diſplacing of Sir Robert Walpole, and the acquiſition of Court preferments; for as to any advantages to be gained on the part of the people, or to the removal of the evils which ſo long had been the ſubject of complaint, they do not ſeem to have been thought of, or entertained. On the 11th of February, 1741-42, that great Miniſter, who had been created Earl of Orford, reſigned all his places; and, among the other changes which attended that event, Lord Carteret, on the following day, was appointed one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State. His Lordſhip had been a very little while in this employment before we find him changing his parliamentary language. On the 25th of March, he oppoſed the motion for the commitment of the penſion bill, and did not ſlightly contribute towards its being rejected. In the caſe, likewiſe, of the bill to indemnify evidences againſt Robert Earl of Orford, he ſpoke againſt it at large; not conſiſtently, perhaps, with his former conduct, but, however, with ſome good appearance of reaſon (*s*). In September, 1742, Lord Carteret was ſent to the States General, to concert meaſures with them, in that critical juncture, for the maintenance of the liberties of the United Provinces, and the benefit of the common cauſe (*t*). Soon after his return, in the ſeſſion of Parliament which began on the 16th of November, he ſupported the addreſs of thanks for his Majeſty's ſpeech, and oppoſed the motion for diſcharging the Hanoverian troops in Britiſh pay. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf, alſo, in favour of the bill for retailing ſpirituous liquors, through the ſeveral debates which aroſe during the progreſs of that bill (*u*). In 1743, he waited upon his Majeſty at Hanover, who, before his leaving St. James's, had appointed him one of the Lords Juſtices of the kingdom. His Lordſhip attended his royal Maſter through the whole intereſting campaign of that year, in which the battle of Dettingen was fought; and the King placed the greateſt confidence in his counſels. To this confidence Lord Carteret was the more entitled, as it is generally allowed that he was eminently ſkilled in foreign affairs. On the death of his mother, upon the 18th of October, 1744, he ſucceeded to the titles of Viſcount Carteret and Earl Granville. A few weeks after this event (*w*), he reſigned the ſeals as Secretary of State. He had engroſſed the royal favour ſo much, that the Duke of Newcaſtle and Mr. Henry Pelham are thought to have taken umbrage at his influence and greatneſs. He had, alſo, incurred the reſentment of the patriotic party, whom he had ſuddenly forſaken, ſo that he had entirely loſt his popularity. The two brothers, who were very powerful by their parliamentary intereſt, engaged in a political alliance, with the leading men in the oppoſition, againſt the Prime Miniſter (for ſuch he now was) and his meaſures. Earl Granville, perceiving the gathering ſtorm, and being ſenſible of the impoſſibility of withſtanding ſuch a combination in Parliament, wiſely avoided the impending danger and diſgrace, by a voluntary reſignation of his employments (*x*). King George the Second, with reluctance, parted with a Miniſter, who had gained his perſonal affection by his great knowledge of the affairs of Europe, by his enterprizing genius, and, above all, by his ready compliance with the favourite views and prejudices of his royal Maſter (*y*). In the beginning of the year 1746, his Lordſhip made an effort to retrieve his influence in the Cabinet, and his pretenſions were highly favoured by his Sovereign. The Duke of Newcaſtle, however, and Mr. Pelham, who knew his aſpiring diſpoſition, and dreaded his ſuperior talents, refuſed to admit ſuch a colleague into Adminiſtration. To avoid an event ſo diſagreeable to them, they reſolved to ſtrengthen their party, by introducing freſh auxiliaries into the offices of State. The meaſure they purſued did not at firſt anſwer their purpoſe. Some of the perſons propoſed by them were ſo diſagreeable to his Majeſty in their private capacity, that he rejected the ſuit by which they were recommended. Upon this, the two Pelhams, the Earl of Harrington, and all the adherents of the Newcaſtle party, immediately reſigned their employments. Earl Granville was appointed Secretary of State, and reſumed the reins of Adminiſtration. This was on the 10th of February, 1745-46; but his power was of a very ſhort continuance. Finding that he could not counteract the accumulated oppoſition that preponderated againſt him; foreſeeing that he ſhould not be able to ſecure the ſupplies in Parliament; and dreading the conſequences of that confuſion which his reſtoration had already produced, he voluntarily quitted the helm; reſigning the ſeals on the 14th of February, four days after they had been put into his hands. The King, as well as the Miniſter, was obliged abſolutely to ſubmit to ſo formidable a confederacy. The Duke of Newcaſtle and the Earl of Harrington reſumed their poſts, as principal Secretaries of State; Mr. Pelham was again appointed firſt Lord of the Treaſury; other preferments took place according to the recommendation of the reſtored party; and ſeveral perſons were introduced into office, who had never before been in the ſervice of government (*z*). This hath ever been conſidered as one of the moſt remarkable inſtances, recorded in our Hiſtory, in which the Sovereign hath been ſurrounded, controlled, and even dictated to, by a particular ſet of men. The fact hath often been inſiſted upon, and held out as a leſſon of caution to future Princes. The terror of the example may poſſibly

(*r*) Lords Debates, vol. vii. p. 425—437. 470—476. 497—506. 597—604. 616, 617. 627—630. 641—662. 733. Vol. viii. p. 29—35.

(*s*) *Ibid.* p. 106. 119—129.

(*t*) Collins's Peerage, *ubi ſupra*.

(*u*) Lords Debates, *ubi ſupra*, p. 228—230. 250—253. 403—408. 421—424. 462, 463. 473—476.

(*w*) On the 24th of November.

(*x*) Collins, *ubi ſupra*. Britiſh Biography, *ubi ſupra*, p. 48.

(*y*) Maty's Life of Lord Cheſterfield, vol. i. p. 110.

(*z*) Britiſh Biography, *ubi ſupra*.

have been productive of great effects in the ſucceeding policy of government; effects which, perhaps, it is as little in the power, as it is in the inclination, of the writer of the preſent article fully to develope. Though Lord Granville was forcibly excluded from Adminiſtration by his political antagoniſts, they were not able to prevent his receiving perſonal marks of favour from the royal hand. On the 22d of June, 1749, he was elected, at Kenſington, one of the Knights Companions of the moſt noble order of the Garter, together with his preſent Majeſty, the Margrave of Anſpach, the Duke of Leeds, the Duke of Bedford, and the Earl of Albemarle; and he was inſtalled with them at Windſor, on the 12th of July, 1750. In the next year, his Lordſhip was again brought into the Miniſtry, in connection with the very men by whom he had been ſo long and ſo warmly oppoſed. He was then (*a*) conſtituted Preſident of the King's moſt honourable Privy Council; an office for which he was admirably fitted by his eminent abilities, his diſtinguiſhed eloquence, and his large experience in public buſineſs. It was probably from a ſenſe of theſe qualifications, that, notwithſtanding the various revolutions of Adminiſtration, he was continued in this high poſt till his deceaſe. When his Majeſty went to Hanover, in 1752, Earl Granville was appointed one of the Lords Juſtices of the kingdom; and he was in the commiſſions for opening and concluding the ſeſſion of Parliament, which began on the thirty-firſt of May, 1754, and ended on the fifth of June following (*b*). If we are rightly informed, the laſt time in which he ſpoke in the Houſe of Peers, was in the famous debate at the third reading of the militia bill, on the 24th of May, 1756. He had requeſted the Lords to be ſummoned upon the occaſion, and declared that he had very powerful reaſons to urge againſt the bill. That his ſpeech, however, did not anſwer to his Lordſhip's own promiſes, or to the expectation of the public, is not only the opinion of the writer of this article, who heard the debate, but, it is apprehended, of every other perſon who had the ſame entertainment. It was Lord Hardwicke, who, on the ſame ſide of the queſtion, bore away the prize of eloquence in that day's celebrated conteſt. When, in October, 1761, Mr. Pitt propoſed, in council, an immediate declaration of war with Spain, and urged the meaſure with his uſual energy, threatening a reſignation, if his advice ſhould not be adopted, Lord Granville is ſaid to have replied to him in the following terms: "I find the gentleman is determined to leave us; nor can I ſay I am ſorry for it, ſince "he would have certainly compelled us to leave him. But if he be reſolved to "aſſume the right of adviſing his Majeſty, and directing the operations of the war, to "what purpoſe are we called to this council? When he talks of being reſponſible to "the people, he talks the language of the Houſe of Commons; and forgets, that, at "this board, he is only reſponſible to the King. However, though he may poſſibly "have convinced himſelf of his infallibility, ſtill it remains that we ſhould be equally "convinced, before we can reſign our underſtandings to his direction, or join with him "in the meaſure he propoſes (*c*)." The laſt act of Earl Granville's political life is thus related by Mr. Wood, in the preface to his Eſſay on the original Genius and Writings of Homer. "Being directed to wait upon his Lordſhip, a few days before he died, with the preliminary articles of the Treaty of Paris, I found him ſo languid, that I propoſed poſtponing my buſineſs for another time: but he inſiſted that I ſhould ſtay, ſaying, it could not prolong his life, to neglect his duty; and repeating the following paſſage, out of Sarpedon's ſpeech, he dwelled with particular emphaſis on the third line, which recalled to his mind the diſtinguiſhing part he had taken in public affairs.

(*a*) June the 17th, 1751.

(*b*) Collins's Peerage, *ubi ſupra*.

(*c*) Annual Regiſter for the year 1761. p. 44.

Ω τεπον, ει μεν γαρ τολεμον τερι τονδε φυγοντες,
Αιει δη μελλοιμεν αγηρω τ' αθαναΐω τε
Εσσεσθ', ΟΥΤΕ ΚΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΕΝΙ ΠΡΩΤΟΙΣΙ ΜΑΧΟΙΜΗΝ,
Ουτε κε σε ξελλοιμι μαχην ες κυδιανειραν·
Νυν δ', εμπης γαρ κηρες εφεξασιν Θανατοιο
Μυριαι, ας κ εξι φυγειν βροτον, ουδ' υπαλυξαι.
Ιομεν· Il. xii. 322.

Could all our care elude the gloomy grave,
Which claims no leſs the fearful than the brave,
For luſt of fame, I ſhould not vainly dare
In fighting fields, nor urge thy ſoul to war.
But ſince, alas! ignoble age muſt come,
Diſeaſe, and death's inexorable doom;
The life, which others pay, let us beſtow,
And give to Fame, what we to Nature owe.

POPE'S HOM. Il. xii. 387.

"His Lordſhip repeated the laſt word ſeveral times with a calm and determinate reſignation: and after a ſerious pauſe of ſome minutes, he deſired to hear the Treaty read; to which he liſtened with great attention: and recovered ſpirits enough to declare the approbation

approbation of a dying Stateſman (I uſe his own words) on the moſt glorious War, and moſt honourable Peace, this nation ever ſaw (*d*)." In other reſpects Lord Granville ſo much retained his vivacity to the cloſe of his life, as to be able to break out into ſallies of wit and humour. Having, in his laſt illneſs, ſaluted a fair Lady who viſited him, he ſaid, "Madam, I know that your gin is good; I can tell it by the ſmack of your lips." His Lordſhip's deceaſe was on the ſecond of January, 1763, in the ſeventy-third year of his age. He was twice married; firſt, at Long-Leat, on the 17th of October, 1710, to Frances, only daughter of Sir Robert Worſley, Bart. and ſecondly, on the 14th of April, 1744, to Lady Sophia, daughter of Thomas Earl of Pomfret. By his former wife he had three ſons and five daughters; by the latter only one daughter [*B*]. His firſt lady, who is mentioned by Dr. Swift, as being poſſeſſed of great goodneſs and beauty (*e*), died at Hanover, on the 9th of June, 1743. His ſecond lady was carried off by a fever, on the 7th of October, 1745, a few weeks after the birth of her daughter.

(*d*) Preface to the Eſſay, p. viii. note.

(*e*) Swift's works, vol. xvi. p. 22.

Lord Granville's character hath been drawn as follows, by the late Earl of Cheſterfield. "Lord Granville had great parts, and a moſt uncommon ſhare of learning for a man of quality. He was one of the beſt ſpeakers in the Houſe of Lords, both in the declamatory and the argumentative way. He had a wonderful quickneſs and preciſion in ſeizing the ſtreſs of a queſtion, which no art, no ſophiſtry, could diſguiſe in him. In buſineſs he was bold, enterprizing, and overbearing. He had been bred up in high monarchical, that is, tyrannical principles of government, which his ardent and imperious temper made him think were the only rational and practicable ones. He would have been a great firſt Miniſter in France, little inferior, perhaps, to Richelieu; in this government, which is yet free, he would have been a dangerous one, little leſs ſo, perhaps, than Lord Strafford. He was neither ill-natured nor vindictive, and had a great contempt for money. His ideas were all above it. In ſocial life he was an agreeable, good-humoured, and inſtructive companion; a great but entertaining talker. He degraded himſelf by the vice of drinking, which, together with a great ſtock of Greek and Latin, he brought away with him from Oxford, and retained and practiſed ever afterwards. By his own induſtry, he had made himſelf maſter of all the modern languages, and had acquired a great knowledge of the law. His political knowledge of the intereſt of Princes and of commerce was extenſive, and his notions were juſt and great. His character may be ſummed up, in nice preciſion, quick deciſion, and unbounded preſumption (*f*)." We ſhall add a ſpirited portrait of his Lordſhip, in verſe, which hath been aſcribed to the Honourable Mr. Horace Walpole.

(*f*) Cheſterfield's Characters, quarto edition, p. 36.

"Commanding beauty, ſmooth'd by chearful grace,
Sat on the open features of his face:
Bold was his language, rapid, glowing, ſtrong,
And ſcience flow'd ſpontaneous from his tongue.
A genius, ſeizing ſyſtems, ſlighting rules,
And void of gall, with boundleſs ſcorn of fools.
Ambition dealt her flambeau to his hand,
And Bacchus ſprinkled fuel on the brand.
His wiſh—to counſel Monarchs, or controul;
His means—th' impetuous ardour of his ſoul:
For, while his views outſtript a mortal ſpan,
Nor prudence drew, nor craft purſu'd the plan.

[*B*] *By his former wife he had three ſons and five daughters; by the latter only one daughter.*] Of the three ſons, the two eldeſt died young. Robert, the third ſon, ſucceeded his father in title and eſtate; but departed this life, unmarried, ſome years ſince, by which means the honours of the family became extinct. Beſides his paternal poſſeſſions in England, and thoſe of his grandfather, Sir Robert Worſley, he was entitled to an eighth part of the Provinces of North and South Carolina. His great anceſtor, Sir George Carteret, had been one of the eight original proprietors of theſe Colonies, and the family had not given up their right, when the heirs of the other ſeven proprietors, for certain valuable conſiderations, ſurrendered their reſpective ſhares to the Crown. John Lord Carteret, in 1742, being then Secretary of State, brought, by petition, his claim before the Privy Council, which was allowed of and approved; and Commiſſioners were appointed to allot to the ſaid Lord Carteret one full eighth part of the Provinces of Carolina. This was accordingly done, and the land ſet out for him was an entire ſeparate diſtrict in the Province of North Carolina, next adjoining, and contiguous to the Province of Virginia. So large an inheritance, if duly attended to, might at that time have become a great object; but being neglected both by John and Robert Earl Granville, it hath not, we believe, been ever of much advantage to the family; and in the preſent ſtate of America, it may probably be conſidered as totally loſt.

Of Lord Granville's five daughters, the firſt died in her infancy. The ſecond married the Earl of Dyſert; the third Lord Viſcount Weymouth; the fourth the Honourable John Spencer, and, after his deceaſe, Earl Cowper; and the fifth the Marquis of Tweedale. Lord Granville's daughter, by his ſecond lady, married the Earl of Shelburne (4).

(4) Collins's Peerage, *ubi ſupra*, p. 406—416.

There is a circumſtance relative te Sir George Carteret, omitted in the Peerages, which never record any thing but what is thought to redound to the honour of the perſons they deſcribe: it is, that he was expelled the Houſe of Commons, in 1669, for being deeply concerned, as Vice Chamberlain, in the receiving of money out of the Exchequer, by the authority of the Privy Seal, without ſpecifying any of the particular ſervices for which the ſums were to be employed (5).

(5) Mrs. Macaulay Graham's Hiſtory of England, vol. vi. p. 281.

Swift fell the ſcaffold of his airy pride,
But, ſlightly built, diffus'd no ruin wide.
Unhurt, undaunted, undiſturb'd he fell,
Could laugh the ſame, and the ſame ſtories tell:
And more a ſage than he, who bade await
His revels, till his conqueſts were complete,
Our jovial Stateſman either ſail unfurl'd,
And drank his bottle, tho' he miſs'd the world (*g*) !"

(*g*) Annual Regiſter for 1762, p. 225, ſecond part.

The late Duke of Newcaſtle uſed to ſay of Lord Granville, that he was a man who never doubted (*h*). From his Lordſhip's acknowledged literature, it may naturally be ſuppoſed that he patronized learned men, and learned undertakings. His regard to Dr. Swift, and his attention to the Dean's recommendations, we have already mentioned. He aſſiſted and encouraged Mr. Lye, in his edition of Junius's Etymologicon. Of Dr. Taylor, the celebrated Grecian, he was the particular patron. The Doctor owed his principal preferments to Lord Granville; and he hath teſtified his gratitude, in the dedication of his Demoſthenes, by warmly celebrating his Lordſhip's excellencies, and eſpecially his eloquence, and his eminent ſkill in the ancient and modern languages. Our learned Peer engaged Dr. Bentley to undertake an edition of Homer, and was very active in procuring the Doctor the uſe of manuſcripts, and other neceſſary aids, for that purpoſe (*i*). Dr. Bentley, when he came to town, was accuſtomed, in his viſits to Lord Carteret, ſometimes to ſpend the evenings with his Lordſhip. One day old Lady Granville reproached her ſon with keeping the country Clergyman, who was with him the night before, till he was intoxicated. Lord Carteret denied the charge; upon which the lady replied, that the Clergyman could not have ſung in ſo ridiculous a manner, unleſs he had been in liquor. The truth of the caſe was, that the ſinging thus miſtaken by her Ladyſhip, was Dr. Bentley's endeavour to inſtruct and entertain his noble friend, by reciting Terence according to the true cantilena of the ancients.] K.

(*h*) From the information of Dr. Salter.

(*i*) Gent. Mag. vol. xlix. p. 283, 284.

*** [CARTWRIGHT (THOMAS), a Puritan Divine of great learning and eminence, was born in Hertfordſhire, about the year 1535 (*a*). Having been kept at a Grammar-ſchool till he was fit for the Univerſity, he was ſent to Cambridge, where he was admitted into St. John's College in 1550. He applied himſelf to his ſtudies with uncommon aſſiduity; and being poſſeſſed of excellent natural parts, he made a great proficiency in learning. It is ſaid, that he allowed himſelf no more than five hours ſleep in the night, and that he adhered to this cuſtom to the end of his life (*b*). Upon the death of King Edward VI. when he had been about three years at the Univerſity, he quitted that ſeat of learning, and became Clerk to a Counſellor at Law. But this did not prevent him from continuing to proſecute his former ſtudies, in which he took more delight than in the profeſſion of the Law. He remained in this ſituation till the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when the gentleman under whom he was placed as a Clerk, having met with Dr. Pilkington, maſter of St. John's College in Cambridge, he made him acquainted with his ſtrong attachment to the purſuits of literature. In conſequence of this, the Doctor deſired to have ſome converſation with Mr. Cartwright; when being convinced of his great abilities and attainments, he offered to take him back again to St. John's College, to which his maſter conſented. He accordingly returned to the Univerſity; and in the year 1560, was choſen Fellow of St. John's College. About three years after he was removed to a Fellowſhip in Trinity College, where, on account of his great merit, he was ſhortly after made one of the eight ſenior Fellows (*c*).

(*a*) Clarke's Lives of thirty-two Engliſh Divines, famous in their generations for learning and piety, p. 16. third edit.

(*b*) *Id. ibid.*

(*c*) *Id. ibid.*

In 1564, Queen Elizabeth viſited the Univerſity of Cambridge, and remained there five days, viewing the ſeveral Colleges, and hearing public ſpeeches and diſputations. Mr. Strype ſays, that "the ripeſt and moſt learned men were ſelected for the diſputants (*d*);" Mr. Cartwright was one of theſe; and appears on this occaſion to have greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf (*e*). In 1567, he commenced Batchelor of Divinity; and, three years after, was choſen to be Lady Margaret's Divinity-reader. It is particularly mentioned, that he read upon the firſt and ſecond chapters of the Acts of the Apoſtles, and performed it with ſuch acuteneſs of wit, and ſuch ſolidity of judgment, as excited the admiration of his hearers. He alſo became ſo famous as a preacher, that when it came to his turn to preach at St. Mary's Church, the Sexton was obliged to take down the windows, on account of the multitudes that came to hear him (*f*).

(*d*) Annals of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 403.

(*e*) Clarke, *ut ſupra*.

(*f*) *Id. ibid.*

Mr. Cartwright took occaſion, in his lectures, to deliver his ſentiments concerning Church-diſcipline, which being unfavourable to the eſtabliſhed hierarchy, public accuſations were ſoon exhibited againſt him: though Mr. Strype ſays, that "he had, indeed, "a great party in the Univerſity, and ſome of them men of learning, who ſtuck cloſe "to him, exceedingly admiring him; though ſome of them, better informed, fell off "afterwards (*g*)." Archbiſhop Grindal wrote a letter to Sir William Cecil, Chancellor of the Univerſity, on the 23d of June, 1570, requeſting him to take ſome ſpeedy courſe

(*g*) Strype's Annals of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 2.

againſt Mr. Cartwright; alledging, that in his readings, he daily made invectives againſt the external policy, and diſtinction of States, in the eccleſiaſtical government; in conſequence of which the youth of the Univerſity, who frequented his lectures in great numbers, "were in danger to be poiſoned with a love of contention, and a liking "of novelty (*b*)." He therefore recommended, that the Chancellor ſhould write to the Vice-Chancellor, to enjoin ſilence upon Cartwright and all his adherents, both in ſchools and pulpits; and afterwards, upon examination, and hearing of the matters before him, and ſome of the heads of houſes, to reduce the offenders to conformity, or to expel them out of the Colleges, or the Univerſity, as the cauſe ſhould require; and alſo that the Vice-Chancellor ſhould not ſuffer Mr. Cartwright to take his degree of Doctor of Divinity at the approaching commencement, for which he had applied (*i*). Dr. Whitgift alſo zealouſly oppoſed Cartwright, and wrote another letter to the Chancellor upon the occaſion, communicating to him not only what Cartwright had "openly "taught," but alſo "what he had uttered to him in private conference [*A*]."

(*b*) Strype, *ubi ſupra*, vol. i. p. 584, 585.

(*i*) *Id. ibid.*

Mr. Cartwright vindicated his conduct in a letter to Sir William Cecil, dated the 9th of July; in which he declared his extreme averſion to every thing that was ſeditious and contentious; and affirmed that he had taught nothing, but what naturally flowed from the text concerning which he had treated. He obſerved, that when an occaſion offered itſelf of ſpeaking concerning the habits, he had waved it: though he acknowledged that he had taught, that the Miniſtry of the Church of England had declined from the Miniſtry of the antient and apoſtolical Church, and that he wiſhed it to be reſtored to greater purity. But theſe ſentiments, he ſaid, he had delivered calmly and ſedately, and in ſuch a manner as could give offence to none but the ignorant or the malignant, and thoſe who were eager to catch at ſomething to calumniate him. He aſſerted, that he had the utmoſt reaſon to believe, that he ſhould have obtained the teſtimony of the Univerſity in favour of his innocence, had not the Vice-Chancellor denied him a congregation. He ſolicited the protection of the Chancellor, ſo far as his cauſe was juſt; and tranſmitted to him a teſtimonial of his innocence, ſigned by ſeveral learned members of the Univerſity, and in which his abilities, learning, and integrity, were ſpoken of in very high terms (*k*).

(*k*) Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 2, 3. and Appendix, p. 1, 2, 3.

Sir William Cecil ſeems to have been inclined to treat Mr. Cartwright with candour and moderation: but his opponents continued to proſecute him with great animoſity. He was cited to appear before Dr. Mey, the Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity, and ſome of the heads of houſes, and examined upon ſundry articles of doctrine, ſaid to be delivered by him in his public lectures; and which were affirmed to be contrary to the religion received, and allowed, by public authority, in the realm of England: and it was demanded of him, whether he would ſtand to thoſe opinions and doctrines, or whether he would renounce them (*l*). Mr. Cartwright deſired, that he might be permitted to commit to writing what his judgment was upon the points in controverſy: which being aſſented to, he drew up ſix propoſitions to the following purport, and which he ſubſcribed with his own hand:

(*l*) Clarke, *ubi ſupra*, p. 17.

'I. The names and functions of Archbiſhops and Archdeacons ought to be abo-'liſhed.

'II. The offices of the lawful Miniſters of the Church, viz. Biſhops and Deacons, 'ought to be reduced to the apoſtolical inſtitution: Biſhops to preach the word of God 'and pray, and Deacons to be employed in taking care of the poor.

'III. The government of the Church ought not to be entruſted to Biſhops Chancel-'lors, or the officials of Archdeacons; but every Church ſhould be governed by its 'own Miniſter and Preſbyters.

'IV. Miniſters ought not to be at large, but every one ſhould have the charge of a 'certain flock.

'V. No man ſhould ſolicit, or ſtand as a candidate for the Miniſtry.

'VI. Biſhops ſhould not be created by civil authority, but ought to be openly and 'fairly choſen by the church (*m*).'

(*m*) Strype, *ubi ſupra*, vol. i. p. 588. Clarke, *ut ſupra*; and Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 176. 4to edit.

[*A*] *What he had uttered to him in private conference.*] Mr. Strype ſays, that Whitgift and Cartwright 'had often debates together, living in the 'ſame College: ſo the Doctor preſented in writing 'to the ſaid Chancellor, what Cartwright had uttered 'to him in private conference, and what he had alſo 'openly taught, viz. Firſt, that there ought not to 'be in the Church of Chriſt either Archbiſhops, 'Archdeacons, Deans, Chancellors, or any other, 'whereof mention is not expreſsly made in the 'Scripture. Secondly, that the office of the Biſhop 'and Deacon, as they were then in the Church of 'England, was not allowable. Thirdly, that there 'ought to be an equality of all Miniſters: and every 'one to be chief in his own cure. Fourthly, that 'miniſters ought to be choſen by the people, as they 'were in the Apoſtles time. Fifthly, that none 'ought to be a miniſter unleſs he have a cure. 'Sixthly, that a man muſt not preach out of his own 'cure. Seventhly, that the order of calling and 'making of miniſters now uſed in the Church of 'England, is extraordinary, and to be altered. And 'divers others depended on theſe, as he, the Chan-'cellor, might eaſily conjecture; which would breed 'a mere confuſion, if they ſhould take place (1).'

(1) Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 588.

Some other propoſitions, which were ſaid to be dangerous and ſeditious [*B*], were alſo collected out of Mr. Cartwright's lectures, and ſent to court by Dr. Whitgift, to incenſe the Queen and Chancellor againſt him (*n*): and he was forbidden, by the Vice-Chancellor, and heads of the Univerſity, to read any more lectures, till they ſhould receive ſome ſatisfaction, that he would not continue to propagate the ſame opinions (*o*). He was alſo prevented from taking his Doctor's degree, by the authority of the Vice-Chancellor: which appears to have given great umbrage to many in the Univerſity, and to have occaſioned a conſiderable diſturbance (*p*).

(*n*) Neal, *ut ſupra*.

(*o*) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, p. 19.

(*p*) Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 585.

In 1571, Dr. Whitgift became Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity; and by his influence more rigorous ſtatutes were procured [*C*] for its government (*q*): and Mr. Cartwright was deprived of his place of Margaret-profeſſor (*r*). But he ſtill continued ſenior Fellow of Trinity College; though the following year he was alſo deprived of his Fellowſhip, it being alledged, that he had forfeited it, by not entering into Prieſt's orders in due time, in conformity to the ſtatutes (*s*) [*D*]. Being thus driven from the Univerſity,

(*q*) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, p. 18, 19.

(*r*) Strype's Annals, *ubi ſupra*, p. 589.

(*s*) Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, p. 47.

[*B*] *Some other propoſition*, &c.] Theſe were the following:

'1. In reforming the Church, it is neceſſary to 'reduce all things to the apoſtolical inſtitution.

'2. No man ought to be admitted into the miniſtry, who is incapable of preaching.

'3. None but ſuch a miniſter of the word ought 'to pray publicly in the Church, or adminiſter the 'Sacraments.

'4. Popiſh ordinations are not valid.

'5. Only canonical Scripture ought to be read 'publicly in the Church.

'6. The public liturgy ſhould be ſo framed, that 'there be no private praying or reading in the 'Church, but that all the people attend to the 'prayers of the miniſter.

'7. The care of burying the dead does not belong 'more to the miniſterial office, than to the reſt of 'the Church.

'8. Equal reverence is due to all canonical Scripture, and to all the names of God: there is, therefore, no reaſon why the people ſhould ſtand at the 'reading of the goſpel, or bow at the name of Jeſus.

'9. It is as lawful to ſit at the Lord's Table, as 'to kneel or ſtand.

'10. The Lord's Supper ought not to be adminiſtered in private; nor ſhould baptiſm be adminiſtered by women or lay perſons.

'11. The ſign of the croſs in baptiſm is ſuperſtitious.

'12. It is reaſonable and proper, that the parent 'ſhould offer his own child to baptiſm, making a 'confeſſion of that faith he intends to educate it in, 'without being obliged to anſwer in the child's 'name, *I will, I will not, I believe*, &c. nor ought it 'to be allowed, that women or perſons under age 'ſhould be ſponſors.

'13. In giving names to children, it is convenient 'to avoid Paganiſm, as well as the names and offices 'of Chriſt, Angels, &c.

'14. It is Papiſtical to forbid marriages at certain 'times of the year; and to give licences in thoſe 'times is intolerable.

'15. Private marriages, that is, ſuch as are not 'publiſhed before the congregation, are highly inconvenient.

'16. The obſervation of Lent, and faſting on 'Fridays and Saturdays, is ſuperſtitious.

'17. The obſervation of feſtivals is unlawful.

'18. Trading, or keeping markets on the Lord's 'Day, is unlawful.

'19. In ordaining of miniſters, the pronouncing 'thoſe words, *Receive thou the Holy Ghoſt*, is both 'ridiculous and wicked.

'20. Kings and Biſhops ſhould not be anointed (2).'

(2) Neal's Hiſtory of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 176, 177.

[*C*] *More rigorous ſtatutes were procured.*] Strype ſays, 'the heads had now more power given them to 'correct and remedy diſorders in the members. 'Whereby they were enabled the better to proceed 'with this unreclaimable reader (Cartwright): as 'they had already made uſe of theſe ſtatutes with 'good ſucceſs againſt ſome followers of Cartwright: 'however, the younger ſort, for the reſtraining of 'their liberty, murmured, and grudged much at 'them. But the heads let the Chancellor know, 'that without them they could hardly have been 'able to keep the Univerſity in good order; the 'ſtomachs of ſome were ſo great, and the common 'ſort ſo inclined to novelties and contentious dealings (3).'

(3) Annals of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 588, 589.

[*D*] *He was alſo deprived of his Fellowſhip*, &c.] Mr. Neal ſays, 'Thus Dr. Whitgift routed his adverſary: he had already deprived him of his Profeſſor's chair, and of his degree of Doctor of Divinity, and being now Vice Chancellor of Cambridge, 'he got him expelled the Univerſity upon the following pretence: Mr. Cartwright being Senior-fellow of his College, was only in *Deacon*'s orders; 'the Doctor being informed of this, and that the 'ſtatute, requiring ſuch to take upon them the office 'of *Prieſthood*, might be interpreted to *Prieſt's* orders, 'concluded he was perjured: upon which he ſummoned the Heads of Colleges together, and declared, that Mr. Cartwright had broken his oath; 'and, without any farther admonition, puſhed his 'intereſt among the maſters, to rid the College of a 'man, whoſe popularity was too great for his ambition, inſomuch that he declared he could not eſtabliſh order in the Univerſity, while a perſon of his 'principles was amongſt them (4).'

(4) Hiſt. of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 198.

Mr. Cartwright himſelf aſſerted, that the reaſon aſſigned for depriving him of his Fellowſhip, was "a mere cavil." "For," ſaid he, "the meaning "of the ſtatute of the houſe is, to provide that men "ſhould not turn their ſtudies to other profeſſions of "law, &c. but that there ſhould be to furniſh the "College of a number of preachers, of which I was "one, as ſoon as I entered. Neither was there any "duty of miniſtry, which the College could require "of me, that I was not enabled to do according to "the laws of the Church of England, by virtue of "that miniſtry which I had received. So that the "law itſelf (as that whoſe meaning was fulfilled "even with my entry) did not require it (5)."

(5) Epiſtle to the Church of England, prefixed to Cartwright's ſecond Reply againſt Whitgift.

Mr. Strype takes notice, that 'Whitgift, after 'Cartwright was put out of the College, accuſed 'him for going up and down idly, doing no good, 'but living at other men's tables (6).' Upon which Mr. Neal ſays, "How ungenerous was this! After "the Doctor had taken away his bread, and ſtopt "his mouth, that he might not preach, to reproach "him with doing no good, and being beholden to "his friends for a dinner (7)."

(6) Life of Whitgift, p. 64.

(7) Hiſt. of the Puritans, *ubi ſupra*, p. 200.

Mr. Cartwright himſelf ſays, "After he had "thruſt me out of the College, he accuſeth me for "going up and down, doing no good, and living "at other men's tables. That I was not idle, I "ſuppoſe he knoweth too well. Whether well occupied, or no, let it be judged. I lived indeed at "other men's tables, having no houſe nor wife of "mine own: but not without their deſire, and with "ſmall delight of mine, for fear of evil tongues. "And although I were not able to requite it, yet "towards ſome I went about it, inſtructing their "children partly in the principles of religion, partly "in other learning (8)."

(8) Cartwright's Epiſtle to the Church of England, prefixed to his ſecond Reply.

Though Mr. Cartwright was not married at this time, it appears that he ſoon after married the ſiſter of John Stubb, whoſe right hand was cut off for writing a book againſt the propoſed marriage of Queen Elizabeth with the Duke of Anjou, brother to

Univerſity, and out of all employment, he travelled beyond ſea, where he became acquainted with the moſt celebrated Divines in the ſeveral Proteſtant Univerſities of Europe, with many of whom he eſtabliſhed a correſpondence (*t*). They appear to have entertained a very high eſteem for him; and the celebrated Beza, in a letter to one of his Engliſh correſpondents, expreſſed himſelf thus concerning him: "Here is now "with us your countryman, Thomas Cartwright, than whom, I think, the ſun doth "not ſee a more learned man (*u*)." While he was abroad, he was choſen Miniſter to the Engliſh Merchants at Antwerp, and afterwards at Middleburgh, where he continued two years, with little or no profit to himſelf [*E*]; though his labours as a preacher are ſaid to have been extremely acceptable and ſucceſsful (*w*). But the importunity of his friends in England, at length prevailed on him to return again to his native country (*x*).

(*t*) Neal, *ubi ſupra*, p. 177. Clarke, *ut ſupra*.

(*u*) Clarke, *ut ſupra*.

(*w*) Clarke, *ut ſupra*.

(*x*) Clarke and Neal, *ut ſupra*.

A very ſevere perſecution had now taken place for ſeveral years againſt the Puritans; on whoſe behalf a piece was publiſhed, intitled, "An Admonition to the Parliament [*F*];" to which were annexed, a letter from Beza to the Earl of Leiceſter, and another from Gualter to Biſhop Parkhurſt, recommending a reformation of Church diſcipline. This work contained what was called "the platform of a Church;" the manner of electing Miniſters; their ſeveral duties; and arguments to prove their equality in government (*y*). It alſo attacked the corruptions of the hierarchy, and the proceedings of the Biſhops, with much ſeverity of language. The admonition was concluded with a petition to the two houſes, that a diſcipline more conſonant to the word of God, and agreeing with the foreign reformed Churches, might be eſtabliſhed by law. For the Puritans, though labouring under the weight of perſecution, were not zealous to promote liberty of conſcience, but only anxious for the eſtabliſhment of that mode of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, which they thought to be the beſt, and the moſt apoſtolical. Neither the Epiſcopalians, nor the Puritans, of that age, had any juſt ſentiments of toleration [*G*]. Mr. Field and Mr. Wilcox, authors of the Admonition, and who attempted to preſent it to the Parliament, were committed to Newgate [*H*] on the 2d of October, 1572. Notwithſtanding which, Mr. Cartwright, after his return to England, wrote "A ſecond Admonition to the Parliament," with an humble petition to the two

(*y*) Neal, *ubi ſupra*, p. 191.

to the French King (9). In a letter, written by Mr. Stubb in 1577, is the following paſſage: 'We have 'no news here, but that Mr. Cartwright hath married my ſiſter. And if with you alſo it be publicly 'known, and any miſtike mine act in providing ſo 'for my ſiſter, tell him on my behalf, that I contented 'myſelf to take a huſband for her, whoſe livelihood 'was learning; who would endue his wife with 'wiſdom; and who might leave to his children the 'rich portion of godlineſs by Chriſtian careful education. And if this apology will not defend me, 'let him not marvel, if I, eſteeming theſe things as 'precious ſtones, while he rather chuſeth the worldly, 'commended things, riches, favour, &c. which I 'eſteem leſs worth than a barley-corn (10).'

(9) Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 512.

(10) *Id. ibid.*

[*E*] *With little or no profit*, &c.] Mr. Clarke ſays, that 'when he underſtood that the merchants, by 'whom he was maintained, through their great 'loſſes, decayed in their eſtates, he returned his 'ſalary to them again (11).'

(11) Lives, *ubi ſupra*, p. 18.

[*F*] *An admonition to the Parliament.*] Mr. Pierce obſerves, that 'the ſtyle of the admonition was 'ſomewhat ſharp and ſevere: but then it muſt be 'conſidered what provocation had been given before. 'The Biſhops had, for five or ſix years, been perſecuting poor miniſters for diſcharging their conſciences; and let the expreſſions uſed be ever ſo hard, 'yet they are nothing, if compared with what the 'miniſters had endured: and beſides, the corruptions 'they ſpake againſt were ſo very great, that ſome 'ſeverity in expoſing them was no more than they 'deſerved; and the Biſhops themſelves had ſet them 'an example, having before uſed them with the 'coarſeſt language (12).'

(12) Vindication of the Diſſenters, ſecond edit. p. 83, 84.

[*G*] *Neither the Epiſcopalians, nor the Puritans, had any juſt ſentiments of toleration.*] Mr. Neal obſerves, that, 'both parties agreed too well, in aſſerting the 'neceſſity of uniformity in public worſhip, and of 'uſing the ſword of the magiſtrate, for the ſupport 'and defence of their reſpective principles, which 'they made an ill uſe of in their turns, whenever 'they could graſp the power into their hands. The 'ſtandard of uniformity, according to the Biſhops, 'was the Queen's ſupremacy, and the laws of the 'land; according to the Puritans, the decrees of 'provincial and national ſynods, allowed and enforced by the civil magiſtrate: but neither party were 'for admitting that liberty of conſcience, and freedom of profeſſion, which is every man's right, as 'far as is conſiſtent with the peace of the civil 'government he lives under (13).'

(13) Hiſt. of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 97.

[*H*] *Mr. Field, and Mr. Wilcox, authors of the Admonition, and who attempted to preſent it to the Parliament, were committed to Newgate.*] They drew up a Latin apology to the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, in which they confeſſed their writing the admonition, but alledged, that they had not attempted to correct or change any thing in the hierarchy of themſelves, but had referred all to the Parliament, hoping that by this means all differences might be compoſed in a legal way. It appears, that they were proſecuted upon the act of uniformity: for in a petition addreſſed by them to the Earl of Leiceſter, they repreſented, "that they had been condemned, according to the "act of uniformity, to a year's impriſonment, which "they had now ſuffered patiently in the common "gaol of Newgate, beſides four months cloſe impriſonment before their conviction, which they apprehended to be contrary to law: that by this means, "they and their poor wives and children were utterly impoveriſhed; their health very much impaired, by the unwholeſome ſavour of the place, "and the cold weather; and that they were like to "ſuffer yet greater extremities. They, therefore, "humbly beſought his Lordſhip, for the tender "mercies of God, and in conſideration of their "poor wives and children, to be a means to the "moſt honourable Privy Council, that they might be "enlarged; or if that could not be obtained, that they "might be confined in a leſs unhealthy priſon (14)." But this application was not complied with: the Biſhops thought theſe men had not ſuffered enough; and that the continuance of ſuch wholeſome ſeverities was neceſſary for the ſecurity of the Church.

(14) Neal, *ut ſupra*, p. 192.

When Cartwright and his friends afterwards pleaded for ſome indulgence becauſe they were brethren, Whitgift replied, 'What ſignifies their being 'brethren? Anabaptiſts, Arians, and other heretics, 'would be accounted brethren; their haughty ſpirits 'will not ſuffer them to ſee their error; they deſerve 'as great puniſhment as Papiſts, becauſe both conſpire againſt the Church. If they are ſhut up in 'Newgate, it is a meet reward of their diſorderly 'doings; for ignorance may not excuſe libels againſt 'a private man, much leſs when they ſlander the 'whole church (15).'

(15) Neal, *ut ſupra*, p. 197.

Houſes, for relief againſt the ſubſcription required by the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners (z). The ſame year Dr. Whitgift publiſhed an anſwer to the Admonition (a): to which Mr. Cartwright publiſhed a reply [I] in 1573; and about this time a proclamation was iſſued for apprehending him (b). In 1574, Dr. Whitgift publiſhed, in folio, a "Defence "of the Anſwer to the Admonition, againſt the Reply of T. C." In 1575, Mr. Cartwright publiſhed a "Second Reply" againſt Dr. Whitgift [K]; and in 1577, appeared

(z) Neal, *ut ſupra*.

(a) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, p. 28.

(b) Neal, p. 207.

[I] *Mr. Cartwright publiſhed a reply*, &c.] Mr. Neal, ſpeaking of the controverſy between Cartwright and Whitgift, ſays, 'It was impoſſible for 'theſe Divines to ſettle the controverſy, becauſe they 'were not agreed upon one and the ſame ſtandard, 'or rule of judgment. Mr. Cartwright maintained, 'that "the Holy Scriptures were not only a ſtandard "of doctrine, but of diſcipline and government; "and that the Church of Chriſt, in all ages, was to "be regulated by them." He was, therefore, for 'conſulting his Bible only, and for reducing all 'things as nearly as poſſible to the apoſtolical ſtandard. 'Dr. Whitgift went upon a different principle, and 'maintained,' "That though the Holy Scriptures "were a perfect rule of faith, they were not deſigned "as a ſtandard of Church diſcipline or government; "but that this was changeable, and might be ac-"commodated to the civil government we live "under; that the apoſtolical government was adapt-"ed to the Church in its infancy, and under perſe-"cution, but was to be enlarged and altered, as "the Church grew to maturity, and had the civil "magiſtrate on its ſide (16)."

(16) Hiſt. of the Puritans, *ubi ſupra*, p. 196, 197.

Mr. Strype remarks, that Whitgift maintained, 'that the external government of the Church had 'both a ſubſtance and a matter, about which it was 'occupied, and alſo a form to attain the ſame; con-'ſiſting in certain offices and functions, and in the 'number and titles of them. That the *ſubſtance* and '*matter* of government muſt indeed be taken out of 'the word of God; and that it conſiſted in theſe 'points, that the word be truly taught, the ſacra-'ments rightly adminiſtered, virtue furthered, vice 'repreſſed, and the church kept in quietneſs and 'order. But that the offices in the Church, whereby 'this government was wrought, were not namely 'and particularly expreſſed in the Scripture; but in 'ſome points left to the liberty and diſcretion of 'the Church, to be diſpoſed according to the ſtate 'of times, places, and perſons (17).' In this controverſy both parties complained of the mode of writing made uſe of by the other. Thus Whitgift ſays to Cartwright, 'If you ſhould have written 'againſt the verieſt Papiſt in the world, the vileſt 'perſon, the ignoranteſt dolt, you could not have 'uſed a more ſpiteful and malicious, more ſlanderous 'and reproachful, more contemptuous and diſdain-'ful kind of writing, than you uſe throughout your 'whole book (18).' On the other hand, Cartwright ſays to Whitgift; 'If peace had been ſo precious 'unto you (as you pretend) you would not have 'brought ſo many hard words, bitter reproaches, 'enemy-like ſpeeches, (as it were ſticks and coals) 'to double and treble the heat of contention (19).'

(17) Life of Whitgift, p. 51.

(18) Defence of the Anſwer to the Admonition, p. 1.

(19) Cartwright's Reply, p. 8.

Mr. Strype, ſpeaking of Cartwright's reply, ſays, 'Great was the opinion, both of the man and of his 'book, at this time in London, as well as at Cam-'bridge: many of the Aldermen of London openly 'countenanced him. He was ſecretly harboured in 'the city, and had a great many admirers and 'viſitors there, and wanted not for preſents and 'gratuities. And though the Queen had iſſued out 'her proclamation to bring to the Biſhop of London 'the admonition, the ground of all the preſent 'ſedition and diſturbance, and the book writ in 'favour of it, yet it took no effect; not one book 'being brought in; as that Biſhop wrote to the 'Lord-Treaſurer (20).'

(20) *Ibid.* p. 53.

In a letter from that prelate, Dr. Sandys, to the Lord-treaſurer Burleigh, and the Earl of Leiceſter, are the following paſſages: 'One Crick, Chaplain 'to the Biſhop of Norwich, much commended unto 'me for learning and ſobriety, of late called to the 'croſs [St. Paul's Croſs,] there moſt ſpitefully in-'veighed againſt the eccleſiſtical policy, now by law 'eſtabliſhed; confirming Mr. Cartwright's book, as 'the true platform of the ſincere and apoſtolical 'Church. So ſoon as I heard of this Tragedy, I 'ſent a meſſenger to apprehend him. My Lord of 'Canterbury joined me therein. And although he 'was conveyed away, yet we have taken ſuch order, 'as we doubt not but that he will be ſhortly met 'withal.

'On Sunday laſt, Mr. Wake, of Chriſt's Church in 'Oxford, who this laſt year made a good ſermon at 'the croſs, and now called to do the like; he made 'no anſwer of the receipt of my letters, as he was 'required, until he came himſelf on the Saturday; 'and Sunday in the morning being conferred 'withal, both by Dr. Walker, and my Chancellor 'Dr. Hammond, to have conſideration of theſe 'troubled times; and forſomuch as her Majeſty was 'in progreſs, far from her city of London, that he 'would ſpeak nothing that ſhould turn to ſedition: 'whereunto he anſwered, Well, well. Notwith-'ſtanding being ſet on, and provoked thereunto, as 'was Crook before him, by ſuch as are authors and 'maintainers of theſe new and ſeditious fancies; his 'whole ſermon was conſumed in railing againſt this 'preſent ſtate; and affirming to be good whatever 'Mr. Cartwright in writing hath ſet down. On 'Monday I repaired to the city; and ſo ſoon as I 'heard thereof, I ſent a meſſenger to ſeek him: but 'he was gone out of town on his way towards Ox-'ford. This man I cannot deal withal by reaſon of 'the privileges of that Univerſity. Therefore muſt 'defer it to your Lordſhips wiſdoms to conſider of.

'Such men muſt be reformed, if the ſtate ſhall 'ſtand ſafe. Truly, my Lords, I have dealt ſo care-'fully as I can, to keep ſuch fanatical ſpirits from 'the croſs: but the deceitful devil, enemy to reli-'gion, hath ſo poured out the poiſon of ſedition, 'and ſo ſuddenly changed theſe wavering minds, 'that it is hard to tell whom a man may truſt. But 'by God's help, I will foreſee that hereafter the like 'fall not out: praying, that I may have authority 'from her Majeſty, (as ſome of my predeceſſors have 'had) in her name to require ſuch as are fitteſt for 'that place (moſt part refuſe) to come thither. Hard 'it is to get any.

'There is a conventicle, or rather a conſpiracy, 'breeding in London. Certain men of ſundry call-'ings are, as it were, in commiſſion together, to 'procure hands for Mr. Cartwright's book, and 'promiſe to ſtand in defence thereof unto death. 'They came to Mr. Squire, Maſter of Baliol Col-'lege in Oxford, and required his hand: who refuſ-'ed to give conſent thereto. If your Lordſhips 'would call him, he would fully inform you hereof. 'If theſe ſeditious and tumultuous beginnings be 'not met withal in time, they will in ſhort ſpace 'grow to great inconvenience. The city will never 'be quiet, until theſe authors of ſedition, who are 'now eſteemed as gods, as Field, Wilcox, Cart-'wright, and others, be far removed from the city. 'The people reſort unto them, as in popery they 'were wont to run on pilgrimage. If theſe idols, 'who are honoured for ſaints, and greatly enriched 'with gifts, were removed from hence, their honour 'would fall into the duſt. And they would be taken 'for blocks as they are (21).'

(21) Appendix to the Life of Whitgift, p. 19, 20.

[K] *A ſecond Reply againſt Dr. Whitgift.*] Mr. Strype remarks, that "it was printed in quarto, in "ſuch a kind of black letter, as might make one "judge it done in Holland, unleſs it were by ſome "ſecret preſs in England. For ſuch the diſciplina-"rians now had, for the better uttering and ſpread-"ing their principles (22)." If the Puritans choſe to defend their opinions, it was neceſſary that they ſhould print privately, for the moſt arbitrary reſtraints were now laid upon the preſs. Whitgift himſelf, Cartwright's opponent, was a great enemy to the liberty of the preſs (23).

(22) Life of Whitgift, p. 63.

(23) Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 151, 223.

" The reſt of the ſecond Reply of Thomas Cartwright, againſt Maſter Doctor Whit-
" gift's Anſwer, touching the Church-diſcipline." This ſeems to have been printed in Scotland; and, it is certain, that, before its publication, Mr. Cartwright had found it neceſſary to leave the kingdom (*c*); whilſt his opponent was raiſed to the biſhopric of Worceſter.

(*c*) Neal, *ubi ſupra*, p. 200.

Mr. Cartwright continued abroad about five years; during which time he officiated as a Miniſter to ſome of the Engliſh factories (*d*). About the year 1580, James VI. King of Scotland, having an high opinion of his learning and abilities, ſent to him, and offered him a Profeſſorſhip in the Univerſity of St. Andrew's (*e*) [*L*]; but this he thought proper to decline. Upon his return to England, officers were ſent to apprehend him, as a promoter of ſedition, and he was thrown into priſon (*f*). He probably obtained his liberty through the intereſt of the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, and the Earl of Leiceſter, by both of whom he was favoured: and the latter conferred on him the poſt of Maſter of the Hoſpital which he had founded in Warwick [*M*]. In 1583, he was earneſtly perſuaded, by ſeveral learned Proteſtant Divines, to write againſt the Rhemiſh tranſlation of the New Teſtament. He was likewiſe encouraged in this deſign by the Earl of Leiceſter and Sir Francis Walſingham: and the latter ſent him an hundred pounds towards the expences of the work (*g*). He accordingly engaged in it: but after ſome time, received an arbitrary and unjuſt mandate from Archbiſhop Whitgift, prohibiting him from proſecuting the work any farther (*h*). Though he was much diſcouraged by this, he nearly completed the performance: but it was not publiſhed till many years after his death [*N*]. It is ſaid, that Queen Elizabeth ſent to Beza, requeſting him to undertake a work of this kind; but he declined it, declaring, that Cartwright was much more capable of the taſk than himſelf (*i*).

(*d*) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, p. 225.

(*e*) Clarke, *ubi ſupra*, p. 19.

(*f*) Strype's Life of Whitgift, *ut ſupra*.

(*g*) Clarke, *ut ſupra*, p. 19, 20. Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 200. Life of Whitgift, p. 253.

(*h*) Strype's Life of Whitgift, *ut ſupra*.

(*i*) Clarke, *ut ſupra*.

Notwithſtanding the high eſtimation in which he was held, and his many admirers, in the year 1585, he was again committed to priſon by Dr. Aylmer, Biſhop of London: and that Prelate gave ſome offence to the Queen, by making uſe of her Majeſty's name on the occaſion [*O*]. When he obtained his liberty is not mentioned: but we find that in 1590, when he was at Warwick, he received a citation to appear in the Star-chamber, together with Edmund Snape, and ſome other Puritan Miniſters, being charged with ſetting up a new diſcipline, and a new form of worſhip, and ſubſcribing their names

[*L*] *Offered him a Profeſſorſhip in the Univerſity of St. Andrew's.*] Mr. Cartwright takes notice of this offer, in his dedication of his Commentary upon Eccleſiaſtes to King James, which was publiſhed after that Prince was raiſed to the throne of England.

[*M*] *Conferred on him the poſt of Maſter of the Hoſpital which he had founded at Warwick.*] Mr. Clarke ſays, that this 'place was worth to him about one 'hundred pounds per annum. His employment 'was, to pray with the poor men twice a day, to 'catechiſe twice a week, and to preach once on the 'Lord's Day at the pariſh Church. This place he 'willingly and thankfully accepted of, becauſe he 'was therein exempted from the juriſdiction of the 'prelates. His carriage and deportment were ſuch, 'that there was not a nobleman or gentleman of 'quality in all the country, that looked heavenward, or was of any account for religion and learning, but they ſought to enjoy his company, and 'found much pleaſure and content therein; for his 'converſation was ſuch, that ſcarcely a word came 'from his mouth that was not of ſome good uſe and 'concernment. He was of a very laborious and 'indefatigable ſpirit; it was his meat and drink to 'be doing the will of his heavenly Father; ſo that 'beſides all his pains in writing, and in the hoſpital, 'he preached every ſabbath-day in the morning, 'about ſeven o'clock, in the lower pariſh of Warwick; and, when he could be ſuffered, in the upper Church in the afternoon. Beſides which, he 'preached a lecture on Saturdays in the afternoon, 'in the upper Church, in which he went over a 'great part of the Proverbs, and Eccleſiaſtes, with 'ſingular judgment and profit: and this he did of 'his own free will, without demanding or receiving 'one penny for his pains. And whereas he was 'ſometimes ſuſpended by the Biſhops from preaching 'in the Churches, his manner was at thoſe times to 'preach in the hoſpital, whither many reſorted to 'hear him, though they were ſure to be brought 'into the Biſhop's court for the ſame (24).'

(24) Lives, *ubi ſupra*, p. 19.

The ſame writer informs us, that the Earl of Leiceſter alſo offered Mr. Cartwright the Provoſtſhip of Eton College, ſaying, that it was an hundred pounds a year more than enough, beſides the conveniency of the place: to which Mr. Cartwright replied, " That the hundred pounds more than enough
" was enough for him (25)." But this offer appears to have been made before his acceptance of the Maſterſhip of the Hoſpital.

(25) *Id. ibid.*

[*N*] *It was not publiſhed till after his death.*] It was publiſhed in 1618, in folio, under the title of " A Confutation of the Rhemiſts Tranſlation, Gloſſes and Annotations on the New Teſtament. By " that reverend, learned, and judicious Divine " Thomas Cartwright, ſome time Divinity Reader of " Cambridge." Mr. Strype obſerves, that " it " came forth privately without licence," and that it " ſeems to have been printed abroad (26)."

(26) Annals, vol. iii. p. 200.

[*O*] *That Prelate gave ſome offence to the Queen, by making uſe of her Majeſty's name on the occaſion.*] Mr. Strype, ſpeaking of Cartwright, ſays, 'this man 'Biſhop Aylmer had lately taken, and committed to 'priſon. Which, according to his conſtant practice, 'he acquainted the Lords with by the Clerk of the 'Council. And thinking to decline thereby diſ'pleaſure from himſelf or the commiſſion, he took 'him up by warrant from the Queen, who in truth 'was incenſed againſt him. And he ſent the Lords 'word that he did it by her order. But the Queen 'took this in evil part, and was very angry that he 'uſed her name to the Lords. This the good Biſhop 'took to heart, and thus made his complaint to the 'Lord-Treaſurer his conſtant friend, expoſtulating 'with him for what he had done, and begging his 'endeavours to appeaſe the Queen's indignation.'

" I underſtand myſelf to be in ſome diſpleaſure
" with her Majeſty about Mr. Cartwright, becauſe
" I ſent word to your Lordſhips by the Clerk of the
" council, that I committed him by her Majeſty's
" commandment. Alas! my Lord, in what a di-
" lemma ſtood I, that if I had not ſhewed that war-
" rant, I ſhould have had all your diſpleaſures,
" which I was not able to bear: and uſing it for my
" ſhield, (being not forbidden by her Majeſty) I am
" blamed for not taking upon me a matter wherein
" ſhe herſelf would not be ſeen. Well, I leave it to
" God, and to your wiſdom, to conſider in what a
" dangerous place of ſervice I am (27)."

(27) Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 117.

to ſtand to it. This was interpreted an oppoſition and diſobedience to the eſtabliſhed laws. Mr. Cartwright was alſo called upon to take the oath *ex officio*; but this he refuſed (*k*), and was committed to the Fleet (*l*). In May, 1591, he was ſent for by Biſhop Aylmer, to appear before him, and ſome others of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, at that Prelate's houſe. He had no previous notice given him, to prevent any concourſe of his adherents upon the occaſion (*m*). The Biſhop threw out ſome reproaches againſt him, and again required him to take the oath *ex officio*. The Attorney-general did the ſame; and repreſented to him, "how dangerous a thing it was, that men ſhould, "upon the conceits of their own heads, and yet under colour of conſcience, refuſe the "things that had been received for laws of a long time (*n*)." Mr. Cartwright aſſigned ſundry reaſons for refuſing to take the oath; and afterwards deſired to be permitted to vindicate himſelf from ſome reflections that had been thrown out againſt him by the Biſhop [*P*], and the Attorney-general. But to this Biſhop Aylmer would not conſent, alledging, "that he had no leiſure to hear his anſwer (*o*)." The good Prelate had found time to accuſe Cartwright, but had no time to ſpare for hearing his vindication; though he informed him, that he might defend himſelf from the public charges that he had brought againſt him, by a private letter to his Lordſhip.

(*k*) Harleian MSS. N° 7042. p. 106.

(*l*) Strype's Life of Biſhop Aylmer, p. 160.

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 309.

(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 310.

(*o*) *Ibid.* p. 319.

With this kind of juſtice Mr. Cartwright was obliged to be contented, and was immediately after again committed to the Fleet, and kept in a very cloſe and rigorous confinement. In Auguſt, 1591, he wrote a letter to Lady Ruſſel, ſtating ſome of the grievances under whhich he laboured [*Q*], and ſoliciting her intereſt with Lord Burleigh to procure him better treatment (*p*). The ſame year, King James wrote a letter to Queen Elizabeth, requeſting her Majeſty to ſhew favour to Mr. Cartwright and his brethren, on account of their great learning, and faithful labours in the goſpel (*q*). But he did not obtain his liberty till about the middle of the year 1592, when he was reſtored to his hoſpital at Warwick, and was again permitted to preach [*R*]. But his health appears to have been much impaired by his long confinement, and cloſe application to ſtudy [*S*]. He died on the 27th of December, 1603, in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, having preached a ſermon on mortality but two days before (*r*). He was buried in the hoſpital at Warwick (*s*). He was pious, learned, and laborious; an acute diſputant, and an admired preacher; of a diſintereſted diſpoſition, generous and charitable [*T*], and particularly liberal to poor ſcholars (*t*). The treatment which he received on account of his opinions was extremely unjuſt and cruel, and reflects great diſhonour on thoſe prelates who were active in the perſecution of him. Beſides the pieces already mentioned, Mr. Cartwright was author of the following works: I. "Com-"mentaria practica in totam Hiſtoriam Evangelicam, ex quatuor Evangeliſtis harmo-"nicè concinnatam," 4to. 1630. An elegant edition of this was printed at Amſterdam, in 4to. by Lewis Elzevir, in 1647, under the following title: "Harmonia Evan-"gelica, Commentario, analytico, metaphraſtico, practico, illuſtrata," &c. II. "Com-"mentarii ſuccincti & dilucidi in Proverbia Salomonis," 4to. Amſt. 1638. III. "Me-"taphraſis & Homiliæ in librum Salomonis qui inſcribitur Eccleſiaſtes," 4to. Amſt.

(*p*) Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 49, 50, 51.

(*q*) Neal, *ubi ſupra*, p. 351.

(*r*) *Id. ibid.*

(*s*) Neal, *ubi ſupra*, p. 421.

(*t*) Clarke, *ubi ſupra*.

[*P*] *Reflections that had been thrown out againſt him by the Biſhop.*] One of theſe reflections of Biſhop Aylmer againſt Mr. Cartwright was, that he had deceived the Privy-Council, by informing them that he was afflicted with the gout and ſciatica, when that was not the caſe. Cartwright proved by a written teſtimonial of his phyſician, that this accuſation was falſe. But the teſtimonial of the phyſician was taken by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury from Cartwright's wife, and he refuſed to reſtore it again (28).

(28) Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 51.

[*Q*] *Stating ſome of the grievances under which he laboured.*] In this letter he ſays, 'Beſides the common calamity of us all, mine hath ſomething by 'itſelf. For all the other priſoners for this cauſe, 'having acceſs to them from all their friends, the 'warrant of the High-commiſſion reſtraineth me 'from all, ſaving my wife, and ſuch as have neceſ-'ſary buſineſs with me. Which thing I would be 'well contented with, if it were afforded me accord-'ingly. For if I might, I would not, for divers 'cauſes, have many come unto me. But the war-'den, whether eſteeming thereby to gratify the 'Biſhops, and others whom he thinketh this will be 'pleaſing to, or of his own hard diſpoſition towards 'me, conſtrueth it more ſtictly againſt me, than 'the meaning of the High-commiſſion was. 'For I take that upon experience of the multitudes 'that viſited me, the laſt time I was in priſon, (as 'much to my miſliking as theirs) they ſent the 'warrant of this reſtraint. Yet dare I not complain 'of the hard uſage of me more than other keepers 'to their priſoners, leſt he might uſe that for a mean 'to cauſe the Biſhops to reſtrain them alſo of the 'acceſs of their friends.'

He takes notice in this letter, that his gout increaſed, and that he had been afflicted with the ſciatica many years (29).

(29) Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 51.

[*R*] *Was again permitted to preach.*] Mr. Clarke ſays, that 'after long diſcontinuance, Mr. Cart-'wright coming to Cambridge, was importuned to 'preach on a week-day in St. Mary's, where there 'was a great confluence of all ſorts to hear him: 'grave men ran like boys in the ſtreets to get places 'in the Church. After ſermon he dined at maſter 'Chadderton's, and many went to the houſe to ſee 'and hear him ſpeak (30).'

(30) Lives, *ubi ſupra*, p. 22.

[*S*] *His health appears to have been much impaired by his long confinement*, &c.] Mr. Clarke ſays, that 'he continued his diligence and aſſiduity in his ſtu-'dies even in his old age; and his uſual manner was 'to riſe at two, three, and four o'clock in the morn-'ing at the lateſt, both ſummer and winter; not-'withſtanding that his bodily infirmities were ſuch, 'that he was forced to ſtudy continually upon his 'knees (31).'

(31) *Id. ibid.*

[*T*] *Generous and charitable.*] Mr. Clarke ſays, 'His manner was, not to keep any more money in 'his purſe, but what might ſerve for charitable uſes. 'He was very bountiful to poor ſcholars. He diſ-'tributed money every ſabbath-day among the poor 'of the town of Warwick, beſides what he gave to 'the priſoners, and upon other occaſions both at 'home and abroad (32).'

(32) Lives, *ut ſupra*.

1647. IV. "A Directory of Church-government [*U*]," 4to. 1644. V. "A Body "of Divinity," 4to. Lond. 1616.] T.

[*U*] *A Directory of Church-government.*] It is manifeſt, from the following paſſage in this piece, that Mr. Cartwright, like moſt of his contemporaries, was not a friend to true liberty of conſcience, or to free inquiry. 'In the examination of miniſters, the 'teſtimony of the place from whence they come is 'to be demanded, whereby it may be underſtood 'what life and converſation he hath been of, and 'whether he hath been *addicted to any hereſy*, or to 'the *reading of any heretical books*, or to curious and 'ſtrange queſtions and idle ſpeculations; or rather, 'whether he be accounted *ſound*, and *conſenting in all 'things* to the doctrine received in the Church. 'Whereunto if he agree, he is alſo to expound ſome 'part of the Holy Scriptures twice or oftener, as it 'ſhall ſeem meet to the examiners, and that before 'the conference, and that Church which is intereſt-'ed. Let him alſo be demanded of the principal 'heads of Divinity: and whether he will diligently 'execute and diſcharge his Miniſtry, and in the 'execution thereof propound unto himſelf not his own 'defires and commodities, but the glory of God and 'edification of the Church. Laſtly, whether he will 'be ſtudious and careful to maintain and preſerve 'wholeſome doctrine, and eccleſiaſtical diſcipline '(33).'

(33) Directory, p. 5.

*** [The writer of the article of Whitgift, in the Biographia, informs us, upon the authority of Sir Henry Yelverton, in his epiſtle to the reader, prefixed to Biſhop Moreton's "Epiſcopacy juſtified," that the laſt words of Thomas Cartwright, on his death-bed, were, that he ſorely lamented the unneceſſary troubles he had cauſed in the Church, by the ſchiſm of which he had been the great fomenter; and that he wiſhed he was to begin his life again, that he might teſtify to the world the diſlike he had of his former ways. In this opinion, ſays Sir Henry, he died (34). Whether there be any other authority for ſo remarkable a fact, we are not able to ſay; but it appears certain, that Mr. Cartwright abated ſomething of the warmth of his ſpirit, towards the cloſe of his days. When he had obtained his pardon of the Queen, which, as Sir George Paule aſſerts, was at the inſtance of Archbiſhop Whitgift, Cartwright, in his letters of acknowledgment to that Prelate, vouchſafed to ſtile him a *Right Reverend Father in God, and his Lord the Archbiſhop's Grace of Canterbury*. This title of Grace he often yielded to Whitgift, in the courſe of their correſpondence. Nay, the Archbiſhop was heard to ſay, that if Mr. Cartwright had not ſo far engaged himſelf as he did in the beginning, he verily thought that he would, in his latter time, have been drawn to conformity. For when he was freed from his troubles, he often repaired to the Archbiſhop, who uſed him kindly, and was contented to tolerate his preaching at Warwick for ſeveral years, upon his promiſe that he would not impugn the laws, orders, and government of the Church of England, but perſuade and procure, as much as he could, both publicly and privately, the eſtimation and peace of the ſame. With theſe terms he complied; notwithſtanding which, when Queen Elizabeth underſtood that he preached again, though in the temperate manner which had been preſcribed, ſhe would not permit him to do it any longer without *ſubſcription*; and was not a little diſpleaſed with the Archbiſhop, for his having connived at his ſo doing. Sir George Paule farther adds, that, by the benevolence and bounty of his followers, Mr. Cartwright was ſaid to have died rich (35). Dr. Thomas Cartwright, Biſhop of Cheſter in King James the Second's reign, and who went the moſt infamous lengths in ſupport of that Monarch's meaſures, is thought, with ſome appearance of probability, to have been the grandſon of our famous Puritan.

(34) Biographia Britannica, firſt edition, vol. vi. part 2d. p. 4253. note [*KKK*].

(35) Paule's Life of Whitgift, p. 70—72.

Sir John Hawkins, in his Hiſtory of Muſic, after giving an abridged account of the life of Cartwright, recites a paſſage from him, in proof of the unlawfulneſs and impropriety of choral and antiphonal ſinging in the worſhip of God, together with a fine anſwer to it by Mr. Hooker, in his Eccleſiaſtical Polity. Cartwright ſarcaſtically calls this mode of ſinging, "the toſſing the Pſalms from one ſide to the "other;" and, abſurdly enough, ſuppoſes that the devil was inſtrumental of getting it authority in the Church (36).

(36) Hiſtory of Muſic, vol. iii. p. 491—498.

Mr. Warton, in the third volume of his excellent Hiſtory of Poetry, frequently reprobates the bad taſte of the Puritans, their fondneſs for pſalm-ſinging, and their attachment to Sternhold and Hopkins. Every candid Nonconformiſt muſt acknowledge, that the Puritans in general, though not deficient in the ſcholaſtic literature of the times, were no great proficients in polite learning. It was not, however, to them alone, that the love of pſalm-ſinging, and a devotedneſs to Sternhold and Hopkins were confined. Many Prelates and Dignitaries of the Church might be included in the ſame predicament, if it were worth while to enter into ſo trifling a controverſy. It is to the credit of the taſte of the modern Diſſenters, that they have long ſince excluded from their congregations the old barbarous verſion of the Pſalms, for the more poetical one of Dr. Watts.] K.

CARTWRIGHT (WILLIAM), an eminent Divine and Poet of the XVIIth Century, was born at Northway, near Tewkſbury, in Gloceſterſhire, in September 1611, and baptized the 26th of the ſame month. His father, Mr. William Cartwright, having run out a fair eſtate, was obliged, for a ſubſiſtence, to keep a public inn at Cirenceſter in the ſame county; where living in a middling condition, he cauſed this his ſon, a youth of great hopes, to be educated under Mr. William Topp, Maſter of the Free-School in that town. From thence he was removed to Weſtminſter-School, being choſen a King's Scholar; where compleating his former learning under the care of Mr. Lambert Oſbaldeſton (*a*), he was elected a Student of Chriſt-Church in Oxford, in 1628, under the tuition of Mr. Jerumael Terrent. Having gone through the claſſes of Logic and Philoſophy, with unwearied diligence, he took the degrees in Arts, that of Maſter being compleated in 1635. Afterwards he went into holy orders, and became (as my author expreſſes it) a moſt florid and ſeraphical Preacher [*A*] in the Univerſity. In 1642,

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 34.

[*A*] *A florid and ſeraphical Preacher.*] Hear how Dr. Jaſper Mayne celebrates Mr. Cartwright's preaching (1).

(1) Among the Copies of Verſes prefixed to Mr. Cartwright's Works.

But theſe thy looſer raptures muſt ſubmit
To thy rare ſermons and much holier wit;
In whoſe rich web ſuch eloquence is ſeen,
As if the Roman Orator had been
Sent forth to preach the Goſpel, and had ſtood
In our aſſemblies pouring out his flood.
Thou wert a Poet, but thy ſermons do
Shew thee to be the beſt of preachers too;
Who to thy rhetoric didſt ſuch ſkill impart,
As if thou heir to ſome Apoſtle wert,
Who, taking wing for Heav'n, behind him left
His fiery tongue to thee, and that tongue cleft
Into as many ways to ſave, as they
Who are worſt ſinners uſe to err and ſtray.
What holy craft did in thy pulpit move?
How was the ſerpent mingled with the dove?
How have I ſeen thee caſt thy net, and then
With holy cozenage catch the ſouls of men!
Preach'd ſin out of their boſoms, made them ſee
Both what they were, and what they ought to be?

1642, he had the place of Succentor in the Church of Salisbury conferred on him by Bishop Duppa (*b*); and, in 1643, was chosen junior Proctor of the University (*c*). He was also metaphysical Reader [*B*] to the University; and it was generally said, those lectures were never performed better than by Mr. Cartwright and his predecessor Mr. Thomas Barlow (*d*) of Queen's College (*e*). This ingenious gentleman died, the 23d of December, 1643, in the thirty-third year of his age, of a malignant fever, called the Camp Disease, which then reigned in Oxford, and was fatal to many of his contemporaries; and was buried, December the 1st, towards the upper end of the south isle of the cathedral of Christ-Church. His death was generally lamented, and particularly by the King and Queen, then at Oxford, who anxiously enquired after him all the time of his sickness (*f*). Mr. Cartwright was extremely remarkable for both external and internal endowments, his body (as Langbaine expresses it) being as handsome as his soul. He was an expert linguist, understanding not only Greek and Latin, but French and Italian as perfectly as his mother tongue: an excellent Orator, and at the same time an admirable Poet [*C*]; a quality (my author observes) which Cicero, with all his pains, could never attain to (*g*). The editor of his works (*h*) applies to him the saying of Aristotle concerning Æschron the Poet, that *he could not tell what Æschron could not do*; and Dr. Fell, Bishop of Oxford, said of him, *Cartwright is the utmost man can come to.* Ben Jonson had such an opinion of his genius, that he said, *my son Cartwright writes all like a man* (*i*). There are extant of this author's four Plays, besides other

(*b*) *Ibid.* col. 35.

(*c*) Langbaine's Account of the English Dramatic Poets, in 8vo. Lond. 1691, p. 52.

(*d*) Afterwards Bishop of Lincoln.

(*e*) Preface to Mr. Cartwright's Plays and Poems, in 8vo. Lond. 1651.

(*f*) Wood, *ubi supra.*

(*g*) Langbaine, *ubi supra*, p. 52.

(*h*) In the Preface.

(*i*) Preface to his Works.

Made them confess the strait way, by thee strow'd
With flow'rs, was far more pleasant than the broad.
Indeed, we scripture-wonders oft did spy,
Camels by thee drawn thro' a needle's eye.

(2) *Ibid.* Mr. John Fell wrote these lines (2):

Or view him, when his riper thoughts did bear
His studies into a diviner sphere.
When that his voice did charm th'attentive throng,
And every ear was link'd unto his tongue,
The numerous press, closing their souls in one,
Stood all transformed into his passion.

I shall only add, under this remark, the following lines

(3) *Ibid.* by Mr. Ralph Bathurst (3):

But who cou'd hear without an extasy,
When, with a graceful conquering presence, He
Stood forth, and, like Almighty Thunder, flung
His numerous strains among th' amazed throng?
A pleasing horror struck thro' ev'ry limb,
And ev'ry ear was close chain'd up to him:
Such masculine vigour ravish'd our assent,
What he persuaded, was commandement:
A sweeter plenty Rhetoric ne'er knew
In Chrysostom's pulpit, nor in Tully's pew.

[*B*] *Metaphysical Reader.*] His Panegyrists have not failed to celebrate his lectures in the Metaphysics.

(4) *Ibid.* Mr. Ralph Bathurst has these lines (4):

How may we then admire his serious time,
That wrote so well, yet drove no trade in rhime!
If from the scene and walks such praise he share,
What must he from his Metaphysic Chair?
There he unriddled that mysterious book,
Which Aristotle made to be mistook;
And his deep sense did so exactly tell,
Great Alexander knew't not half so well:
So were those oracles utter'd clear and good,
Which rude interpreters make less understood.

Mr. Thomas Vaughan gives us the following encomi-

(5) *Ibid.* um (5):

When he did read, how did we flock to hear?
Sure some Professors became pupils there.
He wou'd refine Abstractions: it was He
That gave the text all it's authority;
As if the Stagyrite resign'd his pen,
And took his censure, not his comment, then.
And tho' with some the science goes for pelf,
His Lectures made it to *transcend* itself.

Mr. Francis Palmer, these lines (6):

(6) *Ibid.*

He Aristotle has unbent,
Made music, what he riddles meant;
Cloath'd his own reason like his Plays:
His Metaphysics claim the Bays.

[*C*] *An admirable Poet.*] We shall select a few only of the numerous attestations of our author's poetical merit (7). The first shall be that of Sir Robert Stapylton.

(7) See the copies of Verses prefixed to his Works.

If time be measur'd by an *Hour-glass* run,
He may be Jonson's grand-child, Fletcher's son;
If by *desert*, a Muse might be his mother,
He Homer's heir, and Hesiod's elder brother.

Dr. Jasper Mayne addresses the deceased author thus:

For thou to nature had'st join'd art and skill:
In thee *Ben Jonson* still held *Shakespear*'s quill;
A quill ruled by sharp judgment, and such laws,
As a well-studied mind and reason draws.
Thy lamp was cherish'd with supplies of oil
Fetch'd from the *Roman* and the *Grecian* soil——
Hence twin perfections, in thy writings knit,
Present us with strange contraries of wit:
Strength mix'd with sweetness, vigorous with fair,
Lucan's bold heights match'd with staid *Virgil*'s care;
Martial's quick salt joined to *Musæus*' tongue;
Soft thorns of fancy, which from roses sprung.

John Leigh, Esq; in a copy of verses to the Stationer Mr. Mosely, on his printing Mr. Cartwright's poems, after mentioning other poets, whose works he had published, has these lines:

But after all thou bring'st up in the rear
One that fills ev'ry eye, and ev'ry ear;
Cartwright, rare *Cartwright*, to whom all must bow,
That was best preacher and best poet too;
Whose learned fancy never was at rest,
But always labouring, yet labour'd least.
His wit's immortal, and shall honour have,
While there's or slavish Lord, or *Royal Slave*.

We shall only add here, as to Mr. Cartwright's poetical character in general, what Mr. Ralph Bathurst says of his style.

His Style so pleases the judicious Gown,
As that there's something too for Wits o' th' town:
Rough-handed Critics do approve, and yet
'Tis treasure for the Ladies cabinet.

Poems [*D*]; all which were printed together in 1651, accompanied by above fifty copies of commendatory verſes by the moſt eminent Wits of the Univerſity. There are alſo ſome other pieces, mentioned by Anthony Wood [*E*].

[*D*] *Four Plays, beſides other Poems.*] The firſt of his Plays is *The Lady Errant*, a Tragi-Comedy. We are told, it was eſteemed to be a good Comedy; but where acted, is not known (8). The ſecond is *The Royal Slave. A Tragi-Comedy. Preſented to the King and Queen by the Students of Chriſt-Church in Oxford*, Aug. 30, 1636. *Preſented ſince to both their Majeſties, at Hampton-Court, by the King's ſervants.* This Play, Mr. Langbine tells us (9), gave ſuch content to their Majeſties and the whole Court, as well for the ſtately ſcenes, the richneſs of the Perſian habits, the excellency of the ſongs (which were ſet to muſic by that admirable Compoſer Mr. Henry Lawes) as for the noble ſtyle of the Play itſelf, and the ready addreſs, and graceful carriage, of the actors (among whom Dr. Buſby, the famous Maſter of Weſtminſter-ſchool, approved himſelf a ſecond Roſcius) that they unanimouſly acknowledged that it did exceed all things of that nature which they had ever ſeen. The Queen in particular ſo much admired it, that in November following ſhe ſent for the habits and ſcenes to Hampton-Court; ſhe being deſirous to ſee her own ſervants repreſent the ſame Play (whoſe profeſſion it was) that ſhe might the better judge of the ſeveral performances, and to whom the preference was due. The ſentence was univerſally given, by all the ſpectators, in favour of the *Gown*, though nothing was wanting on Mr. Cartwright's ſide to inform the players as well as the ſcholars, in what belonged to the action and delivery of each part. This play is particularly celebrated by Dr. Jaſper Mayne (10), in theſe lines:

(8) Langbaine's Account of the Engliſh Dramatic Poets, in 8vo. Lond. 1691, p. 53.

(9) *Ibid.* p. 54. See alſo Wood's Hiſt. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. i. p. 344, 345.

(10) Among the commendatory Verſes.

> Witneſs thy *Royal Captive*, where we do
> Read thee a poet, but ſad prophet too:
> A Play, where virtue ſo well-languag'd ſhines,
> That Slaves are there made Princes by thy lines.

Mr. Cartwright's third Play is *The Ordinary*. A Comedy. When, and where acted, is not ſaid. Part of the ſecond Scene of the Firſt Act, between the widow *Potluck*, *Slicer*, and *Hearſay*, is tranſcribed by the author of *Wit's Interpreter*, in his Love-dialogues, under the title of *The Old Widow* (11). The fourth and laſt is *The Siege, or Love's Convert*. A Tragi-Comedy. When, and where acted, not ſaid. It is dedicated to King Charles I. by an epiſtle in verſe. The ſtory of *Miſander* and *Leucaſia* is founded upon that of *Pauſania* and *Cleonice* in Plutarch's life of *Cymon*. The injunction, which the rich widow *Pyle* lays upon her lovers, is borrowed from Boccace's *Novels*. *Day* 9. *Nov.* 1. This Play is humouroufly commended by Mr. Joſ. Howe, in a copy of verſes (12), in which are theſe lines:

(11) Langbaine, *ib.* p. 53.

(12) Among the commendatory Verſes.

> Had this Scene-wit not met an age
> That frowneth down the mourning Stage,
> That all Dramatic Laws confutes,
> And maketh all the actors mutes;
> How had it crackt the rooms, and made
> Play-ſeeing th' only London trade?
> When if ſome cloſe laned citizen,
> Zealous for his labouring hen,
> Had panting for a midwife run,
> To help into th' dark his coming ſon,
> Theſe Bills had made him ſtop, and ſend
> To bid her groan till th' *Siege* did end,
> Tho' of a Boy he loſt the hope,
> To heir his prunes and Caſtile-ſoap.

[*E*] *Some other pieces, mentioned by Anthony Wood.*] That author tells us (13), Mr. Cartwright wrote alſo, I. *Poëmata Græca & Latina*, i. e. 'Greek and Latin 'Poems.' II. *An Offspring of Mercy iſſuing out of the Womb of Cruelty*. A Paſſion Sermon, preached at Chriſt-Church in Oxford, on *Acts* ii. 23. *Lond.* 1652. 8vo. III. *On the ſignal days in the month of November, in relation to the Crown and Royal Family*. A Poem. Lond. 1671, in one ſheet 4to. IV. *Poems and Verſes*, containing *Airs* for ſeveral voices (14), ſet by Mr. Henry Lawes. B.

(13) *Ubi ſupra.*

(14) See a book intituled, Ayres and Dialogues for one, two, and three Voices. Lond. 1653, fol. compoſed by Mr. Henry Lawes. Alſo another intituled, Select Ayres and Dialogues to ſing to the Theorbo, Lute, and Baſs Viol. Lond. 1669, fol. compoſed alſo by the ſaid Henry Lawes.

*** [There are ſome characters, occurring in biographical writings, that are tranſmitted down to poſterity with a ſurprizing luſtre, and which, when we critically examine the matter, we find it difficult to account for. They acquire a wonderful reputation in their own age, and are ſpoken of in ſuch high terms of applauſe, that future times look back upon their memories with an enthuſiaſm of reverence and affection. This was very eminently the caſe with regard to William Cartwright. It is impoſſible to avoid being powerfully ſtruck with the prodigious encomiums which have been beſtowed upon him. So high was the eſtimation in which he was held, that the King appeared in black on the day of his burial; and being aſked the reaſon of it, his Majeſty anſwered, that ſince the Muſes had mourned ſo much, for the loſs of ſuch a ſon, it would be a ſhame for him not to appear in mourning, for the loſs of ſuch a ſubject. As a Poet, an Orator, and a Philoſopher, he ſeems to have been conſidered as almoſt unparalleled; and it may juſtly be doubted, whether even Shakſpeare himſelf had, at that period, an equal reputation. Nevertheleſs, when we enquire into Mr. Cartwright's works, we do not find thoſe excellencies in them, which will juſtify our entertaining ſo exalted an opinion of him as a writer. He was the author of only four Plays, and three of theſe are Tragi-Comedies, no legitimate mode of compoſition. The fourth, the Comedy of the "Ordinary," we have lately read, but cannot beſtow upon it any profuſion of praiſe. It abounds in wit, that luxuriant wit which was the faſhion of the time, and which was very forced and unnatural. The plot is abſurd, and the characters are drawn more from fancy than from the knowledge and obſervation of real life. This, indeed, is his own confeſſion at the end of his Prologue, where he ſays,

> "Think then, if here you find nought can delight,
> He hath not yet ſeen vice enough to write."

Mr. Cartwright doth not, like Shakſpeare, excel in painting general nature; and the "Ordinary," unlike the productions of that wonderful genius, hath ſcarcely any of thoſe ſublime, affecting, or moral paſſages that are conſtantly quoted, and which will be the objects of eternal admiration. The following deſcription of a Miſer is almoſt the only ſpecimen we meet with in it of natural character and humour.

> "That griping Knight Sir Thomas muſt be call'd
> With the ſame lure: he knows to a crum how much
> Loſs is in twenty dozen of bread, between
> That which is broke by th' hand, and that is cut.
> Which way beſt keeps his candles, bran or ſtraw.
> What tallow's loſt in putting of 'em out
> By ſpittle, what by foot, what by the puff.
> What by the holding downwards, and what by
> The extinguiſher; which wick will longeſt be
> In lighting, which ſpend faſteſt. He muſt hear
> Nothing but moieties, and lives, and farms,
> Copies and tenures; he is deaf to the reſt (15)."

(15) Select Collection of old Plays, ſecond edition, vol. x. p. 200. 202. 225.

But, notwithſtanding theſe deductions from the value of Mr. Cartwright's writings, it muſt be allowed, that unleſs his abilities and merit had been remarkably ſhining, he could not have excited in ſo extraordinary a manner the admiration of his contemporaries. It ought, likewiſe, to be remembered that he died young. If his life had been protracted, he would probably have ariſen to much ſuperior excellence. Cartwright's Poems, though accompanied with ſuch a multitude of eulogiums, do not appear, after his deceaſe, to have had many readers; for we have met but one edition of his works, and that, we believe, is at preſent very little known.] K.

CARY (Henry), afterwards created Viſcount Falkland, and deſcended from the family of the Cary's, of Cockington, in Devonſhire [*A*], was the ſon of Sir Edward Cary, of Berkhamſted and Aldenham, in the county of Hertford, Knight, Maſter of the Jewel-office to Queen Elizabeth and King James I. (*a*) by Catherine his wife, daughter of Sir Henry Knevet, Knight, and widow of Henry Lord Paget (*b*). He was born at Aldenham juſt now mentioned (*c*); and, when about ſixteen years of age, was ſent to Exeter-College in Oxford, where, by the help of a good tutor, and extraordinary parts, he became a moſt accompliſhed gentleman (*d*). It doth not appear he took any degree [*B*]: but, however, when he quitted the Univerſity, he left behind a celebrated name (*e*). Soon after, he was introduced to Court (*f*); and, in the year 1608, made one of the Knights of the Bath at the creation of Henry Prince of Wales (*g*). In 1617, he was ſworn in Comptroller of his Majeſty's Houſhold [*C*], and one of his Privy-Council (*h*): and on the 10th of November, 1620, was created Viſcount of Falkland, in the county of Fife, in Scotland (*i*). King James I. knowing his great abilities and experience, conſtituted him Lord Deputy of Ireland; into which high office he was ſworn, September 18, 1622 (*k*); and continued in it till the year 1629 (*l*). During his adminiſtration, he kept a ſtrict hand over the Roman Catholics in that kingdom [*D*]; which gave them occaſion to ſend complaints to the Court of England againſt him. And though he proceeded as honourably, juſtly, and nobly, as any man could do (*m*); though the Council did, on the 28th of April, 1629, write a kind and true letter in vindication of his innocence (*n*); yet by the clamour of the Iriſh, and the prevailing power of his Popiſh enemies, he was removed in diſgrace. But his innocence being afterwards vindicated, this affront was in ſome meaſure atoned for by the ſubſequent favour of the King (*o*). At his return to England, he lived in honour and eſteem, till the year 1633; when having the misfortune to break one of his legs, on a ſtand in Theobald's-park, he died of that unhappy accident, in September (*p*); and was buried at Aldenham [*E*]. He married Elizabeth, ſole daughter and heir of Sir Laurence Tanfield, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, with whom he had the manor of Great Tew, Burford, and other eſtates in Oxfordſhire (*q*). He wrote ſeveral things, which were not publiſhed [*F*]. With reſpect to his character, he was a moſt accompliſhed gentleman, and a compleat courtier (*r*).

(*a*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, vol. i. col. 585. Peerage of Engl. by Arth. Collins, Eſq; Lond. 1735, 8vo. vol. iii. p. 170.

(*b*) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 397. Wood, *ubi ſupra*.

(*c*) State Worthies, by David Lloyd, edit. 1679, 8vo. p. 938; from Fuller's Worthies, in Hertfordſhire, p. 23.

(*d*) Wood, *ubi ſupra*.

(*e*) *Ibid.*

(*f*) *Ibid.*

(*g*) Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, p. 991. The Scottiſh Compendium, &c. by F. Nicholls, 3d edit. 1729, p. 383. It was not at the Creation of Charles Prince of Wales; as Wood ſays by miſtake.

(*h*) Wood, *ubi ſupra*.

(*i*) Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland; and the Scottiſh Compend. *ubi ſupra*.

(*k*) *Ibid.* and Hiſt. of Ireland, by R. Cox, P. ii. fol. Lond. 1690, p. 39.

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 53.

(*m*) As was atteſted by his ſucceſſor the Earl of Strafford. See his Trial by Ruſhworth, p. 160.

(*n*) R. Cox, as above, p. 52.

(*o*) *Idem.* Preface to Part ii. of his Hiſtory. *N. B.* It is not paged.

(*p*) Wood, *ubi ſupra*, col. 586 Fuller and Lloyd, *ubi ſupra*. Theſe two laſt by miſtake, ſay, that it was in 1620.

(*q*) Wood, col. 586.

(*r*) Fuller and Lloyd, *ibid.*

[*A*] *Deſcended from the Cary's of Cockington in Devonſhire.*] Sir Philip (1) Cary of Cockington, living in the firſt of Henry VI. married to his firſt wife, Anne daughter of Sir William Poulet, Knight, from whom the family of Cockington deſcended (2). His *ſecond wife* was *Alice*, daughter of Sir Baldwin Fulford of Fulford in Devonſhire, Knight, by whom he had iſſue *Thomas*, who married *Margaret*, younger daughter, and coheir, of Sir Rober Spencer of Spencer-combe in the county of Devon, by Eleanor, ſiſter and coheir to Henry Beaufort, Duke of Somerſet (3). By this Lady, Thomas Cary had two ſons, *John* anceſtor of the Lords Falkland; and William, of the Lords Hunſdon. John was made a Knight of the Carpet, February 22, 1546. And by Joice his wife, daughter of —— Denny, Eſq; and ſiſter to Sir Anthony Denny, had iſſue Sir *Edward* Cary, Knight, father of Sir *Henry*, who is the ſubject of this article. Sir Edward died July 16, 1618 (4).

(1) Prince calls him Sir William, Worthies, p. 153.

(2) Dugdale, *ubi ſupra*, p. 397.

(3) See Genealog. Hiſt. of the Kings of England, &c. by Fr. Sandford and S. Stebbing. edit. 1707, p. 334.

(4) Collins, *ubi ſupra*; and Prince's Worthies of Devon. Exon. 1701, p. 153.

'[*B*] *It doth not appear he took any degree.*] We are told (5), that during his ſtay in the Univerſity, his chamber was the rendezvous of all the eminent Wits, Divines, Philoſophers, Lawyers, Hiſtorians, and Politicians of that time. But, ſays Mr. Wood (6), 'How 'true it is, ſeeing he was then a young man and not 'graduated, I cannot in the leaſt perceive. Had 'thoſe things been ſpoken of Lucius Cary his ſon, who 'retired ſeveral times to, and took commons in Exeter-'College, while his brother Lorenzo ſtudied there, 'in 1628, and after, I ſhould have rather believed 'it.'

(5) Worthies of England, by T. Fuller; as quoted by Mr. Wood, *ubi ſupra*.

(6) Col. 585.

[*C*] *He was ſworn in Comptroller of his Majeſty's Houſhold.*] But he was not, one of the Gentlemen of his Majeſty's bed-chamber: neither was he, the firſt who carried into Scotland the news of Queen Elizabeth's death: as the author of the Scottiſh Compendium falſely aſſerts (7). For he that carried that account, was Robert Cary, fourth ſon of Henry Lord Hunſdon, created afterwards Lord Lepington, and earl of Monmouth (8).

(7) Page 383, edit. 1729.

(8) See Court and Character of King James, by Sir A. Welden, p. 2. and Mr. Oſborne's Traditional Memoirs of King James, Lond. 1658, 12mo. p. 5.

[*D*] *He kept a ſtrict hand over the Roman Catholics in Ireland.*] For, in his time, ſeveral Popiſh magiſtrates that had refuſed the oath of ſupremacy, contrary to the Statute of 2 Eliz. c. 1. were cenſured in the Star-Chamber on the 22d of November 1622; at which time Biſhop Uſher made that excellent ſpeech about the lawfulneſs of that oath, which is publiſhed in his anſwer to Malone the Jeſuit: and on the 21ſt of January 1623, there was iſſued out a Proclamation againſt the Popiſh Clergy, Secular and Regular, ordering them to depart the kingdom within forty days; after which all perſons were prohibited to converſe with them (9).

(9) R. Cox, *ubi ſupra*, p. 39.

[*E*] *And was buried at Aldenham.*] Where, in the church, there is the following memorial of him, and his father. 'Edward Cary, Eſq; Lord of the manor 'of Aldenham, and Patron of this Church, afterwards 'Sir Edward Cary, Knight, whoſe body was invaulted in the Chancel of this Church, Auguſt 6, 1618. 'Father of Henry I. Viſcount of Falkland in Scotland, 'whoſe body was alſo invaulted in the Chancel of this 'Church, September 25, 1633 (10).'

(10) The Hiſtory of Hertfordſhire, by N. Salmon, London, 1728, fol. p. 98.

[*F*] *He wrote ſeveral things which were not publiſhed.*] This we learn from Mr. Wood (11), who farther informs us, That there was found among his papers, and publiſhed as his, the following book, 'The Hiſtory of the moſt unfortunate Prince, King 'Edward II; with choice political Obſervations on 'him and his unhappy Favourites, Gaveſton and 'Spencer: containing ſeveral paſſages of thoſe times 'not found in other Hiſtorians.' Lond. 1680, fol. and 8vo. Wood ſays, it was publiſhed, when the preſs was open for all books that could make any thing againſt the then government, with a Preface to the reader patched up from very inconſiderable authors, by Sir James Harrington.—— The Lord Clarendon informs us (12), That this Lord Falkland, inſtead of enriching himſelf by his great places, waſted a full fortune at Court, in thoſe offices and employments by which other men uſe to obtain a greater. M.

(11) *Ubi ſupra*, col. 586.

(12) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, edit. 1731, 8vo. vol. ii. P. i. p. 353.

*** [It appears from Dr. Leland, that when Lord Falkland was appointed Governor of Ireland, he had many difficulties to ſtruggle with. "It was "mortifying, ſays that judicious Hiſtorian, to the "King's Deputy, to be ſent to adminiſter a govern-"ment, unſupported, expoſed to the inſults of its "enemies, perpetually alarmed, and totally deſti-"tute of the neceſſary reſources." In this ſituation, Lord Falkland made repeated repreſentations of his diſtreſs, to James and his Engliſh Council; enlarged on every circumſtance which diſcovered the malignity of the diſaffected; urged the danger to be apprehended from the recuſants; and earneſtly enforced the

the neceſſity of a ſpeedy augmentation of the army in the kingdom; but all to no purpoſe. The propriety of the meaſure was apparent: but an improvident Prince, who laviſhed his treaſure, careleſsly and capriciouſly; whoſe Exchequer was empty, and even his credit exhauſted; whoſe Parliament was frugal, cautious, and ſuſpicious of the King, could not, without a natural reluctance, liſten to any ſcheme that muſt increaſe his expence (13). The ſame Hiſtorian hath drawn the following character of the Deputy's general adminiſtration: "Lord Falkland "ſeems to have been more diſtinguiſhed by his rec-"titude than abilities. In a government which re-"quired vigour and auſterity, he was indolent and "gentle; courting, rather than terrifying the fac-"tious. He was harraſſed by the intrigues and cla-"mours of the King's Miniſters, whom he could "not always gratify to the full extent of their de-"ſires; his actions were ſeverely maligned at the "Court of England; his adminiſtration of conſe-"quence was cautious and embarraſſed. Such a "governor was little qualified to awe the numerous "and powerful body of recuſants, relying on their "merits, and ſtimulated by their eccleſiaſtics to the "moſt imprudent exceſſes (14)."

(13) Leland's Hiſtory of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 474, 475.

(14) *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 3.

Mr. Walpole, ſpeaking of the Carys, ſays, that Scotland and England have each pretenſions to this conſpicuous line, of which four ſucceſſively were authors. England gave them origin, Scotland their title. We learn from the ſame ingenious writer, that Henry Lord Falkland is remarkable for an invention to prevent his name being counterfeited, by artfully concealing in it the ſucceſſive year of his age, and by that means detecting a man who had not obſerved ſo nice a particularity (15).] K.

(15) Royal and noble Authors, vol. i. p. 213, 214.

CARY (Lucius), eldeſt ſon of Henry Lord Viſcount of Falkland, mentioned in the laſt article, was born, as is ſuppoſed, at Burford in Oxfordſhire (*a*), about the year 1610[*A*]. His education for ſome years was in Ireland, where his father carried him, when he was appointed Lord Deputy of that kingdom in 1622 (*b*). He received particularly his academical learning in Trinity-College in Dublin (*c*); and in St. John's-College in Cambridge [*B*]. At firſt he proved but a wild youth [*C*]; but being ſent to travel under the care of a diſcreet tutor, he ſoon ſhook off all levity and extravagance, and became a wiſe, ſober, and prudent perſon (*d*). Before he came to be twenty years of age, he was maſter of a noble fortune, which deſcended to him by the gift of a grandfather, without paſſing through his father or mother, who were then both alive (*e*). Shortly after that, and before he was of age, being in his natural inclination a great lover of a military life, he went into the Low-Countries, with a reſolution of procuring a command, and to give himſelf up to it; but he was diverted from it by the compleat inactivity of that ſummer. So he returned to England, and being a man of fine genius, ſoon entered upon a very ſtrict courſe of ſtudy (*f*). At firſt, he applied himſelf to polite Literature; and to Poetry (*g*), in which he made ſuch ſucceſsful attempts, that he gained the eſteem and admiration of the moſt eminent Poets of his time [*D*]. But afterwards giv-

(*a*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, vol. i. col. 586.

(*b*) The Hiſtory of the Rebellion, &c. by Edward Earl of Clarendon, edit. 1731, 8vo. vol. ii. Part i. p. 351.

(*c*) Wood, *ibid.*

(*d*) *Ibid.*

(*e*) Clarendon, *ubi ſupra.*

(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 357.

(*g*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

[*A*] *Was born at Burford —— about the year* 1610.] It is not quite certain, that he was born in that town; for the regiſter-book of that place, which commences about the beginning of the reign of King James I. takes no notice of it. However, Mr. Wood tells us, he was informed, That he was moſtly nurſed, and therefore very probably alſo born, at Burford (1). He was in the thirty-fourth year of his age, September 20, 1643, when he was killed (2), and conſequently muſt have been born about the year 1610.

(1) Wood, Ath. col. 586.

(2) Clarendon, Hiſtory, vol. ii. Part i. p. 359.

[*B*] *And in St. John's College in Cambridge.*] This appears from a letter of his to Dr. Beale, Maſter of St. John's, which is as follows. 'I received lately a 'letter from yourſelf and others of your noble So-'ciety; wherein, as many titles were given me, to 'which I had none, ſo that, which I ſhould moſt 'willingly have acknowledged, and might with moſt 'juſtice claim, you were not pleaſed to vouchſafe me, 'that is, that of *a St. John's man*. I confeſs, I am 'both proud and aſhamed of that, and the latter, in 'reſpect that the fruits are unproportionable to the 'Seed-plot: yet, Sir, as little learning as I brought 'from you, and as little as I have ſince increaſed and 'watered; what I did bring, I am ſure, I carry 'about me, an indelible character of affection and 'duty to that Society, and an extraordinary longing 'for ſome occaſion of expreſſing that affection and that 'duty. I ſhall deſire you to expreſs this to them, and 'to add this, that as I ſhall never forget myſelf to be 'a *Member of your Body*; ſo ſhall I be ready to catch 'at all means of declaring myſelf to be, not only to 'the Body, but every Member of it,

'A very Humble Servant,

'FALKLAND (3).'

(3) Life of Dr. John Barwick, in Engliſh, Lond. 1724, 8vo. Appendix, p. 551, 552.

However, there is no account of his admittance in St. John's-College-Regiſter.

[*C*] *At firſt he proved but a wild youth.*] And for ſome error or indiſcretion was thrown into the Fleet, as is evident from the following petition of his father to the King.

The Lord Falkland's petition to the King,

'MOST humbly ſhewing, that I had a ſonne, 'until I loſt him, in your Highneſs diſpleaſure, 'where I cannot ſeek him, becauſe I have not will to 'find him there. Men ſay, there is a wild young 'man now priſoner in the Fleet, for meaſuring his ac-'tions by his own private ſence. But now that for the 'ſame your Majeſties hand hath appeared in his pu-'niſhment, he bows and humbles himſelf before, and 'to it: whether he be mine, or not, I can diſcern by 'no light, but that of your royal clemency; for only 'in your forgiveneſs can I own him for mine. For-'giveneſs is the glory of the ſupremeſt powers, and 'this the operation, that when it is extended in the 'greateſt meaſure, it converts the greateſt offenders 'into the greateſt lovers, and ſo makes purchaſe of 'the heart, an eſpecial priviledge peculiar and due to 'Sovereign Princes. If now your Majeſty will vouch-'ſafe, out of your own benignity, to become a ſecond 'nature, and reſtore that unto me which the firſt gave 'me, and vanity deprived me of, I ſhall keep my 'reckoning of the full number of my ſons with com-'fort, and render the tribute of my moſt humble 'thankfulneſs, elſe my weak old memory muſt forget 'one (4).'

(4) Cabala, edit. 1663, fol. p. 238.

[*D*] *He applied himſelf —— to Poetry, —— and gained the eſteem of the moſt eminent Poets.*] Particularly of Ben Jonſon, who celebrates him in his *Underwoods*, in a Poem, *To the immortal Memory and Friendſhip of that noble Pair, Sir* Lucius Cary, *and Sir* H. Morriſon (5). Sir John Suckling pays him alſo a fine compliment, in his *Seſſion of the Poets*, as follows.

(5) See Ben Jonſon's Works, edit. fol. 1692, p. 571.

He was of late ſo gone with Divinity,
That he had almoſt forgot his Poetry,
Though to ſay the truth (and Apollo did know it)
He might have been both his Prieſt and his Poet.

ing

ing himſelf up to the more ſolid parts of learning, he frequently retired, for the ſake of books and converſation, to Oxford, and to his ſeat at Great Tew, near that Univerſity (*b*). There he contracted a familiarity and friendſhip with the moſt polite and accurate men [*E*]; who found ſuch immenſeneſs of wit, and ſuch a ſolidity of judgment in him, ſo infinite a fancy, bound in by moſt exact reaſoning, ſuch a vaſt knowledge, that he was not ignorant in any thing, yet ſuch an exceſſive humility, as if he had known nothing; that they frequently reſorted, and dwelt with him, as in a College ſituated in a purer air. So that his houſe was an Univerſity in a leſſer volume, whither they came not ſo much for repoſe as ſtudy (*i*). Among other things, he made himſelf, in a very ſhort time, a perfect maſter of the Greek tongue [*F*], and accurately read all the Greek Hiſtorians (*k*). Before he was twenty-three years of age, he had peruſed and read over all the Greek and Latin Fathers, and was indefatigable in looking over all books, which with great expence he cauſed to be tranſmitted to him from all parts (*l*). He alſo diligently ſtudied the controverſies; and had a memory ſo ſtupendous, that he remembered, on all occaſions, whatſoever he read (*m*). About the time of his father's death, in 1633, he was made one of the Gentlemen of his Majeſty's Privy-Chamber (*n*). Notwithſtanding this, he continued frequently to retire to Great Tew, and Oxford, for the ſake of the company and converſation of learned and ingenious men (*o*); and was a member of the moſt polite clubs (*p*). In 1639, he was in the expedition againſt the Scots; and though he received ſome repulſe in the command of a troop of horſe, of which he had a promiſe, he went a volunteer with the Earl of Eſſex (*q*). Upon his going to this expedition, he was complimented with fine copies of verſes, both by Mr. Waller [*G*], and Mr. Cowley [*H*]. He was choſen, in 1640, a Member of the Houſe of Commons, for Newport in the Iſle of Wight, in the Parliament which began at Weſtminſter the 13th of April the ſame year (*r*); and, from the debates which were managed with all imaginable gravity and ſobriety, he contracted ſuch a reverence to Parliaments, that he thought it really impoſſible they could ever produce miſchief or inconvenience to the kingdom, or that the kingdom could be tolerably happy in the intermiſſion of them. And from the unhappy and unſeaſonable diſſolution of that Parliament, he harboured ſome jealouſy and prejudice to the Court, towards which he was not before immoderately inclined. He was choſen again for the ſame place, in the Parliament which began the 3d of November following; and in the beginning of it, declared himſelf very ſharply and ſeverely againſt thoſe exorbitances of the Court, which had been thought moſt grievous to the State (*s*). For he was ſo rigid an obſerver of eſtabliſhed laws and rules, that he could not endure the leaſt breach or deviation from them: and thought no miſchief ſo intolerable, as the preſumption of Miniſters of State, to break poſitive rules for reaſons of State; or Judges to tranſgreſs known laws, upon the title of conveniency or neceſſity (*t*). This made him ſo ſevere againſt the Lord Finch [*I*], and

(*b*) *Ibid.*

(*i*) Clarendon, *ubi ſupra*, p. 351.

(*k*) *Ibid.*

(*l*) Lord Clarendon's Animadverſions upon a book intituled, *Fanaticiſm fanatically imputed to the Catholic Church*, by Dr. *Stilling fleet*, &c. by S. C. Lond. 1674, p. 185.

(*m*) *Idem.* Hiſt. as above, p. 352.

(*n*) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(*o*) *Ibid.*

(*p*) Account of the Life of Mr. Edm. Waller, prefixed to his Poems, p. xi. edit. 1711, 8vo.

(*q*) Clarendon, *ubi ſupra*, p. 357.

(*r*) Ruſhworth's Hiſt. Collections, vol. iii. p. 1112.

(*s*) Clarendon, p. 353.

(*t*) *Ibid.*

[*E*] *He contracted a familiarity and friendſhip with the moſt polite and accurate men.*] Among the reſt, with William Chillingworth of Trinity-college; John Earle, and Hugh Creſſy, of Merton; George Aglionby, and Tho. Triplet, of Chriſt-church; Charles Gataker of Pembroke-college, ſon of the learned Thomas Gataker of Redrith; George Sandys the poet, &c. (6).

(6) Wood, Ath. col. 587.

[*F*] *He made himſelf, in a very ſhort time, a perfect maſter of the Greek tongue.*] When he undertook to learn it, he reſolved not to ſee London, which he loved above all places, till he had perfectly learned it; and, accordingly going to his own houſe in the country, he there purſued the ſtudy of that language with ſuch indefatigable induſtry, that he became maſter of it in a very ſhort time (7).

(7) Clarendon, vol. ii. part ii. p. 351.

[*G*] *He was complimented with copies of verſes, by Mr. Waller*, &c.] Mr. Waller's begin thus: *To my Lord of* Falkland. *In the year* 1638.

Brave Holland leads, and with him Falkland goes;
Who hears this told, and does not ſtraight ſuppoſe
We ſend the Graces and the Muſes forth,
To civilize, and to inſtruct the North?

And a little after.

Ah, noble Friend with what impatience all
That know thy worth, and know how prodigal
Of thy great Soul thou art, longing to twiſt
Bays with that Ivy, which ſo early kiſt
Thy youthful temples, with what horror we
Think on the blind events of war and thee?
To Fate expoſing that all-knowing breaſt
Among the throng, as cheaply as the reſt, &c (8).

(8) Poems, &c. by Edm. Waller, Eſq; 8th edit. 1711, p. 81.

[*H*] *And Mr. Cowley.*] In his poem, *To the Lord Falkland. For his ſafe return from the Northern Expedition againſt the Scots.* The firſt lines of which run thus:

Great is thy charge, O North; be wiſe and juſt,
England commits her Falkland to thy truſt;
Return him ſafe: Learning would rather chuſe
Her Bodley, or her Vatican to loſe.
All things that are but writ or printed there,
In his unbounded breaſt engraven are.
There all the Sciences together meet,
And every Art does all her kindred greet.

And near the end.

He is too good for war, and ought to be
As far from danger, as from fear he is free (9).

(9) The Works of Mr. Abraham Cowley, 7th edit. 1681, fol. p. 415.

[*I*] *This made him ſo ſevere againſt the Lord Finch.*] John Lord Finch, Baron of Fordwich, and Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal, was, on the 14th of January 1640-1, impeached by the Lord Falkland, in the name of the Houſe of Commons, of having traiterouſly and wickedly endeavoured to ſubvert the fundamental laws and eſtabliſhed government of the realm; on account, of his having hindered, when he was Speaker, the reading of ſome things in the Houſe; of his having endeavoured to enlarge the bounds of the foreſt in Eſſex; and chiefly for being an adviſer and promoter of Ship-money, &c (10). After the reading of the articles, the Lord Falkland made a ſevere ſpeech againſt him, in which he obſerves,—— 'That his life 'appeared a perpetual warfare, by mines, and by bat-
'tery,

(10) Nelſon's Collections, vol. i. p. 722, 723.

and the Earl of Strafford [*K*], contrary to his natural gentleneſs and temper. But in both caſes he only followed the authority of thoſe, who, he believed, underſtood the laws perfectly, of which he himſelf was utterly ignorant (*u*). For, though he was ſe- (*u*) *Ibid.*
vere, ſo far was he from being violent againſt thoſe two noble Peers, that when it was moved in the Houſe of Commons, That the Earl of Strafford might *forthwith* (at the time he was firſt accuſed) be impeached of High-Treaſon, the Lord Falkland, though he was very well known not to have any kindneſs for him, modeſtly deſired the Houſe to conſider, 'Whether it would not ſuit better with the gravity of their proceedings, firſt 'to digeſt many of thoſe particulars which had been mentioned, by a Committee, be- 'fore they ſent up to the Houſe of Lords to accuſe him? declaring himſelf, however, 'to be abundantly ſatisfied that there was enough to charge him (*w*).' He had con- (*w*) Clarendon, vol. i. Part i. p. 173, 174.
tracted a diſlike to Archbiſhop Laud, and ſome others of the Biſhops [*L*], which in-

'tery, by battle, and by ſtratagem, againſt our fun- 'damental laws.' Then, after having inſtanced in the particulars above-mentioned, he adds,——'That his 'crimes were in the higheſt degree of Parliamentary 'Treaſon,——a Treaſon as well againſt the King, 'as againſt the kingdom; for whatſoever is againſt 'the whole, is undoubtedly againſt the head; which 'takes from his Majeſty the ground of his rule, the 'laws, (for if foundations be deſtroyed, the pinacles 'are moſt endangered;) which takes from his Maje- 'ſty the principal honour of his rule, the ruling over 'freemen, a power as much nobler than over villeins, 'as that is which is over beaſts; which endeavoured 'to take from his Majeſty the principal ſupport of his 'rule, their hearts and affections over whom he rules, 'a better and ſurer ſtrength and wall to the King, 'than the ſea is to the kingdom; and by begetting a 'mutual diſtruſt, and by that a mutual diſaffection 'between them, to hazard the danger even of the de- (11) *Ibid.* p. 725, 726. 'ſtruction of both (11).' He had, on the 5th of December before, made another *Speech againſt the Lord Finch, and the Judges*, wherein he obſerves, 'That 'the cauſe of all the miſeries they [the nation] had 'ſuffered, and the cauſe of all the jealouſies they had 'that they ſhould yet ſuffer, was, That a moſt excel- 'lent Prince had been moſt infinitely abuſed, by his 'Judges telling him, That by policy he might do 'what he pleaſed.'——And, afterwards aſſerts, 'That common fame was ground enough for the Houſe (12) *Ibid.* p. 654—656. 'of Commons to accuſe upon (12).'

[*K*] *And the Earl of* Strafford.] He hints at him, in the following paſſage which occurs in the laſt-mentioned ſpeech.——'I will only ſay we have accuſed a 'great perſon of High-Treaſon, for intending to ſub- 'vert our fundamental laws, and to introduce arbi- 'trary government, which we ſuppoſe he meant to (13) Hiſt. vol. ii. Part i. p. 353. 'do.'——The Lord Clarendon obſerves (13), That they who did not know his compoſition to be as free from revenge as it was from pride, thought that his ſharpneſs againſt the Earl of Strafford, might proceed from the memory of ſome unkindneſſes, not without a mixture of injuſtice from him towards his father.

[*L*] *He had contracted a diſlike to Archbiſhop* Laud, *&c.*] Having obſerved the Archbiſhop's paſſion, when it may be multiplicity of buſineſs, or other indiſpoſition had poſſeſſed him, he therefore wiſhed him leſs entangled and engaged in the buſineſs of the Court, or State.—Two reaſons induced his Lordſhip to give his conſent to the firſt bill for diſplacing the Biſhops. Firſt, His not underſtanding then the original of their right and ſuffrage there. Secondly, An opinion, that the combination againſt the whole government of the Church by Biſhops, was ſo violent and furious, that a leſs compoſition than the diſpenſing with their intermeddling in ſecular affairs, would not preſerve the or- (14) *Ib.* p. 336. der (14). However, what reaſons or inducements ſoever he might be acted by, he made, on the 9th of February 1640, as violent and bitter a ſpeech againſt the Biſhops, as any of their moſt inveterate enemies. Some paſſages in it, are as follow.——'This king- 'dom hath long laboured under many and great op- 'preſſions, both in Religion and Liberty; and a man's 'acquaintance here is not great, or his ingenuity leſs, 'who doth not both know and acknowledge, that a 'great, if not a principal, cauſe of both theſe have 'been ſome Biſhops, and their adherents. A little 'ſearch will ſerve to find them to have been the de- 'ſtruction of unity, under pretence of uniformity, to 'have brought in ſuperſtition and ſcandal, under the titles of reverence and decency, to have defiled 'our Church, by adorning our Churches, to have 'ſlackened the ſtrictneſs of that union which was for- 'merly between us and thoſe of our Religion beyond 'the ſea; an action as unpolitick as ungodly. We 'ſhall find them to have tithed mint and aniſe, and 'have left undone the weightier works of the law; 'to have been leſs eager upon thoſe who damn our 'Church, than upon thoſe, who, upon weak con- 'ſcience, and perhaps *as weak reaſons*, (the diſlike of 'ſome commanded garment, or ſome uncommanded 'poſture,) only abſtained from it.—We ſhall find them 'to have reſembled the dog in the manger; to have 'neither preached themſelves, nor employed thoſe 'that ſhould, nor ſuffered thoſe that would: to have 'brought in catechiſing only to thruſt out preaching; 'cried down lectures by the name of factions.—— 'To go yet farther, ſome of them have ſo induſtri- 'ouſly laboured to deduce themſelves from Rome, 'that they have given great ſuſpicion that in grati- 'tude they deſire to return thither, or at leaſt to meet 'it half way: Some have evidently laboured to bring 'in an Engliſh, though not a Roman Popery; I mean 'not only the outſide and dreſs of it, but equally ab- 'ſolute; a blind dependance of the people upon the 'Clergy, and of the Clergy upon themſelves.—— 'We ſhall find ſome of them to have laboured to ex- 'clude both all perſons, and all cauſes of the Clergy, 'from the ordinary juriſdiction of the Temporal Ma- 'giſtrate, and by hindring prohibitions, to have taken 'away the only legal bound to their arbitrary power.— 'We ſhall find *ſome* of them to have both kindled and 'blown the common fire of both nations,——and 'to have been the almoſt ſole abettors of my Lord of 'Strafford.'——All this he ſums up, by laying the faults of the men upon the order of the Biſhops, upon *Epiſcopacy*.——But afterwards he ſoftens the ſharpneſs of what he had advanced, in the following manner.——'If we conſider, that if not the firſt planters, 'yet the firſt ſpreaders of Chriſtianity, and the firſt 'and chief defenders of Chriſtianity againſt Hereſies 'within, and Paganiſm without, both with their ink 'and with their blood; and the main conducers to the 'reſurrection of Chriſtianity, at leaſt here in the refor- 'mation (and we owe the light of the Goſpel we now 'enjoy, to the fire they then endured for it) were all 'Biſhops: and that even now in the greateſt perfection 'of that order, there are yet ſome who have conduced 'in nothing to our late innovations, but in their ſi- 'lence; ſome, who in an unexpected and mighty 'place and power, have expreſſed an equal moderation 'and humility, being neither ambitious before, nor 'proud after, either of the Corſier's Staff, or White 'Staff: Some who have been learned oppoſers of Po- 'pery, and zealous oppoſers of *Arminianiſm*; be- 'tween whom and their inferior Clergy, in frequency 'of preaching hath been no diſtinction; whoſe lives 'are untouched, not only by guilt, but by malice; 'ſcarcely to be equalled by thoſe of any condition, or 'to be excelled by thoſe in any Calendar.——If we 'conſider this, this conſideration will bring forth this 'concluſion, That Biſhops may be good men (15).' (15) Nalſon, *ubi ſupra*, p. 768, &c. Ruſhworth's Hiſt. Collect. Part iii. vol. i. p. 184.
By what his Lordſhip ſays of *Arminianiſm*, 'tis plain, that notwithſtanding his great learning, he had never ſtudied the Predeſtinarian Controverſy; of which Arminianiſm gives a rational and conſiſtent notion, agreeable to God's infinite Wiſdom and Goodneſs; whereas rigid Calviniſm repreſents God, the fountain of Goodneſs and Perfection, as the moſt cruel, arbitrary, and tyrannical Being in the world.

fluenced his judgment ſo far, as to make him concur in the firſt bill to take away the votes of Biſhops in the Houſe of Lords (*x*), though he refuſed to be one of the Committee to draw up reaſons for it (*y*). This concurrence of his gave occaſion for ſome to believe, and opportunity to others to conclude, that he was no friend to the Church, or the eſtabliſhed government of the ſame (*z*): and it cauſed many in the Houſe of Commons to imagine, and hope, that he might be brought to a farther compliance with their deſigns (*a*). Indeed the great opinion he had of the uprightneſs and integrity of thoſe perſons who appeared moſt active againſt the Court, eſpecially of Mr. Hamden, kept him for ſome time from ſuſpecting any deſign againſt the peace of the kingdom; and though he differed from them commonly in concluſion, he believed long their purpoſes were honeſt. But when he grew better informed what was law, and diſcerned in them a deſire to controul that law by a vote of one, or both Houſes, no man oppoſed more thoſe attempts, and gave the adverſe party more trouble by reaſon and argumentation (*b*). Accordingly, about ſix months after paſſing the above-mentioned bill for taking away the Biſhops votes, when the ſame argument came again into debate, he changed his opinion, and gave the Houſe all the oppoſition he could; nor was he reſerved in acknowledging, that Mr. Hamden had aſſured him, if that bill might paſs, there would be nothing more attempted to the prejudice of the Church (*c*). Though he thus voted againſt the Biſhops, yet we are aſſured, that he had the order itſelf in perfect reverence, and thought too great encouragement could not poſſibly be given to learning, nor too great rewards to learned men (*d*). For ſome time he continued averſe to the Court, and was ſo jealous of the leaſt imagination of his inclining to preferment, that he affected even a moroſeneſs to the Court, and the Courtiers; and left nothing undone which might prevent, or divert the King's or Queen's favour towards him (*e*). And therefore, when he heard that he was to be made a Privy-Counſellor, and Secretary of State, he reſolved to decline the one, and refuſe the other. But, at length, for certain reaſons [*M*], he ſubmitted to the King's pleaſure (*f*); and ſerved his Majeſty in thoſe employments, with great ability, being well verſed in languages; and with the utmoſt integrity, being above corruption of any kind: though, at firſt, he was ſo totally unacquainted with buſineſs, and the forms of it, that he did believe he could not execute the office with any ſufficiency. He was employed by the King, to demand from the Earls of Eſſex and Holland, the badges of their offices of Lord Chamberlain, and Groom of the Stole (*g*); and alſo to require the Seal from the Lord Keeper Littleton (*h*). June 15, 1642, he was one of the Lords who ſigned a Declaration, wherein they profeſſed, they were fully perſuaded that his Majeſty had no intention to raiſe war upon his Parliament (*i*). About the ſame time, he ſubſcribed to levy twenty horſe for his Majeſty's ſervice (*k*). Upon this, and other accounts, he was excepted from the Parliament's favour, in the inſtructions given by the two Houſes to their General, the Earl of Eſſex (*l*). He attended the King to Edgehill-fight, where, after the enemy was routed, he was near incurring great danger, by interpoſing to ſave thoſe who had thrown away their arms (*m*). He was alſo with his Majeſty at Oxford [*N*], and

(*x*) *Ibid.* p. 235. and vol. ii. Part i. p. 356.

(*y*) *Idem*, vol. i. Part ii. p. 303.

(*z*) Vol. ii. P. i. p. 356.

(*a*) Vol. i. P. i. p. 236.

(*b*) *Idem*, vol. ii. Part i. p. 353.

(*c*) *Idem*, vol. i. Part. i. p. 236.

(*d*) *Id.* vol. ii. P. i. p. 357.

(*e*) *Ib.* p. 353, 354.

(*f*) *Ibid*, p. 355. and vol. i. P. ii. p. 340, 366.

(*g*) *Ibid.* vol. i. P. ii. p. 477. This harſh office might have been more naturally and as effectually performed, by a Gentleman-Uſher; and therefore the Lord Falkland was a little troubled at receiving the command, but however would make no excuſe, *ibid.*

(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 573.

(*i*) *Ib* p. 655, 656.

(*k*) Liſt, at the end of the King's Anſwer to the Petition of the Lords and Commons preſented to him at York, June 17, 1642. Lond. 4to.

(*l*) *Id.* vol. ii. Part i. p. 28.

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 357.

[*M*] *For certain reaſons.*] His reaſons for accepting of the Seals, were theſe two. Firſt, The conſideration that his refuſal might bring ſome blemiſh upon the King's affairs, and that men would think he had refuſed ſo great an honour and truſt, becauſe he muſt with it have been obliged to do ſomewhat elſe not juſtifiable. The other was, Leſt he might be thought to avoid it out of fear to do an ungracious thing to the Houſe of Commons, who were very much troubled at the diſplacing of Sir Henry Vane. For, as he had a full deſire of fame by juſt and generous actions, ſo he had an equal contempt of it by any ſervile expedients.——Whilſt he continued in his office, there were two things he could never bring himſelf to. The one was, employing of ſpies, or giving any countenance or entertainment to them; namely, to ſuch perſons, who by communication of guilt, or diſſimulation of manners, wind themſelves into ſuch truſts, and ſecrets, as enable them to make diſcoveries. The other, The liberty of opening letters, upon a ſuſpicion, that they might contain matter of dangerous conſequence. For the firſt, he would ſay, ſuch inſtruments muſt be void of all ingenuity, and common honeſty, before they could be of uſe; and afterwards they could never be fit to be credited: and that no ſingle preſervation could be worth ſo general a wound, and corruption of human ſociety, as the cheriſhing ſuch perſons would carry with it. The laſt, he thought, ſuch a violation of the law of nature, that no qualification by office could juſtify him in the treſpaſs; and tho' he was convinced by the neceſſity, and iniquity of the time, that thoſe advantages of information were not to be declined, and were neceſſary to be practiſed, he found means to put it off from himſelf (16).

(16) Clarendon, vol. ii. Part i. p. 355.

[*N*] *He was alſo with his Majeſty at Oxford.*] During their reſidence there, his Majeſty went one day to ſee the public library, where he was ſhewed among other books a Virgil nobly printed, and exquiſitely bound. The Lord Falkland, to divert the King, would have his Majeſty make a trial of his fortune by the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, an uſual kind of divination in ages paſt, made by opening a Virgil. Whereupon, the King opening the book, the period which happened to come up, was that part of Dido's imprecation againſt Æneas, *Æneid.* lib. iv. ver. 615, *&c.* part of which is thus tranſlated by Mr. Dryden.

> Oppreſs'd with numbers in th' unequal field,
> His men diſcourag'd, and himſelf expell'd,
> Let him for ſuccour ſue from place to place,
> Torn from his ſubjects, and his ſon's embrace, *&c.*

King Charles ſeeming concerned at this accident, the Lord Falkland, who obſerved it, would likewiſe try his own fortune in the ſame manner; hoping he might fall upon ſome paſſage that could have no relation to his caſe, and thereby divert the King's thoughts from any impreſſion the other might make upon him: but the place Lord Falkland ſtumbled upon, was yet more ſuited to his deſtiny than the other had been to the King's; being the following expreſſions of Evander,

and at the ſiege of Glouceſter, where he expoſed himſelf to danger (*n*). From the beginning of the Civil War, his natural chearfulneſs and vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of ſadneſs and dejection of ſpirit ſtole upon him, which he had never been uſed to. After the reſolution of the two Houſes not to admit any treaty for peace, thoſe indiſpoſitions, which had before touched him, grew into a perfect habit of unchearfulneſs; and he, who had been exactly eaſy and affable to all men, became on a ſudden leſs communicable, and very ſad, pale, and extremely affected with the ſpleen. In his cloaths and habit, which he had before always minded with more neatneſs, induſtry, and expence, than are uſual to ſo great a ſoul, he became not only incurious, but too negligent; and in his reception of ſuitors, ſo quick, ſharp, and ſevere, that it made him be looked upon as proud and imperious. When there was any overture, or hope for peace, he would be more erect and vigorous, and exceedingly ſolicitous to preſs any thing which he thought might promote it. And ſitting among his friends, often, after a deep ſilence, and frequent ſighs, he would, with a ſhrill and ſad accent, repeat the word *peace, peace*; and would paſſionately profeſs, that the very agony of the war, and the view of the calamities and deſolation, the kingdom did and muſt endure, took his ſleep from him, and would ſhortly break his heart (*o*). This extreme uneaſineſs ſeems to have hurried him on to his deſtruction. For, the morning before the firſt battle of Newbury, he called for a clean ſhirt, and being aſked the reaſon of it, anſwered, That 'if he were 'ſlain in the battle, they ſhould not find his body in foul linen.' Being diſſuaded by his friends to go into the fight, as having no call to it, and being no military officer, he ſaid, 'he was weary of the times, and foreſaw much miſery to his own country, and 'did believe he ſhould be out of it ere night (*p*).' Putting himſelf therefore into the firſt rank of the Lord Byron's regiment, he was ſhot with a muſquet, in the lower part of the belly, on the 20th of September, 1643, and in the inſtant falling from his horſe, his body was not found till the next morning (*q*). Thus fell that incomparable young man (*r*), much lamented by all that knew him, or heard of him (*s*), in the thirty-fourth year of his age; having ſo much diſpatched the true buſineſs of his life, that the eldeſt rarely attain to that immenſe knowledge, and the youngeſt enter not into the world with more innocency (*t*). His contemporaries have agreed to beſtow upon him the higheſt commendations imaginable. They aſſure us, that he was a man of excellent, nay of exceeding great and prodigious parts, both natural and acquired (*u*); of a wit ſo ſharp, and a nature ſo ſincere, that nothing could be more lovely (*w*); of great ingenuity and honour (*x*); of the moſt exemplary manners, and ſingular good-nature, and of the moſt unblemiſhed integrity (*y*); of that inimitable ſweetneſs and delight in converſation, of ſo flowing and obliging a humanity and goodneſs to mankind, and of that primitive ſimplicity and innocency of life, as could hardly be equalled (*z*). His anſwers were quick and ſudden; and though he had a great deal of true worth, yet he was withal very modeſt (*a*). His familiarity and friendſhip, for the moſt part, were with men of the moſt eminent and ſublime parts, and of untouched reputation in point of integrity. He was a great cheriſher of wit, and fancy, and good parts, in any man; and, if he found them clouded with poverty or want, a moſt liberal and bountiful patron towards them, even above his fortune (*b*). He was ſo great an enemy to that paſſion and uncharitableneſs, which he ſaw produced by difference of opinion in matters of Religion, that in all his diſputes with Prieſts, and others of the Roman Communion, he affected to manifeſt all poſſible civility to their perſons, and eſteem of their learning or ingenuity (*c*). As his parts were great, ſo alſo were his knowledge and learning very conſiderable. Of this he hath left ſignal proofs in his learned writings [*O*], and in the aſſiſtance

(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 359.

(*o*) *Ibid.* p. 357, 358, 359.

(*p*) Whitelock's Memorials, edit. 1732, p. 73, 74.

(*q*) Clarendon, *ubi ſupra*, p. 359.

(*r*) *Ibid.*

(*s*) Whitelock, p. 74.

(*t*) Clarendon, p. 359.

(*u*) *Idem*, vol. i. P. ii. p. 340. and Biſhop Barlow's Genuine Remains, edit. 1693, p. 328.

(*w*) Clarendon, in the place laſt cited.

(*x*) Whitelock, *ubi ſupra*.

(*y*) Clarendon's Animadverſions on *Fanaticiſm fanatically imputed to the Catholic Church*, by S. Cradly, &c. p. 185.

(*z*) Clarendon, vol. ii. Part i. p. 350.

(*a*) Wood, Ath. *ubi ſupra*, from Dr. Triplet's Preface to Lord Falkland's Diſcourſe of Infallibility.

(*b*) Clarendon, *ibid.* p. 351.

(*c*) *Ibid.* p. 352.

Evander, upon the untimely death of his ſon Pallas, *Æneid.* lib. xi. ver. 152, &c.

Non hæc, O Palla, dederas promiſſa parenti, &c. thus tranſlated by Mr. Dryden.

O Pallas! thou haſt fail'd thy plighted word,
To fight with caution, not to tempt the ſword:
I warn'd thee, but in vain; for well I knew,
What perils youthful ardour would purſue:
That boiling blood would carry thee too far;
Young as thou wert in dangers, raw to war!
O curſt eſſay of arms, diſaſtrous doom,
Prelude of bloody fields, and fights to come (17)!

(17) Memoirs, &c. by J. Welwood, M.D. edit. 1718, 12mo. p. 90—92.

[*O*] *His learned writings.*] They are, firſt *Poems*. Next, beſides thoſe *Speeches* of his mentioned above, I. A Speech, 'Of Uniformity,' as we are informed by Mr. Wood (18): but if he means the ſame which is in Ruſhworth (19), under that title, it is no more than the beginning of his Lordſhip's Speech againſt the Biſhops and Epiſcopacy, of which we have given an extract. II. A Speech, 'Of ill Counſellors about the 'King: in 1640 (20).' III. As for the 'Speech 'about Ship-money, December 5, 1640.' And, the 'Speech concerning John Lord Finch, and the Judges.' mentioned as two diſtinct ones by Mr. Wood (21), they are one and the ſame: namely, that mentioned under the note [*I*]. IV. 'A Draught of a Speech, con-'cerning Epiſcopacy, found amongſt the Lord Falk-'land's papers ſince his death, written with his own 'hand.' Oxford, one ſheet, 4*to*. 1644. V. 'A Diſ-'courſe concerning Epiſcopacy.' Lond. 1660, 4*to*. VI. 'A Diſcourſe of the Infallibility of the Church 'of Rome.' Oxford 1645, 4*to*. George Holland, a Cambridge Scholar, and afterwards a Romiſh Prieſt, having written an Anſwer to this *Diſcourſe of the Infallibility*, &c. the Lord Falkland made a Reply to it, intituled, VII. 'A View of ſome Exceptions made 'againſt *The Diſcourſe of the Infallibility of the 'Church of Rome.*' Printed at Oxford 1646, 4*to*. *The Diſcourſe of the Infallibility of the Church of Rome*; and the *Reply* to the Anſwer made thereto by G. Holland; were afterwards printed together, with a Preface ſigned J. P. ſuppoſed to be John Pearſon (22). They were reprinted again in 1651, with this title, 'Sir *Lucius Cary*, late Lord Viſcount of *Falk-land*,

(18) Ath. vol. i. col. 587.

(19) Hiſtorical Collections, P. ii. vol. ii. p. 1342.

(20) *Ibid.* p. 1351.

(21) *Ubi ſupra.*

(22) Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

assistance he gave the immortal Chillingworth, in his book of *The Religion of Protestants*, &c [*P*]. To his honour be it spoken, he was also a sincere Christian (*d*), and a true son of

(*d*) Dr. Tripler, in Wood, *ubi supra*, col. 587.

'land, his Discourse of Infallibility; with an Answer 'to it, and his Lordship's Reply, never before pub-'lished; together with Mr. Walter Montague's Let-'ter concerning the changing his Religion, Answered 'by my Lord Falkland.' This Letter of Mr. W. Montague is dated from Paris, November 21, 1635. VIII. The Lord Falkland was also author of 'A Let-'ter to Mr. F. M. *anno*. 1636,' printed at the end of Mr. Charles Gataker's *Answer to Five captious Questions propounded by a Factor for the Papacy, by parallel Questions and positive Resolutions*. Lond. 1673, 4*to*. This Factor for the Papacy was the same Fr. M. to whom the Lord Falkland's letter is addressed.

[*P*] *He assisted Mr. Chillingworth in his book of The Religion of Protestants*, &c.] This particular we learn from Bishop Barlow (23), who says, That 'when Mr. 'Chillingworth undertook the defence of Dr. Potter's 'book against the Jesuit, he was almost continually at 'Tew with my Lord, examining the reasons of both 'parties, *pro* and *con*, and their invalidility or con-'sequence; where Mr. Chillingworth had the benefit 'of my Lord's company, and his good library. The 'benefit he had by my Lord's *company*, and rational '*discourse*, was very great, as Mr. Chillingworth would 'modestly and truly confess. And so was also that 'which he received from his *library*, which was well 'furnished with choice books, such as Mr. Chilling-'worth neither had, nor ever heard of many of them, 'till my Lord shewed him the books and the passages 'in them, which were significant and pertinent to the 'purpose. So that it is certain, most of those ancient 'authorities which Mr. Chillingworth makes use of, 'he owes, first to my Lord of Falkland's learning, 'that he would give so good directions; and next 'to his civility and kindness, that he would direct 'him.' M.

(23) See his Genuine Remains, &c. Lond. 1693, 8vo. p. 329.

*** [The remark which is made, by our ingenious predecessor, at the end of note [*L*], doth not seem to be sufficiently candid. It by no means necessarily follows, on account of Lord Falkland's speaking against arminianism, that he had never studied the predestinarian controversy. All who are well versed in theological writings must know, that many able and learned men, who have paid great attention to the subject, have embraced the doctrine of predestination. This we do not say from any attachment or affection to calvinism, but merely to assert a fact, which it becomes every scholar to acknowledge. Though numbers may think that the calvinistical opinions represent God as a cruel, arbitrary, and tyrannical Being, it is certain that the persons who adopt these opinions view the matter in a different light. It is their intention, however unfortunate they may be in the execution of their purpose, to maintain and vindicate what they esteem to be the glory of the divine perfections. Besides, it ought to be remembered, that predestination hath often most ably been defended on the footing of reason and philosophy. It is undoubtedly included in the scheme of necessity, though in that scheme it is differently modified, and founded upon different principles from what the generality of Calvinists admit.

It is more curious to observe, that Lord Falkland, in his speech against the Bishops, joins Popery and Arminianism together, as having a connection with each other, and that this was the common language of the Patriots of that age. In the protestation which was made in the House of Commons, on the second of March, 1728-29, whilst the Speaker was forcibly detained in the chair, the first article was as follows: "That whosoever should bring in innovation in "religion, or by favour seek to extend or introduce "*Popery or Arminianism*, or other opinions, disagree-"ing from the truth, or orthodox Church, should be "reputed a capital enemy to this kingdom and com-"mon-wealth (24.)" As it may appear strange to any man who is not accurately acquainted with the history of these times, that Arminianism should thus be obnoxiously joined with Popery, it may not be amiss to enquire a little particularly into the cause of this union. The Puritan ministers were almost universally very zealous Calvinists. Having been much persecuted during the preceding reigns, and deprived of the liberty of preaching, they were obliged to betake themselves to different employments, or to seek for shelter in the houses of pious and beneficent persons, who approved of their principles, or esteemed their characters. Many of them were taken by the nobility and gentry into their families, with the purpose of educating their children. To this they were induced not only by the learning of the Puritan ministers, in which they shared with the rest of the Clergy, but by their severity of manners. The Puritan ministers, having gotten so important a business into their hands, would not, we may be assured, neglect the opportunity of inspiring their pupils with their own views of things; and this they did with regard to theological as well as political subjects. They were especially careful to lead the young men under their tuition into a great aversion to Arminianism. There were two circumstances, which, at that period contributed to render Arminianism peculiarly hateful. One of these was, its imagined conformity to Popery in the article of justification. It is not, indeed, true that the Arminians, as such, could reasonably be considered as entertaining any opinions which favoured the absurd doctrines of the Papists concerning merit, and works of supererogation. It was, however, then generally believed that they did; and Popery, with the greatest reason, was looked upon in so dangerous a light, that it is not surprizing that every thing which was thought to come near it excited a similar alarm and aversion.

Another circumstance, which contributed still more to a dislike of Arminianism, was the real character of most of the Arminian Clergy, and especially the dignified part of them, during the reigns of King James and King Charles the First. The Arminian Clergy of that time were, in fact, the Clergy who approached the nearest to the Church of Rome, in their fondness for ecclesiastical power, ostentatious ceremonies, and other things which wore a popish aspect. They were the men who appeared the most desirous of accomplishing some kind of union with that Church. Besides this, they were the great asserters of regal prerogative. Several of them went even so far as to ascribe to the Prince an absolute uncontrollable authority; an authority by Divine right, which set him above all parliaments, and all law. This was the case with Laud, Manwaring, Sibthorp, and others. The Arminian Clergy, therefore, being actually of this stamp, jealousy and dislike were naturally conceived with respect to their theological principles; though their theological principles, so far as related to the particular doctrinal tenets of Arminius or Episcopius, had no real tendency to promote Popery and arbitrary power. There are some Authors, indeed, who appear to be of a different opinion; but without good reason. The sentiments which a person may entertain concerning election, grace, universal redemption, perseverance, and matters of a similar nature, whether on the Calvinistical, or Arminian side of the question, cannot, in themselves, be considered as favourable either to ecclesiastical, or to civil tyranny. The connexion which, at the period we are speaking of, and in this kingdom, subsisted between Arminianism and arbitrary principles in Church and State, was owing to peculiar circumstances. It arose partly from Laud and his friends happening to be Arminians, whilst, in other respects, they were abetters of the absolute power of the Prince; and partly from the critical situation of the Arminian Clergy. These Clergy were supposed to have the established articles of the Church of England against them, and it is certain that the stream of the people did not run in their favour. They betook themselves, therefore, to the protection of the Sovereign; and, in order the more fully to obtain that protection, zealously fell in with all his prejudices; which was the easier to them, in consequence of having been themselves educated in narrow views both of religious and civil polity. They had

(24) Parliamentary History, vol. viii. p. 332.

of the Church of England (e). Some indeed have charged him with being a Socinian (f), but all that knew him have cleared him from that imputation (g). And it is well known,

(e) Barlow's Genuine Remains, p. 328.

(f) See Wood, col. 587.

(g) S. Creſſy in his Epiſtle Apologetical, printed 1674, § 7. and Dr. Triplet in his Epiſt. Dedicat. before the Lord Falkland's book of Infallibility.

had reaſon, likewiſe, to apprehend, from the averſion which the patriots had conceived againſt them, that they would be brought into a ſtate of perſecution, if the oppoſition to the Crown ſhould prevail; and this apprehenſion would almoſt unavoidably throw them ſtill farther on the other ſide.

The ſituation of things in the United Provinces was directly the reverſe. There the Arminians were the Patriots, and oppoſed the arbitrary deſigns of the Houſe of Orange; while the Calviniſts were zealouſly devoted to the Princes of that family, and too much favoured them even in their unjuſtifiable purpoſes. This happened at the very period in which the Arminians in England were peculiarly obnoxious to their countrymen, on account of their attachment to regal prerogative and prieſtly dominion; and it is a deciſive proof that Arminianiſm has no neceſſary, or natural connexion with tyranny or with Popery. It cannot be doubted that there were ſeveral of the Arminian Clergy of this country who were far from entertaining principles which were hoſtile to the privileges of their fellow ſubjects. Mr. John Hales of Eaton, and Dr. Jeremy Taylor, had ſuch enlarged ſentiments with regard to religious liberty, that we cannot eaſily ſuppoſe them to have been enemies to civil freedom. It is a fact worthy of particular notice, that Mr. John Goodwin, who was a bigoted Arminian, was, at the ſame time, a moſt zealous republican, and wrote a treatiſe in vindication of the beheading of King Charles the Firſt.

But it is ſufficient to appeal to our own times, as a deciſive proof that there is nothing in Arminianiſm which leads a perſon to be a favourer either of Popery, or of abſolute Monarchy. The accidental connexion between theſe things, which took place in the reign of King Charles the Firſt, is now broken. We cannot but be ſenſible, that, whether a man be a Calviniſt, or an Arminian, it is of no importance to his political ſentiments. It is a plain fact, that Arminians, in perfect conſiſtence with their peculiar theological opinions, not only may be, but actually are as averſe to the Roman Catholic religion, and to arbitrary power, as any perſons whatſoever.

It ſeems plain, from all the account which is given in the text, of Lord Falkland's ſtate of mind, after the beginning of the civil war, and his entering into his Majeſty's ſervice, that he was not ſatisfied with his ſtation. Upon a nearer acceſs to the King, he probably ſaw more of Charles the Firſt's arbitrary principles, and that he was not, as his Lordſhip had before imagined, a friend to Parliaments. The extreme anxiety under which Lord Falkland laboured, and his almoſt voluntarily throwing away his life, can ſcarcely be accounted for but upon ſuch a ſuppoſition.

If his Lordſhip had any doubts concerning the doctrine of the Trinity, they do not redound greatly to his diſhonour. Doubts of this kind were entertained by his friend Chillingworth; and it is well known, that ſome others of the beſt and ableſt men which England hath produced have withheld their aſſent from the Athanaſian opinions.

We ſhould not do full juſtice to Lord Falkland's merit and virtues, if we did not inſert the freſh character of him which hath lately been given to the public, in the Earl of Clarendon's life; and though the quotation be long, and ſome few particulars in it may be repeated that have already been mentioned, it will, nevertheleſs, come recommended by the maſterly manner with which it is written, and by the new circumſtances it relates concerning the ſubject of the preſent article. "With Sir Lucius Carey he (Mr. Hyde) had a moſt entire friendſhip without reſerve, from his age of twenty years, to the hour of his death, near twenty years after; upon which there will be occaſion to enlarge when we come to ſpeak of that time, and often before, and therefore we ſhall ſay no more of him in this place, than to ſhew his condition, and qualifications, which were the firſt ingredients into that friendſhip, which was afterwards cultivated, and improved by a conſtant converſation and familiarity, and by many accidents which contributed thereto. He had the advantage of a noble extraction, and of being born his father's eldeſt ſon, when there was a greater fortune in proſpect to be inherited (beſides what he might reaſonably expect by his mother) than came afterwards to his poſſeſſion. His education was equal to his birth, at leaſt in the care, if not in the climate; for his father being Deputy of Ireland, before he was of age fit to be ſent abroad, his breeding was in the Court, and in the Univerſity of Dublin; but under the care, vigilance, and direction of ſuch governors and tutors, that he learned all thoſe exerciſes and languages, better than moſt men do in more celebrated places; inſomuch as when he came into England, which was when he was about the age of eighteen years, he was not only maſter of the Latin tongue, and had read all the Poets, and other of the beſt Authors with notable judgment for that age, but he underſtood, and ſpake, and writ French, as if he had ſpent many years in France.

"He had another advantage, which was a great ornament to the reſt, that was, a good, a plentiful eſtate, of which he had the early poſſeſſion. His mother was the ſole daughter and heir of the Lord Chief Baron Tanfield, who having given a fair portion with his daughter in marriage, had kept himſelf free to diſpoſe of his land, and his other eſtate, in ſuch manner as he ſhould think fit; and he ſettled it in ſuch manner upon his grandſon Sir Lucius Carey, without taking notice of his father or mother, that upon his grandmother's death, which fell out about the time that he was nineteen years of age, all the land, with two very good houſes very well furniſhed (worth above two thouſand pounds per annum) in a moſt pleaſant country, and the two moſt pleaſant places in that country, with a very plentiful perſonal eſtate, fell into his hands and poſſeſſion, and to his entire diſpoſal.

"With theſe advantages, he had one great diſadvantage (which in the firſt entrance into the world is attended with too much prejudice) in his perſon and preſence, which was in no degree attractive or promiſing: his ſtature was low, and ſmaller than moſt men; his motion not graceful; and his aſpect ſo far from inviting, that it had ſomewhat in it of ſimplicity; and his voice the worſt of the three, and ſo untuned, that inſtead of reconciling, it offended the ear, ſo that nobody would have expected muſic from that tongue; and ſure no man was leſs beholden to nature for its recommendation into the world; but then no man ſooner, or more diſappointed this general and cuſtomary prejudice: that little perſon and ſmall ſtature was quickly found to contain a great heart, a courage ſo keen, and a nature ſo fearleſs, that no compoſition of the ſtrongeſt limbs, and moſt harmonious and proportioned preſence and ſtrength, ever more diſpoſed any man to the greateſt enterprize; it being his greateſt weakneſs to be too ſolicitous for ſuch adventures; and that untuned tongue and voice eaſily diſcovered itſelf to be ſupplied, and governed, by a mind and underſtanding ſo excellent, that the wit and weight of all he ſaid, carried another kind of luſtre and admiration in it, and even another kind of acceptation from the perſons preſent, than any ornament of delivery could reaſonably promiſe itſelf, or is uſually attended with; and his diſpoſition and nature was ſo gentle and obliging, ſo much delighted in courteſy, kindneſs, and generoſity, that all mankind could not but admire, and love him.

"In a ſhort time after he had poſſeſſion of the eſtate his grandfather had left him, and before he was of age, he committed a fault againſt his father, in marrying a young lady, whom he paſſionately loved, without any conſiderable portion, which exceedingly offended him: and diſappointed all his reaſonable hopes and expectation, of redeeming and repairing his own broken fortune, and deſperate hopes in Court, by ſome advantageous marriage of his ſon; about which he had then ſome probable treaty. Sir Lucius Cary was very conſcious to himſelf of his offence and tranſgreſſion, and the conſequence of it, which though he could not repent, having married a lady

known, how ready, violent, and paſſionate men are, to charge thoſe that any way differ from them, with the damnable ſin, as they think it, of hereſy. Upon the whole, therefore,

of a moſt extraordinary wit and judgment, and of the moſt ſignal virtue and exemplary life, that the age produced, and who brought him many hopeful children, in which he took great delight; yet he confeſſed it, with the moſt ſincere and dutiful applications to his father for his pardon, that could be made; and for the prejudice he had brought upon his fortune by bringing no portion to him, he offered to repair it, by reſigning his whole eſtate to his diſpoſal, and to rely wholly upon his kindneſs for his own maintenance and ſupport; and to that purpoſe, he had cauſed conveyances to be drawn by Counſel, which he brought ready engroſſed to his father, and was willing to ſeal, and execute them, that they might be valid; but his father's paſſion and indignation ſo far tranſported him (though he was a gentleman of excellent parts), that he refuſed any reconciliation, and rejected all the offers that were made him of the eſtate; ſo that his ſon remained ſtill in the poſſeſſion of his eſtate againſt his will; for which he found great reaſon afterwards to rejoice; but he was for the preſent, ſo much afflicted with his father's diſpleaſure, that he tranſported himſelf and his wife into Holland, reſolving to buy ſome military command, and to ſpend the remainder of his life in that profeſſion; but being diſappointed in the treaty he expected, and finding no opportunity to accommodate himſelf with ſuch a command, he returned again into England, reſolving to retire to a country life, and to his books; that ſince he was not like to improve himſelf in arms, he might advance in letters.

" In this reſolution he was ſo ſevere (as he was always naturally very intent upon what he was inclined to) that he declared, he would not ſee London in many years, which was the place he loved of all the world; and that in his ſtudies, he would firſt apply himſelf to the Greek, and purſue it without intermiſſion, till he ſhould attain to the full underſtanding of that tongue; and it is hardly to be credited, what induſtry he uſed, and what ſucceſs attended that induſtry; for though his father's death, by an unhappy accident, made his repair to London abſolutely neceſſary, in fewer years than he had propoſed for his abſence; yet he had firſt made himſelf maſter of the Greek tongue (in the Latin he was very well verſed before), and had read not only the Greek Hiſtorians, but Homer likewiſe, and ſuch of the Poets as were worthy to be peruſed.

" Though his father's death brought no other convenience to him, but a title to redeem an eſtate, mortgaged for as much as it was worth, and for which he was compelled to ſell a finer ſeat of his own; yet it impoſed a burthen upon him, of the title of a Viſcount, and an increaſe of expence, in which he was not in his nature too provident, or reſtrained; having naturally ſuch a generoſity and bounty in him, that he ſeemed to have his eſtate in truſt, for all worthy perſons who ſtood in want of ſupplies and encouragement, as Ben Jonſon, and many others of that time, whoſe fortunes required, and whoſe ſpirits made them ſuperior to, ordinary obligations; which yet they were contented to receive from him, becauſe his bounties were ſo generouſly diſtributed, and ſo much without vanity and oſtentation, that except from thoſe few perſons, from whom he ſometimes received the characters of fit objects for his benefits, or whom he intruſted for the more ſecret deriving them to them, he did all he could, that the perſons themſelves who received them ſhould not know from what fountain they flowed; and when that could not be concealed, he ſuſtained any acknowledgment from the perſons obliged, with ſo much trouble and baſhfulneſs, that they might well perceive, that he was even aſhamed of the little he had given, and to receive ſo large a recompence for it.

" As ſoon as he had finiſhed all thoſe tranſactions, which the death of his father had made neceſſary to be done, he retired again to his country life, and to his ſevere courſe of ſtudy, which was very delightful to him, as ſoon as he was engaged in it; but he was wont to ſay, that he never found reluctancy in any thing he reſolved to do, but in his quitting London, and departing from the converſation of thoſe he enjoyed there; which was in ſome degree preſerved, and continued by frequent letters, and often viſits, which were made by his friends from thence, whilſt he continued wedded to the country; and which were ſo grateful to him, that during their ſtay with him, he looked upon no book, except their very converſation made an appeal to ſome book; and truly his whole converſation was one continued Convivium Philoſophicum, or Convivium Theologicum, enlivened and refreſhed with all the facetiouſneſs of wit, and good-humour, and pleaſantneſs of diſcourſe, which made the gravity of the argument itſelf (whatever it was) very delectable. His houſe where he uſually reſided (Tew, or Burford in Oxfordſhire) being within ten or twelve miles of the Univerſity, looked like the Univerſity itſelf, by the company that was always found there. There were Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Morley, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Earles, Mr. Chillingworth, and indeed all men of eminent parts and faculties in Oxford, beſides thoſe who reſorted thither from London; who all found their lodgings there, as ready as in the Colleges; nor did the lord of the houſe know of their coming, or going, nor who were in his houſe, till he came to dinner, or ſupper, where all ſtill met; otherwiſe, there was no troubleſome ceremony, or conſtraint to forbid men to come to the houſe, or to make them weary of ſtaying there; ſo that many came thither to ſtudy in a better air, finding all the books they could deſire, in his library, and all the perſons together, whoſe company they could wiſh, and not find, in any other ſociety. Here Mr. Chillingworth wrote, and formed, and modelled his excellent book againſt the learned Jeſuit Mr. Nott, after frequent debates upon the moſt important particulars; in many of which, he ſuffered himſelf to be over-ruled by the judgment of his friends, though in others he ſtill adhered to his own fancy, which was ſceptical enough, even in the higheſt points.

" In this happy and delightful converſation and reſtraint, he remained in the country many years, and until he had made ſo prodigious a progreſs in learning, that there were very few claſſic authors in the Greek or Latin tongue, that he had not read with great exactneſs: he had read all the Greek and Latin Fathers; all the moſt allowed and authentic eccleſiaſtical writers; and all the councils, with wonderful care and obſervation; for in religion he thought too careful and too curious an enquiry could not be made, amongſt thoſe, whoſe purity was not queſtioned, and whoſe authority was conſtantly and confidently urged by men who were furtheſt from being of one mind amongſt themſelves; and for the mutual ſupport of their ſeveral opinions, in which they moſt contradicted each other; and in all thoſe controverſies, he had ſo diſpaſſioned a conſideration, ſuch a candour in his nature, and ſo profound a charity in his conſcience, that in thoſe points, in which he was in his own judgment moſt clear, he never thought the worſe, or in any degree declined the familiarity, of thoſe who were of another mind; which, without queſtion, is an excellent temper for the propagation and advancement of Chriſtianity. With theſe great advantages of induſtry, he had a memory retentive of all that he had ever read, and an underſtanding and judgment to apply it ſeaſonably and appoſitely, with the moſt dexterity and addreſs, and the leaſt pedantry and affectation, that ever man, who knew ſo much, was poſſeſſed with, of what quality ſoever: it is not a trivial evidence of his learning, his wit, and his candour, that may be found in that diſcourſe of his againſt the infallibility of the Church of Rome, publiſhed ſince his death, and from a copy under his own hand, though not prepared and digeſted by him for the preſs, and to which he would have given ſome caſtigations.

" But all his parts, abilities, and faculties, by art and induſtry, were not to be valued, or mentioned, in compariſon of his moſt accompliſhed mind and manners: his gentleneſs and affability was ſo tranſcendent

fore, he was the envy and the wonder of his time, and the greateſt ornament to this nation, that the laſt age, nay that any age hath ever produced (*b*). As to his perſon, he was little, and of no great ſtrength; his hair was blackiſh, and ſomewhat flaggy; and his eye black and lively (*i*). His body was buried in the Church of Great Tew (*k*). His uſual ſaying was, 'I pity unlearned Gentlemen, in a rainy day (*l*).'

(*i*) Wood, Ath. *ubi ſupra.*

(*b*) Dr. Tri le's *ibid.* and Clarendon, in his Animadverſions, *ubi ſupra.*

(*k*) *Ibid.*

(*l*) D. Lloyd's State Worthies, edit. 1679, p. 941.

dent and obliging, that it drew reverence, and ſome kind of compliance from the roughеſt, and moſt unpoliſhed, and ſtubborn conſtitutions; and made them of another temper in debate, in his preſence, than they were in other places: he was in his nature ſo ſevere a lover of juſtice, and ſo preciſe a lover of truth, that he was ſuperior to all poſſible temptations for the violation of either; indeed ſo rigid an exacter of perfection, in all thoſe things which ſeemed but to border upon either of them, and by the common practice of men were not thought to border upon either, that many who knew him very well, and loved and admired his virtue (as all who did know him muſt love and admire it) did believe, that he was of a temper and compoſition fitter to live in *Republicâ Platonis*, than *in Fæce Romuli*; but this rigidneſs was only exerciſed towards himſelf; towards his friend's infirmities no man was more indulgent. In his converſation, which was the moſt cheerful and pleaſant that can be imagined, though he was young (for all I have yet ſpoken of him doth not exceed his age of twenty-five or twenty-ſix years), and of great gaiety in his humour, with a flowing delightfulneſs of language, he had ſo chaſte a tongue and ear, that there was never known a profane or looſe word to fall from him, nor in truth in his company; the integrity and cleanlineſs of the wit of that time not exerciſing itſelf in that licence, before perſons for whom they had any eſteem (25)."

(25) Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon, vol. i. p. 37—45. third edition.

Notwithſtanding the high encomiums beſtowed upon Lord Falkland by the Earl of Clarendon, and, indeed, by almoſt every Writer of that age, Mr. Walpole is by no means carried away with theſe applauſes. "There never, ſays that ingenious and lively Biographer, was a ſtronger inſtance of what the magic of words and the art of an Hiſtorian can effect, than in the character of this Lord, who ſeems to have been a virtuous well-meaning man with a moderate underſtanding, who got knocked on the head early in the civil war, becauſe it boded ill: And yet by the happy ſolemnity of my Lord Clarendon's diction, Lord Falkland is the favourite perſonage of that noble work. We admire the pious Æneas, who, with all his unjuſt and uſurping pretenſions, we are taught to believe was the ſent of Heaven; but it is the amiable Pallas we regret, though he was killed before he had performed any action of conſequence.

"That Lord Falkland was a weak man, to me appears indubitable. We are told he acted with Hampden and the Patriots, till he grew better informed what was law. It is certain that the ingenious Mr. Hume has ſhown that both King James and King Charles acted upon precedents of prerogative which they found eſtabliſhed.——Yet will this neither juſtify them nor Lord Falkland. If it would, where ever tyranny is eſtabliſhed by law, it ought to be ſacred and perpetual. Thoſe Patriots did not attack King Charles ſo much for violation of the law, as to oblige him to ſubmit to the amendment of it: and I muſt repeat, that it was great weakneſs to oppoſe a Prince for breaking the law, and yet ſcruple to oppoſe him when he obſtructed the correction of it. My Lord Falkland was a ſincere Proteſtant: would he not have taken up arms againſt Henry the Eighth for adding new nonſenſe to eſtabliſhed Popery, and would he not have fought to obtain the reformation? Again:—— When he abandoned Hampden and that party, becauſe he miſtruſted the extent of their deſigns, did it juſtify his going over to the King? with what——I will not ſay, conſcience——but with what reaſon could he, who had been ſo ſenſible of grievances, lend his hand to reſtore the authority from whence thoſe grievances flowed! Did the uſurpation of Cromwell prove that Laud had been a meek Paſtor? If Hampden and Pym were bad men and ambitious, could not Lord Falkland have done more ſervice to the State by remaining with them, and checking their attempts and moderating their Councils, than by offering his ſword and abilities to the King? His Lordſhip had felt the tyranny; did not he know, that, if authorized by victory, neither the King's temper nor Government were likely to become more gentle? Did he think that loſs of liberty or loſs of property are not evils but when the law of the lands allow them to be ſo? Not to deſcant too long; it is evident to me, that this Lord had much debility of mind and a kind of ſuperſtitious ſcruples, that might flow from an excellent heart, but by no means from a ſolid underſtanding. His refuſing to entertain ſpies or to open letters, when Secretary of State, were the punctilios of the former, not of the latter; and his putting on a clean ſhirt to be killed in, is no proof of ſenſe either in his Lordſhip, or in the Hiſtorian, who thought it worth relating. Falkland's ſigning the declaration that he did not believe the King intended to make war on the Parliament, and at the ſame time ſubſcribing to levy twenty horſe for his Majeſty's ſervice, comes under a deſcription, which, for the ſake of the reſt of his character, I am willing to call great infatuation (26)."

(26) Walpole's royal and noble Authors, vol. ii. p. 216—219. ſecond edition.

Though there is juſtneſs, as well as acuteneſs, in ſome of theſe obſervations, we cannot help thinking that Mr. Walpole has carried his prejudices againſt Lord Falkland to too great a height. Unleſs his Lordſhip's abilities, as well as virtues, had been eminent in a very conſiderable degree, it is ſcarcely poſſible that he ſhould have been ſpoken of in ſuch high terms by thoſe who had the beſt opportunities of knowing what were his real qualifications. From whom are we to learn the characters of men, but from ſuch of their contemporaries as had the neareſt acceſs to them, and ſaw into every part of their conduct? Such perſons may, indeed, be ſomewhat miſled by admiration and affection; but the uniform teſtimony, in any man's favour, of the age in which he lives, cannot be groſsly miſtaken. We do not, however, think that ſtrength of mind was Lord Falkland's diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic. His ſcruples, concerning the liberty of opening letters were inconſiſtent, as well as weak. He thought it ſuch a violation of the law of nature, that it could not be juſtified by any qualification of office; and yet he was convinced by the neceſſity, and iniquity of the time, that theſe advantages of information were not to be declined, and were neceſſary to be practiſed.

Mr. Walpole hath added two other Lord Falklands, in his Catalogue of Noble Authors. Henry Lucius, the only ſon of the preceding Nobleman, is ſaid to have inherited the virtues of his father; having rendered himſelf eminent and greatly reſpectable, at Court, in the Senate, and in the County of Oxford, of which he was Lord Lieutenant. Being brought early into the Houſe of Commons, and a grave Senator objecting to his youth, "and to his not looking "as if he had ſowed his wild oats;" he replied with great quickneſs, "If I have not, I may ſow them in "the *Houſe*, where there are geeſe enow to pick them "up." He was cut off in the prime of his years. One Play was written by him, entitled, "the Mar-"riage Night." Mr. Walpole ſtiles it a Comedy; but Langbaine, the "Poetical Regiſter," and the "Companion to the Playhouſe," repreſent it as a Tragedy; and yet, at the ſame time, the Authors of the two laſt publications ſay, that it contains a great deal of true wit and ſatire (27.)

(27) Walpole, *ubi ſupra*, p. 221, 222. Poetical Regiſter, vol i. p. 99. Companion to the Playhouſe, vol. i. p. 56. ſecond edition. Langbaine's Account of the Dramatic Poets, p. 197.

Anthony Cary, the fourth Lord Falkland, was the Author of a Prologue, "intended for the Old "Batchelor;" but which ſeems to have had too little delicacy even for that play, and that age. He wrote likewiſe, a Prologue to Otway's "Soldier's "Fortune (28.)"] K.

(28) Walpole, *ubi ſupra.*

CARY (ROBERT), a learned Chronologer in the XVIIth Century, and great nephew of Sir George Cary, Knt. Lord Deputy of Ireland in Queen Elizabeth's reign (*a*), was born at Cockinton (*b*), in the county of Devon, about the year 1615 (*c*); being the ſecond ſon of George Cary, Eſquire [*A*]; and Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Edward Seymour, of Berry-caſtle, Baronet (*d*). When he was well grounded in School-learning, he went to Oxford, and was admitted Sojourner of Exeter-College, on the 4th of October 1631, aged ſixteen. Having continued there about three years, he was, in October 1634, choſen Scholar of Corpus-Chriſti-College in the ſame Univerſity (*e*). The next year, on December the 3d, he was admitted Bachelor of Arts (*f*); and the 23d of February 1638-9, proceeded Maſter of Arts (*g*): and it is probable, that he was alſo choſen Fellow of his College, though Mr. Wood profeſſes, he did not know (*h*). On November 4, 1644, he was created Doctor of Laws, by virtue of mandatory letters from the Chancellor, William Marquis of Hertford, who was his kinſman (*i*). Some time after, he travelled into France, the Low-Countries, and other foreign parts. At his return, he was preſented, by the Marquis of Hertford, to the Rectory of Portlemouth, near Kingſbridge, in Devonſhire, a living of very good value (*k*). There he ſettled, and lived in good repute: and being diſtinguiſhed by his birth, degrees, and learning, the Preſbyterian Miniſters of thoſe times never left him, till they had drawn him over to their party. For his greater encouragement, they made him Moderator of that part of the ſecond diviſion of the county of Devon, which was appointed to meet at Kingſbridge (*l*). However, he was never zealous in their intereſt: for, upon the Reſtoration of King Charles II. he was one of the firſt that congratulated that King upon his return. For this, he was ſoon after preferred to the Archdeaconry of Exeter, which he was inſtalled into Auguſt 18, 1662 (*m*). But he was, in a little while, namely, in 1664, affrighted and ejected out of it, by ſome great men then in power: who taking advantage of ſome infirmities, or perhaps imprudences, of his, reſolved to throw him out, in order to raiſe a favourite upon his ruins (*n*). Being thus deprived of his Archdeaconry, he retired to his Rectory at Portlemouth, where he ſpent the remainder of his days, in a private, chearful, and contented condition; in good repute with his neighbours; and as much above content, as he was below envy. Having lived to a good old age of ſeventy-three years, he departed this life, at the parſonage-houſe of Portlemouth, and was buried in his own Church there, on the 19th of September 1688, without any funeral monument (*o*). He was a man very perfect in curious and critical learning (*p*), particularly in Chronology: of which he gave a full teſtimony, in the excellent book he publiſhed, intituled, *Palælogia Chronica. A Chronological Account of ancient Time, in three Parts.* 1. *Didactical.* 2. *Apodeictical.* 3. *Canonical.* Lond. 1677, folio [*B*]. He was alſo, in his younger years, pretty well ſkilled in Poetry, as well Latin as Engliſh: though he publiſhed nothing in this kind, but thoſe Hymns of our Church, that are appointed to be read after the Leſſons, together with the Creed, *&c.* Theſe being tranſlated by him into Latin verſe, were printed on the flat ſides of two ſheets in folio. As to his perſon; he was of a middle ſtature, ſanguine of complexion, and in his elder years ſomewhat corpulent. In his carriage and behaviour, he was as much a gentleman, as he was in his birth and extraction: free and generous, courteous and obliging, and very critical in all the arts of complaiſance and addreſs (*q*).

(*a*) The Worthies of Devon. &c. by J. Prince, fol. Exeter, 1701, p. 197, 198.

(*b*) Wood ſays, it was at Berry Pomeroy, Athen. vol. ii col. 825; but we chaſe to follow Mr. Prince.

(*c*) Wood ſays, *ibid.* that he was aged 16 in 1631, and conſequently muſt have been born in 1615.

(*d*) Prince, *ubi ſupra*, p. 197.

(*e*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, vol. ii. col. 825.

(*f*) *Idem*, Faſti, vol. i. col. 261.

(*g*) *Ibid.* col. 276.

(*h*) Athenæ. See Prince, *ubi ſupra*, p. 198.

(*i*) Prince, *ibid.* and Wood, Faſti, vol. ii. col. 42.

(*k*) Prince; and Wood's Athen. *ubi ſupra.*

(*l*) Prince, *ubi ſupra.*

(*m*) Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. edit. 1728, p. 744; and Le Neve's Faſti, p. 93.

(*n*) *Ibid.*

(*o*) *Ibid.*

(*p*) Wood, Ath. *ubi ſupra.*

(*q*) Prince, *ubi ſupra.*

[*A*] *Being the ſecond ſon of George Cary, Eſq;*] Sir George Cary, Knt. above-mentioned, formerly Lord Deputy of Ireland, dying in 1615, without iſſue, adopted *George* of whom we ſpeak here; who was the third ſon of his ſecond brother Robert, according to one author (1), or, according to another (2), fifth ſon of his fourth brother John. This *George Cary*, Eſq; had ſeveral ſons and daughters; of whom the eldeſt, Sir Henry Cary, Knt. was entirely ruined by the civil wars. The ſecond ſon was Dr. *Robert Cary*, who is the ſubject of this article. Sir George Cary, Lord Deputy of Ireland, was his great uncle.

(1) Sir W. Pole in Cock.

(2) Weſtc. Ped. quoted by Mr. Prince, p. 197.

[*B*] *Palælogia. A Chronological Account*, &c.] 'The deſign of that work (as the author himſelf ſays 'in the beginning of it) is to determine the juſt interval of time, between the great Epoch of the creation of the world, and another of the deſtruction of 'Jeruſalem by Titus Veſpaſian, in order to the aſſignment of ſuch particular time, wherein perſons and 'affairs of old had their exiſtence. The deſign of it 'was laid in the days of Cromwell's uſurpation, and 'came, in proceſs of time, to be quickened by a ſurvenient occaſion from ſome learned gentlemen of his 'acquaintance after the Reſtauration (3); who agreeing together in ſome appointed meetings, to diſcourſe 'of the abſtruſer parts of the Holy Scriptures, having 'charged themſelves with the ſeveral ſubjects, it was 'recommended to him, as his province, to account 'for the Chronology thereof.' In part I. He treats of time, as divided into hours, minutes, weeks, and years: and of the ſeveral ſorts of years, the Chaldæan, and Ægyptian, Grecian, Roman, and Jewiſh; of all which he exhibits the calendars. Part II. Treats of the ſeveral epochs of time, and of the ancient monarchies and kingdom; containing alſo liſts, of the Kings of Sicyon, Argos, and Athens; of the Ptolemies; Syro-Macedonian, Median, Lydian, Aſſyrian, Chaldæan, Arabian, Ægyptian, Chineſe, Lacedæmonian, Corinthian, and Latin, Kings or Monarchs: a liſt of the Roman Conſuls; a ſcheme of the Athenian Magiſtrates, *&c.* Then follows a connexion of Sacred and Prophane Hiſtory; a ſcheme of concurrent ſucceſſions from Nabopolaſſar to the death of Alexander the Great; a ſcheme of the Jewiſh High-Prieſts; of the Kings of Judah and Iſrael; Kings of Tyre; Syria, Damaſcena, *&c.* the time of Chriſt's nativity; the Hiſtory of the Acts of the Apoſtles timed; and many other curious particulars relating to the Bible. Part III. Conſiſting of 97 pages, is entirely Canonical; being drawn up after the pattern of Helvicus. There is an account of this book in *The Philoſophical Tranſactions* (4). M.

(3) Theſe are the author's own words, in his Preface.

(4) No. 132, p. 808.

CASAUBON

CASAUBON (Isaac), one of the moſt learned Critics in the end of the XVIth, and beginning of the XVIIth century, was born at Geneva, February 18, 1559, being the ſon of Arnold Caſaubon and Jane Roſſeau (*a*) [*A*]. He was educated at firſt by his father, and being a youth of excellent parts, made ſo quick a progreſs in his ſtudies, that at the age of nine years he could ſpeak and write Latin with great eaſe and correctneſs. But his father being obliged, for three years together, to be always abſent from home, on account of buſineſs, he came thereby to be neglected, and entirely forgot what he had learned before. At twelve years of age he was forced to begin his ſtudies again, and to learn as it were by himſelf; his father's frequent abſence, and many avocations, hindering his teaching of him, excepting at vacant times. But as he could not in this method make any conſiderable progreſs, he was ſent, in 1578, to Geneva, to compleat his ſtudies under the Profeſſors there. By his indefatigable application, he quickly recovered the time he had loſt. He learned the Greek tongue of Francis Portus the Cretan, and ſoon became ſo great a maſter of that language, that this famous man thought him worthy to be his ſucceſſor in the Profeſſor's chair, in 1582, when he was but three and twenty years of age. In 1586, Feb. 1, he had the misfortune to loſe his father [*B*.] The 28th of April following, he married Florence, daughter of Henry Stephens the celebrated Printer [*C*], by whom he had twenty children. For fourteen years he continued Profeſſor of the Greek tongue at Geneva; and in that time ſtudied Philoſophy and the Civil Law under Julius Pacius. He alſo learned Hebrew, and ſome other of the Oriental Languages, but not enough to be able to make uſe of them afterwards [*D*]. In the mean time he began to be weary of Geneva; either becauſe he could not agree with his father-in-law, Henry Stephens, a moroſe and peeviſh man; or that his ſalary was not ſufficient for his maintenance; or becauſe he was of a rambling and unſettled diſpoſition. He reſolved therefore, after a great deal of uncertainty, to accept the place of Profeſſor of the Greek tongue and polite literature, which was offered him at Montpelier, with a more conſiderable ſalary than he had at Geneva. To Montpelier he removed about the end of the year 1596, and began his Lectures in the February following. About the ſame time, the city of Niſmes invited him to come and reſtore their univerſity, but he excuſed himſelf. 'Tis alſo ſaid, he had an invitation from the univerſity of Franeker, but that is not ſo certain. At his firſt coming to Montpelier, he was much eſteemed and followed, and ſeemed to be pleaſed with his ſtation. But this pleaſure did not laſt long; for what had been promiſed him was not performed; abatements were made in his ſalary; which alſo was not regularly paid: in a word, he met there with ſo much uneaſineſs, that he was juſt upon the point of returning to Geneva. But a journey he took to Lyons in 1598, gave him an opportunity of taking another, that proved extremely advantageous to him. Having been recommended by ſome gentlemen of Montpelier (*b*) to M. de Vicq, a conſiderable man at Lyons; this gentleman took him into his houſe, and carried him along with him to Paris, where he cauſed him to be introduced to the Firſt-Preſident de Harlay, the Preſident de Thou, Mr. Gillot, and Nicolas le Fevre, by whom he was very civilly received. He was alſo preſented to King Henry IV. who being informed of his merit, would have him leave Montpelier for a Profeſſor's place at Paris. Caſaubon having remained for ſome time in ſuſpence which courſe to take, went back to Montpelier, and reſumed his Lectures. Not long after, he received a letter from the King, dated January 3, 1599, by which he was invited to Paris, in order to be Profeſſor of Polite Literature. He ſet out for that city the 26th of February following. When he came to Lyons, M. de Vicq adviſed him to ſtay there till the King's coming, who was expected in that place. In the mean while, ſome domeſtic affairs obliged him to take a turn to Geneva, where he complains that juſtice was not done him with regard to the eſtate of his father-in-law. Upon his return to Lyons, having waited a long while in vain for the King's arrival, he took a ſecond journey to Geneva, and then went to Paris; though he foreſaw, as M. de Vicq and Scaliger had told him, he ſhould not meet there with all the ſatisfaction he at firſt imagined. The King gave him, indeed, a gracious reception; but the jealouſy of ſome

(*a*) If. Caſauboni Vita, inter ejus Epiſtolas, edit. Theod. Janſon ab Almeloveen Roter. 1709. Niceron, Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire des Hommes Illuſt. tom. xviii. 8vo. p. 118, &c. and Bernard, Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Juillet 1710, Artic. 1. p. 5, 6, &c.

(*b*) *Viz.* Philip de Canaye, Lord of Freſne, Firſt Preſident of the Chamber of the Edict at Caſtres; and Mr. Gillet.

[*A*] *Being the ſon of Arnold Caſaubon.*] This Arnold was a native, and Miniſter, of Bourdeaux, a village of Diois in Dauphiné, but was obliged, on account of the perſecution for Religion, to fly to Geneva. When that ceaſed, he was choſen Miniſter of Creſt in Dauphiné; and here it was, that his ſon Iſaac learned the firſt rudiments of Grammar. That he was born at Geneva, he informs us himſelf (1); and therefore Moreri confounds the father with the ſon, when he ſays, that the latter was born at Bourdeaux.

(1) In his 879th Letter, of Theod. Janſon of Almeloveen's edition.

[*B*] *Had the misfortune to loſe his father.*] He died at Die, aged 63. Charles Bonarſcius, and Andr. Eudæmon-Joannes, have affirmed, that he was hanged. But his ſon hath fully confuted that falſe and ſcandalous ſtory (2).

(2) Niceron, *ubi ſupra*, p. 123.

[*C*] *He married Florence, daughter of Henry Stephens, the celebrated Printer.*] Who had withdrawn from Paris to Geneva. There had been a long intimacy between him and Caſaubon; and that, probably, is what gave the enemies of the latter occaſion to aſſert, that he had ſpent his youth in correcting the books printed by H. Stephens: which indeed is falſe, though no blemiſh to his reputation, if it had been true (3).

(3) *Idem.* p. 120.

[*D*] *But not enough to be able to make uſe of them afterwards.*] About the year 1591, he fell into great trouble, of which he complains extremely in his letters, by being bound in a great ſum for Mr. Wotton, an Engliſhman, which he was obliged to pay. This ſtraitened him, till he was reimburſed by the care of his friends, and particularly of Joſeph Scaliger, about a year after (4).

(4) Bernard, as above, p. 8.

of the other Profeſſors, and his being a Proteſtant, procured him a great deal of trouble and vexation, and were the cauſe of his loſing the profeſſorſhip, of which he had the promiſe. Some time after, he was appointed one of the Judges on the Proteſtants ſide, at the conference between James Davy du Perron, Biſhop of Evreux, afterwards Cardinal, and Philip du Pleſſis-Mornay [*E*]. As Caſaubon was not favourable to the latter, who, as we are aſſured, did not acquit himſelf well in that conference; it was reported, that he (†) would ſoon change his religion; but the event ſhowed that this report was groundleſs. When Caſaubon came back to Paris, he found it very difficult to get his penſion paid, and the charges of removing from Lyons to Paris, becauſe M. de Roſny was not his friend; ſo that, it was not without an expreſs order from the King, that he obtained the payment even of three hundred crowns. The 30th of May 1600, he returned to Lyons, to haſten the impreſſion of his *Athenæus* which was printing there; but he had the misfortune of incurring the diſpleaſure of his great friend M. de Vicq, who had all along entertained him and his whole family in his own houſe, when they were in that city, becauſe he refuſed to accompany him into Switzerland. The reaſon of this refuſal was, his being afraid of loſing in the mean time the place of Library-Keeper to the King, of which he had a promiſe, and that was likely ſoon to become vacant, on account of the Librarian's illneſs. He returned to Paris with his wife and family the September following, and was well received by the King, and by many perſons of diſtinction. There he read private Lectures, publiſhed ſeveral works of the Ancients, and learned Arabic; in which he made ſo great a progreſs, that he undertook to compile a Dictionary, and tranſlated ſome books of that language into Latin. In 1601 he was obliged, as he tells us himſelf (*c*), to write againſt his will to James VI. King of Scotland, afterwards King of England, but does not mention the occaſion of it. That Prince anſwered him with great civility, which obliged our author to write to him a ſecond time. In the mean time, the many affronts and uneaſineſſes he received from time to time at Paris, made him think of leaving that city, and retiring to ſome quieter place. But King Henry IV. would never permit him; and, in order to fix him, made an augmentation of two hundred crowns to his penſion: and granted him the reverſion of the place of his Library-Keeper, after the death of John Goſſelin, the then Librarian. He took a journey to Dauphiné in May 1603, and from thence to Geneva about his private affairs; returning to Paris on the 12th of July. Towards the end of the ſame year, he came into poſſeſſion of the place of King's Library-Keeper, vacant by the death of Goſſelin [*F*]. His friends of the Roman Catholic perſuaſion made now frequent attempts, to induce him to forſake the Proteſtant religion. Cardinal du Perron, in particular, had ſeveral diſputes with him upon that point: after one of which a report was ſpread, that he had then promiſed the Cardinal he would turn Roman Catholic: ſo that, in order to ſtifle that rumour, the Miniſters of Charenton, who were alarmed at it, obliged him to write a letter to the Cardinal to contradict what was ſo confidently reported, and took care to have it printed. About this time, the Magiſtrates of Niſmes gave him a ſecond invitation to their city, offering him a houſe, and a ſalary of ſix hundred crowns of gold a year, but he durſt not accept of it for fear of offending the King. In 1609, he had, by that Prince's order, who was deſirous of gaining him over to the Catholic religion, a conference with Cardinal du Perron upon the controverted points; but it had no effect upon him, and he died a Proteſtant. The next year two things happened that afflicted him extremely; one was the murder of King Henry IV. which deprived him of all hopes of keeping his place; the other, his eldeſt ſon's embracing Popery [*G*]. The loſs of the King, his patron and protector, made him reſolve to come over into England, where he had often been invited by King James I. So, having obtained leave of the Queen-Regent of France, to be abſent for a while out of that kingdom, he came to England in October 1610, along with Sir Henry Wotton, Embaſſador-Extraordinary from King James I. He was received in England with the utmoſt civility, by moſt perſons of learning and diſtinction [*H*]. He waited upon the King who took great pleaſure in diſcourſing with him, and

(†) *Viz.* Caſaubon.

(*c*) See Bernard, as above, p. 14.

[*E*] *At the conference between James D. du Perron, and Philip du Pleſſis-Mornay.*] This conference was held at Fontainebleau May 4, 1600. It was at firſt deſigned, that it ſhould continue ſeveral days, but the indiſpoſition of Mr. du Pleſſis-Mornay was the cauſe of its laſting but one. The other judge on the Proteſtants ſide, was Mr. Canaye, who convinced, as he pretended, by the arguments that were then uſed, became a convert to Popery. He uſed his utmoſt endeavours, to perſuade Caſaubon to follow his example; but not being able to prevail, he grew very cool towards him, and ceaſed to have the ſame regard and friendſhip for him, as he had, till then, expreſſed. As for Caſaubon, he clears himſelf, in ſeveral of his letters, of the imputations thrown upon him, of his favouring Popery (5).

(5) See Letters, 319, 348.

[*F*] *He came into poſſeſſion of the place of King's Library-keeper, vacant by the death of Goſſelin.*] His being poſſeſſed of that place, was a great advantage to him; not only on account of the ſalary, but becauſe he had then free acceſs to the books in that valuable library, which Goſſelin would not permit him to have, as much as he deſired or wanted (6).

(6) Niceron, as above, p. 127.

[*G*] *His eldeſt ſon's embracing Popery.*] This laſt accident gave him a great deal of affliction and uneaſineſs; and the more, becauſe a report was ſpread, that he himſelf had charged George Strauchan, a Scotchman, who taught his ſon the Mathematicks, to inſtruct him at the ſame time in the Popiſh Religion (7).

(7) Niceron, as above, p. 129.

[*H*] *He was received in England with the utmoſt civility, by moſt perſons of learning and diſtinction.*] But it ſeems he did not meet with the like treatment from the inferior ſort of people. For he complains in one of his letters (8), that he was more inſulted at London,

(8) In the 1056th of Almeloveen's edition.

and even did him the honour of admitting him ſeveral times to eat at his own table. His Majeſty likewiſe made him a preſent of a hundred and fifty pounds, to enable him to viſit the Univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge (*d*). The 3d of January 1611, he was made a Denizon; and the 19th of the ſame month, the King granted him a penſion of three hundred pounds (*e*): as alſo two Prebends, one at Canterbury (*f*), and the other at Weſtminſter. He likewiſe wrote to the Queen-Regent of France, to deſire Caſaubon might ſtay longer in England than ſhe had at firſt allowed him. But Caſaubon did not long enjoy theſe great advantages. For a painful diſtemper, occaſioned by his having a double bladder (*g*), ſoon laid him in his grave. He died July 1, 1614, in the 55th year of his age; and was buried in Weſtminſter-abbey [*I*]. He had, as is already hinted above, twenty children [*K*]. We ſhall give an account of his writings, and of the books he publiſhed, in the note [*L*]. This great man received the higheſt encomiums from perſons

(*d*) Niceron, as above, p. 130.

(*e*) Conventiones Fœdera, &c. publiſhed by T. Rymer, vol. xvii. p. 707, 710.

(*f*) J. le Neve ſays, that he was made Prebendary of Canterbury in the 8th ſtall, in 1609, which certainly muſt be a miſtake. Faſti, p. 17. edit. 1716.

(*g*) See Dr. Thorius's Letter, *de Iſaaci Caſauberi morbi mortiſque cauſa*, printed among Caſaubon's Letters.

don, than he had ever been at Paris in the midſt of the Papiſts; that ſtones were thrown at his windows night and day; that he received a great wound as he went to court; that his children were affronted in the ſtreets; and he and his family were ſometimes pelted with ſtones.——He doth not mention, what were the grounds of thoſe many incivilities, to himſelf and family.

[*I*] *And was buried in Weſtminſter-abbey.*] Where there is a monument erected to his memory, with the following inſcription.

Iſaacus Caſaubonus,
(O Doctiorum quicquid eſt, aſſurgite
Huic tam colendo Nomini.)

Quem Gallia Reip. literariæ bono peperit, Henricus IV. Francorum rex invictiſſimus Lutetiam literis ſuis evocavit, Bibliothecæ ſuæ præfecit, charumque deinceps dum vixit habuit; eoque terris erepto Jacobus Mag. Brit. monarcha, Regum doctiſſimus, doctis indulgentiſſ. in Angliam accivit, munifice fovit, poſteritaſque ob doctrinam æternum mirabitur, H. S. E. invidia major. Obiit ætern. in Chriſto vitam anhelans, Kal. Julii 1614. *Ætat.* 55.

Viro opt. immortalitate digniſſ. Thomas Mortonus Epiſc. Dunelm. jucundiſſimæ quoad frui licuit conſuetudinis memor. Pr. S. P. Cu. 163.

Qui noſſe vult Caſaubonum,
Non Saxa ſed Chartas legat
Superfuturas marmori,
Et profuturas poſteris.

[*K*] *He had——twenty children.*] *John*, the eldeſt, turned Roman Catholick, as hath been mentioned above. Another, named *Auguſtin*, did the like, and became a Capuchin at Calais, where he was poiſoned, with eleven others of the ſame order (9). Mr. Du Pin relates of him the following particular, upon the authority of Mr. Cotelier: Before he took the vow of Capuchin, he went to aſk his father's bleſſing, which the father readily granted him; adding, 'My ſon, I 'do not condemn thee; nor do thou condemn me; 'we ſhall both appear before the tribunal of Jeſus 'Chriſt (10).' What became of the reſt of his children, (except Meric, mentioned in the next article,) is not known. In 1612 he had a ſon born in England, to which the King and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury were godfathers, and Sir George Cary's Lady godmother (11).

(9) Ogier, in his Travels.

(10) Niceron, as above, p. 132.

(11) Memorials of Affairs of State, &c. publiſhed by Edm. Sawyer, Eſq; vol. iii. p. 407.

[*L*] *We ſhall give an account of his writings, and of the books he publiſhed.*] They are as follows, I. *In Diogenem Laërtium Notæ Iſaaci Hortiboni. Morgiis* 1583. 8vo. He was but twenty-five years old when he made theſe notes, and intended to have enlarged them afterwards, but was hindered. He dedicated them to his father, who commended him, but told him at the ſame time, 'He ſhould like better *one* note of 'his upon the Holy Scriptures, than all the pains he 'could beſtow upon profane authors.' Theſe notes of Caſaubon were inſerted in the editions of Diogenes Laërtius, printed by H. Stephens in 1594 and 1598 in 8vo. and have been put in all other editions publiſhed ſince. The name of *Hortibonus*, which Caſaubon took, is of the ſame import as *Caſaubonus*, i. e. a good Garden; *Caſau*, in the language of Dauphiné, ſignifying a Garden, and *bon*, good. II. *Iſaaci Hortiboni Lectiones Theocriticæ*; in Criſpinus's edition of Theocritus, *Genev.* 1584, 12mo. reprinted ſeveral times ſince. III. *Strabonis Geographiæ Libri* XVII. *Græce & Latine, ex Guil. Xylandri Interpretatione, edente cum Commentariis Iſaaco Caſaubono. Genevæ* 1587. fol. Caſaubon's notes were reprinted, with additions, in the Paris edition of Strabo in 1620, and have been inſerted in all other editions ſince. IV. *Novum Teſtamentum Græcum, cum Notis Iſaaci Caſauboni in quatuor Evangelia & Actus Apoſtolorum. Genevæ* 1587, 16to. Theſe notes were reprinted afterwards at the end of Whitaker's edition of the New Teſtament, Lond. and inſerted in the *Critici Sacri*. V. *Animadverſiones in Dionyſium Halicarnaſſenſem*, in the edition of Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, publiſhed by our author with Æmilius Portus's Latin verſion. Genev. 1588, fol. Theſe were written in haſte, and of no great value. VI. *Polyæni Strategematum, Libri* VIII. *Græce & Latine, edente cum Notis Iſaaco Caſaubono. Lugduni* 1589, 16to. Caſaubon was the firſt who publiſhed the Greek text of this author. The Latin verſion, joined to it, was done by Juſtus Vulteius, and firſt publiſhed in 1550. VII. *Dicæarchi Geographica quædam, ſive de Statu Græciæ; Ejuſdem deſcriptio Græciæ verſibus Græcis jambicis, ad Theophraſtum; cum Iſaaci Caſauboni & Henrici Stephani notis. Genevæ* 1589, 8vo. VIII. *Ariſtotelis Opera Græce, cum variorum Interpretatione Latina, & variis Lectionibus & Caſtigationibus Iſaaci Caſauboni. Lugduni* 1590, fol. *Genevæ* 1605, fol. Theſe notes are only marginal, and were compoſed at leiſure hours. IX. *C. Plinii Cæc. Sec. Epiſt. Lib.* IX. *Ejuſdem & Trajani imp. Epiſt. amoebææ. Ejuſdem Pl. & Pacati, Mamertini, Nazarii Panegyrici. Item Claudiani Panegyrici. Adjunctæ ſunt Iſaaci Caſauboni Notæ in Epiſt. Genevæ* 1591, 12mo. *Ibid.* 1599, 1605, 1610, and 1611, 12mo. Theſe notes are but very ſhort. X. *Theophraſti Characteres Ethici Græce & Latine, ex verſione & cum commentario Iſaaci Caſauboni. Lugduni* 1592, 12mo. and 1612, 12mo. This latter edition is the moſt exact of the two, being reviſed by the author. Caſaubon's edition of Theophraſtus is ſtill highly eſteemed, and was one of thoſe works which procured him moſt reputation. Joſeph Scaliger highly extols it (12). XI. *L. Apuleii Apologia, cum Iſaaci Caſauboni Caſtigationibus. Typis Commelini* 1593, 4to. In this edition he ſhewed himſelf as able a critic in the Latin, as he had done before in the Greek tongue. It is dedicated to Joſeph Scaliger. XII. *C. Suetonii Tranquilli Opera cum Iſaaci Caſauboni Animadverſionibus. Genevæ* 1595, 4to. *Item editio altera emendata & aucta.* Paris 1610. This ſecond edition is enlarged. XIII. *Publii Syri Mimi, ſive ſententiæ ſelectæ, Latine, Græcè verſæ, & Notis illuſtratæ per Joſ. Scaligerum; cum præfatione Iſaaci Caſauboni. Lugd. Batav.* 1598, 8vo. XIV. *Athenæi Deipnoſophiſtarum, Libri* XV. *Græce & Latine, Interprete Jacobo Dalechampio, cum Iſaaci Caſauboni Animadverſionum, Libris* XV. *Lugduni* 1600, 2 vol. fol. *Ibid* 1612, 2 vol. fol. Caſaubon's notes take up the ſecond volume, and are very large, and full of great learning. XV. *Hiſtoriæ Auguſtæ Scriptores, cum commentario Iſaaci Caſauboni.* Paris 1603, 4to. reprinted at Paris in 1620, with Salmaſius's Commentaries on the ſame authors, fol. and at Leiden, in 1670, 2 vol. 8vo. XVI. *Diatriba ad Dionis Chryſoſtomi Orationes*, publiſhed in the edition of that author by Frederick Morel

(12) Speaking of the pleaſure he received upon the peruſal of it, he ſays, *de poteſtate mei exivi, neque me continere potui, quin ea de te prædicarem quæ & meritum tuum & amor meus poſtulabant, quanquam quicquid de te dixero, omne infra virtutes ingenii tui fuerit.*

persons of learning in his time; and he really deserved them, not only on account of his extensive knowledge, but likewise of his modesty, sincerity, and probity. Some writers

Morel at Paris 1604, fol. XVII. *Persii Satyræ ex recensione & cum Commentar. Isaac Casauboni.* Paris 1605, 8*vo.* Lond. 1647, 8*vo.* These notes upon Persius, are Lectures he had formerly read at Geneva. They were enlarged in the edition of 1647. Scaliger used to say of them, 'That the sauce was better than the 'fish.' *i. e.* The commentary better than the next (13). XVIII. *De Satyrica Græcorum Poësi, & Romanorum Satyra Libri duo.* Paris 1605, 8*vo.* In this work Casaubon affirms, That the Satyr of the Latins was very different from that of the Greeks. Wherein he is contradicted by Daniel Heinsius, in his two books, *De Satyra Horatiana. Lugd. Batava.* 1629, 12*mo.* But the learned Ezekiel Spanheim (14), after having examined the arguments of these two learned men, hath declared for Casaubon. Crenius hath inserted this tract of Casaubon, in his *Musæum Philologicum & Historicum. Ludg. Batav.* 1699, 8*vo.* and also the following piece, which was published by our author, at the end of his two books, *De Satyrica poësi,* &c. XIX. *Cyclops Euripidis Latinitate donata à Q. Septimio Florente.* XX. *Gregorii Nysseni Epistola ad Eustathiam, Ambrosiam, & Basilissam, Græce, & Latine, cum notis I. Casauboni. Paris* 1601, 8*vo. Hanoviæ* 1607, 8*vo.* This letter was first published by Casaubon. XXI. *De Libertate Ecclesiastica Liber* 1607, 8*vo.* pages 264. This book was composed by the author during the disputes between Pope Paul V. and the Republic of Venice; and contained a Vindication of the Rights of Sovereigns against the incroachments of the Court of Rome. But those differences being adjusted while the book was printing, King Henry IV. caused it to be suppressed. However, Casaubon having sent the sheets, as they came out of the press, to some of his friends, by that means some of the copies came to be preserved. Melchior Goldast inserted that fragment in his *Collectanea de Monarchia S. Imperii,* Tom. I. pag. 674. and Almeloveen reprinted it in his edition of our author's letters. XXII. *Inscriptio vetus dedicationem fundi continens, ab Herode Rege facta, cum Notis Isaaci Casauboni.* This small piece, published in 1607, hath been inserted by T. Crenius in his *Musæum Philologicum.* Casaubon's notes are short, but learned: however, he appears to have been mistaken, in ascribing the inscription on which they were made to Herod, King of Judæa, instead of Herodes the Athenian. XXIII. *Polybii Opera Græce & Latine ex versione Isaaci Casauboni. Accedit Æneas Tacticus de toleranda obsidione, Græce & Latine. Paris* 1609, fol. & *Hanoviæ* 1609, fol. The Latin version of these two authors was done by Casaubon; who intended to write a commentary upon them, but went no farther than the first book of Polybius, being hindered by death. What he did of that, was published after his decease (15). The great Thuanus, and Fronto Ducæus the Jesuit, were so pleased with that Latin version, that they believed it was not easy to determine, whether Casaubon had translated Polybius, or Polybius Casaubon——*ut non facile dici posse crederent, Polybiumne Casaubonus, an Casaubonum Polybius convertisset* (16). At the head of this edition there is a Dedication to King Henry IV. which passes for a master-piece of the kind. And, indeed, Casaubon had a talent for such pieces, as well as for Prefaces. In the former, he praises without low servility, and in a manner remote from flattery: In the latter, he lays open the design and excellencies of the books he publishes, without ostentation, and with an air of modesty. So that he may serve as a model for such performances. XXIV. He published, *Josephi Scaligeri Opuscula varia. Paris* 1610, 4*to. Et Francofurti* 1612, 8*vo.* with a preface of his own. XXV. *Ad Frontonem Ducæum Epistola, de Apologiâ, Jesuitarum nomine, Parisis edita. Londini* 1611, 4*to.* Casaubon, after his coming to England, was forced to alter the course of his studies, and to write against the Papists, in order to please his patron King James I. who affected to be a great Controversist. He began with this Letter, dated July 2, 1611, which is the 730th in Almeloveen's collection, and for which King James made him a considerable present. It is a confutation of *la Reponse Apologetique à l'Anti-coton, par Francois Bonald. Au Pont.* 1611, 8*vo.* XXVI. *Epistola ad Georgium Michaelem Lingelsheimium de quodam libello Sciopii,* 1612, 4*to.* This letter is dated *Aug.* 9, 1612, and is the 828th of Almeloveen's collection. XXVII. *Epistola ad Cardinalem Perronium. Londini* 1612, 4*to.* This letter, which is the 838th in Almeloveen's collection, is dated Novemb. 9, 1612. It is not so much Casaubon's own composition, as an exact account of the sentiments of King James I. whose, and the Church of England's Secretary, he was, as he tells us, with regard to some points of Religion. Accordingly, it was inserted in the edition of that King's Works, published in 1619 by Dr. Montague Bishop of Winchester. It is written with moderation. Cardinal du Perron undertook to give an Answer to it, which was left unfinished at his death. It has been likewise animadverted upon by Valentine Smalcius, the Socinian, in his *Ad Isaacum Casaubonum Paræneses. Racoviæ,* 1614, 4*to.* publish'd under the name of *Anton. Reuchlin.* XXVIII. *De Rebus sacris & Ecclesiasticis Exercitationes* xvi. *Ad Cardinalis Baronii Prolegomena in Annales, & primam eorum partem, de Domini nostri Jesu Christi Nativitate, Vita, Passione, Assumtione. Londini* 1614, *fol. Francofurti* 1615, 4*to. Genevæ* 1655 & 1663, 4*to.* What was the occasion of this work we learn from Mr. Bernard (17): Namely, That soon after Casaubon's arrival in England, Peter du Moulin wrote to Dr. James Montague, then Bishop of Bath and Wells, to inform him, that Casaubon had a great inclination to Popery; that there were only a few Articles, which kept him among the Protestants; and that if he returned to France, he would change his Religion, as he had promised. Therefore, he desired him to endeavour to keep him in England, and to engage him in writing against the Annals of Baronius, since he knew *that he had materials ready for that purpose.* Accordingly, King James employed him in that work, which was finished in eighteen months time. Niceron thinks (18), that Casaubon was not equal to this work, because he had not sufficiently studied Divinity, Chronology, and History, and was not conversant enough in the Fathers. So that he is charged with having committed more errors than Baronius in a less compass. Besides, as he comes no lower than the year 34 after Christ, he is said to have pulled down only the pinnacles of Baronius's great building. It appears from letter 1059th of our author, that Dr. Richard Montague, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, had undertaken to write against Baronius at the same time with himself; and he threatens to complain of him to the King, who had engaged him in that work. XXIX. *Ad Polybii Historiarum Librum primum Commentarius. Paris* 1617, 8*vo.* See above, N° XXIII. XXX. *Isaaci Casauboni Epistolæ. Hagæ Comin.* 1638, 4*to.* published by John Frederick Gronovius. A second edition —— *Octoginta duabus Epistolis auctior, & juxta seriem temporum digesta* —— was published afterwards by John George Grævius; at Magdeburgh, and Helmstadt, 1656, 4*to.* These editions are eclipsed by the following one; intitled, *Is. Casauboni Epistolæ, insertis ad easdem responsionibus, quotquot hactenus reperiri potuerunt, secundum seriem temporis accurate digestæ. Accedunt huic Editioni, præter trecentas ineditas Epistolas, Is. Casauboni vita, ejusdem Dedicationes, Præfationes, Prolegomena, Poëmata, Fragmentum de Libertate Ecclesiastica. Item Merici Casauboni Epistolæ, Dedicationes, Præfationes, Prolegomena, & Tractatus quidam rariores. Curante Theodoro Janson ab Almeloveen. Roterodami,* 1709, *fol.* The letters in this volume are 1059 in number, placed according to the order of time in which they were written; and 51 without dates. A certain writer finds in them neither elegancy of Style, nor fineness of Thoughts; and censures, as very disagreeable, the mixture of Greek words and expressions that are dispersed throughout; affirming besides, that they contain no particulars tending to the advancement of Learning, or that are of any great importance (19). Another owns, that there is in them, the History of a man of probity and learning; but nothing

(13) Scaligerana.

(14) In the Preface to his translation of the Emperor Julian's Cæsar.

(15) See below, N° 29.

(16) Huetius *de optimo interpretandi genere,* ap. Blount Censura celebriorum authorum, p. 884. edit. Genevæ, 1694, 4to.

(17) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Juil. et 1710, Artic. 1.

(18) Memoires, &c. as above, p. 145.

(19) Niceron, as above, p. 146.

writers indeed, even of the Reformed Religion (*b*), have undervalued him, and called him a Half-Divine. But the reaſon they did not like him was, becauſe he did not entirely agree

(*b*) Particularly Mr. Colomies: See Niceron, p. 133.

thing otherwiſe very remarkable, excepting the purity of the language, and the marks of a frank and ſincere mind (20). One author, on the other hand, aſſures us (21), that they are all perfectly beautiful; and makes no ſcruple, to compare them to thoſe of Grotius and Scaliger with regard to learning; and to aſſert, that they exceed them for the eaſineſs and purity of the ſtyle, which is entirely epiſtolary, and not at all affected. XXXI. In 1710 were publiſhed, *Caſauboniana, ſive Iſaaci Caſauboni varia de Scriptoribus Libriſque judicia, Obſervationes ſacræ in utriuſque Foederis Loca, Philologicæ item Eccleſiaſticæ, ut & Animadverſiones in Annales Baronii Eccleſiaſticos ineditæ, ex variis Caſauboni MSS. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana reconditis nunc primum erutæ à Jo. Chriſtophoro Wolfio, &c. Accedunt duæ Caſauboni Epiſtolæ ineditæ, & Præfatio ad Librum de Libertate Eccleſiaſtica, cum Notis Editoris in Caſauboniana, ac Prefatio, qua de hujus generis Libris diſſeritur. Hamburgi*, 1710, 8*vo*. There is nothing very material in this collection. M.

(20) Sorberiana, p. 50.

(21) *Melanges d'Hiſtoire & de Literature*, publiſhed under the name of *Vigneul-Marville*. See Bernard, *ubi ſupra*.

*** [In Sir William Muſgrave's Collection, there is a citation from the Hiſtory of Europe, Vol. I. p. 163, which aſſerts that Iſaac Caſaubon was born at Bourdeaux, in 1555, and died in 1613. This account is erroneous in three reſpects; in the place of his birth, in the time of it, and in the year of his death. The ſame Hiſtory, with manifeſt inconſiſtency, repreſents Caſaubon as dying when fifty-five years old, though that was in fact the caſe: for if he was born in 1555, he muſt, in 1613, have, at leaſt, been in the 58th year of his age.

When Iſaac Caſaubon formed, in 1610, the deſign of reſiding in this country, Dr. Richard Bancroft, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, wrote the following Letter to Sir Thomas Edmondes, the Engliſh Embaſſador at the Court of France.

" My very good Lord,

" Monſ. Caſaubon purpoſeth (as I take it) to
" come over into England with his wife and family.
" His Majeſty hath already beſtowed upon him a
" Prebend in Canterbury; and ſomewhat elſe will be
" ſhortly thought upon for his better maintenance. I
" pray your Lordſhip, when he ſhall repair unto you
" for that purpoſe, deliver unto him thirty pounds
" towards his charges of tranſporting, which my Lady
" Edmondes your wife hath received from me, as by
" her Letter here incloſed may appear. And ſo,
" with my hearty commendations, I commit your
" Lordſhip to the tuition of Almighty God.

" At Lambeth the 26th of June, 1610."

Your Lordſhip's aſſured loving friend,

R. Cant.

" This muſt be kept cloſe, leſt he be prevented
" or murdered in his journey."

Tuus. R. C. (22).

(22) Birch's Hiſtorical View of the Negotiations between the Courts of England, France, and Bruſſels, p. 322.

On the Chriſtmas day after Caſaubon arrived in England, he received the Communion in the King's Chapel, though he did not underſtand the language. This circumſtance is mentioned in his Diary, in which he declares, that he had carefully conſidered the office for the Sacrament the day before; that he highly approved of it; and that he greatly preferred it to the manner of receiving in other Churches. *Gratias tibi Domine, quod hodie ad ſacram menſam ſum admiſſus, & corporis ſanguiniſque factus ſum particeps in eccleſiâ Anglicanâ, cujus formulam heri diligenter meditatus ad modum probavi, & ordinem agendi mire laudavi præ receptâ apud alios conſuetudine* (23).

(23) *Ibid.* p. 333, 334.

From the whole article of Caſaubon it may be collected, that he was ſomewhat of a reſtleſs diſpoſition; and it appears, that though he met with ſuch encouragement in England, he was not ſatisfied with his new ſituation. This occaſioned Sir Dudley Carleton to write ſeverely concerning him, in a letter to Sir Thomas Edmondes. " I am ſorry, ſays Sir Dudley, " Mr. Caſaubon, or rather his wife, doth not know " when ſhe is well. The conditions he hath in Eng- " land are ſuch, that ſome principal ſcholars of Ger- " many, who are as well and better at home than " he in France, would think themſelves happy to " have; and ſo I have underſtood from them ſince " my coming hither (24). If ever he turn his reli- " gion, we ſhall ſee him a wretched contemptible " fellow, or elſe I am a falſe prophet." It is certain, that Caſaubon was not pleaſed with the manners of the Engliſh; and, in a letter to Thuanus, he complains, that thoſe who were acquainted with him before he came to England, now treated him as a perfect ſtranger, and took not the leaſt notice of him by converſation or otherwiſe. *Ego mores* Anglicanos *non capio: quoſcunque ipſe habui notos priuſquam huc venirem, jam ego illis ſum ignotus, verè peregrinus, barbarus: nemo illorum me vel verbulo appellat, appellatus ſilet* (25).

(24) Venice.

(25) Birch, *ubi ſupra*, p. 340, 341.

The ingenious writer of the Confeſſional owns, that he is one of thoſe who do not rate Caſaubon's integrity ſo high as his knowledge (26); whilſt, Burigny, on the other hand, ſays that he joined the moſt profound erudition with the moſt perfect probity.

(26) Confeſſional, p. 289. note. Third edition.

Iſaac Caſaubon is to be ranked amongſt thoſe learned men who, in the beginning of the laſt century, were very ſolicitous to have an union formed between the Popiſh and Proteſtant religions. This is expreſsly aſſerted by Burigny, in his life of Grotius. According to that Biographer, Caſaubon, who wiſhed to ſee all Chriſtians united in one faith, ardently deſired a re-union of the Proteſtants with the Roman Catholics, and would have ſet about it, had he lived longer in France. He greatly reſpected the opinions of the ancient Church, and was perſuaded that its ſentiments were more ſound than thoſe of the Miniſters of Charenton. Grotius and he had imparted their ſentiments to each other before the voyage to England; and Arminius had a project of the ſame kind, which he communicated to Caſaubon, by whom it was approved. Several Divines, at that period, looked upon a ſcheme of this nature as practicable, and, among the reſt, Huetius did not think it to be abſolutely chimerical. Bayle, with much ſuperior ſagacity, entertained the oppoſite opinion. He believed that the attempt to unite the different religions was as great a chimera as the Philoſopher's ſtone, or the quadrature of the circle. Indeed, from what Burigny obſerves, nothing of the kind could ever take place: for that writer treats it as abſolutely ridiculous to ſuppoſe, that the Church of Rome, though ſhe might remit ſome point of her diſcipline, would extend her indulgence ſo far as to give up tranſubſtantiation, or any other of her doctrines (27). It is well known how zealouſly Grotius engaged in this idle project; on which account it is not ſtrange that he could not find out Popery in the propheſies of Scripture. Though, therefore, he was, in general, ſo excellent a Commentator, little regard is to be paid to his authority where the Roman Catholic religion is concerned. The peculiar bias of his mind prevented him from diſcerning what, we apprehend, could not have eſcaped an impartial Critic.

(27) Burigny's Life of Grotius, p. 32, 33. 302, 303. 307.

It may, at preſent, appear ſurprizing, that ſeveral learned men ſhould formerly have been ſo much captivated with the idea of effecting an union between the Proteſtants and the Papiſts. But we ſhall the leſs wonder at this circumſtance, when we conſider the ſtate of men's minds at that time. Numbers, even of the profeſſed Proteſtants, had not ſhaken off all reverence for the apparent dignity and antiquity of the Church of Rome. The extravagances, likewiſe, and bigotry of ſome of the reformed, gave diſguſt to many perſons of a peaceable temper. A much higher opinion, alſo, was then entertained of the importance and neceſſity of an unity in religion than now prevails. It was not, at that period, ſuffi-

agree with their ſentiments in every point. For though he was a Proteſtant, he diſapproved of ſome of Calvin's notions: and whoever doth ſo, is ſure to be branded, by ſome zealot or other, with the odious name of Heretic, if not worſe.

ciently diſcerned, that the only deſireable, as well as practicable union, is the union of mutual charity amidſt diſcordant ſentiments, and the union of mutual toleration and liberty amidſt different forms of worſhip. On theſe accounts, we ought the leſs to be ſurprized at the conduct of Caſaubon, Grotius, and and other Scholars and Divines of the laſt age. But it may juſtly be thought ſtrange, that any Proteſtants of the preſent century ſhould have been ſeduced into the ſupport of ſo viſionary a ſcheme. They ought to have known that it was not only impracticable, but of ſuch a nature as ſhould never have been attempted.] K.

CASAUBON (MERIC) ſon of Iſaac recorded in the foregoing article, and the only one of his ſons whoſe name deſerves to be tranſmitted to poſterity, was born at Geneva, Auguſt 14, 1599 (*a*). He had the name of Meric given him from Meric de Vicq, a great friend and benefactor to his father (*b*). His firſt education he received at Sedan, but coming to England with his father, in the year 1610, he was inſtructed by a private maſter till 1614 (*c*), when he was ſent to Chriſt-Church-College in Oxford; and being put there under a moſt careful Tutor, Dr. Edward Meetkirk, (made, in 1620, the King's Hebrew Profeſſor) was ſoon after elected a Student of that houſe. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, May 8, 1618 (*d*), and that of Maſter, June 14, 1621 (*e*), being even at that time eminent for his extenſive learning. For, the ſame year, though he was but two and twenty, he publiſhed a book in defence of his father, againſt the calumnies of certain Roman Catholicks [*A*]. This book made him known to King James I. who ever after entertained a good opinion of him. It alſo brought him into reputation abroad, eſpecially in France, whither he was invited with offers of promotion, his godfather Meric de Vicq, been then, or ſoon after, Keeper of the Great Seal of that kingdom. Three years after, he publiſhed another vindication of his father [*B*], written by the command of King James I. About that time he was collated by Dr. Lancelot Andrews Biſhop of Wincheſter, to the Rectory of Bledon in Somerſetſhire (*f*); and on the 14th of June 1628, took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity (*g*). He had now formed the deſign of continuing his father's Exercitations againſt Baronius's Annals, but was diverted by ſome accident. At length, when he came to maturity of years for ſuch a work, and had acquainted Archbiſhop Laud, his great friend and patron, with his deſign, who was very ready to place him conveniently in Oxford or London, accord-

(*a*) Niceron Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire des Hommes Illuſtres dans la Republique des Lettres, tom. xviii. Paris 1732, p. 148. A. Wood ſays, by miſtake, that he was born in September. Athenæ Oxon. edit. 1721, vol. ii. col. 485.

(*b*) Niceron, *ibid.* See the laſt article.

(*c*) Wood, *ibid.*

(*d*) *Idem.* Faſti, vol. i. col. 209.

(*e*) *Ibid.* col. 218. Niceron is miſtaken, when he ſays, he was admitted at Oxford in 1616; for if ſo, he could not have been Maſter of Arts till 1623. But probably he was led into this miſtake by an *erratum* in Wood's Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 281.

(*f*) Wood, Ath. vol. ii. col. 485. Of this he takes notice in his 1ſt part *Of Credulity and Incredulity*, &c. edit. 1668, 8vo. p. 115.

(*g*) Wood, Faſti, vol. i. col. 242.

[*A*] *He publiſhed a book in defence of his father, againſt the calumnies of certain Roman Catholicks.*] The title of it, is, *Pietas contra maledicos patris nominis & religionis hoſtes. Londini* 1621, 8*vo.* In this book he mentions ſeveral particulars of his father's life, and vindicates him againſt the calumnies of Caſpar Scioppius, Julius Cæſar Boulanger, Andreas Eudæmon-Joannes, Heribert Roſwed, and others, who had caſt odious imputations upon his morals and religion (1).

(1) Niceron, as above, p. 150. and Fuller's Church Hiſt. B. x. p. 90.

[*B*] *Three years after, he publiſhed another vindication of his father.*] It was intitled, *Vindicatio patris adverſus Impoſtores, qui librum ineptum & impium de origine Idololatriæ nuper ſub Iſaaci Caſauboni nomine publicarunt. Londini* 1624, 4*to* (2). It is inſerted, as well as the foregoing, in Mr. Almeloveen's edition of Caſaubon's letters. The occaſion of this book was as follows. In 1624, there was publiſhed at London a treatiſe, intitled, 'The Original of Idolatries, or the 'Birth of Hereſies. Firſt faithfully gathered out of 'ſundry Greek and Latin authors, as alſo out of 'divers learned Fathers, by that famous and learned 'Iſaac Caſaubon, and by him publiſhed in French for 'the good of God's Church, and was tranſlated into 'Engliſh for the benefit of this monarchy, by Abra-'ham Darcie.' It was dedicated to Prince Charles, and preſented to King James I. and all the Lords of the Council. The end of it was to prove, 'That 'the Maſs, (a word of great extent and antiquity, 'which made the authors of the Auguſtane Confeſſion, 'ſubſcribed by Calvin, ſay *Falsè accuſantur Eccleſiæ 'noſtræ, quod Miſſam aboleant, retinetur enim Miſſa 'apud nos, & ſummâ reverentiâ celebratur*) or rather 'indeed the whole *Liturgy*, antient and late, and 'every part of it, was derived from ancient Heathens, 'Numa Pompilius, &c. and ſome part alſo taken 'out of the Alcoran; which to prove, his authors 'for the moſt part are ſome late collectors of Roman 'Antiquities, as Blondus, Alexander ab Alexandro, 'and the like, who ſay no ſuch thing; but from 'what they ſay of the Romans, he makes his wrong 'inferences and applications (3).' Meric Caſaubon thinking his father much injured by the publication of that book, wrote a letter, which he got one of the Biſhops to ſhew to the King: his Majeſty diſcovering thereby the fraud, ordered Nath. Butter the Bookſeller, and Abraham Darcie to be committed to priſon; and it was with great difficulty, that Dr. Mountaine, Biſhop of London made his Chaplain's peace on account of his licenſing it (4). Soon after, a French book, the original of the Engliſh tranſlation, being produced, it was found, continues our author (5). 'That an old 'title page had been by art and cunning transformed, 'the years altered, and the name of Iſaac Caſaubon 'inſerted; and thus the world for mere gain and lucre '(for I do not believe there was any farther myſtery 'in it at firſt) ſhamefully abuſed. Other editions or 'copies of the ſame book were found, and ſhewed to 'the King; yea, tranſlations of it, that had been 'made, when my father was yet ſcarcely born, &c.' Upon this, Meric Caſaubon, publiſhed his *Vindicatio patris*, which, by the King's command, was tranſlated in French and Engliſh. And yet, ſome years after, the ſame Engliſh tranſlation was reprinted at Amſterdam, as is ſuppoſed, with this title, 'The Original 'of Popiſh Idolatry; or the Birth of Hereſies. Pub-'liſhed under the name of *Caſaubon*, and called in, 'the ſame year, upon miſinformation. But now upon 'better conſideration reprinted with Allowance; 'being a true and exact Deſcription, &c.' Printed ——1630. A Preface alſo was added in juſtification of the book and the firſt editors of it, where, among other things, it is ſaid, 'That they that did ſup-'preſs, were either Papiſts in their hearts, or ſuch as 'hold with Papiſts. That ignorance is the mother of 'devotion, that the Goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt 'was departing from the land, &c.' Since that, a Pamphlet came out, much to the ſame purpoſe, in the very front of which Caſaubon's name was placed (6): if it was that, intituled, *Iſaaci Caſauboni Corona Regia*, the true author was Caſpar Scioppius (7).

(2) Containing eight ſheets.

(3) This account Meric Caſaubon himſelf gives us, in his Neceſſity of Reformation, in and before Luther's time, &c. Lond. 1664, 4to. p. 157, 158.

(4) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. B. x. p. 112.

(5) Neceſſity of Reformation, &c. as above, p. 159.

(6) *Ibid.* p. 160.

(7) Niceron, p. 151.

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ing to his desire, that he might be furnished with books necessary for such a purpose, the troubles and divisions began in England: so that having no fixed habitation, he was forced to sell a good part of his books; and, in the end, after about twenty years sufferings, was grown so old and infirm, that he could not expect to live many years, and thereupon was forced to give over that project (*h*). On the 19th of June 1628, he was made Prebendary of Canterbury, through the interest and recommendation of Bishop Laud (*i*). When that Prelate was promoted to the Archbishoprick of Canterbury, he farther preferred him; for on the 4th of October 1634, he collated him to the Vicarage of Minster in the Isle of Thanet, and the 25th of the same month, he was inducted into the Vicarage of Monckton in the same island (*k*). The 31st of August 1636, he was created Doctor in Divinity, by order of King Charles I. who was entertained at the same time, with his Queen, by the University (*l*). About the year 1644, during the heat of the Civil Wars, he was deprived of his preferments, abused, fined, and imprisoned (*m*). In 1649, one Mr. Greaves of Gray's-inn, an intimate acquaintance of his, brought him a message from Oliver Cromwell, then Lieutenant-General of the Parliament forces, desiring him to come to Whitehall, on purpose to confer with him about matters of moment; but his wife being lately dead, and not, as he said, buried, he desired to be excused. Greaves came again afterwards, and Dr. Casaubon being under some uneasiness, least some evil should follow, desired him to tell him the meaning of the matter; but Greaves refusing, went away the second time. At length he returned again, and told him, that the Lieutenant-General intended his good and advancement; and his particular errand was, That he would make use of his pen to write the History of the late war; desiring withal, that nothing but matters of fact should be impartially set down. The Doctor answered, that he desired his humble service and hearty thanks should be returned for the great honour done unto him: but, that he was uncapable in several respects for such an employment, and could not so impartially engage in it, but his subject would force him to make such reflections as would be ungrateful, if not injurious, to his Lordship. Notwithstanding this answer, Cromwell seemed so sensible of his worth, that though he could not gain him to do what he desired, yet he acknowledged a great respect for him, and, as a testimony of it, ordered, that upon the first demand there should be delivered to him three or four hundred pounds, by a Bookseller in London, whose name was Cromwell, whenever his occasions should require, without acknowledging, at the receipt of it, who was his benefactor. But this offer he rejected, though his condition was then mean. At the same time, it was proposed by Mr. Greaves, who belonged to the Library at St. James's, that if our author would gratify him in the foregoing request, Cromwell would restore unto him all his father's books, which were then in the Royal Library, having been purchased by King James; and withal give him a patent for three hundred pounds a year, to be paid to the family as long as the youngest son of Dr. Casaubon (*n*) should live, but this also was refused. Not long after, a proposal was made to him by the Embassador of Christiana Queen of Sweden, whereby, he was invited by that Queen into her country, to have the government of one, or inspection of all her Universities; and for an encouragement, she proposed not only an honourable salary for himself, but offered to settle three hundred pounds a year upon his eldest son during life: but this also he waved, being fully determined to spend the remainder of his days in England (*o*). At the Restoration of King Charles II. he recovered his preferments; namely, his Prebend of Canterbury on the 13th of July 1660, and his Vicarages of Monckton, and Minster the same year (*p*). But, two years after, he exchanged this last for the Rectory of Ickham, near Canterbury, to which he was admitted, October 4, 1662 (*q*). He had a design, in the latter part of his days, of writing his own life; and would often confess, that he thought himself obliged to do it out of gratitude to the Divine Providence, which had preserved and delivered him from more hazardous occurrences, than ever any man (as he thought) besides himself had encountered with: Particularly, in his escape from a fire in the night-time, which happened in the house where he lived, at Geneva, while he was a boy: in his recovery from a sickness at Christ-Church in Oxford, when he was given over for dead, by a chymical preparation administered to him by a young Physician (*r*): in his wonderful preservation from drowning, when overset in a boat on the Thames near London, the two watermen being drowned, and himself buoyed up by his Priest's coat: and in his bearing several abuses, fines, imprisonments, *&c.* laid upon him by the fanaticks in the time of his sequestration. But deferring it from time to time, he did not live to do it (*s*). He died on the 14th of July 1671, in the seventy-second year of his age; and was buried in the south part of the first south cross-isle of Canterbury-Cathedral (*t*). Over his grave was soon after erected a handsome monument, with an inscription. He left by will a great number of manuscripts to the University of Oxford (*u*), and was author of several learned works [*C*]. His character is

(*h*) Wood, Ath. *ubi supra.*

(*i*) Wood, *ib.* and Wharton. Collectan. MS. fol. p. 77.

(*k*) Wharton, *ib.*

(*l*) Wood, Fast. vol. i. col. 270.

(*m*) Wharton, *ib.* an Attempt towards recovering the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. by J. Walker, P. ii. p. 8.

(*n*) Wood, by mistake, calls here Dr. Casaubon *Isaac.*

(*o*) Wood, Ath. as above, col. 485, 486.

(*p*) Bishop Kennet's Register and Chronicle, &c. Lond. 1728, fol. p. 264. 645. 727.

(*q*) Wharton, Collectan. as above, p. 77.

(*r*) See his Treatise of Credulity and Incredulity, &c. P. i. p. 16, 17. edit. 1668.

(*s*) Wood, Athen. col. 488.

(*t*) Wood, Ath. col. 488; and Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 282.

(*u*) Hist. & Antiq. *ibid.*

[*C*] *And was author of several learned works.*] They are, besides his two vindications already mentioned, these that follow. I. *Optati Libri* vii. *de Schismate Donatistarum, cum Merici Casauboni Notis & Emendationibus. Londini* 1632, 8*vo.* II. A translation from Greek into English of 'M. Aurelius Antoninus's 'Meditations

is thus represented. He was a general Scholar, but not extraordinary in any one sort, unless in criticism, wherein probably he was assisted by his father's notes and papers (*w*). According to the ill custom of the times he lived in, he mixes too much Greek and Latin in his writings: but, however, that shows his very extensive reading. He was wont to ascribe

(*w*) *Id.* Athen. col. 486.

'Meditations concerning himself, with notes,' Lond. 1634, and 1635, 4*to*. again with additions and corrections. Lond. 1664, 8*vo*. III. 'A Treatise of Use 'and Custom.' This is the whole title; but, as the author himself observes (8), there might be added, 'in things Natural, Civil, and Divine.' Lond. 1638, 8*vo*. The occasion of this treatise, as he tells us in the same place, was, 'His being at that time much 'troubled, and as he thought injured, by what in the 'law of this realm, goes under the name of *Custom*; 'to him before little known.' IV. 'The Use of 'daily publick Prayers in three Positions.' Lond. 1641, 4*to*. V. *Marci Antonini Imperatoris de Seipso & ad Seipsum Libri* xii. *Guil. Xylander Augustanus Græcè & Latinè primus edidit: nunc verò, Xylandri versionem locis plurimis emendavit, & novam fecit: in Antonini libros Notas & Emendationes adjacit Mericus Casaubonus, Is. F. In eosdem Xylandri Annotationes. Lond.* 1643, 8*vo*. There are in the beginning learned *Prolegomena* of our author; and at the end his notes; then those of Xylander follow. It is a neat and accurate edition. VI. 'The original of temporal Evils; The 'Opinions of the most ancient Heathens concerning 'it examined by the Sacred Scriptures, and referred 'unto them, as unto the source and fountain, from 'whence they spring.' Lond. 1645, 4*to*. VII. 'A 'Discourse concerning Christ his Incarnation and Ex-'inanition. With an Introduction, Concerning the 'Principles of Christianity and Divinity.' Lond. 1646. 4*to*. VIII. *De verborum usu, & accuratæ eorum cognitionis utilitate Diatriba. Londini* 1647, 8*vo*. IX. This same year, he published a more complete edition of his father's notes upon Persius, than was that of 1605. The title of this second edition runs thus, *Persii Satyræ cum notis Isaaci Casaubon. Londini* 1647, 8*vo*. X. *De quatuor Linguis Commentationis, Pars* I. *Quæ de Lingua Hebraica & de Lingua Saxonica. Accesserunt Gulielmi Somneri ad verba vetera Germanica Lipsiana Notæ. Londini* 1650, 8*vo*. He had not an opportunity of finishing the two other languages, Greek and Latin. XI. *Terentius, cum notis Thomæ Farnabii in quatuor priores Comoedias, & Merici Casauboni in Phormionem & Hecyram. Londini* 1651, 12*mo*. Farnaby dying before he had finished his notes upon Terence, the Bookseller engaged Casaubon to write notes upon the two last Comedies, the Phormio and the Hecyra, which the other had not done. XII. 'Some 'Annotations on the Psalms and Proverbs.' He tells us (9), that these observations were extorted from him, by the importunity of Printers, when he was not very well furnished either with books or leisure; but, worst of all, of will, when nothing could be expected to be acceptable and welcome, but what relished of schism and rebellion. These Annotations were inserted in one of the latter editions of the *Assembly's Annotations on the Bible*. XIII. *In Hieroclis commentarium de Providentia & Fato, Notæ & Emendationes. Lond.* 1655, 8*vo*. and 1673, 8*vo*. Our author designed at first, to have corrected the Latin translation of Hierocles, which abounded with faults; but not knowing that the work was printing till it was almost entirely finished, he contented himself with adding a few grammatical and critical notes at the end. XIV. 'A Treatise concern-'ing Enthusiasm, as it is an effect of Nature; but is 'mistaken by many for either divine Inspiration, or 'diabolical possession.' Lond. 1655, 8*vo*. In this book, which is divided into six chapters, he treats, 1. Of Enthusiasme in general. 2. Of Divinatory Enthusiasme. 3. Of contemplative and philosophical Enthusiasme. 4. Of rhetorical Enthusiasme. 5. Of poeticall Enthusiasme. 6. Of precatory Enthusiasme. XV. *De nupera Homeri editione Lugduno-Batavica Hackiana, cum Latina versione, & Didymi Scholiis; sed & Eustathio, & locis aliquot insignioribus ad Odysseam pertinentibus. Item super loco Homerico dubiæ apud Antiquos Interpretationis, quo Dei in hominum tam mentes quam fortunas imperium asseritur, binæ Dissertationes. Londini* 1659, 8*vo*. reprinted in Almeloveen's edition of Casaubon's Letters. XVI. *Epicteti enchiridion, Græcè & Latinè, cum notis Merici Casauboni; & Cebetis Tabula cum notis ejusdem. Lond.* 1659, 8*vo*. The Latin translation in this edition is that of Jerom Wolfius. XVII. An English translation of, and notes on, 'Lucius Florus's History of the Romans.' Lond. 1659, 8*vo*. XVIII. He published, 'A true and 'faithful relation of what passed for many years be-'tween Dr. John Dee and some Spirits, &c.' And put in the beginning a long Preface, to confirm the truth of what is said in that relation concerning Spirits. Lond. 1659, fol. XIX. He was author of, 'A Vin-'dication of the Lord's Prayer as a formal Prayer, and 'by Christ's Institution to be used by Christians as a 'Prayer. Against the Antichristian practice and opinion 'of some men. Wherein also their private and un-'grounded zeal is discovered, who are so strict for the 'observation of the Lord's-day, and make so light of 'the Lord's prayer.' Lond. 1660. The first occasion of this treatise, as the author tells us in the Preface, was the relation of a strange affront done publickly unto Christ; or, if you will more punctually, to the Lord's prayer, in St. Mary's Church in Oxford, by Dr. John Owen, Dean of Christ-Church, who had the chief government of that University from 1652 to 1657; namely, *His putting on his Hat*, when the Lord's prayer was repeating by the preacher. This, Dr. Owen denied afterwards (10); 'But therein, saith Mr. Wood '(11), he doth much err, for several now living in Oxon '(*i. e.* in Wood's time) knew it well enough.' XX. 'A King and his Subjects unhappily fallen out, and 'happily reconciled, in a Sermon preached at Canter-'bury, on *Hosea* iii. *ver.* 4, 5.' Lond. 1660, 4*to*. XXI. 'The Question to whom it belonged anciently 'to preach? And whether all Priests might or did? 'Discussed out of Antiquity. Occasioned by the late 'Directions concerning Preachers.' Lond. 1663, 4*to*. These directions were set forth by the King, October 14, 1662, to restrain the abuses and extravagances of Preachers (12). XXII. *Notæ & Emendationes in Diogenem Laërtium de Vitis*, &c. *Philosophorum*. These notes were added to those of his father, in the editions of Laërtius printed at London 1664, fol. and Amsterdam in 1692, 4*to*. XXIII. 'Of the necessity of Re-'formation in and before Luther's time, and what 'visibly hath most hindred the progress of it. Occa-'sioned by some late virulent books written by Papists, 'but especially by that, intituled, *Labyrinthus Can-'tuariensis*. Here, besides some other points, the 'grand business of these times, *Infallibility*, is fully 'discussed.' Lond. 1664, 4*to*. This is chiefly an answer to *Labyrinthus Cantuariensis*, printed at Paris in 1658; which pretends to confute 'Archbishop Laud's 'Relation of a Conference with Fisher the Jesuit:' and in the 11th, 13th, and 14th Chapters of which, it is asserted, 'That Protestants are Schismaticks, and no 'part of the Catholick Church.' XXIV. 'An An-'swer concerning the new way of Infallibility lately 'devised to uphold the Roman cause; the ancient 'Fathers and Councils laid aside, against J. S. (the 'author of *Sure-footing*) his Letter lately published.' Lond. 1665, 8*vo*. This Letter of J. S. (*i. e.* John Sarjeant, the author of *Sure-footing*, &c. so learnedly confuted by Archbishop Tillotson) was a sort of an answer to some passages in Dr. Casaubon's book 'Of 'the Necessity of Reformation, &c.' and was printed at the end of Sarjeant's Sure-footing in Christianity. XXV. 'A Letter of Meric Casaubon, D. D. &c. to 'Peter du Moulin, D. D. &c. concerning Natural 'Experimental Philosophy, and some books lately set 'out about it.' Cambridge 1669, 4*to*. five sheets. XXVI. 'Of Credulity and Incredulity in things Na-'tural, Civil, and Divine; wherein, among other 'things, the Sadducism of these times in denying 'Spirits, Witches, and Supernatural Operations, by 'pregnant instances and evidences is fully confuted; 'Epicurus his cause discussed, and the juggling and 'false dealing lately used to bring him and Atheism 'into credit, clearly discovered; the use and necessity 'of ancient Learning against the innovating humour

'all

(8) Of Credulity and Incredulity, &c. P. i. p. 15.

(9) Of Credulity and Incredulity, Part i. p. 106.

(10) In a Letter to Dr. Lewis du Moulin. See Dr. John Durel's *Vindiciæ Eccles. Angl.* c.iii. p.33.

(11) Athen. vol. ii. col. 487.

(12) They are extant in Bishop Kennet's Register and Chronicle, &c. Lond. 1728, fol. p. 794, &c.

aſcribe to Deſcartes's philoſophy, the little inclination people had in his time for polite learning (*x*). He was eminent for his piety, charity to the poor, and his courteous and affable diſpoſition towards Scholars (*y*). He had ſeveral children, but none made any figure in the learned world: one, named John, was a Surgeon at Canterbury (*z*).

(*x*) Bernard, Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, tom. xxxv. Juillet 1710. Artic. 1. p. 28.

(*z*) Niceron, as above, p. 149. Wood, Athen. p. 486.

(*y*) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 282.

'all along proved and aſſerted.' Lond. 1668, 8*vo*. containing two parts. The third part was printed at London 1670, 8*vo*. under the following title, 'Of 'Credulity and Incredulity, in things Divine and 'Spiritual: wherein (among other things) a true and 'faithful account is given of the Platonick Philoſophy, 'as it hath reference to Chriſtianity: as alſo the buſi-'neſs of Witches and Witchcraft, againſt a late 'writer, fully argued and diſputed.' The *late writer*, attacked only in the two laſt ſheets of this book, was Mr. John Wagſtaff, who publiſhed, 'The queſtion 'of Witchcraft debated; or, a diſcourſe againſt their 'opinion, that affirm Witches.' Lond. 1669, 8*vo*. But theſe two parts of Dr. Caſaubon's book lying dead on the Bookſeller's hands, he printed a new title to them, running thus, 'A Treatiſe, proving Spirits, 'Witches, and Supernatural Operations by pregnant 'inſtances and evidences, *&c.*' Lond. 1672 (13). XXVII. *Notæ in Polybium*, printed for the firſt time in the edition of that author, publiſhed by James Gronovius at Amſterdam in 1670, 8*vo*. XXVIII. *Epiſtolæ, Dedicationes, Præfationes, Prolegomena, & Tractatus quidam rariores. Curante Theodoro Janſon ab Almeloveen*; printed at the end of Iſaac Caſaubon's Letters. *Roteacodami* 1709. XXIX. *De Jure concionandi apud antiquos* (14). This ſeems to be the ſame as the Treatiſe mentioned above No 22. or perhaps it was a Latin tranſlation of it (15). M.

(13) Wood, Ath. col. 488.

(14) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 282.

(15) This Catalogue of Caſaubon's Works is taken from Niceron, as above, p. 150, &c. and from Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 282. and Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 486, 487, 488.

*** [Sir William Temple, in his Eſſay on Poetry, ſpeaks in high terms of Meric Caſaubon's abilities and literature. "I am ſorry, ſays Sir William, the "natural hiſtory or account of faſcination has not "employed the pen of ſome perſon of ſuch excel-"lent wit and deep thought and learning as Caſau-"bon, who wrote that curious and uſeful treatiſe "on Enthuſiaſm, and by it diſcovered the hidden "or miſtaken ſources of that deluſion, ſo frequent "in all regions and religions of the world, and "which had ſo fatally ſpread over our country in "that age in which this treatiſe was ſo ſeaſonably "publiſhed. 'Tis much to be lamented, that he "lived not to compleat that work in the ſecond part "he promiſed; or that his friends neglected the "publiſhing it, if it were left in papers, though "looſe and unfiniſhed. I think a clear account of "enthuſiaſm and faſcination from their natural "cauſes, would very much deſerve from mankind in "general, as well as from the commonwealth of "learning; might perhaps prevent ſo many public "diſorders, and ſave the lives of many innocent, "deluded, or deluding people, who ſuffer ſo fre-"quently upon account of witches and wizards (16)." However well qualified Meric Caſaubon was to treat concerning enthuſiaſm, it is certain that his mind was not ſufficiently enlarged to diſcuſs rationally the ſubject of faſcination; ſince it is plain, from his writings on credulity and incredulity, that he was a zealous aſſertor of the reality of apparitions and witchcraft. With regard to his treatiſe on Enthuſiaſm, the praiſes of it muſt be adopted with ſome abatement. There are undoubtedly ſome curious obſervations in it, and it abounds with learning. But the language of the book is remarkably embarraſſed and confuſed; ſo that the author's meaning is often loſt in the multiplicity of words, and the perplexity of parentheſes. This is not our own opinion only, but the opinion of a reſpectable gentleman, who hath favoured us with many obſervations relative to the Biographia.

(16) Sir William Temple's works, vol. i. p. 234. Folio edition.

We are informed, by the ſame gentleman, that the letter, mentioned in note [*B*], which was written by Mr. Caſaubon to be ſhewn to the King, is in the Advocate's library at Edinburgh.] K.

*** [CASLON (WILLIAM), * eminent in an art of the greateſt conſequence to Literature, the art of Letter-Founding, was born in 1692, in that part of the town of Hales Owen which is ſituated in Shropſhire. Though he juſtly attained the character of being the Coryphæus in that employment, he was not brought up to the buſineſs; and it is obſerved by Mr. Mores, that this handy work is ſo concealed among the artificers of it, that he could not diſcover that any one had taught it to another; but every perſon who had uſed it had learned it of his own genuine inclination. Mr. Caſlon ſerved a regular apprenticeſhip to an Engraver of Ornaments on Gun Barrels, and after the expiration of his term, carried on this trade in Vine-Street, near the Minories. He did not, however, ſolely confine his ingenuity to that inſtrument, but employed himſelf likewiſe in making tools for the Book-binders, and for the chaſing of ſilver plate. Whilſt he was engaged in this buſineſs, the elder Mr. Bowyer accidentally ſaw, in a Bookſeller's ſhop, the lettering of a book uncommonly neat; and enquiring who the Artiſt was by whom the letters were made, was hence induced to ſeek an acquaintance with Mr. Caſlon. Not long after, Mr. Bowyer took Mr. Caſlon to Mr. James's Foundery, in Bartholomew Cloſe. Caſlon had never before that time ſeen any part of the buſineſs; and being aſked by his friend, if he thought he could undertake to cut types, he requeſted a ſingle day to conſider the matter, and then replied, that he had no doubt but he could. Upon this anſwer, Mr. Bowyer, Mr. Bettenham, and Mr. Watts had ſuch a confidence in his abilities, that they lent him five hundred pounds to begin the undertaking, and he applied himſelf to it with equal aſſiduity and ſucceſs. In 1720, the Society for promoting Chriſtian Knowledge, in conſequence of a repreſentation from Mr. Solomon Negri, a native of Damaſcus in Syria, who was well ſkilled in the Oriental Tongues, and had been Profeſſor of Arabic in places of note, deemed it expedient to print, for the uſe of the Eaſtern Churches, the New Teſtament and Pſalter in the Arabic Language. Theſe were intended for the benefit of the poor Chriſtians in Paleſtine, Syria, Meſopotamia, Arabia, and Egypt, the conſtitution of which countries did not permit the exerciſe of the Art of Printing. Upon this occaſion, Mr. Caſlon was pitched upon to cut the Fount; in his ſpecimens of which he diſtinguiſhed it by the name of *Engliſh Arabic*. After he had finiſhed this Fount, he cut the letters of his own name in *Pica Roman*, and placed them at the bottom of one of the Arabic Specimens. The name being ſeen by Mr. Palmer, (the reputed author of a "Hiſtory of Printing," which was,

* For the materials of this article we are entirely indebted to Mr. Nichols, who favoured us with the inedited ſheets of his Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer.

in fact, written by Pſalmanazar) he adviſed our Artiſt to cut the whole Fount of Pica. This was accordingly done, and the performance exceeded the letter of the other Founders of the time. But Mr. Palmer, whoſe circumſtances required credit with thoſe whoſe buſineſs would have been hurt by Mr. Caſlon's ſuperior execution, repented of the advice he had given him, and endeavoured to diſcourage him from any farther progreſs. Mr. Caſlon, being juſtly diſguſted at ſuch treatment, applied to Mr. Bowyer, under whoſe inſpection he cut, in 1722, the beautiful Fount of *Engliſh* which was uſed in printing Selden's Works (*a*), and the Coptic types that were made uſe of for Dr. Wilkins's edition of the Pentateuch. Under the farther encouragement of Mr. Bowyer, Mr. Bettenham, and Mr. Watts, he proceeded with vigour in his employment; and the laſt gentleman was always acknowledged by him to be his maſter, from whom he had learned his art. In this art he arrived at length to ſuch perfection, that he not only freed us from the neceſſity of importing types from Holland, but in the beauty and elegance of thoſe made by him, he ſo far exceeded the productions of the beſt Artificers, that his workmanſhip was frequently exported to the Continent. Indeed, it may with great juſtice and confidence be aſſerted, that a more beautiful ſpecimen than his is not to be found in any part of the world. Mr. Caſlon's firſt Foundery was in a ſmall houſe in *Helmet-Row*, Old-Street. He afterwards removed into *Ironmonger-Row*; and about the year 1735 into Chiſwell-Street, where his Foundery became, in proceſs of time, the moſt capital one that exiſts in this or in foreign countries. Having acquired opulence in the courſe of his employment, he was put into the Commiſſion of the Peace for the County of Middleſex (*b*). Towards the latter end of his life, his eldeſt ſon William being in partnerſhip with him, he retired, in a great meaſure, from the active execution of buſineſs. His laſt country reſidence was at *Bethnal-Green*, where he departed this life on the 23d of January, 1766, at the age of ſeventy-four. He was interred in the Church-yard of St. Luke, Middleſex, in which pariſh all his different Founderies were ſituated, and where they are ſtill carried on by his family. Mr. Caſlon was univerſally eſteemed as a firſt-rate Artiſt, a tender Maſter, and an honeſt, friendly, and benevolent Man: and Sir John Hawkins (*c*) has particularly celebrated his hoſpitality, his ſocial qualities, and his love of muſic.] K.

(*a*) In 1726.

(*b*) In or about the year 1750.

(*c*) Hiſtory of Muſic, vol. v. p. 127, 128.

*** [CASTELL (EDMUND), a Divine of the laſt century, who deſerves to be recorded as a remarkable example of literary generoſity, joined to literary induſtry, was born, in 1606, at Hatley in Cambridgeſhire. After going through a courſe of grammatical education, he became a Member, in 1621, of Emanuel College, in Cambridge, at which College he continued many years. Afterwards, he removed to St. John's College for the convenience of the library there, which was of great ſervice to him in compiling his grand work, his "Lexicon Heptaglotton (*a*)." In due courſe, he took the ſeveral degrees of Bachelor and Maſter of Arts, and of Bachelor and Doctor in Divinity; and the fame of his learning occaſioned his being choſen a Member of the Royal Society. His "Lexicon Heptaglotton" coſt him the aſſiduous labour of ſeventeen years. The unwearied diligence which he employed in this undertaking, injured his health, and impaired his conſtitution. Beſides this, the work was the entire ruin of his fortune; for he ſpent upon it upwards of twelve thouſand pounds. The truth of the fact is poſitively aſſerted by Mr. Hearne, whoſe authority for it was a letter which he had under Dr. Caſtell's own hand. Mr. Hearne pathetically and juſtly complains, that our author ſhould meet with ſo *very poor a reward* for his incredible and indeed Herculean labours (*b*). The Doctor, in 1666, having waſted his patrimony, and incurred heavy debts, was reduced to extreme diſtreſs; when, probably in conſideration of his learned labours, and diſintereſted generoſity, the royal favour began to ſmile upon him. In that year, he was made King's Chaplain, and Arabic Profeſſor at Cambridge; and, in 1668, he obtained a Prebend of Canterbury (*c*). In the next year, he publiſhed his "Lexicon Heptaglotton;" but the publication procured him no compenſation for his large expences, and his indefatigable diligence. The copies of the book lay almoſt entirely unſold upon his hands (*d*). He received, indeed, ſome additional preferments; but they were by no means ſufficient to recompenſe him for his great loſſes. The ſmall Vicarage of Hatfield Peverell, in Eſſex, was beſtowed upon him; and he was afterwards preſented to the Rectory of Wodeham Walter, in the ſame county. His laſt preferment, which was towards the cloſe of his life, was the Rectory of Higham Gobion, in Bedfordſhire (*e*).

(*a*) Granger's Biographical Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 277. Nichols's Supplement to the Origin of Printing, p. 289.

(*b*) Granger, and Supplement to the Origin of Printing, *ubi ſupra*. Leland's Collectanea, vol. vi. p. 80.

(*c*) Granger, and Supplement to the Origin of Printing.

(*d*) Hearne, in Leland's Collectanea, *ubi ſupra*.

(*e*) Granger, as before; and Supplement to the Origin of Printing, p. 291.

Dr. Caſtell's induſtry and liberality were not confined to his Lexicon. He was eminently aſſiſtant to Dr. Walton, in the celebrated edition of the Polyglott Bible. This is acknowledged by Walton, who, after complimenting our author's erudition and modeſty, mentions the diligence he employed upon the Samaritan, the Syriac, the Arabic, and the Ethiopic verſions; his having given a Latin tranſlation of the Canticles, under the laſt verſion; and his adding to all of them learned notes. Theſe acknowledgments, however, were by no means equal to Caſtell's merit and ſervices; for he tranſlated ſeveral books of the New Teſtament, and the Syriac verſion of Job where it differs from

from the Arabic (*f*). Greater juſtice ought, likewiſe, to have been done to his generoſity. Dr. Walton mentions the gratuities which he beſtowed on the learned men who aſſiſted him in his undertaking. But he forgot to mention that Caſtell not only ſpent his whole gratuity upon the work, but a thouſand pounds beſides; partly from his own private fortune, and partly from money which he had ſolicited from others (*g*). We know of nothing farther publiſhed by Dr. Caſtell, excepting a thin quarto pamphlet, in 1660, entitled "Sol Angliæ Oriens Auſpiciis Caroli II. Regum Glorioſiſſimi," and adorned with an admirable head of that Monarch [*A*]. From a letter of our author's, which is ſtill extant, and was written in 1674, it appears, that the many diſcouragements he had met with, had not extinguiſhed his ardour for the promotion of Oriental literature [*B*]. The ſame letter ſhews, that, in his application to the learned languages, he had forgotten the cultivation of his native tongue; and that even his orthography did not keep pace with the improvements of the time. Dr. Caſtell died at Higham Gobion, in 1685, being about ſeventy-nine years of age. All his Oriental manuſcripts were bequeathed by him to the Univerſity of Cambridge, on condition that his name ſhould be written on every copy in the collection (*b*). It is ſuppoſed, that about five hundred of his Lexicons were unſold at the time of his death. Theſe were placed by Mrs. Criſp, Dr. Caſtell's niece and executrix, in a room of one of her tenant's houſes at *Martin*, in Surry, where, for many years, they lay at the mercy of the rats, who made ſuch havock among them, that when they came into the poſſeſſion of this lady's executors, ſcarcely one compleat volume could be formed out of the remainder, and the whole load of learned rags ſold only for ſeven pounds. Dr. Caſtell was buried in the Church of Higham Gobion, where, in his life-time, he erected a monument, being a tablet of black marble in a white ſtone frame, on which there is an inſcription, that, neither by its Latinity nor by its execution, reflects much honour on his taſte (*i*) [*C*].] K.

(*f*) *Id. ibid.* Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii. Faſti, col. 48.

(*g*) Supplement to the Origin of Printing, *ubi ſupra*.

(*b*) Granger, and Supplement to the Origin of Printing, *ubi ſupra*.

(*i*) Supplement, *ubi ſupra*, p. 292, 293.

[*A*] *With an admirable head of that Monarch.*] The inſcription of this pamphlet to the King, which ſhews the nature of the publication, is as follows: "Sereniſſimo & Potentiſſimo Principi ac Domino Domino Carolo, ejus nominis Secundo, Auguſtiſſimo Britanniarum, Franc. &c. &c. Monarchæ, Fidei Defenſori, &c. Regi Clementiſſimo, Soteria ſuper Sacratiſſ. ejus Majeſtatis incolumitate apud exteros; Gratulatoria de ejuſdem reditu ad ſuos; Votiva pro omnigena Animæ, Corporis ac Regiminis Felicitate, Carmina ſua, illis Linguis, quæ in Lexico, quod ſub prelo eſt, Polyglotto Orientali, exhibentur, humillime offert, ſuo & Sociorum nomine, Edmundus Caſtell, S. T. B. (1)."

(1) Supplement to the Origin of Printing, p. 290, 291.

[*B*] *Had not extinguiſhed his ardour for the promotion of Oriental literature.*] The letter was written to Dr. Spencer, and is preſerved in the Manuſcript Library at Lambeth. It was communicated to Mr. Nichols by Dr. Ducarel.

"Reverend and moſt highly honoured Sir,

"ON Saturday the 9th inſtant, I received a letter from Dr. Marſhall, rector of Lincoln College, Oxford: that very day, the generality hereabouts began the harveſt: that much adoe I had, having no hors of my own, to borrow one til Tueſday following: then I ſet forth to carry you the ſaid letter, about the mid way from my hous to Cambridg I met with Mr. Broughton coming to mee with an expres from you, aſſured mee that my journy would bee to no purpoſe in reference to Golius's library; you had told him, there could be notthing at preſent don about it: Wherupon we both returned back to my hous: To him I have deliverid the Letter; requeſting after it is read, that he may receive it again of you.

"Sir, It is now about, or above ſix years ſince I began to intermedle in this affair, with no other aim but only to ſerve the Univerſity, in which tho I have ſpent not a few hundred, yea thouſands of pounds, yet from it I never received the leaſt kerm of pecuniary profit; my Profeſſorſhip received from another hand, in ſetling which had I not been active, it is more than probable, it would ſcarce have been effected by our noble Founder; it has put mee to a far greater expens, then the ſtipend amounts to: nevertheles, after the great work of the Bibles and Heptaglot was finiſhed, no one thing has run more in my thoughts, and more than ſo, then how to farther any way our academical intereſt. Formerly I procured towards the purchace of this unparalled ineſtimable treaſure, no leſs than a thouſand pounds, without any charg to the colledges, excepting 3 perſons only, the reſt was promiſed by Biſhops, Deans, and Dignified men. The miſcarriage of the attempt, I have made known. Since, it is no ſmall grief to think, how this once apprized Gem is now depreciated; a diſcouragement to any ſuch kind of Benefacture. However (moſt honoured Sir), tho I have no thanks at al for the precious time, tedious jaunts, and to-mee-no eaſy charg in proſecution of my real intentions, I humbly beſeech you (moſt worthy Sir) that Dr. Marſhall, a Head in Oxford, unto whom, by your appointment, in a letter ſent him from Cambridg, a promiſe was made, that ſome recompence ſhould be given him, for his forwardnes, pains, and charge, againſt the guiſe of the place in which he is, in offering ſo willingly to advance an emulous concern. Sir, This I hope you wil deem very juſt and equitable, that I be not damnified by this ſo reaſonably engaged promiſe.

"Sir, Vouchſafe mee your pardon but this once: if I ſin this offenſe any more, I will crave your ſevereſt puniſhment without any mercy upon

Reverend Sir,
Your verieſt real and
Higham Gobin, moſt redevable Servant,
16 *Auguſt*, 74. EDMUND CASTELL."

Directed thus,
"To my much eſteemed friend
Dr. Spencer Maſter of Corpus
Chriſti College in Cambridge
Theſe
"At the Colledge in Ely preſent.
"Poſt paid (2)."

(2) *Ibid.* p. 293—295.

[*C*] *On which there is an inſcription*, &c.] This is the inſcription, excluſively of a line in Arabic, with which it is concluded.

"*Edmund' Caſtell' S. T. P. regiæ majeſtati Caroli 2i a ſacris eccleſiæ Chriſti Cantuarienſ Canonicus Linguæ Arabicæ apud Cantabrig Profeſſor. regal Societatis ſocius Authr Lex Heptagl. Necnon Hujus Eccleſiæ Rector Mortalitatis quod reliquum eſt tam ipſi quam lectiſſime ejus Conjugi Dæ Elizab. Betteſworth Petri Betteſworth militis aurati primo relictæ, deinde Johani Herris armig (cuj' fil' Wilhelm' una cum filia ej' Elizab. hic jacent) Anno ætatis Edmundi 68 Dæ Elizab. 64 anno Chriſti 1674 Vivus hic legat humandum* (3)."

(3) *Ibid.* p. 292.

CAVE (WILLIAM) a very learned Divine in the end of the XVIIth, and beginning of the XVIIIth Century, was born at Pickwell in Leiceſterſhire (*a*), of which pariſh his father was Rector [*A*]. On the 9th of May 1653, he was admitted into St. John's-College in Cambridge; where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1656; and commenced Maſter in that faculty in 1660 (*b*). The 7th of Auguſt 1662, he was admitted to the Vicarage of Iſlington in Middleſex (*c*); and, ſome time after, became Chaplain in Ordinary to King Charles II. He took the degree of Doctor in Divinity in the year 1672 (*d*): and on the 16th of September 1679, was collated by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury to the Rectory of Alhallows the Great in Thames-ſtreet, London (*e*).

The 12th of July 1681, he was incorporated Doctor in Divinity at Oxford (*f*). On the 21ſt of November 1684, he was inſtalled Canon of Windſor, upon the death of Mr. John Roſewell (*g*); about which time, as Mr. Wood tells us (*h*), he became Rector of Haſely in Oxfordſhire: but that ſeems to be a miſtake [*B*]. He reſigned his Rectory of Alhallows in 1689 (*i*), and the Vicarage of Iſlington in 1691 (*k*). But on 19th of November before, namely, in 1690, he was admitted to the Vicarage of Iſleworth in Middleſex (*l*), which being a quiet and retired place, probably ſuited beſt his moſt ſtudious temper. He hath publiſhed the following books. I. 'Primitive Chriſtianity: or the 'Religion of the ancient Chriſtians in the firſt Ages of the Goſpel.' London 1672, reprinted ſeveral times ſince. II. *Tabulæ Eccleſiaſticæ*, Tables of the eccleſiaſtical writers, Lond. 1674, reprinted at Hamburgh in 1676, without his knowledge (*m*). III. *Antiquitates Apoſtolicæ:* 'or the Hiſtory of the Lives, Acts, and Martyrdoms of the holy 'Apoſtles of our Saviour, and the two Evangeliſts S. S. Mark and Luke. To which is 'added an introductory Diſcourſe concerning the three great Diſpenſations of the Church, 'Patriarchal, Moſaical, and Evangelical. Being a Continuation of *Antiquitates Chriſtianæ*, 'or the Life and Death of holy Jeſus;' written by Jeremy Taylor, afterward Biſhop of Down and Connor (*n*). Lond. 1676, fol. IV. *Apoſtolici:* 'or the Hiſtory of the Lives, 'Acts, Deaths, and Martyrdoms of thoſe, who were contemporaries with or immediately 'ſucceeded the Apoſtles. As alſo of the moſt eminent of the primitive Fathers for the 'firſt three hundred years. To which is added, a Chronology of the three firſt Ages of 'the Church.' Lond. 1677, fol. V. 'A Sermon preached before the Right Honourable 'the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of London, at St. Mary-Le-Bow, on the 'fifth of November, M.DC.LXXX.' Lond. 1680, 4*to* [*C*]. VI. 'A Diſſertation con-'cerning the Government of the Ancient Church, by Biſhops, Metropolitans, and Pa-'triarchs. More particularly, concerning the ancient Power and Juriſdiction of the 'Biſhops of Rome, and the Encroachments of that upon other Sees, eſpecially the See 'of Conſtantinople.' Lond. 1683, 8*vo*. XVII. *Eccleſiaſtici:* 'or the Hiſtory of the 'Lives, Acts, Deaths, Writings of the moſt eminent Fathers of the Church, that flou-'riſhed in the fourth Century. Wherein among other things an account is given of the 'Riſe, Growth, and Progreſs of Arianiſm, and all other Sects of that age deſcending 'from it. Together with an Introduction, containing an hiſtorical Account of the State 'of Paganiſm under the Firſt Chriſtian Emperor.' Lond. 1682, fol. VIII. 'A Ser-'mon preached before the King at Whitehall on Sunday, January 18, 1684-5,' on Pſalm iv. 7. Publiſhed by his Majeſties Special Command.' Lond. 1685, 4*to*. IX. *Chartophylax Eccleſiaſticus* [*D*]: Lond. 1685, 8*vo*. X. *Scriptorum Eccleſiaſticorum, Hiſtoria Literaria:* i. e. 'A Literary Hiſtory of Eccleſiaſtical Writers [*E*], in Two Parts,' fol. the firſt printed at Lond. 1688; and the ſecond in 1698. XI. 'A Serious Exhor-'tation, with ſome important Advices relating to the late Caſes about Conformity, re-'commended to the preſent Diſſenters from the Church of England.' It is the twenty-

(*a*) See an Attempt towards recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. by J. Walker, M.A. Lond. 1714. fol. Part ii. p. 220.

(*b*) From the College-books and Univerſity-regiſters, communicated by the learned Dr. W. Richardſon.

(*c*) Newcourt Repertorium Eccleſ. &c. Lond. 1708. fol. vol. i. p. 678.

(*d*) From the Regiſters, as above.

(*e*) Newcourt, *ubi ſupra*, p. 249.

(*f*) Wood, Faſti, edit. 1721. Vol. ii. col. 218.

(*g*) J. Le Neve, Faſti Eccleſ. Angl. Lond. 1716, p. 387.

(*h*) Faſti, *ubi ſupra*.

(*i*) Newcourt, *ubi ſupra*, p. 249.

(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 678.

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 676.

(*m*) *Meplane ieſcio*, ſaith the author, in his Preface to *Chartophyl. Eccleſiaſtic.* at the beginning.

(*n*) See Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, vol. ii. col. 404.

[*A*] *Of which pariſh his father was Rector.*] His father was John Cave, M. A. third ſon of John Cave, Eſq. He was born at Pickwell, [of which he afterwards became Rector] and educated at Lincoln-College in Oxford, where he was Chamber-fellow with the famous Dr. Saunderſon for eight years. During the unhappy Civil Wars, he was ſeveral times plundered, impriſoned, and many other ways miſerably abuſed; and at laſt diſpoſeſſed of his living, and turned out of doors, with a wife, and ſix children he then had. See a full account of it in Mr. Walker's *Attempt towards recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy*, &c (1).

(1) As quoted above, p. 220, 221.

[*B*] *But that ſeems to be a miſtake.*] For the Rectory of Haſely is annexed to the Deanry of Windſor (2).

(2) See *Liber Valorum & Decimarum*, by Mr. Ecton, 3d edit. Lond. 1728, 8vo. p. 270.

[*C*] *A Sermon preached before the Lord-Mayor*, &c. *on the fifth of November*, 1680.] It is dedicated by the Author to Sir Patience Ward, Lord-Mayor of London, and to the Court of Aldermen. His text is Acts xvii. 6. Theſe that have turned the world upſide down, are come hither alſo. Upon which he diſcourſeth under theſe three heads. '1. He ſhews, 'that this has been an old charge upon Religion, and 'the Profeſſors of it, to be diſturbers of the public 'peace. 2. That Chriſtianity is ſo far from being 'juſtly obnoxious to this charge, that of all Reli-'gions it beſt ſecures the intereſts of Civil Authority, 'and the Peace of the world. 3. He enquires, whe-'ther there be any part of the Chriſtian Church at 'this day juſtly guilty of this charge.' And without heſitation he lays the charge at the door of the Church of Rome. It is one of the beſt, and moſt eloquent Sermons, ever preached upon that ſubject. The Author appears by it, to have been a man of prodigious reading, and an univerſal ſcholar.

[*D*] *Chartophylax Eccleſiaſticus.*] This book is an improvement of the *Tabulæ Eccleſiaſticæ* above-mentioned; and a kind of abridgment of the author's *Hiſtoria Literaria:* It containing a ſhort account of moſt of the Eccleſiaſtical Writers from the birth of Chriſt to the year 1517.

[*E*] *Scriptorum Eccleſiaſticorum Hiſtoria Literaria.*] This learned and uſeful work was reprinted at Geneva in 1705 and 1720: and a new edition of it was lately printed at London by ſubſcription, with very large additions and emendations throughout the whole, made by the author during the laſt twelve years of his life; together with the new *Prolegomena*, compoſed alſo by the author. M.

ſecond

second in the *London Cases*. This very learned person, died at Windsor on the 4th of August 1713, and was buried in Islington Church, where a monument was erected to his memory (*o*). He was an excellent and universal Scholar, an elegant and polite Writer, and a florid and very eloquent Preacher. He was thoroughly acquainted with the History and Constitution of the Christian Church. His works, particularly his Lives of the Apostles, Lives of the Fathers, and Primitive Christianity, as they evince his great knowledge of Antiquity, so are they justly esteemed the best books, written upon those important subjects.

(*o*) Annual List of the Deaths of eminent Persons, at the end of Boyer's History of Queen Anne, fol. Lond. 1735, p. 63.

*** [On the monument erected to the memory of Mr. Cave, in Islington Church, is the following inscription.

Juxta heic
Ad imum Pulpiti Gradum
Conditur quod claudi potuit
Gulielmi Cave S. Th. Pr.
Canonici Windesorienſis,
Caroli II. à Sacris Domesticis,
Hujus Ecclesiæ per XXVIII Annos Vicarii.
Natus est Decemb. XXX. An. MDCXXXVII.
Obiit Aug. IV. Ann. MDCCXIII.

IV Filiis & II Filiabus eodem
Circiter loco ex Australi
Latere conditis accessit tandem
Anna (Gualt. Stonehouse
S.T.B. Filia Unica) Mater
Pientissima, Conjux Charissima:
quæ quidem obiit Jan. X. MDCXCI.
Quisquis es, Viator, Homo cum sis,
Ossa nostra ne violes, depositi Cineres
quiescant in Pace, abi Mortalitatis Memor,
nec te incautum rapiat Suprema Dies.]

*** [CAVE (EDWARD),* was born at Newton in Warwickshire, on the 29th day of February, in the year 1691. His father was the younger son of Mr. Edward Cave, of Cave's in the Hole, a lone house, on the Street-Road in the same County, which took its name from the occupier; but having concurred with his elder brother in cutting off the intail of a small hereditary estate, by which act it was lost from the family, he was reduced to follow in Rugby the trade of a shoemaker. He was a man of good reputation in his narrow circle, and remarkable for strength and rustick intrepidity. He lived to a great age, and was in his latter years supported by his son.

* This Life, written by Dr. Johnson in the year 1754, is here inserted by his permission.

It was fortunate for Edward Cave, that having a disposition to literary attainments, he was not cut off by the poverty of his parents from opportunities of cultivating his faculties. The school of Rugby, in which he had, by the rules of its foundation, a right to be instructed, was then in high reputation, under the Reverend Mr. Holyock, to whose care most of the neighbouring families, even of the highest rank, entrusted their sons. He had judgment to discover, and, for some time, generosity to encourage the genius of young Cave; and was so well pleased with his quick progress in the school, that he declared his resolution to breed him for the University, and recommend him as a Servitor to some of his scholars of high rank. But prosperity which depends upon the caprice of others, is of short duration. Cave's superiority in literature, exalted him to an invidious familiarity with boys who were far above him in rank and expectations; and, as in unequal associations it always happens, whatever unlucky prank was played, was imputed to Cave. When any mischief, great or small, was done, though perhaps others boasted of the stratagem when it was successful, yet upon detection or miscarriage, the fault was sure to fall upon poor Cave.

At last, his mistress by some invisible means lost a favourite cock; Cave was with little examination stigmatized as the thief or murderer; not because he was more apparently criminal than others, but because he was more easily reached by vindictive justice. From that time Mr. Holyock withdrew his kindness visibly from him, and treated him with harshness, which the crime, in its utmost aggravation, could scarcely deserve; and which surely he would have forborn, had he considered how hardly the habitual influence of birth and fortune is resisted; and how frequently men, not wholly without sense of virtue, are betrayed to acts more atrocious than the robbery of a hen-roost, by a desire of pleasing their superiors.

Those reflections his master never made, or made without effect; for under pretence that Cave obstructed the discipline of the school, by selling clandestine assistance, and supplying exercises to idlers, he was oppressed with unreasonable tasks, that there might be an opportunity of quarrelling with his failure; and when his diligence had surmount-

ed them, no regard was paid to the performance. Cave bore this perſecution a-while, and then left the ſchool, and the hope of a literary education, to ſeek ſome other means of gaining a livelihood.

He was firſt placed with a collector of the exciſe. He uſed to recount with ſome pleaſure a journey or two which he rode with him as his clerk, and relate the victories that he gained over the exciſemen in grammatical diſputations. But the inſolence of his miſtreſs, who employed him in ſervile drudgery, quickly diſguſted him, and he went up to London in queſt of more ſuitable employment.

He was recommended to a timber merchant at the Bank-ſide, and while he was there on liking, is ſaid to have given hopes of great mercantile abilities; but this place he ſoon left, I know not for what reaſon, and was bound apprentice to Mr. Collins, a printer of ſome reputation, and deputy Alderman.

This was a trade for which men were formerly qualified by a literary education, and which was pleaſing to Cave, becauſe it furniſhed ſome employment for his ſcholaſtick attainments. Here therefore he reſolved to ſettle, though his maſter and miſtreſs lived in perpetual diſcord, and their houſe was therefore no comfortable habitation. From the inconveniencies of theſe domeſtick tumults he was ſoon releaſed, having in only two years attained ſo much ſkill in his art, and gained ſo much the confidence of his maſter, that he was ſent without any ſuperintendant to conduct a printing-houſe at Norwich, and publiſh a weekly paper. In this undertaking he met with ſome oppoſition, which produced a public controverſy, and procured young Cave the reputation of a writer.

His maſter died before his apprenticeſhip was expired, and he was not able to bear the perverſeneſs of his miſtreſs. He therefore quitted her houſe upon a ſtipulated allowance, and married a young widow with whom he lived at Bow. When his apprenticeſhip was over, he worked as a journeyman at the printing-houſe of Mr. Barber, a man much diſtinguiſhed and employed by the Tories, whoſe principles had at that time ſo much prevalence with Cave, that he was for ſome years a writer in Miſt's Journal; which, though he afterwards obtained, by his wife's intereſt, a ſmall place in the Poſt-office, he for ſome time continued. But as intereſt is powerful, and converſation, however mean, in time perſuaſive, he by degrees inclined to another party; in which, however, he was always moderate, though ſteady and determined.

When he was admitted into the Poſt-office he ſtill continued, at his intervals of attendance, to exerciſe his trade, or to employ himſelf with ſome typographical buſineſs. He corrected the *Gradus ad Parnaſſum*; and was liberally rewarded by the Company of Stationers. He wrote an Account of the Criminals, which had for ſome time a conſiderable ſale; and publiſhed many little pamphlets that accident brought into his hands, of which it would be very difficult to recover the memory. By the correſpondence which his place in the Poſt-office facilitated, he procured country news-papers, and ſold their intelligence to a Journaliſt in London, for a guinea a week.

He was afterwards raiſed to the office of clerk of the franks, in which he acted with great ſpirit and firmneſs; and often ſtopped franks, which were given by Members of Parliament to their friends; becauſe he thought ſuch extenſion of a peculiar right illegal. This raiſed many complaints, and having ſtopped, among others, a frank given to the old Dutcheſs of Marlborough by Mr. Walter Plummer, he was cited before the Houſe, as for breach of privilege, and accuſed, I ſuppoſe very unjuſtly, of opening letters to detect them. He was treated with great harſhneſs and ſeverity, but declining their queſtions by pleading his oath of ſecrecy, was at laſt diſmiſſed. And it muſt be recorded to his honour, that when he was ejected from his office, he did not think himſelf diſcharged from his truſt, but continued to refuſe to his neareſt friends any information about the management of the office.

By this conſtancy of diligence and diverſification of employment, he in time collected a ſum ſufficient for the purchaſe of a ſmall printing-office, and began the Gentleman's Magazine, a periodical pamphlet, of which the ſcheme is known wherever the Engliſh language is ſpoken. To this undertaking he owed the affluence in which he paſſed the laſt twenty years of his life; and the fortune which he left behind him, which though large, had been yet larger, had he not raſhly and wantonly impaired it by innumerable projects, of which I know not that ever one ſucceeded.

† In the beginning of the year 1782.

The Gentleman's Magazine, which has now ſubſiſted fifty-one years †, and ſtill continues to enjoy the favour of the world, is one of the moſt ſucceſsful and lucrative pamphlets which literary hiſtory has upon record, and therefore deſerves, in this narrative, particular notice.

Mr. Cave, when he formed the project, was far from expecting the ſucceſs which he found; and others had ſo little proſpect of its conſequence, that though he had for ſeveral years talked of his plan among Printers and Bookſellers, none of them thought it worth the trial. That they were not reſtrained by their virtue from the execution of another man's deſign, was ſufficiently apparent as ſoon as that deſign began to be gainful; for in a few years a multitude of magazines aroſe, and periſhed; only the London Magazine, ſupported by a powerful aſſociation of Bookſellers, and circulated with all the art, and all

the cunning of trade, exempted itſelf from the general fate of Cave's invaders, and obtained, though not an equal, yet a conſiderable ſale.

Cave now began to aſpire to popularity; and being a greater lover of Poetry than any other art, he ſometimes offered ſubjects for Poems, and propoſed prizes for the beſt performers. The firſt prize was fifty pounds, for which, being but newly acquainted with wealth, and thinking the influence of fifty pounds extremely great, he expected the firſt authors of the kingdom to appear as competitors; and offered the allotment of the prize to the Univerſities. But when the time came, no name was ſeen among the writers that had been ever ſeen before; the Univerſities and ſeveral private men rejected the province of aſſigning the prize *. At all this Mr. Cave wondered for a while; but his natural judgment, and a wider acquaintance with the world, ſoon cured him of his aſtoniſhment, as of many other prejudices and errors. Nor have many men been ſeen raiſed by accident or induſtry to ſudden riches, that retained leſs of the meanneſs of their former ſtate.

* The determination was left to Dr. Cromwell Mortimer and Dr. Birch; and by the latter the award was made, which may be ſeen in Gent. Mag. vol. vi. p. 59.

He continued to improve his magazine, and had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing its ſucceſs proportionate to his diligence, till in the year 1751 his wife died of an aſthma. He ſeemed not at firſt much affected by her death, but in a few days loſt his ſleep and his appetite, which he never recovered; but after having lingered about two years, with many viciſſitudes of amendment and relapſe, fell by drinking acid liquors into a diarrhœa, and afterwards into a kind of lethargick inſenſibility, in which one of the laſt acts of reaſon which he exerted, was fondly to preſs the hand that is now writing this little narrative. He died on January 10, 1754, having juſt concluded the twenty-third annual collection.

He was a man of a large ſtature, not only tall but bulky, and was, when young, of remarkable ſtrength and activity. He was generally healthful, and capable of much labour and long application; but in the latter years of his life was afflicted with the gout, which he endeavoured to cure or alleviate by a total abſtinence both from ſtrong liquors and animal food. From animal food he abſtained about four years, and from ſtrong liquors much longer; but the gout continued unconquered, perhaps unabated.

His reſolution and perſeverance were very uncommon; in whatever he undertook, neither expence nor fatigue were able to repreſs him: but his conſtancy was calm, and, to thoſe who did not know him, appeared faint and languid, but he always went forward though he moved ſlowly.

The ſame chilneſs of mind was obſervable in his converſation: he was watching the minuteſt accent of thoſe whom he diſguſted by ſeeming inattention; and his viſitant was ſurprized when he came a ſecond time, by preparations to execute the ſcheme which he ſuppoſed never to have been heard.

He was, conſiſtently with this general tranquillity of mind, a tenacious maintainer, though not a clamorous demander of his right. In his youth having ſummoned his fellow journeymen to concert meaſures againſt the oppreſſion of their maſters, he mounted a kind of roſtrum, and harangued them ſo efficaciouſly, that they determined to reſiſt all future invaſions; and when the Stamp Officers demanded to ſtamp the laſt half ſheet of the Magazines, Mr. Cave alone defeated their claim, to which the proprietors of the rival Magazines would meanly have ſubmitted.

He was a friend rather eaſy and conſtant, than zealous and active; yet many inſtances might be given, where both his money and his diligence were employed liberally for others. His enmity was in like manner cool and deliberate; but though cool it was not inſidious, and though deliberate, not pertinacious.

His mental faculties were ſlow. He ſaw little at a time, but that little he ſaw with great exactneſs. He was long in finding the right, but ſeldom failed to find it at laſt. His affections were not eaſily gained, and his opinion not quickly diſcovered. His reſerve, as it might hide his faults, concealed his virtues: but ſuch he was, as they who beſt knew him, have moſt lamented (*a*).]

(*a*) Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xxiv. p. 55.

*** [Beſides the pleaſure we have in adorning our work with a life written by Dr. Johnſon, we think that Edward Cave was otherwiſe worthy of a place in the Biographia, as the inventor of a new ſpecies of publication, which may be conſidered as ſomething of an epocha in the literary Hiſtory of this Country. The periodical performances before that time were almoſt wholly confined to political tranſactions, and to foreign and domeſtic occurrences. But the monthly Magazines have opened a way for every kind of inquiry and information. The intelligence and diſcuſſion contained in them are very extenſive and various; and they have been the means of diffuſing a general habit of reading through the nation, which, in a certain degree, hath enlarged the public underſtanding. Many young authors, who have afterwards riſen to conſiderable eminence in the literary world, have here made their firſt attempts in compoſition. Here, too, are preſerved a multitude of curious and uſeful hints, obſervations, and facts, which otherwiſe might have never appeared; or, if they had appeared in a more evaneſcent form, would have incurred the danger of being loſt. If it were not an invidious taſk, the hiſtory of them would be no incurious or unentertaining ſubject. The Magazines that unite utility with entertainment, are undoubtedly preferable to thoſe (*if there have been any ſuch*) which have only a view to idle and frivolous amuſement. It may be obſerved, that two of them, "The Gentleman's" and "The London," which laſt was begun the year after the former, have, amidſt their numerous rivals, preſerved their reputation to the preſent day. They have both of them, in general, joined inſtruction with pleaſure; and this, likewiſe, hath been the caſe with ſome others of a later origin.] K.

CAVEN-

CAVENDISH, or CANDISH (THOMAS), a famous Navigator in the XVIth Century, and the ſecond Engliſhman that ſailed round the world, was the ſon of William Cavendiſh of Trimley St. Martin [*A*], in the county of Suffolk, Eſquire (*a*). He was born at Trimley, where he had a fine ſeat, and large poſſeſſions (*b*): but having in a few years conſumed almoſt his whole eſtate in gallantry and following the Court, he thought to recover his ſinking fortune by a voyage to the South-Sea (*c*). At that time, the Spaniard, againſt whom England had ſome time before declared war, was looked upon as a formidable enemy, whom it was neceſſary to diſtreſs on every ſide: Mr. Cavendiſh, therefore, choſe to endeavour to do it on the ſide of America. For that purpoſe, he procured three ſhips; namely, *The Deſire* of one hundred and twenty tons; *The Content* of ſixty; and the *Hugh Gallant*, a bark of forty tons: two of them new built from the ſtocks. They carried in all, an hundred and twenty-three perſons of all ſorts; and had victuals ſufficient for two years, with all other neceſſaries, furniſhed by Mr. Cavendiſh himſelf; who was Admiral of this little fleet. They ſailed from Plymouth the 21ſt of July 1586; and, on the 26th of Auguſt, arrived at Sierra Leona, which was nine hundred and thirty leagues from the place of their departure (*d*). There they landed, and going up to one of the Negroes towns, burnt two or three houſes, and took what ſpoil they would, all the inhabitants being fled into the woods. But a few days after, the Negroes had their revenge, hurting many of the Engliſh, and killing one with a poiſoned arrow. They departed from Sierra Leona the 6th of September, and ſtaid till the 10th, at one of the Cape-Verd iſlands. The laſt day of October, about twenty-four leagues from Cape-Frio in Braſil, they fell in with a great mountain, which had a high round top like a town, with two little iſlands from it. On the 1ſt of November, they went in between the iſland of St. Sebaſtian and the main-land, where carrying their things aſhore, and erecting a forge, they built a pinnace, repaired what was out of order, and took in water; all which detained them till the 23d of that month. The 16th of December, they fell in with the coaſt of America in forty-ſeven degrees $\frac{1}{3}$ South Latitude, and ran along the ſhore till they came into forty-eight degrees, finding it a ſteep beach all along. They came to a harbour the next day, which Mr. Cavendiſh named Port-Deſire; and continued in it until the 28th following (*e*). On the 3d of January 1586-7, they fell in with a great Cape in fifty-two degrees, forty-five minutes; from which there runneth a low beach about a league to the Southward, that reaches to the opening of the Streights of Magellan. He was paſſing thoſe Streights, from the 6th of January to the 24th of February [*B*], though they are but about ninety leagues in length (*f*). Within them, in fifty-three degrees latitude, he named a place Port-Famine [*C*]; another Muſcle-Cove; and another, Elizabeth-Bay. The 24th of February, they entered into the South-Sea; and the four firſt days of March met with a violent ſtorm: during which, the Hugh Gallant had like to have been loſt, but the two other ſhips rode it out at the iſland of La Mocha. Here, ſome of the men going on ſhore, met with a warm reception from the Indians of

(*a*) The Peerage of England, &c. by Ar. Collins, Eſq; edit. 1735, 8vo. vol. i. p. 121.

(*b*) *Ibid.* and Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, p. 809.

(*c*) The Naval Hiſt. of England, by T. Lediard, edit. p. 229.

(*d*) Voyages, Navigations, &c. publiſhed by R. Hakluyt, vol. iii. edit. 1600, p. 803.

(*e*) *Ib.* p. 804, 805.

(*f*) *Ib.* p. 806, 807.

(*g*) *Ibid.* p. 809, 810.

[*A*] *Was the ſon of William Cavendiſh of Trimley St. Martin.*] That ancient family derives its deſcent from the *Gernons*, whoſe anceſtor Robert de Gernon came into England with William the Conqueror. Roger de Gernon was ſeated at Grimſton-Hall in Suffolk, and died in 1318, the 11th of Edward II. having had to wife the daughter and heir of John Potton, Lord of Cavendiſh in Suffolk, by whom he left iſſue four ſons, who all took the name of *Cavendiſh*. Roger the ſecond, married Alice, daughter of Geoffrey de Stratton, with whom he had the manor of Stratton, and from him deſcended Sir Richard Cavendiſh, Captain and Governor of Blackneſs, who was knighted in Scotland by the Earl of Hertford, Sept. 23, 1546, and by inquiſition the 6th of February 1552, the 6th of Edward VI. after the death of Henry Duke of Suffolk, (who died without iſſue, July 14, the 5th of Edward VI.) was found to be ſixty years of age, and was one of his coheirs, viz. ſon of Richard Cavendiſh, ſon of Auguſtine Cavendiſh, who married Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of Sir William Brandon, Knight, grandfather of Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk. This Sir Richard Cavendiſh had iſſue William Cavendiſh, of Trimley St. Martin, who died in 1572, poſſeſſed of the ancient inheritance of his anceſtors; namely, Grinſton, Stratton, and other manors, leaving Thomas his ſon and heir under age, whom we treat of in this article (1).

(1) Ar. Collins, *ubi ſupra*; and The Britiſh Compendium, by F. Nicholls, 7th edit. P. i. p. 107, 108.

[*B*] *He was paſſing thoſe Streights, from the 6th of January to the 24th of February.*] The mouth of them, both on the eaſtern and weſtern ſides, lies between 52 and 53 degrees of latitude. But they are very winding; the ſouthermoſt point of them, called Cape Froward, ſtanding in near 54 degrees of latitude. The beſt and moſt accurate deſcription of them, is in Sir John Narbrough's Voyages. Lond. 1694, 8*vo.* reprinted ſince.

[*C*] *He named a place Port-Famine.*] By reaſon of above three hundred Spaniards having been *famiſhed*, or ſtarved to death, there. For one Don Sarmiento having paſſed through the Streights of Magellan from the South-Sea, in the year 1579, did, at his return to Spain, perſuade King Philip II. to ſend two Colonies to plant in and fortify the Streights of Magellan, in order to prevent and obſtruct the Navigations, Depredations, or Settlements of the Engliſh and Dutch in thoſe parts (2). Accordingly, four hundred Spaniards were ſent thither in 1584, who built a town, which they called King Philip's city. But during the two years they were there they could not get any thing to grow, or thrive. And, on the other ſide, the Indians oftentimes preyed upon them; ſo that the ſtock of proviſions they brought from Spain growing ſhort, and having no means to renew it, they died for hunger in their houſes, and even in their clothes. At length the whole town being thereby tainted, and rendered unwholſome, the poor remains of the four hundred, which were now reduced to twenty-one men and two women, forſook the place, and taking only a fowling-piece, and what little furniture they could carry, marched along the ſea-ſide, and lived above a year upon muſcles, limpets, roots, leaves, and ſometimes a fowl they killed, or a deer; and in that miſerable condition Mr. Cavendiſh found them (3).

(2) See *An Account of ſeveral late Voyages and Diſcoveries to the South and North*, &c. by Sir John Narbrough, &c. Introduct. p. vii. edit. 1694, 8vo.

(3) Hakluyt, *ubi ſupra*, p. 806.

Arauco,

Arauco, a country abounding with gold, and never conquered by the Spaniards. The 16th of the ſame month, they came to St. Mary's iſland, and finding there large quantities of wheat and barley laid up in ſtore-houſes, for the uſe of the Spaniards who are maſters of that place, they took ſome of the corn, and likewiſe hogs, fowls, potatoes, and other proviſions. They left this iſland on the 18th; anchored under another called the Conception on the 19th; and on the 30th, came into the Bay of Quintero, which ſtands in thirty-three degrees, fifty minutes South Latitude. About fifty or ſixty of the men landed the next day, and went up ſeven or eight miles into the country, well armed; but ſaw no human creatures, though there were two hundred Spaniſh horſemen watching for them, who eſpied them out, but durſt not attack them. The day following, being April 1, they took their opportunity, and came pouring down from the hills upon a few unprepared and unarmed Engliſh Sailors, who were filling water. Some they killed, and took a few priſoners, about twelve being loſt in all: the reſt were reſcued by fifteen Soldiers, who obliged the enemy to retire with the loſs of twenty-four men. The 5th day of April, they ſailed from this place, and on the 15th, came to an excellent harbour in twenty-three degrees and a half, called Morro Moreno [*D*]. Whilſt they remained here, they took a ſmall bark from Arica, which they kept and called the George. They took alſo three other veſſels (one of them laden with wine): two of which they burnt, and ſunk the third (*g*). On the 13th of May, they made themſelves maſters of a ſhip of three hundred tons; and of two others, loaden with ſugar, and proviſions, of which one was valued at twenty thouſand pounds: they took out what they wanted, and burnt the reſt, with the ſhips. The 20th of the ſame month, they came to Paita, in five degrees, four minutes South Latitude. Having driven the inhabitants up into the mountains, they pillaged the town (where they found twenty-five pounds weight of pieces of eight) and then ſet it on fire; with a bark that was riding in the road. The town contained two hundred houſes. Sailing thence, they arrived on the 25th, at the iſland of Puna, in one degree South Latitude, where moſt of the cables in the South-Sea were made. They found in the harbour a ſhip of two hundred and fifty tons, which they ſunk: and alſo burnt a church that was in that iſland, and brought the bells away. The Governor of the iſland, upon their approach, had ſent his riches upon the Continent; and his furniture and other valuable effects, to a neighbouring iſle; which laſt being diſcovered, the Engliſh took of them what they liked. But, on the 2d of June, they being careleſsly diſperſed about in getting proviſions, a hundred Spaniſh Soldiers and many Indians came down ruſhing upon them, killed five, took three priſoners, and four were otherwiſe deſtroyed; with the loſs, however of forty-ſix Spaniards and Indians (*h*). Going aſhore again the ſame day, with ſeventy men, they met a hundred Spaniards armed with muſkets, and two hundred Indians with bows and arrows, whom they put to flight; reduced their town to aſhes, which had three hundred houſes; made havock of their fields and gardens; and burnt four great ſhips, which were on the ſtocks. The 5th of June, they quitted this place, and watered at Rio Dolce: and by that time, had loſt ſo many men, that they were obliged to ſink their bark, called the Hugh Gallant, for want of hands to navigate it. They paſſed the Equinoctial Line on the 12th, and continued a northerly courſe all the reſt of that month. The firſt of July, they came within ſight of the coaſt of New Spain, being then in ten degrees Northern Latitude: and, on the 9th of the ſame month, took a new ſhip of one hundred and twenty tons, out of which taking the men, and what elſe they wanted, they ſet it on fire. The next day, they ſeized an advice-boat, which they alſo burnt. On the 26th, they came to an anchor in the river of Copalita, in ſixteen degrees Northern Latitude: whence, the ſame night, thirty of them rowed in the pinnace to Aquapulco, that was two leagues off. Coming there, the next morning, July 27, by break of day, they landed, and burnt the town, with the church, and cuſtom-houſe, in which were ſix hundred bags of anile to dye cloth, each bag worth forty crowns; and four hundred bags of cocoa, valued at ten crowns each. They were joined, the day following, by the reſt of the fleet, which found it difficult to water at Copalita, and therefore proceeded for that purpoſe to the Bay of St. Jago, in nineteen degrees, eighteen minutes Latitude. In the mean time, Mr. Cavendiſh went, on the 24th of Auguſt, in his pinnace, with thirty men, to Puerto de Natividad; and miſſing of a

(*g*) *Ibid.* p. 808, 809, 810.

(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 811, 812, 813.

[*D*] *Called Morro Moreno.*] About thirty of the Engliſh went here on ſhore; and, at their landing, the natives of the place came down from the rocks to meet them, with freſh water and wood on their backs. The account they give of their cuſtoms and manners, is as follows, and may ſerve for a ſample of the manners of ſeveral American nations. 'They are in 'great awe of the Spaniards, and very ſimple people, 'and live in an extremely ſavage manner. They 'brought us to their abodes, about two miles from 'the harbour, where we ſaw their women and lodging, which is nothing but the ſkin of ſome beaſt 'laid upon the ground; and over them, inſtead of 'houſes, is nothing but five or ſix ſticks laid acroſs, 'which ſtand upon two forks with ſticks on the 'ground, and a few boughs laid on. Their diet is 'raw fiſh, which ſtinketh moſt vilely. And when 'any of them die, they bury their bows and arrows 'with them, with their canoe, and all that they 'have: for we opened one of their graves, and ſaw 'the order of them (4).'

(4) Hakluyt, *ubi ſupra*, p. 809.

prize he expected to find there, he burnt the town, and two new ſhips of two hundred tons each. The 3d of September, they came into the Bay of Malacca, and going up into the country, burnt the town of Acatlan, which conſiſted of about thirty houſes. Thence they proceeded to Chaccalla, and the iſle of St. Andrew; and, on the 24th, arrived at Maſſatlan, which ſtands under the Tropic of Cancer. The 27th, they went to an iſland near it, where they refitted, and furniſhed themſelves with neceſſaries. Having ſtaid there till the 9th of October, they departed for the Cape of St. Lucar, on the South of the iſland of California; with which they fell in, on the 14th, and lay near it till the 4th of November. On that day, they met the St. Anne, a ſhip of ſeven hundred tons, being the Spaniſh Admiral of the South-Sea; which, after three ſharp engagements, they made themſelves maſters of. It had in it an hundred and twenty thouſand pezo's, or pieces of gold, each worth eight ſhillings, and great quantities of rich ſilks, and other valuable commodities, the chief of which they ſhared amongſt themſelves. After having put on ſhore (at Puerto Seguro) the whole crew, conſiſting of an hundred and ninety perſons, they ſet fire to the ſhip, having five hundred tons of goods in it, and ſaw it burnt down to the water, on the 19th of November (*i*). Thus did Mr. Cavendiſh, and his company, ravage the coaſts of Chili, Peru, and New Spain, from the middle of February to the middle of November 1587. But after his laſt great booty, he began to think of returning back to England, by the way of the Eaſt-Indies. Accordingly, he ſet ſail from Puerto Seguro in California, November the 19th; and in forty-five days, namely, on the 3d of January 1587-8, came within ſight of Guana, one of the Ladrones iſland, in thirteen degrees $\frac{2}{3}$ of Northern Latitude. The 14th of the ſame month, they fell in with Cabo del Spirito Santo, a promontory of one of the Philippine iſlands, three hundred and ten leagues from Guana; and, the next day, arrived at Capul, where Mr. Cavendiſh ſtaid nine days: during which, he exacted a tribute of proviſions from the Caciques of this, and a hundred iſlands more. But, after having acquainted them, that he and his company were Engliſhmen, and enemies to the Spaniards; and made them promiſe, That they, and all the neighbouring iſlands, would aſſiſt him, whenever he ſhould come again, to overcome the Spaniards, he returned them the value of their tribute in money (*k*). The 24th, they left this place, and ſailing between the iſlands of Panama (or Panay) and Negros, they coaſted along Gilolo, and the adjoining cluſters of iſlands, till the 1ſt of March; when having paſſed the Streights of Java, they anchored South of that place, and took in freſh proviſions. On the 16th of March, they ſailed from hence for the Cape of Good Hope, which they made the 16th of May; having in nine weeks run about eighteen hundred and fifty leagues. They arrived at St. Helena the 19th of June, where having refreſhed themſelves, and taken in neceſſaries, they ſet ſail, on the 20th, for England. The 24th of Auguſt, they came within ſight of the Azores; and the 9th of September, after a terrible ſtorm, which carried away moſt of their ſails, arrived at Plymouth, from whence they firſt ſet out (*l*), having ſpent two years, one month, and nineteen days, in ſailing round the globe. Mr. Cavendiſh had been ſo fortunate in this voyage, that he undertook another in 1591, but with very different ſucceſs. He ſet ſail from Plymouth the 26th of Auguſt, with three tall ſhips, and two barks [*E*]; and in about a month, came within ſight of the Canary iſlands (*m*). But, under the Equinoctial Line, he had the misfortune to be becalmed for ſeven and twenty days together, driving to and fro without the leaſt wind; in which time moſt of his men fell ſick of the ſcurvy. At length, a North-weſt wind brought them, in twenty days (*n*), namely, on the 29th of November, to the Bay of Salvador, on the coaſt of Braſil. Here they took a ſmall bark, laden with negroes, ſugar, and haberdaſhers-wares. A few days after, they came to Placentia, or Ilha Grande, where they rifled ſome houſes inhabited by Portugueſe; which they afterwards ſet on fire, together with a new ſhip: and left on ſhore the negroes they had taken in the Bay of Salvador (*o*). But the pleaſure, or advantage, of having taken this place, was ſpoiled by unreaſonable quarrels amongſt Mr. Cavendiſh's men [*F*]. The 11th of December, they quitted this place, and on the 14th, arrived at the iſle of Sebaſtian, five leagues from Santos; which laſt place they reſolved to make themſelves maſters of, as being very proper to ſupply all their wants. Having agreed, that their long boat, with one ſloop, and a hundred men, were ſufficient for the taking it, they accordingly watched their opportunity, early in the morning on the 24th of December, when the chief of the

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 814, 815, 816. They burnt and ſunk nineteen ſhips in all, ſmall and great. *Ibid.* p. 837.

(*k*) *Ib.* p. 816—819.

(*l*) *Ib.* p. 819—825.

(*m*) Purchas's Pilgrimes, P. iv. edit. 1625, p. 1202.

(*n*) *Ibid.* and Hakluyt, *ubi ſupra*, p. 842.

(*o*) Purchas, *ubi ſupra*.

[*E*] *With three tall ſhips, and two barks.*] Namely, The Galeon, wherein Mr. Cavendiſh himſelf went as Admiral: The Roe-buck, Vice-Admiral, Capt. Cocke: The Deſire, Rear-Admiral, Capt. John Davis: The Black Pinnace: And a Bark of Mr. Adrian Gilbert, commanded by Capt. Randolph Cotton (5). To which add, The Dainty, that went volunteer, and returned to England, after the taking of Santos.

(5) Hakluyt, as above, 842.

(6) A. Knivet, in Purchas's Pilgrimes, Part iv. p. 1202.

[*F*] *By unreaſonable quarrels amongſt Mr. Cavendiſh's men.*] One of them gives us this account (6). 'Here we had ſuch diſorder amongſt ourſelves, that 'if the Portugueze had been of any courage, they 'might have killed many of us; for our men would 'fight for their victuals as if they had been no Chriſ-'tians but Jews; and they that got the beſt, would 'get them into ſome hole, or into the wilderneſs un-'der ſome tree, and there they would remain as long 'as they had meat. For mine own part, there was 'ſuch ſharking, I could in that place get neither meat 'nor money.'

inhabitants

inhabitants were at high-maſs [G], and with twenty-three men only ſeized the town (p). There they continued too long [H], which proved the ruin of their intended voyage. Nay, ſome were for wintering at that place, but Mr. Cavendiſh would by no means agree to it. So, after having burnt the out-parts of the town, and ſet all the ſhips in the harbour on fire, they marched, on the 22d of January, by land to St. Vincent, which they burnt to the ground (q). On the 24th of the ſame month, they ſet ſail with a fair wind for the Streights of Magellan; but, in about thirty-ſeven degrees of Southern Latitude, they had a moſt violent ſtorm [I], which began the 7th of February and laſted till the 9th, whereby the ſhips were ſeparated and much damaged. The Deſire and the Roebuck, after having ſuffered great hardſhips, arrived together at Port-Deſire, the general rendezvous, on the 6th of March. The 16th of the ſame month, the Black-pinnace came alſo thither; but Mr. Gilbert's Bark, inſtead of proceeding ſo far, returned to England. As for the Galeon, commanded by Mr. Cavendiſh, it did not arrive till the 18th (r); the Captain having in his paſſage been in continual danger from his ſhip's crew, which never ceaſed to mutiny againſt him (s). For that reaſon, he quitted his own ſhip, the Galeon, and went into the Deſire. The 20th of March, they departed from Port-Deſire; and on the 8th of April fell in with the Streights of Magellan, having ſuffered much by ſeveral violent ſtorms. The 14th, they paſſed the firſt Streight; and on the 16th, the ſecond, which was ten leagues diſtant from the firſt. The 18th, they doubled Cape Froward; but, three days after, were forced by the violence of the weather to put into a ſmall bay, upon the South ſhore, where they remained till the 15th of May (t). In this place they endured inexpreſſible hardſhips, as well for want of proviſions, as by the exceſſive cold [K]: and Mr. Cavendiſh not being able to provide for the many ſick men he had in the Galeon, ordered them to be put on ſhore; where they miſerably periſhed with cold and famine. Having now not above fifty men in that ſhip fit for ſervice (for forty died in ſeven or eight days, and ſeventy fell ſick) and perceiving that the froſt and ſnow decayed his tackling, and was likely to laſt two months more, he found it abſolutely impoſſible to ſtay longer in that miſerable place, without utter ruin. Whereupon he acquainted his company, That, finding it impracticable to purſue his voyage to China, as he intended, through the Streights of Magellan, he would go thither by the Cape of Good Hope. But they prevailed upon him to return to the coaſts of Braſil, till a more favourable ſeaſon; which he the more readily complied with, as he had not above four months proviſions left, and wanted both ropes and ſails (u). The 15th of May they ſet ſail, and on the 18th were out of the ſtreights. The 20th, being over-againſt Port-Deſire, in forty-ſeven degrees

(p) Purchas, p. 1202, 1203; and Hakluyt, *ubi ſupra*.

(q) Purchas, p. 1203, 1204; and Hakluyt, *ubi ſupra*.

(r) Hakluyt, *ubi ſupra*; and Purchas, p. 1192, 1193.

(s) Purchas, p. 1192.

(t) Hakluyt, as above, p. 843.

(u) Purchas, *ubi ſupra*, p. 1181.

[G] *They watched their opportunity,——when the chief of the inhabitants were at high-maſs, and with twenty-three men only ſeized the town.*] Upon their landing, they marched directly to the Church; where, beſides women and children, there were three hundred men, whoſe ſwords they took from them without reſiſtance. They kept them priſoners there, till the long boat could come with more men, to their aſſiſtance. And then they plundered the town, where they found great ſtore of gold, ſugar, and caſſavy-meal, of which they made very good bread. One of the ſailors in particular met with a little cheſt, in a friar's cell, in which there were 1700 rials of eight, worth four ſhillings a piece. The conductor in this expedition was Captain Cocke: and as for the moſt convenient time for landing, they had the direction of a Portugueze pilot which they had on board. But by not watching carefully enough the inhabitants, moſt of them removed, with their beſt effects, up into the country. So that Mr. Cavendiſh, and his company, did not make ſo much advantage by the taking of this place, as, with due care, they might otherwiſe have done (7).

(7) Purchas, as above, p. 1203; and Hakluyt, *ubi ſupra*, p. 842.

[H] *There they continued too long.*] Ant. Knivet ſays, that they continued *two months* at Santos (8): But by the journal of this voyage, written by John Jane (9), it appears, that they continued at Santos, only from the 15th of December to the 22d of January. However, by this unneceſſary delay they loſt the proper ſeaſon for purſuing their voyage into the South-ſea.

(8) See in Purchas, *ubi ſupra*, p. 1203.

(9) Publiſhed by Hakluyt, *ubi ſupra*, vol. iii. p. 842.

[I] *They had a moſt violent ſtorm.*] 'Which indeed, 'to uſe his own words (10)] I think to be ſuch, as 'worſer might not be indured.——Such was the furie 'of the weſt-ſouth-weſt, and ſouth-weſt windes, as 'wee were driven from the ſhore foure hundred 'leagues, and conſtrained to beate from fiftie de-'grees to the ſouthward into fortie to the northward 'again, before we could recover nere the ſhore. In 'which time, we had a new ſhift of ſailes cleane 'blowne away, and our ſhip in danger to ſinke in the 'ſea three times: which with extremitie of mens 'labour we recovered. In this weakneſſe wee de-'parted for the Straits, being from that harbour eight 'leagues, and in eighteene days wee got the Straits. '——And now we had been almoſt foure moneths 'betweene the coaſt of Braſile and the Straits, being 'in diſtance not above ſix hundred leagues, which is 'commonly run in twentie or thirtie days: but ſuch 'was the adverſeneſſe of our fortunes, that in com-'ing thither wee ſpent the ſummer, and found in the 'Straits the beginning of a moſt extreme winter, 'not durable for Chriſtians (11).' In this ſtorm Mr. Cavendiſh loſt his boat with three men: the Roebuck likewiſe loſt her boat with two men: and the Crow, a boat of twenty ton, ſunk with twelve men and a boy (12).

(10) In his Letter to Sir Triſtram Gorges. See Purchas, *ubi ſupra*, p. 1192.

(11) Purchas, *ibi* p. 1192, 1193.

(12) *Ib.* p. 1204.

[K] *They endured inexpreſſible hardſhips, as well for want of proviſions, as by the exceſſive cold.*] After the month of May was come in, there was 'nothing 'but ſuch flights of ſnow, and extremities of froſts, as '(ſaith he) in all the time of my life, I never ſaw any 'to be compared with them (13). The men were 'well in the morning, and by night frozen to death.' One of them, in particular, named Antony Knivet, going a ſhore to get ſome food, (for the allowance of their ſhip was little) and coming aboard again with his feet wet, and wanting ſhift of clothes, the next morning he was numbed, ſo that he could not ſtir his legs. All his feet were as black as ſoot: he had no feeling in them; and when he pulled off his ſtockings his toes came with them. Another——Harris, a goldſmith, loſt his noſe; for going to blow it with his fingers, he caſt it into the fire. In a word, out of Mr. Cavendiſh's ſhip, there died eight or nine men with the cold every day. And as to proviſions, they had not more than for four months; ſo that, to ſave their victuals, they were forced in a great meaſure to live upon ſea-weeds, muſcles, penguins, and the fruits of the country (14).

(13) See Purchas, p. 1193. When it is ſummer with us, it is winter in thoſe parts where Mr. Cavendiſh then was.

(14) Purchas, as above, p. 1181. 1204, 1205. 'Many of the 'men died with 'curſed famine, 'and miſerable 'cold, not having 'wherewith to 'cover their bo-'dies, nor to fill 'their bellies.' Jane's Journal, in Hakluyt, as above, p. 843.

Southern

Southern Latitude, the Deſire and the Black-Pinnace left him [*L*] which proved the chief cauſe of his enſuing misfortunes (*w*). However, he held on his courſe for Braſil, together with the Roe-buck; which in Latitude thirty-ſix, was parted from him by a moſt violent ſtorm [*M*]. Mr. Cavendiſh arrived at length, with extreme difficulty and great danger, at Santos, and came to an anchor in the Bay of St. Vincent. Here, twenty-five of his men going on ſhore to refreſh themſelves, got drunk, and were all cut to pieces by the Indians and Portugueſe. To be revenged on the Portugueſe, Mr. Cavendiſh firmly reſolved to go and beat Santos to the ground (having the Roebuck in his company, which was now come in) but the river being too narrow, he only landed a little above the town, and plundered ſome farm-houſes. He intended to have gone from thence to a ſmall iſland, twenty leagues off, in order to furniſh himſelf with neceſſaries; and then caſting off the Roebuck, whoſe wants he could not ſupply, to have returned again at a ſeaſonable time for the Streights of Magellan (*x*). In the mean time, being adviſed by a Portugueſe pilot to go to Spirito Santo, he raſhly ſent and attacked that place, before which he loſt fourſcore men, and forty were ſorely wounded. When he ſaw he could do no good there, he determined to go to the iſland of St. Sebaſtian; and, after having burnt one of his ſhips for want of hands, to go back to the Streights of Magellan. But the Roebuck's crew hearing of this his intention, ran away from him in the night [*N*], carrying off all his Surgeons, and leaving him full of ſick men, and in a diſtreſſed condition (*y*). Thus forſaken he made for St. Sebaſtian's iſland, then two hundred leagues diſtant, where he arrived when he had but one caſk of water left. There he ſet twenty ſick men on ſhore. Having refitted and refreſhed himſelf, he would fain have ſailed back again for the Streights of Magellan: but his mutinous crew obliged him to ſail for England, 'Though he rather deſired to die in going forward than baſely in returning 'back again (*z*).' Several attempts he made to reach the iſle of St. Helena, and all to no purpoſe, being perpetually croſſed by his own men, who were bent upon returning to England, though entirely againſt his own inclination (*a*). At length he died of a broken heart, and continual labour and vexation; but whether at ſea or land, is uncertain [*O*]. Such

(*w*) Hakluyt, *ubi ſupra*, p. 843, 844. Purchas, p. 1194.

(*x*) Purchas, as above, p. 1194, 1195, 1196, 1197. 1205, 1206.

(*y*) *Ibid.* p. 1198. 1206.

(*z*) *Ibid.* p. 1198. 1200.

(*a*) *Ibid.* p. 1199, 1200.

[*L*] *The Deſire and the Black-Pinnace left him.*] This, Mr. Cavendiſh imputed to the treachery of Capt. John Davis, commander of the Deſire, of whom he ſpeaks in the ſevereſt terms. 'And now, ſaith 'he, to come to that villaine that hath beene the 'death of me, and the decay of this wholè action, I 'meane Davis, whoſe only treacherie in running 'from me, hath beene an utter ruine of all.——As 'I ſince underſtood Davis his intention was ever to 'run away. This is God's will, that I ſhould put 'him in truſt, that ſhould be the end of my life, and 'the decay of the whole action. For had not theſe 'two ſmall ſhips parted from us, we would not have 'miſcarried on the coaſt of Braſile; for the only de'cay of us was, that we could not get into their 'barred harbours.——The ſhort of all is this, Da'vis his only intent was to overthrow me, which he 'hath well perform'd (15.)' In Hakluyt (16), there is a teſtimonial of the company of the Deſire, touching their loſing of their General, Mr. Cavendiſh; wherein they declare, that it was utterly againſt their will. It is dated in Port-Deſire, 2 June, 1592, and therein they 'proteſt they know not, whether they 'loſt the others, or they them.' However, they were as unfortunate as their General. Thrice they paſſed through the Straights of Magellan, and entered the South-Sea, and yet were forced back each time by bad weather. At length, after numberleſs misfortunes and diſtreſſes, their men being reduced to ſixteen, and of them only five fit for ſervice, they arrived the 11th of June 1593, at Bear-haven in Ireland. The Black-Pinnace was loſt in the South-Sea (17).

(15) Purchas, *ib.* p. 1192, 1194.

(16) Vol. iii. p. 845.

(17) *Ibid.* p. 846—852.

[*M*] *Was parted from him by a moſt violent ſtorm.*] 'The moſt grievous ſtorm (as he ſaith himſelf) that 'ever any Chriſtian endured upon the ſeas, to live '(18).'

(18) Purchas, p. 1194.

[*N*] *But the Roebuck's crew hearing of this his intention, ran away from him in the night.*] Of which he gives the following account. 'They inſtantly de'ſired nothing more, than to return home; all affirm'ing, that it was pity ſuch a ſhip [as the Roebuck] 'ſhould be caſt off. But in truth, it was not of any 'care of the ſhip, but only of a moſt cowardly mind 'of the maſter, and the chiefeſt of the company to 'return home. Now you ſhall underſtand, that the 'captain was very ſick, and ſince the time that the 'ſhip loſt her maſts, ſhe became the moſt labourſome 'ſhip that ever did ſwim on the ſea, ſo as he was not 'able to endure in her, and at that preſent he lay 'aboard my ſhip, ſo as there was none of any truſt, 'or account, left in her. But ſuch was the caſe of 'that ſhip, being without ſails, maſts, or any man'ner of tackle, as in the ſenſe and judgment of any 'man living, there did not live that deſperate minded 'man in the world, which, in that caſe ſhe was 'then in, would have ventur'd to have ſailed in her, 'half ſo far as England.——Theſe villains, having 'left in my ſhip all their hurt men, and having 'aboard of them both my ſurgeons, I having not 'one in mine own ſhip which knew how to lay a 'plaiſter to a wound, much leſs to cure any by 'ſalves; and farther, having in their ſhip three 'times the proportion of my victuals,——as having 'in them, at their departure, but ſix and forty men, 'and carrying away with them the proportion for ſix 'months victual of one hundred and twenty men at 'large; I leave you to conſider of this part of theirs, 'and the miſerable caſe I was left in (19).'

(19) *Ibid.* p. 1198.

[*O*] *But whether at ſea or land, is uncertain.*] We know for certain, that he came as far as eight degrees northern latitude in his way towards England: But that he came nearer, there is no evidence. He ſent an account of his misfortunes to Sir Triſtram Gorges, whom he appointed his executor: but doth not mention when, nor at what place, he wrote it. Nor is it known how it was conveyed to England (20). By ſome paſſages therein, it appears, that he was very near death; for it begins thus. 'Moſt loving friend, 'There is nothing in this world, that makes a truer 'triall of friendſhip, than at death, to ſhew mindful'neſſe of love and friendſhip, which now you ſhall 'make a perfect experience of: deſiring you to hold 'my love as deare, dying poore, as if I had beene 'moſt infinitely rich. The ſucceſſe of this moſt unfor'tunate action, the bitter torments thereof lye ſo hea'vie upon mee, as with much paine am I able to write 'theſe few lines, much leſſe to make diſcoverie unto 'you of all the adverſe haps, that have befallen me 'in this voyage, the leaſt whereof is my death (21).' And lower, he hath theſe expreſſions:—'But now I 'am growne ſo weake and faint, as I am ſcarcely able 'to hold the penne in my hand; wherefore I muſt 'leave you to inquire of the reſt of our moſt unhappy 'proceedings (22).'——'And now by this, what 'with griefe for him, [the loſs of his couſin John 'Lock],

(20) It is inſerted in Purchas's Pilgrimes, P. iv. edit. 1625, P. 1192.

(21) *Ibid.* P. 1192.

(22) *Ibid.* P. 1200.

Such was the end of the unfortunate Thomas Cavendiſh: his firſt voyage was as full of glory, as this of unhappineſs. No man before him ever compaſſed the globe in ſo little time; no man ever did greater things abroad, and returned to his country in greater pomp and triumph than he: and it is not unlikely, that he might have ſhone this laſt time as brightly as he did the firſt, had not the ill humours of a company of baſe fellows interpoſed and eclipſed him (*b*). We are informed, that 'he was of a delicate wit and perſonage (*c*).'

(*b*) See Harris's Collection of Voyages, &c. edit. 1705, fol. vol. i. p. 698.

(*c*) Stowe's Annales, *ubi ſupra*.

'Lock], and the continuall trouble I indured among 'ſuch hel-hounds [his ſhip's crew], my ſpirits were 'cleane ſpent; wiſhing myſelf upon any deſart place 'in the world, there to dye, rather than thus baſely 'to returne home againe: which courſe I had put in 'execution, had I found an iſland, which the charts 'make to be in eight degrees to the ſouthward of the 'Line. I ſweare to you, I ſought it with all dili-'gence, meaning (if I had found it) to have there 'ended my unfortunate life. But God ſuffered not 'ſuch happineſſe to light upon me, for I could by no 'meanes find it, ſo as I was forced to go towards Eng-'land; and having gotten *eight degrees by north the* '*Line*, I loſt my moſt deareſt couſin.' He concludes the whole thus, 'Beare with this ſcribling: for I 'proteſt, I am ſcant able to hold a pen in my hand (23)'. It is likely that he died at ſea; and that this letter was brought by his ſhip, the Galeon, which, in all probability, reached England. M.

(23) *Ibid.* p. 1200, 1201.

CAVENDISH (Sir WILLIAM) a great favourite and Privy-Counſellor of three Princes, *viz.* Henry VIII. Edward VI. and Queen Mary. He was the ſecond ſon of Thomas Cavendiſh, of Cavendiſh in the county of Suffolk, Clerk of the Pipe in the reign of Henry VIII (*a*), and was born about the year 1505, being deſcended of very ancient and honourable families both by his father and mother, as appears by unqueſtionable authorities [*A*]. He had a liberal education given him by his father, who ſettled upon him alſo certain lands in the county of Suffolk, but made a much better proviſion for him, by procuring him to be admitted into the family of the great Cardinal Wolſey, upon whoſe perſon he waited in quality of Gentleman-Uſher of his chamber, at a time when he lived with all the ſtate and dignity of a Prince, having a retinue of no leſs than eight hundred perſons, and amongſt them nine or ten Lords, who had each of them two at leaſt if not three ſervants allowed them at the Cardinal's coſt, and the Earl of Derby had no leſs than five (*b*). As Mr. Cavendiſh was the Cardinal's countryman, and the Cardinal had a great kindneſs for his father, he took him early into his confidence, and ſhewed him, upon all occaſions, very particular marks of kindneſs and reſpect. In 1527, he attended his maſter in his ſplendid embaſſy to France, where he arrived at Amiens in the month of Auguſt, and was preſent at that moſt magnificent entertainment, which was given by the French King to the Cardinal, and at all the following feaſts that laſted for fourteen days (*c*). He was from thence diſpatched to Compeigne to prepare his maſter's lodgings, where one ſide of the caſtle was entirely aſſigned to the uſe of the Cardinal, and the other reſerved for the King; and in like manner, the gallery which united the apartments was divided between them (*d*). He returned with that great Prelate into England, and ſerved him with the utmoſt zeal and fidelity, as well in his diſgrace as when in the higheſt favour; and was one of the few ſervants that ſtuck cloſe to him, when he had neither office nor ſalary to beſtow upon them (*e*). This was ſo far from prejudicing him in the opinion of his Sovereign, that on this very account he took particular notice of him, and gave him ſingular intimations of his grace and favour; and after the Cardinal's death, upon whom Mr. Cavendiſh waited to the laſt, and delayed going to Court till he had ſeen his body interred, the King took him into his own family

(*a*) Madox, Baron. Angl. p. 105. Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 693.

(*b*) Life of Cardinal Wolſey, by our author, p. 19, 20.

(*c*) Stowe's Annals, p. 532. Cavendiſh's Life of Wolſey, p. 49.

(*d*) Herbert's Hiſt. of the Reign of Henry VIII. p. 84. Cavendiſh's Life of Wolſey, p. 58.

(*e*) *Ibid.* in the Prologue; or, as it ſtands in the printed edition, the Dedication.

[*A*] *As appears by unqueſtionable authorities.*] The ſurname of this family was originally Gernon, and they deſcended lineally from Robert de Gernon, a Norman, who came over with the Conqueror (1); and whoſe deſcendant Roger Gernon of Grimſton-Hall in the county of Suffolk, marrying the daughter and ſole heireſs of John Potton, Lord of Cavendiſh, or as it was anciently written Caundiſh, in the ſame county, in the reign of Edward II. had by her four ſons, John, Roger, Stephen, and Richard, who all took the name of Cavendiſh, as was uſual enough in thoſe times (2). From the eldeſt of theſe ſons, John Cavendiſh, who was Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench (3), our Sir William Cavendiſh deſcended in a direct line; for the ſon of this Judge, Sir John Cavendiſh, who was knighted for killing Wat Tyler (4), had three ſons, William, Robert, and Walter. William, the eldeſt of theſe, left behind him an only ſon, Thomas, who inherited both his father's and his uncle Robert's eſtate, who was a Serjeant at Law (5): he married Catherine Scudamore, and was ſtiled Thomas Cavendiſh of Cavendiſh and Poſlingford in the county of Suffolk. He departed this life in 1477, and left behind him an only ſon, Thomas Cavendiſh of Cavendiſh, the father of our Sir William (6). He applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Laws, and by the intereſt of the Howard family, was brought into the Exchequer (7), where he became Clerk of the Pipe, as is mentioned in the text: he married Alice, the daughter and coheireſs of John Smith of Padbrook-Hall, an old family, and in which there was a good eſtate (8). He had iſſue by her three ſons, George, William, and Thomas. It appears by his laſt will, which is dated April 13, 1523, that he lived in the pariſh of St. Alban's Wood-ſtreet, and that he had acquired an eſtate in Kent. It alſo appears by this will, that his two younger ſons, Thomas and William were under age (9); and from his naming Thomas before William, one would have judged he was the ſecond ſon; but all the old genealogies of this family agree in making him the youngeſt: he became afterwards a Knight of Malta, and conſequently left no family (10). As for the eldeſt ſon, George Cavendiſh, he was ſeated at Glemſford in Suffolk, and left iſſue William Cavendiſh, Eſq; who had two ſons, William and Ralph, who both died without iſſue; ſo that Sir William Cavendiſh of whom we are ſpeaking, and his deſcendants, inherited all the eſtates of the family (11).

(1) Lib. Domeſday, fol. 137, 138.

(2) MS. in Bibl. Cotton. ſub Effig. Julii, F. 11.

(3) Dugdale's Chron. Series, p. 48. 50.

(4) Stow's Annals, p. 289, 290.

(5) Dugdale's Chron. Series, p. 61.

(6) Vincent's MS. Baron. in Offic. Arms, Numb. 20. Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 693.

(7) Madox, Bar. Angl. p. 105.

(8) Weaver's Funeral Monum. p. 693.

(9) Ex Regiſt. Bedfeld qu. 23. not. 21. in Cur. Prerog. Cant.

(10) Collins's Peerage of England, vol. i. p. 168.

(11) From an ancient Genealogy of the line of Cavendiſh.

and ſervice [*B*]. He was alſo conſtituted one of the Commiſſioners for viſiting and taking the ſurrenders of ſeveral religious houſes; and in 1531, he took ſeveral ſurrenders in that capacity (*g*). In 1540 he was appointed one of the Auditors of the Court of Augmentation (*h*), and ſoon after had a very conſiderable grant made him, of ſeveral lordſhips in the county of Hertford (*i*). In 1546 he was made Treaſurer of the Chamber to his Majeſty, and on Eaſter-day the ſame year he had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him, and was ſoon after ſworn of the Privy-Council (*k*). He continued to enjoy both theſe honours for the ſpace of eleven years, in which time his eſtate was much increaſed, by the grants (*l*) he received from King Edward VI. in ſeven ſeveral counties; nor does it appear that he was in leſs credit or favour with Queen Mary, under whoſe reign he died in the year 1557 (*m*). He married three wives, the firſt was Anne, daughter of Edmund Boſtock of Cheſhire, Eſq (*n*); by whom he had a ſon who died young, and two daughters. His ſecond wife was Margaret, daughter to Thomas Parker of Poſlingford in the county of Suffolk, Eſq; who died June 16, 1540 (*o*). His third and laſt wife, who ſurvived him, was the widow of Robert Barley, Eſq; and was very juſtly conſidered as one of the moſt famous women of her time, and of whom therefore it is requiſite that we ſhould take particular notice (*p*) [*C*]. By her he had iſſue three ſons, and as many

(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 156, 157.

(*g*) Rymer's Fœd. vol. xiv. p. 437. Stowe's Annals, p. 576. Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 112.

(*h*) Pat. 31 Hen. VIII. m. 2.

(*i*) Chauncey's Hiſt. and Antiq. of Hertfordſhire, p. 163.

(*k*) Pat. 37 Hen. VIII. m. 2. MS. Not. Claudius, c. iii. p. 149. in Bibl. Cotton. Rafe Brooke's Catal. of the Nobility, under the title of Devon.

(*l*) Chauncey's Hiſt. of Hertfordſhire, p. 501. Thoroton's Antiq. of Nottinghamſhire, p. 186.

(*n*) Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 186.

(*m*) From an ancient Pedigree of the Family.

(*o*) Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 693.

(*p*) Thoroton's Antiq. of Nottinghamſhire, p. 187.

[*B*] *The King took him into his own family and ſervice.*] It was on the fourth of November 1530, that the Cardinal was arreſted in his own palace at Cawood (12); and at that time, Sir Walter Welch told Mr. Cavendiſh how good an opinion the King had of him, and that it was his Majeſty's command he ſhould remain about the perſon of the Cardinal, and have the chief direction of every thing, giving him certain directions in writing, which, when Mr. Cavendiſh had read, he undertook to obey, and was thereupon ſworn to the performance of them (13). In conſequence of this, he went with his maſter to the Earl of Shrewſbury's at Sheffield-Park, where, when Sir William Kingſton, whom the Cardinal always dreaded and hated, came to receive him in his cuſtody, the Earl ſent for Mr. Cavendiſh, and addreſſed him thus: 'Foraſmuch, as I 'have always perceived you to be a man in whom 'my Lord putteth great affiance, and I myſelf know-'ing you to be a man very honeſt (with many other 'words of commendations and praiſe) *ſaid farther*, 'Your Lord hath often deſired me to write to the 'King, that he might anſwer his accuſations before 'his enemies. And this day I have received letters 'from his Majeſty, by Sir William Kingſton, whereby 'I perceive, that the King hath him in good opinion, 'and upon my requeſt hath ſent for him by the ſaid 'Sir William Kingſton. Therefore, now I would 'have you play your part wiſely with him, in ſuch ſort 'as he may take it quietly and in good part; for he is 'alway full of ſorrow and much heavineſs at my be-'ing with him, that I fear he would take it ill if I 'bring him tidings thereof: and therein doth he not 'well, for I aſſure you, that the King is his very good 'Lord, and hath given me moſt hearty thanks for 'his entertainment: and therefore go your way to 'him, and perſuade him I may find him in quiet at my 'coming, for I will not tarry long after you (14).' He performed this commiſſion the beſt he could; but the ſending of Sir William Kingſton proved the death of the Cardinal, who was carried as far as Leiceſter, and there he finiſhed his days (15). When Mr. Cavendiſh came to Court, he was introduced to the King by Sir Henry Norris, at that time Groom of the Stole, and after a long conference, his Majeſty was pleaſed to tell him, that for his honeſty and fidelity he ſhould be ſervant in his chamber, in the ſame manner as he had been with his late maſter; adding at parting, 'Therefore, go your ways to Sir John Gage, our Vice-'Chamberlain, to whom we have ſpoken already, to 'admit you our ſervant in our chamber; and then go 'to the Lord of Norfolk, and he ſhall pay you your 'whole year's wages, and a reward beſides (16).' It is very remarkable, that of all the dependents upon the Cardinal, there were two that particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves by a ſteady and cloſe adherence to him: the firſt was Mr. Thomas Cromwell, whom the King made afterwards Lord Cromwell, Earl of Eſſex, Knight of the Garter, and Prime Miniſter; the other was Mr. William Cavendiſh, whom he immediately took into his own ſervice, knighted him afterwards, made him Treaſurer of his Chamber, and a Privy-Counſellor (17). What the nature of his office in the Houſhold was at that time, will beſt appear by the following clauſe from an act of Parliament, which is very remarkable. This Act relates to the receivers of the King's revenue; and it is therein declared (18), 'That every perſon whom the King hereafter ſhall 'name and appoint to the room and office of Trea-'ſurer of his Chamber, be not accomptable in the Ex-'chequer, for any ſuch his or their receipt, or any 'part or parcel of the premiſes, but to the King's 'Highneſs or his heirs, or before ſuch as his Grace 'ſhall thereunto limit and appoint. Alſo, that all 'ſuch perſons as have paid, or hereafter ſhall pay, 'any ſum or ſums of money to the King's uſe, to the 'hands of the Treaſurer of his Chamber for the time 'being, and for the proof of the which payment, the 'ſaid perſon or perſons bring, or cauſed to be 'brought, the ſaid bills into the King's Receipt of 'the Exchequer, that then immediately, upon ſight 'of the ſaid bill or bills, the Treaſurer and Cham-'berlains of the ſaid Exchequer ſhall ſtrike or cauſe 'to be ſtriken a tally or tallies for the diſcharge of 'the ſaid perſon or perſons, that ſo have paid their 'money to the ſaid Treaſurer of the King's Chamber, 'as if they had paid the ſaid ſum or ſums of money 'in the Receipt before ſaid, without any other war-'rant in that behalf to be obtained, and without any 'fine, fee, or reward, therefore to be taken.'

(12) Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. p. 147.

(13) Cavendiſh's Life of Wolſey, p. 55, 56.

(14) *Ib.* p. 137, 138.

(15) Chauncey's Hiſt. of Hertfordſhire, p. 450.

(16) Cavendiſh's Life of Wolſey, p. 156, 157.

(17) Remarks on the Life of Cardinal Wolſey, p. 95.

(18) Rot. Parl. 6 Hen. VIII.

[*C*] *That we ſhould take particular notice.*] This Lady, as ſhe was certainly one of the moſt remarkable perſons of her time, ſo her memory is celebrated, and the moſt memorable paſſages of her life preſerved, by ſeveral of our ableſt Antiquaries, moſt conſiderable Hiſtorians, and moſt eminent Divines. Yet we hope, in the compaſs of this note, to give more remarkable facts relating to this wonderful woman, and that too with greater exactneſs than are any where to be met with in ſo narrow a compaſs. Elizabeth Hardwick, for ſuch was this Lady's name, was the daughter of John Hardwick of Hardwick in the county of Derby, Eſq; by Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Leeke of Loaſland in the ſame county, Eſq; and in proceſs of time became coheireſs of his fortune, by the death of her brother John Hardwick, Eſq; without children (19). It is not eaſy to ſay in what year ſhe was born, though the date of her death, and her age, both appear on her magnificent tomb-ſtone (20). The former indeed is certain, but the latter not ſo; for if it were, ſhe would have been hardly twelve years old when her firſt huſband died: by comparing of circumſtances, however, it is highly probable, that ſhe was born in 1516, and being extremely beautiful, and having the advantage of an excellent education, ſhe captivated the heart of Robert Barley of Barley in the county of Derby, Eſq; a young gentleman of a large eſtate, all of which he ſettled abſolutely upon her on their marriage; which was celebrated when ſhe was ſcarcely fourteen. By this gentleman ſhe had no iſſue; but by his death, which happened February 2, 1532 (21), ſhe became a very rich widow, and remained ſo for about twelve years; when

(19) Thoroton's Antiq. of Nottinghamſhire, p. 186, 187.

(20) See that inſcription at large in Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 420.

(21) Life of William Duke of Newcaſtle, by his Ducheſs, p. 154.

many daughters, of whom we ſhall ſay ſomewhat in the notes [*D*]. It was in the latter part of his life, at the inſtance of the lady he laſt married, that Sir William Cavendiſh

when ſhe married Mr. Cavendiſh, by whom ſhe had Henry Cavendiſh, Eſq; who ſettled at Tutbury in Staffordſhire, but had alſo conſiderable eſtates in Derbyſhire; William Cavendiſh, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the next article; and Charles Cavendiſh, who was the anceſtor of the Dukes of Newcaſtle of that name; and three daughters, Frances, who married Sir Henry Pierpoint of Holm Pierpoint in the county of Nottingham, from whom the Dukes of Kingſton are deſcended (22); Elizabeth, who eſpouſed Charles Stuart, Earl of Lenox, younger brother of Henry King of Scots, father of King James I. (23); and Mary, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak afterwards. Some years after ſhe, by his death, was a ſecond time a widow, ſhe conſented to become a third time a wife; and accordingly married Sir William St. Lowe, Captain of the Guard to Queen Elizabeth, who was a man of plentiful fortune, and had a large eſtate in Glouceſterſhire; all which he ſettled upon her, excluding as well his brothers who were heirs male, as his own female iſſue by a former Lady (24). We are in the dark as to the time of this marriage, and of the death of this Sir William St. Lowe: but it is certain, that the charms of this Lady's perſon and mind were of ſo laſting a nature, that in her third widowhood they made ſuch an impreſſion on the heart of George Talbot, Earl of Shrewſbury, then one of the greateſt ſubjects in the Engliſh nation, that he was very deſirous of engaging her to alter the ſtate of life ſhe led for the fourth time: but before he could perſuade her thereto, he was obliged to conſent unto terms that were very advantageous for her family (25). Her Ladyſhip could not indeed inſiſt that the eſtates of the family ſhould be ſettled upon her; but ſhe took care that they ſhould be at all events enjoyed by her poſterity, by cauſing the Earl to give his youngeſt daughter, the Lady Grace, to her eldeſt ſon Henry Cavendiſh, Eſq; and at the ſame time, married her youngeſt daughter Mary, to Gilbert the Earl's ſecond ſon, who proved afterwards the heir of his honours and eſtates (26). The felicity of this laſt marriage ſeems to have been ſomewhat troubled by her Lord's having the cuſtody of the Queen of Scots: for we are told by a certain author (27), that the Counteſs being at Court, and Queen Elizabeth demanding how that Princeſs did? She anſwered, *Madam, ſhe cannot do ill while ſhe is with my huſband; and I begin to grow jealous, they are ſo great together.* We are likewiſe told by Mr. Camden, that it was conſidered as a very high proof of the Earl's wiſdom, that in ſuch ambiguous times (this is our author's own word) he ſhould be able to maintain his credit, notwithſtanding the practices of his enemies, Court calumnies, and the diſturbances given him by his ſecond wife (28). All this taken together, roſe ſo high as to become the ſubject of a public proſecution (29). And in the inſcription upon the Earl's tomb (30) it is aſſerted, that notwithſtanding the ſcandalous report ſpread by malicious people, of his familiarity with the captive Queen, his conduct was entirely honourable and innocent. But theſe rumours gave occaſion to the removing that unhappy Princeſs into the cuſtody of Sir Amias Pawlet, with whom ſhe remained till the time of her deplorable death (31.) This noble Peer dying November 18th, 1590 (32), the Counteſs became a widow for the fourth time, and ſo continued for the remainder of her days. As her whole life was, with a very few interruptions, a continued ſeries of proſperity, ſhe was at liberty to diſcover the nobleneſs and magnificence of her nature, which ſhe did in monuments as laſting as it was in the power of ſo prudent and diſcreet a perſon to contrive. She built three of the moſt elegant ſeats that were ever raiſed by one hand, within the ſame County, beyond example, Chatſworth, Hardwick, and Oldcotes, all tranſmitted entire to the firſt Duke of Devonſhire (33). At Hardwick ſhe left the ancient ſeat of her family ſtanding, and at a ſmall diſtance, ſtill adjoining to her new fabric, as if ſhe had a mind to preſerve her cradle, and ſet it by her bed of ſtate. Which old houſe has one room in it, of ſuch exact proportion, and ſuch convenient lights, that it has been thought fit for a pattern of meaſure and contrivance, of a room in the Duke of Marlborough's noble houſe at Blenheim (34). Some memorials alſo are ſtill preſerved of the royal gueſt entertained here fifteen years; for the Queen of Scots chamber, and rooms of ſtate, with her arms, and other enſigns of her dignity, are ſtill remaining at Hardwick: Her bed was taken away for plunder in the Civil Wars. At Chatſworth the new lodgings that anſwer the old, are ſtill called the Queen of Scots apartment; and an iſland plat, on the top of a ſquare tower, built in a large pool, is ſtill called the Queen of Scot's garden, and ſome of her own royal work is ſtill preſerved among the treaſures of this family (35): a carpet embroidered with her needle, and particularly a ſuit of hangings now remaining in a chamber at Hardwick, wherein all the Virtues are repreſented in ſymbolical figures and alluſive mottos; an ornament and a lecture. Neither was ſhe unmindful, in the midſt of ſo much abundance, of ſuch of her fellow-creatures, and fellow Chriſtians, as by the permiſſion of the ſame divine Providence, which dealt ſo bountifully with her, were left in all the bitterneſs of want; and therefore ſhe endowed a noble Hoſpital at Derby, for the entertainment of twelve poor people, who have each about ten pounds a year for their ſubſiſtence (36). In this manner lived and died Elizabeth Counteſs Dowager of Shrewſbury, on the 13th of February, 1607, her body lying buried in the ſouth iſle of Allhallows Church in Derby, under a ſtately monument, which ſhe took care to erect in her own life-time, on which her ſtatue, curiouſly wrought, lies at full length (37). On this tomb there is alſo a large inſcription, placed there many years after her death, wherein ſhe is ſaid to have been in her 87th year, which muſt be a miſtake, for reaſons before mentioned, and which plainly ſhow, that ſhe muſt have been at leaſt in the 91ſt year of her age. Her funeral ſermon, with a large encomium on her many ſhining qualities, was preached by Dr. Toby Matthew, Archbiſhop of York, who choſe for his text, Prov. xxxi. 25. to the end of the chapter (38). Her memory was long after celebrated by another eloquent Prelate, who, after running through the principal paſſages of her life, ſums up all in the following terms, 'A change of 'conditions that, perhaps, never fell to any one 'woman, to be four times a creditable and happy 'wife; to riſe by every huſband into greater wealth 'and higher honours; to have an unanimous iſſue by 'one huſband only; to have all thoſe children live; 'and all, by her advice, be honourably and creditably diſpoſed of in her life-time; and after all, to live 'ſeventeen years a widow in abſolute power and 'plenty (39).'

[*D*] *We ſhall ſay ſomewhat in the notes.*] The names of Sir William Cavendiſh's children, by his laſt lady, we have already mentioned, and therefore here we ſhall take notice only of ſome particulars relating to his eldeſt and youngeſt ſons; and to the youngeſt of his daughters, becauſe they ſeem neceſſary to the right underſtanding of ſeveral paſſages in the ſucceeding articles. Henry Cavendiſh, his eldeſt ſon, was elected one of the Knights of the Shire for the county of Derby, in the Parliament held in the 14th year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and ſerved for the ſame county in five other ſucceeding parliaments (40). In 1578 he went over into the Low-Countries, and ſerved there with great reputation (41). He had no iſſue by his Lady, who was the daughter of the Earl of Shrewſbury; but having lived with univerſal reputation, died at Endſore, near Chatſworth, in Derbyſhire, Oct. 12, 1616, and was buried in the Church there, where we find an inſcription to preſerve his memory (42.) His youngeſt brother, and the third ſon of Sir William Cavendiſh, ſeated himſelf at Welbeck in Nottinghamſhire; and, being knighted, was ſtiled Sir Charles Cavendiſh of Welbeck. He married Catherine, ſecond daughter to Cuthbert Lord Ogle, and by that marriage acquired a large eſtate. He died in the month of June, 1617, and was buried at Boleſover, in the County of Derby (43). Mary, Counteſs of Shrewſbury, youngeſt daughter

(22) Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 139.

(23) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 421.

(24) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 420.

(25) Life of William Duke of Newcaſtle, by his Ducheſs, p. 154.

(26) Biſhop Kennet's Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh, p. 517.

(27) Fuller's Worthies in Com. Derby, p. 237.

(28) Camden, Annal. p. 622, 623.

(29) Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 216, 217.

(30) Collins's Peerage of England, vol. ii. p. 56.

(31) Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 384.

(32) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 333.

(33) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh.

(34) *Ibid.*

(35) *Ibid.*

(36) Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 141.

(37) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 420.

(38) This Sermon, in the Archbiſhop's own hand-writing, was in the curious and copious Collection of Rarities belonging to R. Thoreſby, Eſq; of Leeds.

(39) Biſhop Kennet's Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh, p. 67.

(40) Brown Willis's Notitia Parliament. vol. ii. p. 422.

(41) Annal Camden, p. 320.

(42) Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 138.

(43) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 421.

vendiſh ſold moſt of his eſtates in other parts of the kingdom, in order to purchaſe lands in Derbyſhire, where her eſtates lay, and began to build a noble houſe at Chatſworth, which he did not live to finiſh (*q*). He appears from his writings to have been a man of great honour and integrity, a good ſubject to his Prince, a true lover of his country, and one who preſerved, to the laſt, a very high reverence and eſteem for his old maſter, and firſt patron, Cardinal Wolſey, whoſe life he wrote in the latter part of his own, and there gives him a very high character; affirming, that in his judgment, he never ſaw the kingdom in better obedience and quiet, than during the time of his authority, or juſtice better adminiſtered (*r*). This work of his remained long in manuſcript, and the original, ſome years ago, was in the hands of the Duke of Kingſton (*s*). It had been ſeen and conſulted by the Lord Herbert, when he wrote his Hiſtory of the Reign of King Henry VIII. but he was either unacquainted with our author's chriſtian name, or miſtook him for his elder brother, George Cavendiſh, of Glemsford, in the county of Suffolk, Eſq; for by that name his Lordſhip calls him; but it appears plainly from what he ſays, that the Hiſtory he made uſe of was our author's, and that he gave great credit to it, ſince, in his character of Cardinal Wolſey, he agrees entirely with him (*t*). Biſhop Burnet alſo had ſeen and made uſe of our author's Hiſtory (*u*), in relation to which there are ſome very curious remarks in a work of Mr. Strype's, which deſerve the reader's notice, and are therefore placed at the bottom of the page [*E*]. It might be of ſome uſe to the learned world, if, by collating the ſeveral manuſcripts that are ſtill extant of this work, a new and correct edition of it were publiſhed, with notes ſhewing wherein it differs from other Hiſtories of that famous Cardinal.

(*q*) Life of William Duke of Newcaſtle, by his Ducheſs, p. 154.

(*r*) In the Prologue or Dedication to the Marquis of Dorcheſter.

(*s*) Suppoſed to be given by the author to his daughter, who married into that family.

(*t*) Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. p. 122.

(*u*) Hiſtory of the Reformat. vol. i. p. 8.

daughter of Sir William Cavendiſh, intereſted herſelf deeply in the affairs of her niece, Lady Arabella Stuart, and thereby brought herſelf into very great troubles, as we have ſhewn in another place (44). And we take notice of it here, only to put the reader in mind, that this lady, who was ſo nearly allied to the Crown, was the grand-daughter of our Sir William Cavendiſh.

(44) See the article of ARABELLA (Lady) in this Dictionary.

[*E*] *At the bottom of the page.*] The paſſage referred to in the text runs thus (45); 'Cardinal *Wolſey*'s 'life was long in MS. written by *Cavendiſh*, his domeſtic. Afterwards printed, *Anno* 1667, for *Dorman Newman*, entitled, *The Life and Death of* THOMAS WOLSEY *Cardinal, once Archbiſhop of York and Lord Chancellor of England, containing*, I. *The Original of his Promotion, and the Way he took to obtain it.* II. *The Continuance in his Magnificence.* III. *His Negotiations concerning the Peace with* France *and the* Netherlands. IV. *His Fall, Death, and Burial. Wherein are things remarkable for thoſe times. Written by one of his own ſervants, being his Gentleman-Uſher.* An ancient MS. of this life, which ſeemed to be original, I once bought of Mr. *Woodward:* which I afterwards parted with to Secretary *Harley*, afterwards Lord High-Treaſurer and Earl of *Oxford and Mortimer*. The printed Book aforeſaid was dedicated to *Henry* Lord Marquis of *Dorſet*. By which Dedication, it ſeems, it was now newly reprinted. The Preface is of the author's own writing, having theſe expreſſions: *The Cardinal was my lord and maſter, whom, in his life-time, I ſerved: And ſo remained with him in his fall continually, during the time of all his troubles, both in the ſouth and north parts, until he died. In all which time I punctually obſerved all his demeanours, as alſo his great triumphs and glorious eſtate,* &c. *Nevertheleſs, whatſoever any man hath conceived of him in his life, or ſince his death, thus much I dare ſay, without offence of any, that in my judgment I never ſaw this realm in better obedience, and quiet, than it was in the time of his authority; nor juſtice better adminiſtered, without partiality, as I could juſtly prove, if I ſhould not be taxed with too much affection.* 'This Book is miſprinted very much, as I have given 'a *Specimen* in my marginal Notes in the beginning of 'the Book. In the edition of it *Anno* 1667, I did 'in the beginning write as followeth. This Book was 'printed again, *Anno* 1706, with another title, *viz.* '*Memoirs of the great Favourite Cardinal* Wolſey: '*With Remarks on his Riſe and Fall, and other ſecret 'Tranſactions of his Miniſtry. Together with a Memorial preſented to Queen Elizabeth by* Will. Cecil 'Lord Burghley, *to prevent her Majeſty's being engroſſed by any particular Favourite.* But this can be 'none of the Lord *Burghley*'s, as may be concluded 'by divers phraſes and manners of ſpeech that were 'not uſed in thoſe times. Nor would that Lord have 'dared to write ſo plain and bold to the Queen; nor 'would ſhe have borne it. It is plain this diſcourſe was 'levelled at ſome of the Miniſtry in that time of Queen '*Anne*, in order to make way for another Miniſtry. 'The original Book is not divided into chapters, as 'this is, but a continued diſcourſe. It hath the very 'faults and miſprintings of the former edition; as 'p. 2. *Foreſt* for *Feaſt*, and Sir *James Pawlet* for 'Sir *Amyas*. The Preface, which is called the 'Prologue in the Manuſcript, varies and changes 'words, and leaves out, to make the language 'more ſuitable to the preſent age. But indeed, 'rather mars than mends the ſtile.' C.

(45) Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 128.

*** [A very fair and valuable manuſcript copy of Sir William Cavendiſh's Life of Cardinal Wolſey is preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum, Harleian MSS. N° 428. This ſeems to be the ſame MS. mentioned by Mr. Strype in note [*E*]. It is larger, and much more correct, than any of the printed copies. It was taken notice of in the account of Cardinal Wolſey publiſhed in the ſecond volume of Britiſh Biography, 8vo. and ſome paſſages were extracted from it, which are not in any of the printed copies (46). As this is an original life of the celebrated Cardinal, written by a contemporary, and one well acquainted with him, it is to be regretted that a correct edition has not yet been publiſhed. The editions hitherto printed abound with groſs errors, and ſundry paſſages are omitted, which might be ſupplied, and the errors corrected, by the aſſiſtance of the above manuſcript.] T.

(46) P. 48, 49, 50, 52, 53.

CAVENDISH (WILLIAM), ſecond ſon of the former, and the firſt of this family raiſed to the dignity of Peerage. At the time of his father's deceaſe he was very young, and but a child when his mother married the Earl of Shrewſbury, with whoſe children he was brought up, and by the care of the Earl had an excellent education (*a*). As he was his mother's favourite, ſhe gave him in her life-time, and left him at her deceaſe, ſo plentifully, that he had a better eſtate than his elder brother (*b*). He was choſen Member for Newport in the county of Cornwal, in the Parliament held in the thirty-firſt of Elizabeth (*c*); and it is probable that he ſat in ſucceeding Parliaments, though we are not able to ſay for what place. He was very early, and very much conſidered

(*a*) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh.

(*b*) Collins's Peerage of England, vol. i. p. 143.

(*c*) Willis's Notit. Parliam. vol. ii. p. 164.

in the Court of King James, ſo that in the month of May 1605, at the chriſtening of the Princeſs Sophia, when his Majeſty was pleaſed to advance ſome of the Nobility, and to create others, he was honoured with the title of Baron Cavendiſh of Hardwicke, in the county of Derby (*d*). It does not appear that he was deſirous of places, or of Court preferments: but notwithſtanding this, he was far from leading an inactive life, as is evident from his being among the firſt adventurers for ſettling the Bermuda Iſlands; one of which has the honour to bear his name, as a mark of the concern he had in the eſtabliſhment of that flouriſhing plantation (*e*) [*A*]. He received, ſome years after this, a very great acceſſion to his fortune, by the death of his eldeſt brother (*f*), which was followed on the ſecond of Auguſt 1618, with an augmentation of honour; for being at that time in attendance upon the King on a progreſs, he was pleaſed to declare him, in the Biſhop's palace at Saliſbury, Earl of Devonſhire, though his patent for that honour did not paſs the ſeals till ſome days after (*g*). He enjoyed this honour about ſeven years, dying at his ſeat at Hardwicke, on the third of March 1625-6, with the character of being one of the worthieſt Noblemen, and trueſt Patriots of his time (*h*). His Lordſhip was twice married, and had iſſue of both marriages, as the reader will ſee in the notes [*B*]. His corpſe was removed to the burying-place of the family, at Endſore near Chatſworth, where it was interred, and a monument erected for him with a ſuitable inſcription (*i*) [*C*].

(*d*) Pat. 3 Jac. p. 12. Apparat. Annal. Camden R. Reg. Jac. Primi, p. 4. Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 56.

(*e*) Continuation of Stowe's Annals, p. 944.

(*f*) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 421.

(*g*) Catalogue of Nobili y, by R. Bro ke, p. 64.

(*h*) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh.

(*i*) Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 144.

[*A*] *Of that flouriſhing plantation.*] The Bermudas iſlands are ſuppoſed to receive their name from one John Bermudas (1), a Spaniard, who diſcovered them. They lie in the Latitude of 32 degrees 33 minutes north, and are equally remarkable for their being one of the moſt numerous Archipelago's hitherto diſcovered; and for their lying the fartheſt from any continent. There cannot well be a ſtronger proof of the former, than that their number was never aſcertained. Some make them three, others five hundred, but the beſt writers agree, that there are upwards of four hundred. As to the latter, they lie three hundred leagues from the neareſt point of Carolina, which yet is that part of the continent of America nigheſt them (2). One Henry May, an Engliſhman, was a-ſhore here in 1593, and the account he gave of them firſt made them known in England. Sir George Somers being ſhipwrecked on them in 1609, procured them the name of the Summer Iſlands; and upon the report made by Captain Somers, Sir George's brother, a company was eſtabliſhed for the ſettling of them, by a Grant from King James in 1612, in which this noble Peer, with the Earls of Northampton and Pembroke, the Lords Paget and Harrington, and many others, were concerned (3). They ſent over a veſſel with ſixty perſons the ſame year, and conſtituted Mr. Richard Moor the firſt Governor, who performed his commiſſion very ſucceſsfully; and the ſame good fortune has attended this colony ever ſince; ſo that at preſent, though it be none of the richeſt, yet it is one of the faireſt and moſt flouriſhing; to which we may add, that excepting Barbadoes, it is the beſt peopled of any of it's ſize in America (4). The town of St. George is one of the beſt built in that quarter of the world, the houſes being all cedar, and the fortifications ſtone. The great iſland is divided into eight tribes, and the third in number, and middlemoſt in ſituation, is now called Devonſhire-tribe, though, I apprehend, it was formerly called Cavendiſh. It is one of the two pariſhes, and has a neat church and a good library. There is beſides a very ſmall iſland between St. George's and St. David's, which has a little caſtle well fortified, that bears the name of Cavendiſh Fort, in honour of this noble family (5).

(1) Britiſh Empire in America, vol. ii. p. 440.

(2) A ſhort Deſcription of Bermuda, by Mr. Norwood, p. 31.

(3) Continuat. of Stowe's Annal. p. 944.

(4) Britiſh Empire in America, vol. ii. p. 443.

(5) Deſcription of the Iſlands of Bermuda, p. 41.

[*B*] *As the reader will ſee in the notes.*] His Lordſhip married firſt Anne, daughter and heir to Henry Kighly, of Kighly (6) in the county of York, Eſq; by whom he had three ſons and three daughters; firſt Gilbert, who died in his youth, and left a very ingenious work, intituled, *Horæ ſubſecivæ*; *Obſervations and Diſcourſes*, &c. It was publiſhed in 1620 (7). Second William, his heir and ſucceſſor; third James, who died in his infancy; fourth Frances, married to Sir William Maynard; fifth and ſixth Mary and Elizabeth, who both died young (8). His ſecond wife was Elizabeth, daughter to Edward Boughton of Cauſton in the county of Warwick, Eſquire, and widow of Sir Richard Wortly, of Wortly in the county of York, Knight, by whom he had iſſue Sir John Cavendiſh, Knight of the Bath, at the creation of Charles Prince of Wales, Anno 1616, who departed this life on the 18th of January 1617 (9).

(6) Vincent's Diſ. of Errors in Brooke's Catal. of the Nobility, p. 165.

(7) Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 474.

(8) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 421.

(9) Vincent's Diſcovery of Errors, &c. p. 166.

[*C*] *With a ſuitable inſcription.*] The villages of Chatſworth and Endſore ſtand oppoſite to each other, one on the eaſt, the other on the weſt-ſide of the little river Darwent. At Chatſworth is that noble palace, which is conſidered as the chief ſeat of the Devonſhire family. At Endſore many of them lie interred: but, for all this, Hardwicke is conſidered as the origin or birth-place, as it were, of this noble race, as well in conſideration of it's being their firſt Barony, as for it's being the proper eſtate of Elizabeth Counteſs of Shrewſbury, whoſe fame is ſtill freſh in theſe parts (10). It is in this light that we find Mr. Camden conſiders things in his Britannia, where he ſpeaks thus (11). 'On 'the very edge of the county, to the eaſt, upon a 'rough ground ſtands Hardwicke, which has given 'name to a famous family in this county, from whom 'is deſcended Elizabeth the preſent Counteſs of Shrewſ-'bury, who has there laid the foundation of two ſtate-'ly houſes almoſt joining to one another, which at a 'great diſtance appear very fair, by reaſon of their 'high ſituation. At preſent the title of this Barony 'is enjoyed by William Cavendiſh, her ſecond ſon, 'who was lately advanced by King James to the ho-'nour of Baron Cavendiſh of Hardwicke.' C.

(10) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh.

(11) Camden's Britannia in Derbyſhire, p. 494.

CAVENDISH (WILLIAM), ſon to the former, and the ſecond Earl of Devonſhire of this family. He was born in 1589, and very carefully educated in the houſe of his father (*a*), who, when he grew up to the age of nineteen, ſent for Mr. Thomas Hobbes, ſo well known to the world by the name of the Philoſopher of Malmſbury, from Oxford, to be the director of his ſon's ſtudies, though there was but a year's difference in their age (*b*). Mr. Hobbes, from the time he came into the family, gained ſo much on the affections of his pupil, that he lived with him rather as a friend and companion, than as a tutor, and thereby drew him to have a ſtrong paſſion for Hiſtory, Politics, Antiquities, and other parts of polite learning (*c*). In the ſpring of the year 1609, Mr. Cavendiſh received the honour of knighthood at Whitehall (*d*), which was with a view to a match intended for him. After this he viſited France and Italy in the company of Mr. Hobbes, and on his return from his travels, the marriage before-mentioned took effect, and Sir William Cavendiſh was thereupon eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion

(*a*) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh.

(*b*) Vita Tho. Hobbes, p. 2.

(*c*) Vita Hobbesiana Auctariuncula, p. 28, 29.

(*d*) Manuſcript Cat. of Knights.

of a very conſiderable fortune (e) [A]. The nobleneſs and generoſity of his temper, induced Sir William Cavendiſh to make a great figure at Court, and to live with much luſtre in the country, even while he was a younger brother; but when, by the deceaſe of Gilbert Lord Cavendiſh, he came to be conſidered as the heir apparent of his father's titles and fortunes, he carried his magnificence to ſuch a height, that he was conſidered by King James, as a perſon who did honour to his country, more eſpecially as he was one of the beſt bred, and beſt accompliſhed Noblemen of his time (f). Therefore, Count Swartzenburgh came over in the month of April 1622, in quality of Embaſſador from the Emperor Ferdinand, Lord Cavendiſh was made choice of to conduct him to his public audience (g), and was appointed in like manner to accompany Signior Valerſſio, Embaſſador-Extraordinary from the Republic of Venice, and Monſ. d'Arſennes and Joachimi, Joint-Embaſſadors of the States of the United Provinces (h). His Lordſhip and his Lady, in the year 1625, waited on King Charles I. to Canterbury, by his royal appointment, to be preſent at his nuptials with Maria Henrietta, ſecond daughter to King Henry IV. of France, who arrived at Dover the thirteenth of June, and came the ſame night to Canterbury, where the marriage was conſummated (i). When he became Earl of Devonſhire by the deceaſe of his father, his deſire of keeping up the dignity of the family, and living in a manner ſuitable to his quality both in town and country, brought him into ſuch expence, as even his large fortune could not ſupport; and as he was a perſon of the niceſt honour, and one who had the ſtricteſt regard for juſtice, he made uſe of the favour in which he ſtood with his Prince, and his credit in Parliament, to procure an Act for ſale of part of his eſtates for the payment of his debts, which was in thoſe days a rare thing, and not to be obtained without difficulty (k). In his public character he was truly a Patriot; for his loyalty to his Prince was without any tincture of ambition, and his zeal for the public good had not the ſmalleſt intermixture of factious popularity. In his private life, he had all the qualities requiſite to make him eſteemed and beloved. His learning operated on his conduct, but was ſeldom ſhewn in his diſcourſe. He was a kind huſband, a tender father, a beneficent maſter, a friend to his neighbours, and a father to the poor. In fine, he deſerved, in every reſpect, the character beſtowed upon him by one who was beſt acquainted with him, that from his behaviour it might be eaſily perceived, that *honour* and *honeſty* are but the ſame thing, in different degrees, of perſons (l). But this great man, whoſe virtues added luſtre to his titles, and who was juſtly eſteemed the ornament of the Court, and the delight of his country, lived but a very ſhort time to enjoy thoſe honours which became him ſo well; for on the twentieth of June 1628, he departed this life at Devonſhire-houſe, near Biſhopſgate, where the ſquare of the ſame name is now ſeated, in the thirty-ninth year of his age (m), and was buried on the eleventh of July following (n), in the Church of Allhallows at Derby, where a moſt ſtately monument, with his own ſtatue in white marble upright in the midſt of it, is erected to his memory, but without any inſcription (o). This noble Earl was only once married to Chriſtian, daughter of Edward Lord Bruce of Kinloſſe, ſiſter to Thomas Earl of Elgin in Scotland, and aunt to Robert Earl of Ayleſbury in England, a woman, whoſe great qualities, and greater virtues, have tranſmitted her fame with due praiſes to poſterity (p) [B]. By her he left four children, as the

(e) Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 145.

(f) Kennet's Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family, p. 74.

(g) Sir John Finnet's Obſervations on Ambaſſadors, p. 95, 96.

(h) Life of Chriſtian Counteſs of Devonſhire, p. 112. 188.

(i) Ruſhworth's Collections, vol. i. P. i. p. 107.

(k) Life of the Counteſs of Devon. p. 27, 28.

(l) See Mr. Hobbes's Dedication of Thucydides in Engliſh, to the ſon of this worthy Nobleman.

(m) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh.

(n) MS. J. P. in Offic. Arm. f. 18.

(o) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 42.

(p) See Pomfret's Life of this Lady.

[A] *Of a very conſiderable fortune.*] There are ſome who tell us, that the honour of Knighthood was conferred upon Sir William Cavendiſh after his return from his travels (1), and immediately before his marriage: but beſides various other reaſons that might be alledged in diſproof of this, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that it is contradicted by Mr. Hobbes's account of his own life, where he ſays expreſsly, that he did not travel with his pupil till 1610 (2). The match then propoſed, and which afterwards took effect, was with the only daughter of Edward, Lord Bruce of Kinloſſe, for whom King James had a very particular eſteem, as indeed it was very reaſonable he ſhould: for beſides his noble deſcent from the male-line of that Royal family, of which the Stuarts were deſcended by females, he had been highly inſtrumental, by the ſecret correſpondence he held with Sir Robert Cecil, afterwards Earl of Saliſbury, in procuring the peaceable acceſſion of his Maſter to the throne of England, for which he had been rewarded with a Peerage and a grant of lands in Scotland, and with the office of Maſter of the Rolls for life in England (3). But the King ſhewed his kindneſs chiefly in the pains he took about this marriage, in which he was equally gracious to both parties. He made choice of Sir William Cavendiſh on account of his perſonal accompliſhments as well as of his family; and he beſtowed upon him the Lady as his kinſwoman, with whom he gave a fortune of ten thouſand pounds; and that he might ſtill do greater honour to the marriage, he gave her away with his own hand (4). In return for his Royal condeſcenſion, he ſolicited and prevailed upon the Lord Cavendiſh, of Hardwicke, for he was not then Earl of Devonſhire, or poſſeſſed of his elder brother's fortune, to make a great ſettlement on his ſecond ſon; and his Lordſhip was ſo ſenſible of the honour done him, that he came up fully to his Majeſty's expectations, and perhaps exceeded (5), what in that caſe he would otherwiſe have done.

(1) Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 145.

(2) Vita Tho. Hobbes, p. 2.

(3) Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 133.

(4) Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family.

(5) Life of the Counteſs of Devonſhire, p. 23.

[B] *With due praiſes to poſterity.*] We have already given an account of this Lady's family; and therefore, we ſhall only obſerve, that as ſhe lived in the utmoſt harmony with her Lord, for whom ſhe had the ſincereſt affection; ſo in reſpect to his family ſhe was another Counteſs of Shrewſbury, and employed the great powers veſted in her by her huſband for the benefit of his illuſtrious race, with the utmoſt prudence and fidelity. In the firſt place, ſhe made a proper diſpoſition of the money ariſing by ſale of his eſtate; and in the next, ſhe managed her large jointure of 5000l. a year with ſuch œconomy and circumſpection, that in the courſe of her long life, ſhe added to it 4000 l. a year more of her own acquiring (6). Beſides all this, ſhe extricated the family from ſeveral tedious and perplexed law-ſuits, which ſhe managed with ſuch diligence, decency, and dexterity, and at the ſame time, with ſuch ſufficiency and ſucceſs, that King Charles I. who, as his father King James had done, and his ſon

(6) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh. Life of the Counteſs of Devon. p. 26.

the reader will be informed in the notes [C]; though he had not the happineſs to ſee any of them arrive at the age of diſcretion, and moſt of them, at his death, were in their infancy.

King Charles II. did, converſed with her very familiarly, would ſometimes merrily ſay, *Madam, you have all my Judges at your diſpoſal* (7). There never was a woman more admired for her courtly and polite behaviour, at the ſame time that her virtue and piety made her looked upon as an example for all her ſex. A certain witty writer drew her character in a few lines; *The Counteſs of* Devonſhire (ſays he) *is at once the beſt woman, and the beſt bred woman in the nation; ſhe has all the complaiſance of a Court, without the leaſt affectation; and all the ſtrictneſs of religion in her conduct, without the leaſt pretence to it in her diſcourſe* (8). Another writer, from whom we have her life at large, gives us the following picture of her at full length (9). 'Prayers and pious readings were her 'firſt buſineſs; the remainders of the day were deter- 'mined to her friends, in the entertainment of whom 'her converſation was ſo tempered with courtſhip and 'heartineſs, her diſcourſes ſo ſweetened with the de- 'licacies of expreſſion, that ſuch as did not well know 'the expence of her time, would have thought ſhe 'had employed it all in addreſs and dialogue: in 'both which ſhe exceeded moſt Ladies, and yet ne- 'ver affected the title of a wit; carried no ſnares in 'her tongue, nor counterfeited friendſhips; and as 'ſhe was never known to ſpeak evil of any, ſo nei- 'ther would ſhe endure to hear of it from any 'others, reckoning it not only a vice againſt good 'manners, but the greateſt indecency alſo in the en- 'tertainment of friends; and, therefore, always 'kept herſelf within the meaſures of civility and re- 'ligion. Her geſtures correſponded to her ſpeech, 'being of a free, native, genuine, and graceful be- 'haviour, as far from affected and extraordinary mo- 'tions, as they from diſcretion. Theſe admirable 'qualities drew to her houſe all the beſt company, 'towards whom ſhe had ſo eaſy and ſuch obliging 'addreſs, without the leaſt allay of levity or diſdain, 'that every one departed with the higheſt ſatisfac- 'tion; ſhe ever diſtributing her reſpects according 'to the quality and merit of each, ſteering the ſame 'ſteady courſe in the country alſo, between which 'and the town ſhe commonly divided the year.' We ſhall have frequent occaſion to mention this Lady in the ſucceeding articles, and ſhall therefore add nothing farther here of her, except, that, as ſhe was ſteadily loyal to King Charles I. through all his troubles, ſhe was no leſs faithful to the intereſt of his ſon in his exile, and was among the very few people to whom General Monk gave early intelligence of his good intention. Of theſe her conſtant and continual ſervices, King Charles II. was ſo ſenſible, that, after his Reſtoration, he frequently dined with her, ſometimes in the company of the Queens, Dowager and Conſort. She lived to the laſt with all that profuſeneſs of Engliſh generoſity, which was the characteriſtic of that age in which ſhe paſſed her youth; and with all that dignity and magnificence, by which the houſe of Devonſhire has been always diſtinguiſhed; till full of years and of glory, ſhe departed this life on January 16, 1674, and was carried with great funeral pomp down to Derby, where ſhe was interred, as we ſhall have occaſion to mention elſewhere.

(7) Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family.

(8) MS. Letter of Lord Digby's.

(9) Pomfret's Life of the Counteſs of Devon. p. 36—40.

[C] *In the notes.*] His iſſue by Chriſtian, Counteſs of Devonſhire, were three ſons and one daughter. 1. William, Lord Cavendiſh, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the next article. 2. Charles, of whom we ſhall likewiſe give an article. 3. Henry, who died young. 4. Lady Anne Cavendiſh, who married Robert, Lord Rich, ſon and heir of Robert, Earl of Warwick. She died early of an ague, and was a Lady of ſuch diſtinguiſhed perfections, that her loſs was deplored by three of the worthieſt men, and greateſt wits, of that age in which there were ſo many, *viz.* the famous Viſcount Falkland, the celebrated Mr. Waller, and the ingenious Mr. Godolphin, as well as by other writers of an inferior rank (10). This Lady had by the Lord Rich, only one ſon, Robert, who married Frances youngeſt daughter to Oliver Cromwell, and died in his father's life-time without iſſue; which is the rather mentioned, becauſe Sir William Dugdale (11) makes her mother alſo of three daughters; whereas, they were the children of Robert Lord Rich by his ſecond wife, the widow of Mr. Rogers, and the daughter of Sir Thomas Cheeke of Pirgo in Eſſex. C.

(10) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh.

(11) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 888.

*** [Robert Johnſton, in his Hiſtoria Rerum Britannicarum, at the end, doth not beſtow ſuch extravagant commendations on this Earl of Devonſhire. That writer gives the following character of his Lordſhip: "*Cæterorum procerum ſumptuoſam lautitiam, profuſâ luxuriâ ſuperavit, qui cogitavit ſibi ſe natum & ſuis voluptatibus, itaque ſplendidiſſimo rerum omnium apparatu lautiores hoſpites excepit. Parum abfuit quin ditiſſimæ familiæ, opes, ſapientiâ & moderatione patris amplificatæ conſtitutæque, magnificentiæ ſtudio diſſiparentur; niſi diutino morbo, ex* CRAPULA *contracto, in medio robore ætatis extinctus fuiſſet.*" The honourable correſpondent, who hath favoured us with the above extract, obſerves, that this Nobleman is not the only Peer who has hurt his fortune, and ruined his health, by what the vulgar and the diſſolute abſurdly term *good houſekeeping*. It may be added, that hoſpitality carried to an exceſs was rather the fault of the laſt century than of the preſent. Many of our modern nobility and gentry have found out the means of diſſipating their eſtates, by methods leſs popular and ſplendid.

Our worthy and learned predeceſſor hath ſtretched his candour to the utmoſt, in calling the ſecond Earl of Devonſhire "a great man:" for though his Lordſhip was poſſeſſed of ſome ſhining virtues, there was nothing in his abilities or actions which could entitle him to ſo diſtinguiſhed an appellation.] K.

CAVENDISH (WILLIAM), ſon to the former, and third Earl of Devonſhire of this family. He was at the time of his father's deceaſe, as appears from the inquiſition taken in the Court of Wards, ten years, eight months, and ten days old (*a*); ſo that he muſt have been born November 10, 1617. At the coronation of King Charles I. in February 1625-6, he was made a Knight of the Bath (*b*). As a mark of his Majeſty's regard for the family, the wardſhip of the young Earl of Devonſhire, upon the demiſe of his father, was granted to his mother the Counteſs Dowager (*c*), who was equally careful in the management of the family eſtate, and in providing for the education of the young Lord her ſon. It was with a view to this, that when he had reached the age of thirteen, his mother ſent for Mr. Hobbes from Paris, that ſhe might put him under his care; and, accordingly, after having inſtructed him in the learned languages, and the principles of polite literature at home for about three years, he, in 1643, attended his Lordſhip abroad; and having made the tour of Italy and France, and ſpent ſome time in Paris, his Lordſhip returned to England in 1637 (*d*). At that time, he was eſteemed one of the handſomeſt young Nobleman in his perſon (*e*); and with reſpect to the qualities of his mind, one of the beſt accompliſhed in the kingdom; ſo that ſeveral noble families had him in their eye, and would willingly have drawn him into their alliance by

(*a*) Cole's Eſc. lib. iii. p. 240, in Bibl. Harley.

(*b*) Catalogue of Knights, MS.

(*c*) Pomfret's Life of the Counteſs of Devonſhire, p. 26.

(*d*) Vit. Thomæ Hobbes, p. 41.

(*e*) See Mr. Hobbes's Dedication of Thucydides to this noble Peer, printed in 1628.

by marriage. Amongſt the reſt, the Counteſs of Leiceſter, for the Earl was at that time abroad, was inclined to have matched him with her daughter, the Lady Dorothea Sidney (*f*), whom Mr. Waller has rendered immortal, by the name of Sachariſſa; but however, that deſign did not take effect. When he came of age, his mother delivered up to him all the great houſes in Derbyſhire, compleatly furniſhed; and ſoon after, he married the Lady Elizabeth Cecil, ſecond daughter to William Earl of Saliſbury (*g*). His Lordſhip diſcovered early, as he retained to the laſt, the loyal and virtuous principles of his illuſtrious anceſtors. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Houſe of Lords, by a noble and generous oppoſition to the bill for attainting the Earl of Strafford (*h*), and very ſteadily adhered to the royal cauſe. When the King withdrew into the North, his Lordſhip followed him, and was one of the noble Peers that in June 1642 (*i*), ſubſcribed the famous Declaration at York, which was ſo ill reliſhed at Weſtminſter, that by a reſolution of the Houſe of Lords, bearing date the 20th of July following, himſelf and eight other Peers were deprived of their right to ſit or vote, excluded from all privilege of Parliament, and ordered to ſtand committed to the Tower (*k*). Theſe and other acts did not hinder him from ſupplying the King with all the money in his power, though his horror of the Civil War (*l*) was ſuch, that he choſe to retire out of the kingdom. This receſs, however, gave him little repoſe; for he was thruſt into the number of the delinquents, his great eſtate ſequeſtered, and when, by the mediation of his friends, an ordinance was depending for his compoſition, an order was made October 23, 1645, for his return from beyond the ſeas by a day aſſigned, with which, by the perſuaſion, or rather at the command of his mother, he complied (*m*). He lived, after his return, for the moſt part, at his ſeat called Latimers in Buckinghamſhire, where he was with the Counteſs Dowager, when the army which hurried King Charles from place to place, ſuffered him to reſt for a night or two there, when his Majeſty had much private conſultation with them on the ſtate of his affairs, and at the ſame time expreſſed to them both, the grateful ſenſe he had of the many faithful ſervices they had done him (*n*). The ſuſpicions and dangers of the ſucceeding times, obliged the Earl to maintain a privacy, or rather obſcurity, very little ſuited to the nobleneſs and generoſity of his nature; which, however, contributed very much to the reſtoring his private affairs, and to the making up thoſe breaches in his fortune, which the ſeverities he had formally experienced had produced (*o*). But when better days came on, and the Houſe of Lords was again permitted to ſit, one of the firſt things they did, was, by an order of the 4th of May 1660, to reverſe the judgment formally given againſt him, as has been before mentioned (*p*). It being thought neceſſary, to preſerve the public peace, that a declaration ſhould be made by the Nobility and Gentry that adhered to the Royal cauſe, of their not being implacable, but deſirous of peace and quietneſs, ready to ſubmit to the authority of the approaching Parliament, and willing to bury in oblivion all that was paſſed, as well as all the odious diſtinctions of names and parties, his Lordſhip was the third of twenty Noblemen that ſigned it (*q*). At his Majeſty's return, he was received with all the kindneſs and reſpect due to his long and conſtant ſervices, as well as his great ſufferings; and Auguſt 20, 1660, he was conſtituted Lord Lieutenant of the county of Derby, as a mark of Royal confidence and eſteem; for as to Court preferments, he never ſought, or received them (*r*). He lived moſtly in the country, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf there by his hoſpitality and moderation. He was equally eſteemed by his Prince, and beloved by his fellow-ſubjects; for no man's loyalty was clearer; and yet there was no man more firm to the true principles of liberty, than he (*s*). The religion of the Church of England had not a more ſincere friend; but, at the ſame time, he was an enemy to all perſecution, of which he readily gave teſtimony, when any occaſion fell in his way (*t*). It was his known character, and a character never called in queſtion, that he was a man of as much conſcience and honour, religion and virtue, prudence and goodneſs, as that age afforded; and as he lived, univerſally honoured and beloved, ſo he died, lamented and regretted, not only by his friends and neighbours, but by all who had the leaſt knowledge of, or acquaintance with him, November 23, 1684, at his ſeat at Roehampton in Surry, from whence his body was removed to Derby, and there interred with his anceſtors (*u*). His poſterity are taken notice of in the notes (*w*) [*A*]. As

(*f*) Letters and Memorials of State from the Collections of the Sidney Family, vol. ii. p. 472. 495.

(*g*) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 421.

(*h*) Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family.

(*i*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 215.

(*k*) Collections of Acts of State, &c. p. 375.

(*l*) Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family.

(*m*) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 172. Life of the Counteſs of Devon. p. 46, 47.

(*n*) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 182. Life of the Counteſs of Devon. p. 55.

(*o*) Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family.

(*p*) Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 570, 571, 572.

(*q*) Kennet's Chron. p. 101.

(*r*) Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family.

(*s*) Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 155.

(*t*) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, vol. ii. p. 233.

(*u*) Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 155.

(*w*) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 421.

[*A*] *In the notes.*] His Lordſhip had only two ſons and one daughter. Of his eldeſt ſon William Lord Cavendiſh, who, upon his deceaſe, became Earl of Devonſhire, and afterwards, by creation, Marquis of Hartington, and Duke of Devonſhire, we ſhall ſpeak in a ſubſequent article. His ſecond ſon was the honourable Charles Cavendiſh, Eſq; born October 5, 1655, and was a gentleman of moſt humane and courteous diſpoſition, much addicted to privacy and retirement; and one, whoſe virtues rendered him as much eſteemed and admired, as his high birth gained him reſpect. He died unmarried, March 3, 1670, and was buried in the family vault at Derby (1). His lordſhip's only daughter, Lady Anne Cavendiſh, was twice married, firſt to Charles Lord Rich, ſon to Charles Earl of Warwick (2), of whom, by the way, there is not the leaſt notice taken in the account of that noble family which is given in the peerage; but, on the contrary, his father, Charles Earl of Warwick, is ſaid to have died without iſſue by his Counteſs, Mary, daughter to the firſt Earl of Cork (3). Her ſecond huſband was John Earl of Exeter, whom ſhe attended in two journies to Rome, and was with him at the village of Iſſy near Paris, where he died, in his return home, Auguſt 29, 1700 (4). It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that ſhe lies buried with her Lord in a vault

(1) Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family.

(2) Collins's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 143.

(3) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 388.

(4) Collins's Peerage, *ubi ſup.*

As for his Counteſs, ſhe ſurvived him five years; and dying November 16, 1689, was on the 21ſt of the ſame month, interred in a vault under the eaſt window of King Henry VIIth's Chapel in Weſtminſter-Abbey (*x*), with great funeral ſolemnity.

(*x*) Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 148.

a vault in St. Martin's Church in Stamford, under a tomb made by the Earl's expreſs directions at Rome, by many ſuppoſed to be the moſt elegant in this kingdom; of which the reader may find a very particular deſcription in the book referred to in the margin (5). And the following character is given of her in the inſcription placed thereon, for preſerving the memory of her Lord, *viz.* 'He had for wife, and the companion 'of his virtues and travels, and, in a manner, of his 'ſtudies, Anne, of the right noble houſe of Cavendiſh, 'daughter of William Earl of Devon; for the beauty 'of her body, ingenuity of her mind, and all thoſe ac- 'compliſhments which can any ways adorn a lady 'famous; of whom he begat five children; happy in 'his ſpouſe; and happy in his offspring! But, among 'all the things which make life more bleſſed, being 'ever mindful of mortality, when he was in Italy, 'whilſt he thoroughly examined, and as curiouſly col- 'lected, the works of choiceſt art, there he cauſed this 'monument to be made, where it could be moſt ex- 'quiſitely done, for himſelf, and the moſt dear conſort 'of his bed and travels, and of all his cares (6).' She deceaſed (7) July 18, 1703. C.

(5) Peck's Antiquarian Annals of Stamford, lib. xiv. p. 71.

(6) *Ibid.* p. 74.

(7) Le Neve's Mon. Angl. p. 2.

CAVENDISH (WILLIAM), Baron Ogle, Viſcount Mansfield, Earl, Marquis, and Duke of Newcaſtle, one of the moſt accompliſhed perſons, as well as one of the moſt able Generals, and moſt diſtinguiſhed patriots of the age. He was ſon of Sir Charles Cavendiſh, youngeſt ſon of Sir William Cavendiſh, and younger brother of the firſt Earl of Devonſhire, by Catherine, daughter of Cuthbert, Lord Ogle (*a*). He was born in the year 1592 (*b*), and diſcovering, even in his infancy, the ſtrongeſt marks of an extraordinary genius, his father was extreamly careful in the cultivation of it, and took all imaginable pains to have him inſtructed, as well in ſciences as in languages; ſo that at an age when moſt young gentlemen are but entering on knowledge, he might be truly ſaid to have acquired a large ſtock of ſolid learning, which was adorned with an eaſy and polite behaviour, that, excepting on proper occaſions, entirely concealed the ſcholar under the more taking appearance of the fine gentleman (*c*). It was in this light that he appeared and was taken notice of at the Court of King James I. where he was quickly diſtinguiſhed by the King's favour; and in 1610, was made Knight of the Bath, at the creation of Henry, Prince of Wales (*d*). In 1617, his father died, by which he came to the poſſeſſion of a very large eſtate; and having a great intereſt at Court, he was, by letters-patents, dated November 3, 1620, raiſed to the dignity of a Peer of the Realm, by the ſtile and title of Baron Ogle and (*e*) Viſcount Mansfield; and having no leſs credit with King Charles I. than with his father King James, was, in the third year of the reign of that Prince, advanced to the higher title of Earl of Newcaſtle upon Tyne, and at the ſame time he was created Baron Cavendiſh of Boleſover (*f*). Our Genealogiſts and Antiquaries give us but a very obſcure account of theſe honours, or at leaſt, of the Barony of Ogle, to which, in the inſcription upon his own and his grandmother the Counteſs of Shrewſbury's tomb, he is ſaid to have ſucceeded in right of his mother (*g*), a point, which ſhall be explained in the notes [*A*]. His attendance on the Court, though it procured him honour, brought him very early into difficulties; and there is ſome reaſon to believe, that he did not ſtand extremely well with the great Duke of Buckingham, who perhaps was apprehenſive of the large ſhare he had in his Maſter's favour (*h*). However, he did not ſuffer, even by that powerful favourite's diſpleaſure, but remained in full credit with his Maſter; which was, notwithſtanding, ſo far from being beneficial to him, that the ſervices expected from him, and his conſtant waiting upon the King (*i*), plunged him very deeply in debt, though he had a very large eſtate, of which we find him complaining heavily in his letters, to his firm and ſteady friend, the Lord Viſcount Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford (*k*). But theſe difficulties, though they ſometimes put him upon thoughts of retirement, never in the leaſt diſcouraged him from doing his duty, or from teſtifying his zeal and loyalty, when the King's ſervice required it. This conduct, though it does not ſeem to have recommended him much to the great Miniſters, yet maintained him ſo effectually in his

(*a*) Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 421.

(*b*) As appears from the inſcription upon his monument in Weſtminſter-Abbey.

(*c*) Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family.

(*d*) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 421.

(*e*) Pat. 18 Jac. I. p. 13.

(*f*) Pat. 3 Car. I. p. 11.

(*g*) See this inſcription in Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 420.

(*h*) Strafford's Letters, vol. i. p. 43.

(*i*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 26.

(*k*) Strafford's Letters, vol. i. p. 101.

[*A*] *Shall be explained in the notes.*] Sir Charles Cavendiſh, this Nobleman's father, married Catherine, the younger daughter of Cuthbert Lord Ogle, her elder ſiſter Jane being married to Edward Earl of Shrewſbury; and during the life-time of that Lady, who was this Nobleman's aunt, as well as during the life-time of his mother, he was raiſed to the rank of a Peer, by the title of Baron Ogle and Viſcount Mansfield, by letters Patent dated the third of November in the 18th year of James I (1). It is true, that his Dutcheſs tells us, he was created Baron of Boleſover and Viſcount Mansfield; but in that ſhe appears to be miſtaken; nor is it the only point of the kind in which there are miſtakes in her book (2). King Charles I. by letters Patents dated the ſeventh of March in the third year of his reign, created him Baron of Boleſover, and, at the ſame time, Earl of Newcaſtle, as is ſet forth in the text. But the year following, his mother's elder ſiſter Jane, Counteſs of Shrewſbury, dying without iſſue, the King was graciouſly pleaſed, by letters Patents dated the fourth of December, to declare Dame Catherine Cavendiſh, Baroneſs of Ogle; and to confirm that title to her and her heirs general (3). This ſhews why the Earl of Newcaſtle choſe to have a new Barony created by Patent, and how he comes to be ſtiled Baron of Ogle, in right of his mother: for it ſeems, that he waved any right that he might have to that Barony by his firſt creation; that he might take it by deſcent, as an old Barony in fee, as he did upon his mother's deceaſe, by which he likewiſe came to the poſſeſſion of the family eſtate of Ogle, which was worth three thouſand pounds a year, beſides a perſonal eſtate of twenty thouſand pounds, that his mother left him (4).

(1) Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 421.

(2) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 137.

(3) Dugd. Baron. vol. ii. p. 264.

(4) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 94. 98.

Maſter's good opinion, that when, in 1638, it was thought requiſite to take the Prince of Wales, afterwards King Charles II. out of the hands of the women, the King, of his own motive, made choice of the Earl of Newcaſtle, as the perſon in his kingdom moſt fit to have the tuition of his heir-apparent; and accordingly declared him Governor to the Prince, which was certainly as high an act of confidence as a Sovereign could place in a ſubject (*l*). In the ſpring of the year 1639, the firſt troubles in Scotland broke out, which induced the King to aſſemble an army in the North; ſoon after which, he went down thither to put himſelf at the head of it; and in his way, was moſt ſplendidly entertained by the Earl of Newcaſtle, at his noble ſeat of Welbeck, as he had been ſome years before when he went into that kingdom to be crowned; which though in itſelf a very trivial matter, yet ſuch was the magnificence of this noble Peer, that, from the circumſtances attending them, both theſe entertainments have found a place in General Hiſtories (*m*) [*B*]. But this was not the only manner in which he expreſſed his warm affection for his Maſter. Such expeditions require great expences, and the King's treaſury was but indifferently provided, for the ſupply of which, the Earl contributed ten thouſand pounds (*n*), and alſo raiſed a troop of horſe, conſiſting of about two hundred Knights and Gentlemen, who ſerved at their own charge; and this was honoured with the title of the Prince's troop (*o*). As much as theſe ſervices might recommend him to the King, they rather heightened than leſſened that envy borne to him by ſome great perſons about the Court, of which the Earl of Holland, having given a ſtronger inſtance than his Lordſhip's patience could bear, he took notice of it in ſuch a manner as contributed equally to ſink his rival's reputation, and to raiſe his own (*p*) [*C*]. The choice that had been made of his Lordſhip for the tuition of the Prince, which was at firſt ſo univerſally approved, began now to be called in queſtion by thoſe who meant very ſoon to call every thing in queſtion; but the Earl was no ſooner informed of it, than he very prudently reſolved to do all that was in his power to prevent the King's having any trouble upon his account, and therefore deſired to reſign his office, which he did; and in June 1640 (*q*), it was given to the Marquis of Hertford. As his Lordſhip took this ſtep from the knowledge he had of the ill-will borne him by the chief perſons amongſt the diſaffected, ſo he thought he could not take a better me-

(*l*) Dugd. Baron. vol. ii. p. 421.

(*m*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 26. Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collect. vol. i. p. 178. 283.

(*n*) Life of William Duke of Newcaſtle, by his Ducheſs, p. 7.

(*o*) Ruſhworth's Collections, vol. i. p. 929.

(*p*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 42. Ruſhworth's Collections, vol. i. p. 930.

(*q*) Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 46.

[*B*] *Theſe entertainments have found a place in General Hiſtories.*] The firſt of theſe royal dinners ſeems to have been a thing of mere accident. His Majeſty was going down to Scotland to be crowned, and in his way came to Workſop manor in Nottinghamſhire, which being but two miles from his Lordſhip's houſe at Welbeck in the ſame county, he intreated his Majeſty's viſit to his houſe, and doing him the honour of dining there; which being accepted, he was entertained with ſuch magnificence, that we are told it coſt him between four and five thouſand pounds (5). As to the ſecond of theſe entertainments, there is ſome doubt about it; for we are told very poſitively, that it was given at the time the King marched againſt the rebels in Scotland (6); but in the account his Dutcheſs has given of his life, ſhe is very particular, and fixes it earlier by ſeveral years. For having given an account of the firſt, ſhe ſays (7), 'That the 'King liked it ſo well, that a year after his return out 'of Scotland, he was pleaſed to ſend my Lord word, 'that her Majeſty the Queen was reſolved to make a 'progreſs into the Northern parts, deſiring him to 'prepare the like entertainment for her as he had 'formerly done for him: which my Lord did, and 'endeavoured for it with all poſſible care and induſtry, 'ſparing nothing that might add ſplendour to that 'feaſt, which both their Majeſties were pleaſed to honour with their preſence. Ben Jonſon he employed in fitting ſuch ſcenes and ſpeeches as he could beſt deviſe, and ſent for all the gentry of the country to come and wait on their Majeſties; and, in ſhort, did all that ever he could imagine to render it great and worthy their Royal acceptance. This entertainment he made at Boleſover-caſtle in Derbyſhire, ſome five miles diſtant from Welbeck, and reſigned Welbeck for their Majeſty's lodging. It coſt him in all between fourteen and fifteen thouſand pounds. Beſides theſe two, there was another ſmall entertainment, which my Lord had prepared for his late Majeſty in his own park at Welbeck, when his Majeſty came down with his two nephews, the now Prince Elector Palatine, and his brother Prince Rupert, into the foreſt of Sherwood, which coſt him fifteen hundred pounds. 'And this I mention, not out of a vain glory, but to declare the great love and duty my Lord had for his gracious King and Queen, and to correct the miſtakes committed by ſome Hiſtorians, who not being 'rightly informed of thoſe entertainments, make the 'world believe falſhood for truth.' The noble Hiſtorian alſo takes up this matter in very ſtrong terms, for he repreſents the frequent banquets and feaſtings the King met with on his road to Scotland in 1633, as very detrimental to the manners of the nation; and having taken notice of the entertainment given by the Earl of Newcaſtle on that occaſion, he ſubjoins immediately this very extraordinary remark (8). 'But 'when he paſſed through Nottinghamſhire, both King 'and Court were received and entertained by the Earl 'of Newcaſtle, and at his own proper expence, in ſuch 'a wonderful manner, and in ſuch an exceſs of feaſting, 'as had ſcarce ever before been known in England, 'and would be ſtill thought very prodigious, if the 'ſame noble perſon had not within a year or two after-'wards made the King and Queen a more ſtupendious 'entertainment, which (God be thanked) though poſſi-'bly it might too much whet the appetite of others 'to exceſs, no man ever after in thoſe days imitated.'

(5) Ruſhworth's Collections, vol. ii. P. ii. p. 283.

(6) Hiſtory of the Civil War, p. 157.

(7) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 139.

(8) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 26.

[*C*] *To ſink his rival's reputation, and to raiſe his own.*] The troop which the Earl of Newcaſtle raiſed, was compoſed of about two hundred gentlemen, ſome poſſeſſed of two thouſand pounds a year, ſome of one, and many of five hundred. This troop was ſtiled the Prince's, but the Earl commanded it as Captain (9), and when the army drew near Berwick, he ſent Sir William Carnaby to the Earl of Holland, then General of the Horſe, to know where his troop ſhould march. His anſwer was next after the troops of the general officers. The Earl of Newcaſtle ſent again to repreſent, that having the honour to march with the Prince's colours, he thought it not fit to march under any of the officers of the field (10); upon which the General of the Horſe repeated his orders, and the Earl of Newcaſtle ordered the Prince's colours to be taken from the ſtaff, and marched without any. When the ſervice was over, the Earl ſent Mr. Francis Palmes with a challenge to the Earl of Holland, who conſented to a place and hour of meeting; but when the Earl of Newcaſtle came thither, he found not his adverſary but his ſecond; the buſineſs having been diſcloſed to the King, by whoſe authority, ſays Clarendon, the matter was compoſed; but before that time, the Earl of Holland was never ſuſpected to want courage.

(9) Ruſhworth's Collections, vol. ii. P. ii. p. 929.

(10) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 8.

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thod to avoid the effects of their reſentment, than to retire into the country; which accordingly he did, and remained there quietly till he received his Majeſty's orders to viſit Hull; and though theſe came at twelve o'clock at night, his Lordſhip went immediately thither, though forty miles diſtant, and entered the place with only two or three ſervants, early the next morning (*r*). He offered his Majeſty to have ſecured for him that important fortreſs, and all the magazines that were there: but inſtead of receiving ſuch a command as he expected, his Majeſty ſent him inſtructions to obey whatever directions were ſent him by the Parliament; upon the heels of which, came their order for him to attend the ſervice of the Houſe; which he accordingly did, when a deſign was formed to have attacked him, but his general character was ſo good, that this ſcheme was let fall (*s*). The Earl of Newcaſtle upon this, retired again into the country, having little pleaſure in being at Court, where all things were viſibly tending to confuſion. He did not long, however, enjoy the repoſe he ſo earneſtly ſought; for upon the King's coming to York, his Lordſhip was ſent for thither; and in June 1642, his Majeſty gave him directions to take upon him the care of the town of Newcaſtle, and the command of the four adjacent counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Weſtmoreland, and Durham. Theſe orders were eaſily iſſued, but they were not ſo eaſily to be carried into execution; for at this time, the King had not either money, forces, or ammunition; and yet there never was more apparent neceſſity, for at that juncture his Majeſty had not a ſingle port open in his dominions; and if either the order had been delayed a few days, or had been ſent to any other perſon, the deſign had certainly miſcarried (*t*). But, as ſoon as he received his Majeſty's commands, he repaired immediately to the place, and by his own intereſt there ſecured it: he raiſed alſo a troop of one hundred and twenty horſe, and a good regiment of foot, which ſecured him from any ſudden attempts (*u*). Soon after, the Queen who was retired out of the kingdom, ſent a ſupply of arms and ammunition, which being deſigned for the troops under the King's command, the Earl took care they ſhould be ſpeedily and ſafely conducted to his Majeſty under the eſcort of his only troop, which his Majeſty kept, to the great prejudice of his own affairs in the North (*w*). The Parliament, in the mean time, had not forgotten the Earl's behaviour towards them, but as a mark of their reſentment excepted him by name; which was ſo far from diſcouraging, that it put his Lordſhip upon taking briſker meaſures; and having well conſidered his own influence in thoſe parts, he offered to raiſe an army in the North, for his Majeſty's ſervice (*x*). In return to this, he received all that was in the King's power to give, which was a commiſſion, conſtituting him General of all the forces raiſed North of Trent; and likewiſe General and Commander in Chief of ſuch as might be raiſed in the counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, Lancaſter, Cheſter, Leiceſter, Rutland, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Eſſex; with power to confer the honour of Knighthood, coin money, and to print and ſet forth ſuch Declarations as ſhould ſeem to him expedient; of all which extenſive powers, though freely conferred, and without reſerve, his Lordſhip made a very ſparing uſe (*y*). But with reſpect to the more material point of raiſing men, his Lordſhip proſecuted it with ſuch diligence, that in leſs than three months, he had an army of eight thouſand horſe, foot, and dragoons, with which he marched directly into Yorkſhire; and his forces having defeated the enemy at Peirce-Bridge, his Lordſhip advanced to York, where Sir Thomas Glenham, the Governor, preſented him with the keys, and the Earl of Cumberland and many of the Nobility reſorted thither to compliment and to aſſiſt his Lordſhip (*z*). He did not long remain there; but having placed a good garriſon in the city, marched on towards Tadcaſter, where the Parliament forces were very advantageouſly poſted (*a*). The deſign which the Earl had formed, not only for reducing that place, but for making the troops that were there priſoners, failed, through the want of diligence in ſome of his officers; but notwithſtanding this, his Lordſhip attacked the place ſo vigorouſly, that the enemy thought fit to retire, and leave him in poſſeſſion of the beſt part of Yorkſhire (*b*). This advantage he improved to the utmoſt, by eſtabliſhing garriſons in proper places, particularly at Newark upon Trent, by which the greateſt part of Nottinghamſhire, and ſome part of Lincolnſhire, were kept in obedience (*c*). Thus ended the year 1642, when the King's affairs, under the direction of this noble Peer in the North, were in a fair and flouriſhing condition (*d*). In the beginning of 1643, his Lordſhip gave orders for a great convoy of ammunition to be removed from Newcaſtle to York, under the eſcort of a body of horſe, commanded by Lieutenant-General King, a Scotch officer, whom his Majeſty had lately created Lord Ethyn (*e*). The Parliament forces attempted to intercept this convoy at Yarum-Bridge, but were beaten on the firſt of February, with a great loſs (*f*). Soon after this, her Majeſty landing at Burlington, the Earl drew his forces that way to cover her journey to York, where ſhe ſafely arrived on the ſeventh of March (*g*), and having preſſing occaſions for money, his Lordſhip preſented her with three thouſand pounds, and furniſhed an eſcort of fifteen hundred men, under the command of Lord Percy, to conduct a ſupply of arms and ammunition to the King at Oxford, where he kept them for his own ſervice (*h*). Not long after, Sir Hugh Cholmondley and Captain Brown Buſhel were prevailed upon to return to

(*r*) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 8, 9.

(*s*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 167.

(*t*) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 12, 13. Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 223.

(*u*) Hiſtory of the Civil War, p. 97.

(*w*) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 117.

(*x*) Dugd. Baron. vol. ii. p. 421.

(*y*) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 15.

(*z*) Clare don's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 283.

(*a*) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, l. iii. p. 61.

(*b*) Watwick's Memoirs, p. 236

(*c*) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 22.

(*d*) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, l. iii. p. 61.

(*e*) Heath's Chr. p. 43.

(*f*) Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 20.

(*g*) Heath's Chron. p. 43.

(*h*) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 24.

their duty, and give up the important port and caſtle of Scarborough (*i*). This was followed by the routing Ferdinando Lord Fairfax on Seacroft, or as ſome call it Bramham-Moor, by Lord George Goring, then General of the Horſe under the Earl, when about eight hundred of the enemy were taken priſoners (*k*); and this again made way for another victory gained on Tankerſly-Moor (*l*). In the month of April, the Earl marched to reduce Rotheram, which he took by ſtorm, and ſoon after Sheffield (*m*); but in the mean time, Lord Goring and Sir Francis Mackworth were ſurprized, on the 21ſt of May, at Wakefield, where the former and moſt of his men were made priſoners, which was a great prejudice to the ſervice (*n*). In the ſame month, her Majeſty went from York to Pomfret under the eſcort of the Earl's forces; and from thence ſhe continued her journey to Oxford, with a body of ſeven thouſand horſe, foot, and dragoons, detached for that ſervice by the Earl; and thoſe forces, likewiſe, the King kept about him (*o*). In the month of June, the Earl reduced Howly-houſe by ſtorm; and on the thirtieth, gained a compleat victory over Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, though much ſuperior to him in numbers, on Adderton-Heath, near Bradford, where the enemy had ſeven hundred men killed, and three thouſand taken priſoners (*p*); and on the ſecond of July following, Bradford ſurrendered (*q*). The Earl advanced next into Lincolnſhire, where he took Gainſborough and Lincoln; but was then recalled by the preſſing ſolicitations of the gentlemen of Yorkſhire into that country, where Beverley ſurrendered to him on the twenty-eighth of Auguſt (*r*), and in the next month, his Lordſhip was prevailed on to beſiege Hull, the only place of conſequence then held for the Parliament in thoſe parts. Notwithſtanding theſe important ſucceſſes obtained by an army raiſed, and in a great meaſure kept up by his Lordſhip's perſonal influence and expence, there have not been wanting cenſures upon his conduct (*s*) [*D*]; of which, however, his Majeſty had ſo juſt a ſenſe, that by letters-patents dated the twenty-ſeventh of October, he advanced him to the dignity of Marquis of Newcaſtle; and in the preamble of his patent, all his ſervices are mentioned with ſuitable encomiums (*t*). That winter the Earl marched into Derbyſhire, and from thence to his own houſe at Welbeck in Not-

(*i*) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, l. iii. p. 63, 64.

(*k*) Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 20.

(*l*) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 25.

(*m*) Hiſt. of the Civil War, p. 355.

(*n*) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, l. iii. p. 67.

(*o*) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 27.

(*p*) May's Hiſt. of the Parliament, l. iii. p. 68. Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 22.

(*q*) Heath's Chr. p. 27.

(*r*) Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 23.

(*s*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 237. 245.

(*t*) Dugd. Baron. vol. ii. p. 421.

[*D*] *There have not been wanting cenſures upon his conduct.*] In ſuch diſtracted times as theſe, when through private intrigues at Court, and the more open ſtruggle of civil and religious factions in the nation, all things were thrown into confuſion, it was no wonder, that let a man's character be what it would, he ſhould be liable, either to groundleſs calumnies or to unjuſt reprehenſions. It is ſaid of this noble Peer (11), that he was a perſon who liked the title, power, ſplendour, attendance, and pomp, of a General and Commander in Chief: that he affected to render his army numerous by increaſing the regiments, companies, and troops, of which it conſiſted, rather than by keeping a ſmaller number, and thoſe ſubſtantial, which had been more advantageous for the ſervice, as it would have been, if his garriſons had been fewer and ſtronger; that he was always jealous of his command, and equally afraid of it's being ſuperſeded or divided; which made him unwilling to march ſouthward on any condition, and hindered him from joining the King, that his glory might not be eclipſed by that of Prince Rupert; that he not only maintained but affected to ſhow his abſolute independance upon the Miniſters and Privy-Council at Oxford, by following entirely his own conceptions, and treating their commands with an indifference bordering on contempt; in fine, that there was ſomewhat romantic in his ſpirit, as appeared from his writings, his converſation, and the company he kept; that his courage was of the razor kind, and bore too thin and ſharp an edge; and that, upon the whole, he was a very fortunate General, but either through indolence or want of ſkill did not make the moſt of his good fortune. Theſe, ſo far as I can judge, are the principal ſtrokes of cenſure that have fallen upon this Nobleman's conduct; and after mentioning them, it ſeems to be a point of equity, to give the reader alſo ſome account of what the very ſame writers admit to have been fairly offered in his excuſe, or rather in his juſtification. It is then allowed, that the noble perſon of whom we are ſpeaking, was ſo far from ſeeking preferments, places, or power, that he declined all, and had retired into the country when the war broke out; and that he was drawn from this retirement by the reſpect that he thought due to his Maſter's poſitive commands, who ſent him an extenſive commiſſion without his ſeeking it; and from theſe two weighty motives, firſt, that without a Commander in Chief acting by ſuch a commiſſion, the North could not be preſerved; and ſecondly, that he had no ſubject in his dominions to whom this commiſſion could be given, but this noble Lord to whom it was ſent: That as he quitted his ſecurity, eaſe, and wonted courſe of life, and expoſed his perſon, ruined his fortune, and engaged his family and friends from the mere principles of loyalty; ſo his own noble diſpoſition led him to believe, that ſuch as profeſſed the ſame ſentiments that he did, would exert themſelves in the ſame manner, which induced him to multiply corps, and to give out ſo many commiſſions; and though the conſequence of this conduct might ſpeak it impolitic, yet, his Lordſhip's condition conſidered, it was not at all imprudent: for if thoſe whom he truſted had fulfilled their engagements, all had gone well; and conſidering the quality of the perſons truſted, and their capacity of diſcharging their truſts, and the intereſt they had in diſcharging them, the errors they committed were ſuch as he could not foreſee, and for which therefore he ought not to be brought to account: That as the army he commanded was entirely of his own raiſing, kept together chiefly by his influence, and not eaſy to be maintained in any quarters but thoſe which he aſſigned them, it was very natural for him, more eſpecially conſidering how neceſſary that army was to the defence of the North, to act as he did. We ought likewiſe to conſider, that when he ſent his only troop of horſe to Oxford, it was kept there; when he ſent an eſcort of fifteen hundred men, they were likewiſe kept; as the army alſo was, which was ſent to conduct the Queen with a train of artillery; ſo that he could not be ſaid with truth to act upon a narrow plan; and perhaps it might be ſaid with truth, that if he had kept the laſt-mentioned body, it had been better both for himſelf and the King. That the Miniſters at Oxford were very far from giving the King right advice, is generally allowed; that the orders ſent to this Nobleman were inconſiſtent with the King's ſervice in thoſe parts where his Lordſhip acted, may be preſumed; and therefore, that he did not hurt his Majeſty's ſervice by obeying them, ought not to be eſteemed a crime. Laſtly, as to his courage, it is fairly allowed, that upon ſeveral occaſions, when all things ſeemed to be loſt, they were retrieved by his ſignally expoſing his perſon, and engaging others to imitate his example; and though this may be called romantic, by perſons of a more phlegmatic temper, yet ſuch as conſider it attentively will hardly be brought to account it raſhneſs.

(11) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 403. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 235, 236. 243, 244, 245. Sir Richard Bulſtrode's Memoirs, p. 102. May's Hiſt. of the Parliament of Engl. l. iii. c. 4. Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, by his Ducheſs, p. 117. 120.

tinghamſhire,

tinghamſhire, where he received the news of the Scots intending to enter England, which brought him back into Yorkſhire, from whence he ſent Sir Thomas Glenham to Newcaſtle, and himſelf for ſome time ſucceſsfully oppoſed the Scots in the Biſhoprick of Durham (*u*): but the forces he left behind under the command of Lord Bellaſis at Selby, being routed (*w*), the Marquis found himſelf obliged to retire, in order, if poſſible to preſerve York; and this he did with ſo much military prudence, that he arrived there ſafely in the month of April 1644, and retaining his infantry and artillery in that city, ſent his horſe to quarter in Derbyſhire, Nottinghamſhire, and Leiceſterſhire, for the ſake of ſubſiſtence (*x*). The city was very ſoon blocked up by three armies, who quickly commenced a regular ſiege, and were once very near taking the place by ſtorm; and at laſt, having lain before it three months, brought the garriſon into great diſtreſs for want of proviſion; and if the Marquis had not very early had recourſe to a ſettled and reaſonable, but withal a ſlender and a ſhort allowance, had infallibly reduced it by famine (*y*). For though Sir Charles Lucas, who commanded the Marquis's horſe, importuned the King for relief, yet it was the latter end of June before his Majeſty could ſend a ſufficient body, under the command of Prince Rupert, to join Sir Charles Lucas, and attempt the forcing the enemy to raiſe the ſiege; which, however, upon their approach, they did, remaining on the weſt ſide of the Owſe, with all their forces, while the King's army advanced on the eaſt ſide of the ſame river (*z*). By this quick and vigorous march, Prince Rupert had done his buſineſs; but, as is very well obſerved by a moſt judicious Hiſtorian of theſe times, he would needs overdo it; and not content with the honour of raiſing the ſiege of York by a confederate army much ſuperior to his own, he was bent upon having the honour to beat that army alſo; and this brought on the fatal battle of Heſſom, or, as it is more generally called, Marſton-Moor (*a*), which was fought July 2, 1644, againſt the conſent of the Marquis of Newcaſtle, who ſeeing the King's affairs totally undone thereby, made the beſt of his way to Scarborough, and from thence, with a few of the principal officers of his army, took ſhipping for Hamburgh (*b*). Thus the King's concerns in the North, that had proſpered ſo well under the prudent conduct of the Marquis, were ruined in a day by an unaccountable fatality, which ſome aſcribe to a ſlip of the Secretary's pen, and others, with greater appearance of truth, to the raſhneſs of Prince Rupert (*c*) [*E*]. After ſtaying about ſix months at Hamburgh, he went by ſea to Amſterdam, and from thence made a journey

(*u*) Heath's Chr. p. 53.

(*w*) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 43.

(*x*) Heath's Chron. p. 58.

(*y*) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 45.

(*z*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 58.

(*a*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 279.

(*b*) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 51.

(*c*) See this point explained in the note.

[*E*] *To the raſhneſs of Prince Rupert.*] The accounts we have of this battle from ſeveral authors are in many reſpects irreconcileable, and ſome of their principal circumſtances contradictory to each other. We have not either room or leiſure to treat the matter at large, and ſhall therefore content ourſelves with repreſenting clearly thoſe circumſtances that regard the Marquis. He had thrown himſelf into York, and thereby hazarded his perſon for the preſervation of that important place; and did preſerve it by taking this ſtep, though beſieged by three great armies, and thoſe commanded by Generals of great reputation, *viz.* the Scots under Leſley, the Northern army under Fairfax, and the forces of the aſſociated counties under Mancheſter, ſeconded by Cromwell (12). When aſſiſtance from the King was ſolicited by the Marquis of Newcaſtle, he was ſo far from having any diſguſt to the perſon of Prince Rupert, that the noble Hiſtorian tells us, he wrote to the King that he hoped his Majeſty would not doubt his obeying the grandſon of King James (13). When the city was relieved, Lord Clarendon tells us, that the Prince engaged the enemy without conſulting the Marquis; but there is good reaſon to ſuſpect, that he was miſinformed. We are elſe where told (14), that the Marquis repaired to the Prince and adviſed him not to fight, for two reaſons, each of them ſo weighty, that, conſidered ſingly, they might have juſtified his Highneſs's taking that Lord's advice. The firſt was, that if he did not attempt beating the enemy into good humour with each other, they would infallibly break and retire ſeveral ways; the miſunderſtandings between their Generals being come to ſuch a height, that nothing could ſave them from ruin but a battle. The ſecond was, that his own troops having been ſo long ſhut up, were not in the beſt order for fighting; that within two days he expected Colonel Clavering with a reinforcement of three thouſand men, and two thouſand more that were to be collected from other garriſons; and farther ſtill, that the enemy had all advantages of ſun, wind, and ground. His Highneſs anſwered, that he had the King's poſitive command to fight the enemy, which therefore he would obey. In conſequence of this, there was ſome diſcourſe had with other officers as to the order and diſpoſition of the army. When theſe were adjuſted, the Marquis aſked his Highneſs where he would be pleaſed to have him charge; to which the Prince returned, that it was then too late to think of action, and that he would delay fighting till next morning, for which reaſon he adviſed the Marquis to go to his reſt. He went accordingly to ſleep in his coach, being exceedingly fatigued; but he had hardly compoſed himſelf a little, before he heard the thunder of cannon and ſmall arms, the battle being begun, ſo that he had only time to put himſelf at the head of his own regiment, where it is agreed, that both he and his troops did wonders. Prince Rupert charged at the head of the left wing, where Newcaſtle's horſe were under the command of Lord Goring; and they beat the Scots and Lord Fairfax's horſe, and purſued them ten miles (15); but in the mean time, Prince Rupert's horſe that were on the right of the King's army were beaten, and the Marquis's foot being thus uncovered, Cromwell with his reſerve came down upon them, and though they ſtood like a wall, yet they were mowed down like a meadow, as my author has it (16). At laſt, the Marquis's foot threw themſelves into a ring, and diſclaiming all thoughts of ſafety, refuſed quarter, and having ſlain more than had fallen in the whole action beſide, were themſelves to a man deſtroyed (17). The noble Hiſtorian (18) ſeems to blame the Marquis for quitting the kingdom ſo precipitately; but it is to be obſerved, that he, or rather the Prince, had loſt for him not a battle only but his army; for the Prince kept his horſe, and all the foot were cut off. The enemies Generals were pretty well reconciled by the victory, which put them in poſſeſſion of the open country, and ſoon after of the city of York. The Marquis's money was entirely exhauſted, and the only thing he had in his power, was to eſcape with the Lord Ethyn, Lord Falconbridge, Sir Hugh Cholmondley, and others of his friends, whoſe circumſtances, had they been taken, would have been as deſperate as his own (19). It ſeems, therefore, that what the Marquis did was purely from neceſſity, and no man in a ſhipwreck was ever yet blamed for ſecuring himſelf upon the firſt plank.

(12) Hiſt. of the Civil Wars of Great-Britain and Ireland, p. 121. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 278. Heath's Chron. p. 58, 59. Sir Richard Bulſtrode's Memoirs, p. 101, 102.

(13) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 404.

(14) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, by his Ducheſs, p. 46, 47, 48.

(15) Hiſt. of the Civil Wars of Great-Britain and Ireland, p. 121. Heath's Chron. p. 58. Bulſtrode's Memoirs, p. 101, 102.

(16) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 280.

(17) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 49. Heath's Chron. p. 61.

(18) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 402, 403, 404.

(19) Heath's Chron. p. 61. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 120. Bulſtrode's Memoirs, p. 102.

to Paris, where he continued for ſome time; and where, notwithſtanding the vaſt eſtate he had when the Civil War broke out, his circumſtances were now ſo bad, that himſelf, and his young wife, were reduced to the pawning their cloaths for a dinner (*d*). He removed afterwards to Antwerp, that he might be nearer his own country; and there, though under very great difficulties, he reſided for ſeveral years; while the Parliament in the mean time levied prodigious ſums upon his eſtate, inſomuch, that the computation of what he loſt by the diſorders of thoſe times, though none of the particulars can be diſproved, amount in the whole to a ſum that is almoſt incredible (*e*) [*F*]. All theſe hardſhips and misfortunes never broke his ſpirit in the leaſt, which was chiefly owing to his great foreſight; for as he plainly perceived after the battle of Marſton-Moor, that the affairs of Charles I. were irrecoverably undone, ſo he diſcerned through the thickeſt clouds of King Charles IId's adverſity, that he would be infallibly reſtored (*f*): and as he had predicted the Civil War to the father before it began, ſo he gave the ſtrongeſt aſſurance to the ſon of his being called home, by addreſſing to him a treatiſe upon Government and the Intereſts of Great-Britain, with reſpect to the other powers of Europe; which he wrote at a time, when the hopes of thoſe about his Majeſty ſcarcely roſe ſo high as the Marquis's expectations (*g*). During this long exile of eighteen years, in which he ſuffered ſo many and ſo great hardſhips, this worthy Nobleman wanted not ſome conſolations, that were particularly ſuch to one of his high and generous ſpirit. He was, notwithſtanding his low and diſtreſſed circumſtances, treated with the higheſt reſpect, and with the moſt extraordinary marks of diſtinction, by the perſons entruſted with the government of the countries where he reſided (*h*). He received the high compliment, of having the keys of the cities he paſſed through in the Spaniſh dominions offered him: he was viſited by Don John of Auſtria, and by ſeveral Princes of Germany (*i*). But what comforted him moſt, was the company very frequently of his royal Maſter, who, in the midſt of his ſufferings, beſtowed upon him the moſt noble Order of the Garter (*k*). At length, this dark period came to an end; and as he ſhared in the exile, ſo he ſhared in the bleſſings of his Majeſty's Reſtoration (*l*). On his return to England, he was received with all the reſpect due to his unſhaken fidelity and important ſervices; and, as a mark of the royal favour, was conſtituted Chief Juſtice in Eyre of the counties north of Trent (*m*); and, by letters-patents dated the ſixteenth of March 1664, was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Ogle, and Duke of Newcaſtle (*n*). He ſpent the remainder of his life, for the moſt part, in a country retirement, and in the purſuit of thoſe ſtudies which he moſt affected [*G*]. He alſo employed a great part of

(*d*) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 56.

(*e*) Lloyd's Memoirs of the Sufferers for King Charles I. p. 672.

(*f*) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 83.

(*g*) *Ibid.* p. 135.

(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 79.

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 59. 79.

(*k*) Aſhmole's Order of the Garter, p. 717.

(*l*) Kennet's Chron. p. 850.

(*m*) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 138.

(*n*) Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 421.

[*F*] *To a ſum that is almoſt incredible.*] When one conſiders, that this noble perſon was the ſon of Sir William Cavendiſh's youngeſt ſon, and therefore inherited from his grandfather ſuch an eſtabliſhment only, as out of his fortune he could make for one child out of many, it will appear ſtrange, and yet it is certainly true, that at the breaking out of the Civil War, the Earl of Newcaſtle had one of the beſt eſtates in England (20). His grandmother, the Counteſs of Shrewſbury, left him her third huſband's Sir William St. Lowe's eſtate, which amounted to above fifteen hundred pounds a year. His mother, the Lady Ogle, left him three thouſand pounds a year, and twenty thouſand pounds in money. His firſt wife was an heireſs, and brought him two thouſand four hundred pounds a year, beſides a jointure of eight hundred pounds a year for her life. But without entering into farther particulars, it appears that his eſtates as they were let in the year 1641, in the counties of Nottingham, Lincoln, Derby, Stafford, Glouceſter, Somerſet, York, and Northumberland, produced twenty-two thouſand three hundred and ninety-three pounds a year; beſides which, by the death of his brother, he inherited an eſtate of two thouſand pounds a year more. All theſe fell at once into the hands of the Parliament, and brought no profit whatſoever to him for the ſpace of eighteen years, and in that time the Parliament took every method poſſible to make the moſt of them. They cut down woods upon ſeven of his eſtates to the value of forty-five thouſand pounds. They took from his brother, Sir Charles Cavendiſh, by way of compoſition, five thouſand pounds, after receiving all his rents for eight years; and in 1652, they diſpoſed of the whole Newcaſtle eſtate at the rate of five years and a half's purchaſe, by which they raiſed 111,593 l. 10 s. 11 d. at once. Beſides this, all his houſes were plundered and ruined, and the furniture either ſtolen or ſold, his ſtock of corn, cattle, &c. which was of great value, went the ſame way; as did alſo his excellent breed of horſes, which were his principal delight, and which were eſteemed as good as any in Europe. His parks were treated in like manner, ſo that at his return there was hardly a deer or tree left in, nay, ſcarcely a pale about them. But to cut this matter ſhort, we ſhall only add, that from a computation of theſe particulars it is affirmed, that the loſs ſuſtained by his Grace was rather over than under 733,579 l. (21).

(20) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 89, 107.

(21) Lloyd's Memoirs of the Sufferers for King Charles I. p. 673.

[*G*] *And in the purſuit of thoſe ſtudies which he moſt affected.*] This noble perſon was celebrated for his love to the Muſes from his youth; and though he thought ſo cloſely, when he was diſpoſed, on the moſt ſerious ſubjects, that the famous Mr. Hobbes, who was known to be not over fond of other men's notions, yet adopted ſome of his as his own; he was rather inclined to amuſe himſelf with lighter topicks, and was the great patron of the wits in the reign of King Charles I. This humour of his has drawn upon him the cenſure of ſome grave men. Lord Clarendon mentions this, yet with decency (22); but Sir Philip Warwick loſes all patience, and thinks it ſufficient to ruin this great General's character, that he appointed Sir William Davenant, a Poet, his Lieutenant General of the Ordnance (23); as if it were not poſſible for a man to have a turn to poetry, and a capacity for any thing elſe at the ſame time. It is a wonder he did not point out another ſlip in this noble Lord's conduct of the ſame kind, I mean his making the Rev. Mr. Hudſon, Scout Maſter-General of the army, who yet was an excellent maſter of his trade and a very able Divine: beſides (24), all the world knows, that Mr. Chillingworth, in argument, battered the Papal Church with very great ſucceſs, which however did not hinder his ſerving as an Engineer in the Royal army with great reputation (25). The truth is, that this worthy Nobleman living always magnificently, and having a great kindneſs for men of merit, never wanted them about him, and never failed to employ them the beſt way he could. The famous Ben Jonſon was one of his firſt favourites, and he addreſſed to him a very fine copy of verſes, which may be ſeen in his works (26). Mr. Shadwell

(22) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 403.

(23) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 235, 236.

(24) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, vol. ii. B. ix. p. 6—45.

(25) See his Life written by Mr. Des Maizeaux.

(26) Underwood, p. 223.

of his time in repairing the injuries which his fortune had received from the malignity of the times; and, equally full of years and of glory, died in poſſeſſion of the greateſt honours and the faireſt reputation, December 25, 1676, in the eighty-fourth year of his age (*o*). His Grace was twice married, but had iſſue only by his firſt Lady, of which the reader will find an account in the notes (*p*) [*H*]. His body lies interred, with that of his Ducheſs, under a moſt noble monument at the entrance into Weſtminſter-Abbey, with an inſcription ſuitable to his merits (*q*). His titles deſcended to his ſon Henry, Earl of Ogle, who was the laſt heir male of this family, and died July 26, 1691, in whom the title of Newcaſtle, in the line of Cavendiſh, extinguiſhed. But his daughters married into ſome of the nobleſt families of this kingdom, as the reader will ſee at the bottom of this article [*I*].

(*o*) See the inſcription on his monument in Weſtminſter-abbey.

(*p*) Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 139.

(*q*) Antiquities of St. Peter's, Weſtminſter, vol. ii. p. 114.

Shadwell was one of the laſt, and he made his acknowledgments to his Grace in more than one Dedication (27). In the buſy ſcenes of life, it doth not appear that this noble Lord ſuffered his thoughts to ſtray ſo far from his employments as to write any thing: but in his exile, reſuming his old taſte of breaking and managing horſes, than which there could not be a more manly or martial exerciſe, he thought fit to give the world his ſentiments upon a ſubject which nobody knew better; and if we may credit what the beſt writers (28) on this head have ſince delivered, there is no great danger of any body's ever underſtanding it better. His firſt treatiſe he publiſhed in French; his ſecond near ten years after; their titles run thus:

(27) See his Dedications prefixed to his Epſom Wells, and to the Libertine.

(28) See M. de Soliel's Preface to his Le parfait Mareſchal.

La Methodo nouvelle des Dreſſer les Chevaux avec Figures, i. e. The new Method for managing Horſes with cuts. Antwerp 1658, in fol. This book was firſt written in Engliſh; and afterwards by his Lordſhip's directions tranſlated into French by a Walloon; and was till within theſe few years very ſcarce and dear.

A new Method and extraordinary Invention to dreſs Horſes, and work them according to Nature; as alſo to perfect Nature by the Subtlety of Art. fol. London 1667. The latter, as the Duke informs his reader, 'Is neither a tranſlation of the firſt, nor an 'abſolute neceſſary addition to it; and may be of 'uſe without the other, as the other hath been hither-'to, and ſtill is, without this; but both together will 'queſtionleſs do beſt.' A noble edition of this work has been of late years printed in this kingdom.

In his exile, he wrote alſo two Comedies, *viz.*

The Country Captain, a Comedy. Printed at Antwerp 1649; afterwards preſented by his Majeſty's ſervants at Black-Fryars, and very much commended by Mr. Leigh.

Variety, a Comedy, preſented by his Majeſty's ſervants at Black-Fryars; and firſt printed in 1649, and generally bound with the Country Captain. It was alſo highly commended in a copy of verſes by Mr. Alexander Brome.

He has likewiſe written

The Humorous Lovers, a Comedy, acted by his Royal Highneſs's ſervants. London 1677, 4*to*. This was received with great applauſe, and eſteemed one of the beſt plays of that time.

The triumphant Widow: or *the medley of Humours*, a Comedy, acted by his Royal Highneſs's ſervants. London 1677, 4*to*. which pleaſed Mr. Shadwell ſo well, that he tranſcribed a part of it into his *Bury Fair*, one of the moſt taking plays written by that Poet Laureat. His Grace wrote in Jonſon's manner, and is allowed by the beſt judges not to have been inferior to his maſter. We have many other pieces written by this ingenious Nobleman, ſcattered up and down in the poems of his Ducheſs; all which ſeem to confirm the character given by Mr. Shadwell, 'That 'he was the greateſt maſter of wit, the moſt exact 'obſerver of mankind, and the moſt accurate judge 'of humour that ever he knew (29).' *

(29) Langbaine's Account of the Engliſh Dramatic Poets, p. 387.

* Whincop aſcribes to the Duke a Comedy, called the *Exile*; but its exiſtence is doubted, as no ſuch play is to be found in any of the collections now in being.

[*H*] *Will find an account in the notes.*] This noble Peer, as has been obſerved in the text, married two wives. The firſt was Elizabeth, daughter and ſole heir of William Baſſett of Blore in the county of Stafford, Eſq; widow of the Honourable Mr. Henry Howard, younger ſon to Thomas, Earl of Suffolk (30), by whom his Lordſhip had three ſons, and as many daughters, *viz.* William, who died young; Charles, Viſcount Mansfield, who ſerved under his father in the Civil War in quality of Maſter of the Ordnance: he married the daughter of Richard Rogers of Brianſton in the county of Dorſet, Eſq; but died in his father's life-time without iſſue; Henry, Earl of Ogle; who ſurvived his father and inherited his honours, and of whoſe poſterity we ſhall ſpeak in the next note. His Grace's daughters were theſe, Lady Jane, married to Charles Cheney of Cheſham Boys in the county of Bucks, Eſq; Lady Elizabeth, to John, Earl of Bridgwater; Lady Frances, to Oliver, Earl of Bolingbroke. His ſecond wife was Margaret, daughter to Charles Lucas of Colcheſter, Eſq; and ſiſter to John Lord Lucas, and to the famous Sir Charles Lucas, who was ſhot at Colcheſter for his fidelity to his Royal Maſter, by whom he had no iſſue (31). She lies buried with him at Weſtminſter-Abbey, was the conſtant companion of his exile abroad, and of his retirement at home. She was a woman of great wit, and ſome learning; for beſides the life of the Duke and her own, ſhe wrote a great number of folio's, and publiſhed ſix and twenty plays; in ſeveral of which, there are ſcenes and ſongs written by the Duke. It muſt be owned, that in many of theſe pieces there is much extravagance, and more of fancy than of judgment in them all: but at the ſame time it ſhould be conſidered, that this was in a good meaſure owing to the humour of the age, and to her having lived ſo long abroad.

(30) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 422.

(31) See the inſcription on their monument in Weſtminſter-abbey.

[*I*] *Will ſee at the bottom of this article.*] Henry Cavendiſh, Duke, Marquis, and Earl of Newcaſtle, *&c.* eſpouſed Frances, eldeſt daughter to William Pierpoint of Thoreſby in the county of Nottingham, ſecond ſon to the Earl of Kingſton, by whom he had one ſon, Henry, Earl of Ogle (32), who died in his father's life-time, and five daughters, *viz.* Lady Elizabeth, married to Chriſtopher Monk, Duke of Albemarle; and ſecondly, to Ralph, Duke of Montagu; Lady Frances, married to John Campbell, then Lord Glenorchy, afterwards Earl of Broadalbin; Lady Margaret, married to John Holles, Earl of Clare, afterwards Duke of Newcaſtle, by whom ſhe left iſſue one ſole daughter and heir, the Lady Henrietta Cavendiſh Holles, married to Edward, Earl of Oxford; Lady Catherine, married to Thomas Tufton Earl of Thanet; Lady Arabella, youngeſt daughter, married to Charles Spencer, Earl of Sunderland (33). C.

(32) Dugdale's Baron. vol. iii. p. 422.

(33) Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 139.

*** [This, we are apprehenſive, is one of the articles wherein our ingenious and candid predeceſſor, Dr. Campbell, hath carried his praiſes to the utmoſt height of which they were capable of being raiſed. Indeed, we entirely agree in opinion with Mr. Walpole, that "the ample encomiums would endure ſome abatement (34)." With regard to what is ſaid, in particular, concerning the Marquis of Newcaſtle's military conduct, his character ſeems to be overrated. If his behaviour to the Earl of Holland contributed to raiſe his reputation, it procured for him a reward which that behaviour did not merit. Little ſervice could be expected from an army in which an inferior officer might challenge his General, on account of a ſuppoſed ſlight in the giving of orders; and thoſe perſons muſt have had ſtrange ideas of the laws of honour, who could blame a commander in chief for refuſing ſo unſoldierly a challenge. When the Marquis was himſelf raiſed to the ſupreme command of the northern counties of England, his conduct was not ſuch as entitled him to be called one of the moſt able Generals of the age. This is agreed upon by thoſe contemporary writers, who do not appear to have had any prejudices againſt him, and who muſt have been the beſt judges of the ſubject. "He "liked the pomp, ſays Lord Clarendon, and abſo-"lute authority of a General well, and preſerved "the dignity of it to the full; and for the diſcharge

(34) Royal and noble Authors, vol. ii. p. 14. Second edition.

"of

" of the outward ſtate and circumſtances of it, in " acts of courteſy, affability, bounty, and generoſity, " he abounded; which, in the infancy of a war, " became him, and made him, for ſome time, very " acceptable to men of all conditions. But the " ſubſtantial part, and fatigue of a General, he did " not in any degree underſtand (being utterly unac- " quainted with war) nor could ſubmit to; but re- " ferred all matters of that nature to his Lieutenant " General *King*; who, no doubt, was an officer of " great experience and ability; yet, being a Scotch- " man, was, in that conjuncture, upon more diſ- " advantage than he would have been, if the Ge- " neral himſelf had been more intent upon his com- " mand (35)." The like account of things is given by the other Hiſtorians who flouriſhed in the ſame period, and they are followed in this reſpect by the moſt judicious modern authors. Mr. Hume obſerves, that the Marquis of Newcaſtle was engaged in military operations, contrary to the natural bent of his diſpoſition; that the fatigues of war were oppreſſive to the indolence of his temper; and that the ſeverity and application, requiſite to the ſupport of diſcipline, were qualities in which he was entirely wanting (36). Mr. Granger remarks, that his conduct, after the defeat of Ferdinando, Lord Fairfax, at Adderton Moor, has been juſtly cenſured; that it ſeems to have contributed greatly to the ruin of the King's affairs; and that the Marquis was much better qualified for a Court than a Camp (37). Both theſe writers agree, likewiſe, that Sir William Davenant, and the other perſons in whom he placed confidence, were but ill qualified for the buſineſs which they undertook. It is not denied, that the Marquis of Newcaſtle was, at times, an active and ſpirited commander; and that he obtained ſeveral conſiderable advantages over the enemy. Lord Clarendon takes notice, that in all actions of the field he was ſtill preſent, and never abſent in any battle; that he always gave inſtances of invincible courage and fearleſſneſs in danger; and that, by expoſing himſelf notoriouſly, he did ſometimes change the fortune of the day, when his troops began to give ground. But the noble Hiſtorian adds, that no ſooner were ſuch articles of action over, than he retired to his delightful company, muſic, or his ſofter pleaſures; to all which he was ſo indulgent, and to his eaſe, that he would not be interrupted upon any occaſion whatſoever; inſomuch that he ſometimes denied admiſſion to the chiefeſt officers of the army, even to General *King* himſelf, for two days together, whence many inconveniencies reſulted (38). Upon what reaſonable grounds could ſuch a man be ſtyled one of the moſt able Generals of the age; and eſpecially of an age which was remarkably diſtinguiſhed for producing great men in the military line?

(35) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, vol. ii. Part 2d. p. 509. Octavo edition.

(36) Hiſt. of England, vol. vii. p. 12, 13.

(37) Biographical Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 124, 125.

(38) Clarendon, *ubi ſupra*.

Our learned predeceſſor is guilty of an equal exceſs in his praiſes of the Duke of Newcaſtle as a writer. His treatiſe on horſemanſhip, indeed, is allowed to have merit; but his other works are held in little eſteem. To ſay that his Grace wrote ſo much in Ben Jonſon's manner, that he is allowed by the beſt judges not to have been inferior to his maſter, is the extravagance of encomium. Who are theſe beſt judges? Even Langbaine, who is ſufficiently copious in his applauſes of the Duke, doth not go ſo far. He only ſays, that it was from Jonſon that his Grace attained to a perfect knowledge of what was to be accounted true humour in Comedy. The ſame author, likewiſe, aſſerts, that the play of the " Humorous Lovers" equals moſt Comedies of the age (39). But ſtill he doth not put the Duke upon a level with Ben Jonſon; nor can any of the dramatic productions of the former, pretend to be mentioned with the " Every Man in his Humour," the " Alchymiſt," the " Silent Woman," and the " Volpone," of the latter. If they could, they would not be ſo totally neglected and forgotten as they are at preſent. The Biographia Dramatica hath not much renewed the praiſes beſtowed upon his Grace's Comedies. All it ſays is, that " The Variety" was acted with very great applauſe at Black-Friars; and that " The Triumphant Widow" is eſteemed an excellent play, though now it is never repreſented (40).

(39) Account of the Engliſh Dramatic Poets, p. 386, 387.

Mr. Granger mentions ſeveral engraved prints of the Duke; one from Vandyck, another by Hollar, and the reſt from portraits by Abraham Diepenbeck, a Painter much encouraged by his Grace. Diepenbeck was one of the few ſcholars of Reubens that came to England. He drew his noble patron's managed horſes from the life, whence were engraved the cuts that adorn his book of horſemanſhip. Some of the original pictures ſtill remain in the hall at Welbeck. Diepenbeck drew, likewiſe, views of the Duke's ſeats in Nottinghamſhire and Derbyſhire; and, beſides the portraits of the Duke, Ducheſs, and his children, gave deſigns for ſeveral plates prefixed to the works of both their Graces (41).

(40) Biographia Dramatica, vol. ii. p. 379. 388.

John Egerton, Earl of Bridgwater, to whom the Duke of Newcaſtle's ſecond daughter, Elizabeth, was married, deſired to have it recorded on his tomb, that " he enjoyed, almoſt twenty-two years, all the " happineſs that a man could receive in the ſweet " ſociety of the beſt of wives." It is ſaid of this Lady, that the virtues and graces conſpired to render her one of the moſt excellent and amiable of women (42).

(41) Granger's Biogr. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 124. Vol. iii. p. 20. 98. Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, vol. ii. p. 95.

Lord Clarendon hath given ſo high a character of Sir Charles Cavendiſh, the Marquis of Newcaſtle's brother, that it well deſerves to be inſerted in this place. " The converſation the Chancellor took moſt " delight in (43), was that of Sir Charles Caven- " diſh, brother to the Marquis; who was one of the " moſt extraordinary perſons of that age, in all the " noble endowments of the mind. He had all the " diſadvantages imaginable in his perſon; which " was not only of ſo ſmall a ſize, that it drew the " eyes of men upon him; but with ſuch deformity " in his little perſon, and an aſpect in his counte- " nance, that was apter to raiſe contempt than ap- " plication: but in this unhandſome or homely ha- " bitation, there was a mind and a ſoul lodged that " was very lovely and beautiful; cultivated and po- " liſhed by all the knowledge and wiſdom that arts " and ſciences could ſupply it with. He was a great " Philoſopher, in the extent of it; and an excellent " Mathematician; whoſe correſpondence was very " dear to Gaſſendus and Deſcartes; the laſt of which " dedicated ſome of his works to him. He had " very notable courage; and the vigour of his mind " ſo adorned his body, that being with his brother " the Marquis in all the war, he uſually went out " in all parties, and was preſent, and charged the " enemy in all battles, with as keen a courage as " could dwell in the heart of man. But then the " gentleneſs of his diſpoſition, the humility and " meekneſs of his nature, and the vivacity of his " wit, were admirable. He was ſo modeſt, that he " could hardly be prevailed with to enlarge himſelf " on ſubjects he underſtood better than other men, " except he were preſſed by his very familiar friends; " as if he thought it preſumption to know more than " handſomer men uſe to do. Above all, his virtue " and piety was ſuch, that no temptation could work " upon him to conſent to any thing, that ſwerved in " the leaſt degree from the preciſe rules of honour, " or the moſt ſevere rules of conſcience (44)." This gentleman, being prevailed upon, by the Chancellor, to go to England, to compound for his eſtate, that he might be of ſervice to his family and friends, accompliſhed his purpoſe, but died before his return to Antwerp (45).] K.

(42) Granger, *ubi ſupra*, vol. iii. p. 20, 21.—Note.

(43) Whilſt he reſided at Antwerp.

(44) Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon, vol. i. p. 249, 250. Octavo edition.

(45) *Ibid.* p. 250—253.

*** [CAVENDISH (MARGARET), Ducheſs of Newcaſtle, and ſecond wife to the Nobleman who is the ſubject of the preceding article, was born at St. John's, near Colcheſter, in Eſſex, about the latter end of the reign of King James the Firſt. Her father, of whom ſhe was the youngeſt daughter, was Sir Charles Lucas, a gentleman of a very ancient and honourable family, and who was himſelf a man of great ſpirit and fortune. Dying young, he left the care of his children to his widow, a lady of exquiſite beauty

beauty and admirable accompliſhments, who took upon herſelf the education of her daughters, and inſtructed them in needle-work, dancing, muſic, the French tongue, and other things that were proper for women of faſhion. As, however, Miſs Margaret Lucas had, from her infancy, a natural inclination for literature, and ſhe ſpent much of her time in ſtudy and writing, her Biographers have lamented that ſhe had not the advantage of an acquaintance with the learned languages, which might have extended her knowledge, refined her genius, and have been of infinite ſervice to her in the numerous compoſitions and productions of her pen (*a*). In 1643, ſhe obtained permiſſion from her mother to go to Oxford, where the Court then reſided, and where ſhe could not fail of meeting with a favourable reception, on account of the diſtinguiſhed loyalty of her family (*b*), as well as of her own accompliſhments. Accordingly, ſhe was appointed one of the Maids of Honour to Henrietta Maria, the royal conſort of King Charles the Firſt; and, in that capacity, accompanied her Majeſty to France, when the Queen was obliged, by the Civil War, to quit England, and retire to her native country. At Paris Miſs Lucas firſt ſaw the Marquis of Newcaſtle, then a widower, who admiring her perſon, diſpoſition, and ingenuity, was married to her at that place, in the year 1645 (*c*). The Marquis had heard of the lady's character before he met with her in France; for having been a friend and patron of her gallant brother, Lord Lucas, he took occaſion one day to aſk his Lordſhip in what reſpect he could promote his intereſt. To this his Lordſhip replied, that he was not ſolicitous about his own affairs, as being prepared to ſuffer either exile or death in the royal cauſe; but that he was chiefly concerned for his ſiſter, on whom he could beſtow no fortune, and whoſe beauty expoſed her to danger. At the ſame time, he repreſented her other amiable qualities in ſo ſtriking a light, as raiſed the Marquis's curioſity to ſee her (*d*). After their marriage, the Marquis and Marchioneſs of Newcaſtle went from Paris to Rotterdam, where they reſided ſix months. From Rotterdam they removed to Antwerp, which they fixed upon as the place of their reſidence during the time of their exile. In this city they enjoyed as quiet and pleaſant a retirement as their ruined fortunes would permit. Though the Marquis had much reſpect paid him by all men, as well foreigners as thoſe of his own country, he principally confined himſelf to the ſociety of his Lady (*e*), who, both by her writings and her converſation, proved a moſt agreeable companion to him during his melancholy receſs. The exigency of their affairs obliged the Marchioneſs once to come over to England. Her view was to obtain ſome of the Marquis's rents, in order to ſupply their preſſing neceſſities, and pay the debts they had contracted. Accordingly, ſhe went with Lord Lucas, her brother, to Goldſmiths-Hall; but could not procure a grant from the rulers of thoſe times, to receive one penny out of her noble huſband's vaſt inheritance: and had it not been for the ſeaſonable generoſity of Sir Charles Cavendiſh, ſhe and her Lord muſt have been expoſed to extreme poverty. At length, however, having obtained a conſiderable ſum from her own and the Marquis's relations, ſhe returned to Antwerp. Here ſhe continued with him till the Reſtoration, and employed herſelf in writing ſeveral of her works.

When upon King Charles the Second's recovering the throne of his anceſtors, the Marquis of Newcaſtle came back to his native country, he left his Lady ſome little time abroad, to diſpatch his affairs there; which having managed in a ſatisfactory manner, ſhe followed her conſort to England. The remaining part of the Ducheſs's life was principally employed in compoſing and writing Letters, Plays, Poems, Philoſophical Diſcourſes, and Orations (*f*) [*A*]. It is ſaid, that ſhe was of a very generous turn of mind,

(*a*) Ballard's Memoirs of Britiſh Ladies, p. 209. octavo edition. Cibber's Lives of the Poets, vol. ii. p. 162, 163.

(*b*) Dugdale's Baronage, p. 473, 474.

(*c*) Ballard and Cibber, *ubi ſupra*.

(*d*) Cibber, *ubi ſupra*.

(*e*) Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon, vol. i. p. 249.

(*f*) Ballard, *ubi ſupra*, p. 209, 210. Cibber, *ubi ſupra*.

[*A*] *Principally employed in compoſing and writing Letters, Plays, Poems, Philoſophical Diſcourſes, and Orations.*] The following is a catalogue of her works, which we have tranſcribed from Mr. Ballard. 1. "The World's Olio." Which I have not yet ſeen. 2. "Nature Picture, drawn by Fancie's Pencil, to the Life. Written by the thrice Noble, Illuſtrious, and Excellent Princeſs, the Lady Marchioneſs of Newcaſtle. In this volume there are ſeveral feigned ſtories of Natural Deſcriptions, as Comical, Tragical, and Tragicomical, Poetical, Romancical, Philoſophical, and Hiſtorical, both in Proſe and Verſe, ſome all Verſe, ſome all Proſe, ſome mixt, partly Proſe and partly Verſe. Alſo, there are ſome Morals, and ſome Dialogues; but they are as the advantage Loaf of Bread to the Bakers dozen, and a true Story at the latter end, wherein there is no feigning." London, 1656. Fol. 3. "Orations of divers ſorts, accommodated to divers Places. Written by, &c. the Lady Marchioneſs of Newcaſtle." Fol. London, 1662. 4. "Plays. Written by, &c. the Lady Marchioneſs of Newcaſtle." London, 1662. 5. "Philoſophical and Phyſical Opinions. Written by, &c. the Lady Marchioneſs of Newcaſtle." London, 1663. Fol. 6. "Obſervations upon Experimental Philoſophy: To which is added, the Deſcription of a new World. Written by, &c. the Dutcheſs of Newcaſtle." 2d Edit. London, 1668. Fol. Mr. James Briſtow began to tranſlate ſome of theſe philoſophical diſcourſes into the Latin tongue. Vid. Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. Col. 835. 7. "Philoſophical Letters or Modeſt Reflections upon ſome Opinions in Natural Philoſophy, maintained by ſeveral famous and learned Authors of this Age, expreſſed by way of Letters: by, &c. the Lady Marchioneſs of Newcaſtle." London, 1664. Fol. 8. "Poems and Phancies. Written by, &c. the Lady Marchioneſs of Newcaſtle. The ſecond Impreſſion, much altered and corrected." London 1664. Fol. 9. "CCXI. Sociable Letters. Written by, &c. the Lady Marchioneſs of Newcaſtle." London, 1664. Fol. 10. "The Life of the thrice Noble, High and Puiſſant Prince William Cavendiſhe, Duke, Marquiſs, and Earl of Newcaſtle; Earl of Ogle; Viſcount Mansfield; and Baron of Bolſover, of Ogle, Bothal and Hepple: Gentleman of his Majeſty's Bedchamber, one of his Majeſtie's moſt honourable Privy Council; Knight of the moſt noble Order of the Garter: His Majeſtie's Lieutenant of the County and

mind, and kept a number of young ladies about her perſon, who occaſionally wrote what ſhe dictated. Some of them ſlept in a room contiguous to that in which her Grace lay, that they might be ready, at the call of her bell, to riſe at any hour of the night, to take down her conceptions, leſt they ſhould eſcape her memory. The taſk of theſe young ladies was not very pleaſant; and there can be no doubt but that they frequently wiſhed that their lady's poetical and philoſophical imagination had been leſs fruitful; eſpecially, as ſhe was not deſtitute of ſome degree of peeviſhneſs (*g*). If the Ducheſs's merit as an author were to be eſtimated from the *quantity* of her works, ſhe would have the precedence of all female writers, ancient or modern. She produced no leſs than thirteen folios, ten of which are in print (*h*). Of all the riders of Pegaſus, obſerves Mr. Walpole, there have not been a more fantaſtic couple than his Grace and his faithful Ducheſs, who was never off her pillion (*i*). The life of the Duke her huſband, is the moſt eſtimable of her productions; but it abounds in trifling circumſtances. The touches on her own character are curious: ſhe ſays, "That it pleaſed "God to command his ſervant Nature to *indue her* with a poetical and philoſophical "genius even from her birth, for ſhe did write ſome books even in that kind before "ſhe was twelve years of age." But though ſhe had written philoſophy, it ſeems ſhe had read none; for at nearly forty years of age, ſhe informs us that ſhe applied to the peruſal of philoſophical authors—"In order to learn the terms of art." But what gives one, continues Mr. Walpole, the beſt idea of her unbounded paſſion for ſcribbling, was her ſeldom reviſing the copies of her works, *leſt it ſhould diſturb her following conceptions* (*k*).

(g) Cibber, *ubi ſupra*.

(*h*) Granger's Biographical Hiſt. vol. iv. p. 60.

(*i*) Walpole's royal and noble Authors, vol. ii. p. 125

(*k*) Walpole, *ubi ſupra*, p. 13.

But though the Ducheſs's literary character and works are now treated with ſuch general diſregard, this was by no means the caſe during her own life. The compliments that were paid her were abſurd and extravagant in the higheſt degree. Nor were theſe compliments beſtowed upon her by perſons whoſe applauſes might be deemed of little eſtimation, but by learned bodies, and by men of great eminence in literature. From a book now uncommonly ſcarce, Mr. Granger hath given a few ſpecimens of the adulations addreſſed to her Grace by thoſe to whom ſhe made preſents of her writings [*B*].

George

and Town of Nottingham, and Juſtice in Ayre Trent North: who had the Honour to be Governour to our moſt Glorious King and Gracious Sovereign, in his Youth, when he was Prince of Wales; and ſoon after was made Captain General of all the Provinces beyond the River of Trent, and other Parts of the Kingdom of England, with Power, by a ſpecial Commiſſion, to make Knights. Written by the Thrice Noble, Illuſtrious, and excellent Princeſs, Margaret Dutcheſs of Newcaſtle, his Wife." Fol. Lond. 1667. This work (which Mr. Langbaine ſtiles the crown of her labours) was tranſlated into Latin, and printed with the following title: "*De Vita & Rebus Geſtis Nobiliſſimi Illuſtriſſimique Principis, Gulielmi, Ducis Novo-Caſtrenſis, commentarii: Ab Excellentiſſima Principe, Margareta, ipſius Uxore Sanctiſſima Conſcripti. Et ex Anglico in Latinum converſi.*" London, 1668. Fol. II. "Plays, never before printed." London, 1668. Fol. This book I have not ſeen, and am obliged to Mr. Langbaine for the notice of it; as the Ladies will be for the catalogue of her Plays, which here follow in the ſame order that gentleman has placed them. "Apocryphal Ladies, a Comedy." This play conſiſts of three and twenty ſcenes, but is not divided into acts. "Bell in Campo, a Tragedy," in two parts; in the ſecond play are ſeveral copies of verſes written by the Duke of Newcaſtle. "Blazing World, a Comedy." Though this be ſtiled a play in former catalogues, yet it is but a fragment; the authoreſs before ſhe finiſhed the ſecond act deſiſted, not finding her genius tend to the proſecution of it. "Bridals, a Comedy." "Comical Haſh, a Comedy." This play has not been in any catalogue before. "Convent of Pleaſure, a Comedy." "Female Academy, a Comedy." "Lady Contemplation, a Comedy," in two parts. Three ſcenes in the firſt, and two in the ſecond part, were written by the Duke. "Love's Adventure, in two parts, a Comedy." The ſong, and the epithalamium, in the laſt ſcene in the ſecond part, was likewiſe written by the Duke. "Matrimonial Trouble," in two parts; the ſecond being a Tragedy, or as the authoreſs ſtiles it, a Tragi-Comedy. "Nature's three Daughters, Beauty, Love, and Wit, a Comedy," in two parts. "Preſence, a Comedy." To this are added twenty-nine ſingle ſcenes, which the Dutcheſs deſigned to have inſerted in this play, but finding it would too much lengthen it, ſhe printed them ſeparately. "Publick Wooing, a Comedy." In which the Duke wrote ſeveral of the ſuitors ſpeeches; as that of the ſoldier, the countryman, the ſpokeſman for the baſhful ſuitor; beſides two other ſcenes, and the two ſongs at the end of the Comedy. "Religious, a Tragi-Comedy." "Several Wits, a Comedy." "Sociable Companions, or the Female Wits, a Comedy." "Unnatural Tragedy." The prologue and epilogue were of the Duke's making. Act II. Scene III. the Dutcheſs againſt Mr. Camden's Britannia: though whether with juſtice, I leave to the determination of others. "Wits Cabal, a Comedy," in two parts. His Grace wrote the epilogue to the firſt part. "Youth's Glory, and Death's Banquet, a Tragedy," in two parts. Two ſcenes, with the ſpeeches at the firſt part, in commendation of Mlle Sans pareille, were written by his Grace; ſo were all the ſongs and verſes in the ſecond part. "The Blazing World, Bridal, Convent of Pleaſure, Preſence, and Sociable Companions," are printed together in one volume; and the reſt in another. In the library of the late Mr. Thomas Richardſon was the Dutcheſs of Newcaſtle's Poems, 2 Vol. Fol. MS. Vid. Richardſon's Cat. p. 50. And in the library of the late Biſhop Willis was another MS. of her poems in Fol. Vid. Cat. p. 55. Whether ever printed, I know not (1)." The Biographia Dramatica hath given the liſt of her plays in a different order, and they amount, in the whole, to twenty-ſeven in number (2). The ſame work hath not entered into a diſcuſſion of the merits of any of theſe dramatical productions, probably conſidering them as totally unworthy of a critical examination. We have taken notice, in the article of Camden, of the Ducheſs's having, in one of her plays, a whole ſcene againſt that eminent writer's Britannia.

(1) Ballard's Memoirs of Britiſh Ladies, p. 210—213.

(2) Vol. i. p. 64, 65.

[*B*] *Hath given a few ſpecimens of the adulations addreſſed to her Grace.*] "There is, ſays Mr. Granger, a very ſcarce folio volume of Letters and Poems, printed in 1678. It conſiſts of one hundred and eighty-two pages, filled with the groſſeſt and moſt fulſome panegyric on the Duke and Dutcheſs of Newcaſtle, eſpecially her Grace. I know no flattery, ancient or modern, that is, in any degree, comparable to it, except the deification of Auguſtus, and the

erection

George Steevens, Eſq; the ingenious and learned editor of Shakſpeare, hath favoured us with a much larger number of extracts from the ſame book; and his communication will form a very curious and valuable note [*C*]. Such a profuſion of incenſe reflects diſcredit

erection of altars to him in his life-time. Incenſe and adoration ſeem to have been equally acceptable to the Roman god and Engliſh goddeſs. This is part of a letter of thanks ſent to the Dutcheſs by Anthony Thyſius, Rector of the Univerſity of Leyden, upon the receipt of her works, which ſhe ſent to the public library. *Princeps fœminini ſexûs merito diceris. Abripitur fœcunda tua eruditio, per cœlos, terras, maria, & quicquid in natura vel civili vita, ullove ſcientiarum genere nobile occurrit. Ipſa Pallas academiæ noſtræ præſes tibi aſſurgit, gratiaſque immenſas pro veſtro munere agit, & cum imaginem veſtram aſpicit, ſeipſam, veluti in ſpeculo, intueri videtur.*

" The following paſſages came from Cambridge. —*Nondum, (quod ſcimus) annalibus excidêre, neque certe per nos unquam excident, erudita nomina,* Aſpaſia Periclis, Odenati Zenobia, Polla Lucani, Boethii Ruſticiana; *quæ tamen, ſi reviviſcerent hodie, adeo tecum (inclyta dux) de eruditionis palma non contenderent, at famæ tuæ potius ancillantes, ſolam* Margaretam *conſummatiſſimam principem & agnoſcerent &* poſito genu certatim adorarent.—*In auctiorem nominis veſtri famam optamus teſtatioreſque virtutes tuas, ut tot tanquam erudita opera, tali aliquando idiomate exeant, quali inter* Romanos, Tullium & Maronem; inter Graios, Platonem & Demoſthenem, legimus & miramur. *Omnem illam fortunæ magnitudinem immortalis ingenii felicitate ita ſuperas, ut quæ verſare ſolemus exemplaria* Græca Latinaque *miſſa jam facere, & tua unius ſapientia contenti eſſe poſſimus. Quoties enim in philoſophiam ſecedis, ſola magiſtri nullius in verba juras, ſed in omni doctorum familia laborans, & ſubtiliter expendis, & acute diſcernis, & ad unguem caſtigas, quicquid aut riſit* Democritus, *aut flevit* Heraclitus, *aut deliravat* Epicurus, *aut tacuit* Pythagoras, *aut intellexit* Ariſtoteles, *aut ignoravit* Arceſilas; *nec omittis ſiquid majorum inventis addidêre novi homines,* Verulamius, Harvæus, Carteſius, Galilæus.

" I ſhall finiſh the climax with another paſſage addreſſed, on the ſame occaſion, to her Grace, from Oxford. We have a manuſcript author in the Bodlie's library, who endeavours to ſhew that women excel men: your Excellency has proved what he propoſed, has done what he endeavoured, and given a *demonſtrative argument to convince the otherwiſe unbelieving world.*

" However ſtrange it may ſeem, yet nothing is more certain than that theſe monſtrous ſtrains of panegyric relate chiefly to that wild philoſophy which would have puzzled the whole Royal Society, and on account of which ſhe ſeems to have been deſirous of being admitted to one of their meetings (3)." *

(3) Granger's Biogr. Hiſt. vol. iv. p. 61. note.

* She was accordingly admitted to one of them.

[*C*] *Will form a very curious and valuable note.*] The following extracts from " *A Collection of Letters and Poems, written by ſeveral Perſons of Honour and Learning, upon divers important Subjects, to the late Duke and Dutcheſs of Newcaſtle* (4)," will abundantly prove that academick flattery is of all others the moſt ſhameleſs and unpardonable. Such falſe praiſes might indeed be forgiven to individuals, whoſe deciſions are ſometimes warped by friendſhip, or corrupted by want; but ſocieties of erudite men, acting collectively, ſhould reſpect their ſituation, and withhold their applauſe from worthleſs compoſitions, though produced by noble or even royal authors.—When our ſtately pedants preſented their fantaſtick trifles to many of the libraries in both our Univerſities, theſe favours were acknowledged in a proportionable number of epiſtles which, had their publication been foreſeen, we may ſuppoſe would never have been written. Perhaps, however, the vanity of the Duke could not permit ſuch ſplendid teſtimonials of the literary merits of his conſort and himſelf to remain in obſcurity, but commended them to be printed after his death. They accordingly appeared in a thin folio (dated 1678), which is now become ſo rare as to have eſcaped the notice of the learned and inquiſitive compilers of the firſt edition of the *Biographia Britannica*. I have ſeen only one copy of theſe compli-

(4) London, printed for Langley Curtis, in Goat-Yard, on Ludgate-Hill.

mental addreſſes; the reſt, in all probability, being conſumed in the ſervice of Paſtry-cooks and Trunk-makers.

The Maſter and Fellows of St. John's College, Cambridge, deliver their ſentiments to the Dutcheſs in the following words. " In your poeſy we praiſe that life and native verdure every way conſiſtent with itſelf. Caſtalian-like, it ſtands not ſtill, nor boils over, but with a gentle ſtream doth touch our ears, and ſlide into our minds." Again, " Truth to your Grace doth freely open and unbowel herſelf, fearing to be branded with incivility if ſhe ſhould deny: your Grace only amongſt women owes nothing to nature: for how much ſoever ſhe hath graced you with an incomparable luſtre in your feature, or pregnancy of wit, your Grace hath returned all of it in theſe elegancies of philoſophy and poeſie, with a moſt excellent retaliation." [p. 4, 5.]

John Pearſon, Maſter of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1663 (5), indulges himſelf in this florid interrogatory. " We who wonder that the ancients ſhould adore the ſame tutelar Goddeſs both of arts and arms, what ſhall we think of your Excellency, who are both a *Minerva* and an *Athens* to yourſelf, the *Muſes* as well as an *Helicon*, *Ariſtotle* as well as his *Lycæum?*" [p. 11.]

(5) John Pearſon, afterwards Biſhop of Cheſter, and writer on the Creed.

The Vice Chancellor and Senate of the ſame Univerſity, 1663, are not leſs magnificent in their thanks and queſtions.—" *Præcipiti quodam impetu non modo gloriæ tuæ favemus, verum etiam Excellentiſſimam Heroinam, tanquam cœlo delapſum* Sibyllam *veneramur. Quippe fœmineæ ſortis egreſſa terminos, longè ultra mundum muliebrem ſapis, & quicquid uſpiam egregium aut divinum eſt intra mortales, id tuo tibi jure vindicas. Sive ſtas in acie, ſive exerces tribunalia, ſive carmen fundis, ſive nodos explicas, nuſquam hæres, nuſquam ſuccumbis, Dux, Miles, Senator, Poeta, Philoſophus, ac (ut verbo expediamus) una omnium inſtar. Interrogare te porrò cupimus, iſta tam lætæ indolis, tam felicis ingenii, tam excelſi judicii flamma, quo primum incenſa numine, quibus adjuta flatibus, aut enutrita fomitibus effulget? An virili veſte induta Marchioniſſa annos fortaſſe aliquot, idque Athenis, inter Philoſophos delituiſti? An Regina rerum Philoſophia (quæ virorum conſpectum verecundè fugit) tibi ſe viſendam exhibuit, virgincoſque ſinus omnes expoſuit?*" [p. 13, 14.]

The Society of St. John's College, Cambridge, (in this their ſecond addreſs to her Grace) with rather leſs of delicacy, repeat the ſame idea, obſerving that " ſome grope for nature in vacuums and empty ſpaces, with a ſucceſs not unlike their ſuppoſals. But ſhe willingly ſhows herſelf all bare and naked to your Grace." [p. 19.]

The Vice-chancellor and Senate of this Univerſity exclaim on another occaſion, 1677. " Moſt excellent Princeſs, you have unſpeakably obliged us all, but not in one reſpect alone, for whenſoever we find ourſelves non-plus'd in our ſtudies, we repair to you as to our Oracle; if we be to ſpeak, you dictate to us; if we knock at Apollo's door, you alone open to us; if we compoſe an Hiſtory, you are the remembrancer; if we be confounded and puzzled among the Philoſophers, you diſentangle us and aſſoil all our difficulties." [p. 24.]

The Maſter, &c. of St. John's College, &c. 1667, repeat their expreſſions of gratitude in terms yet more hyperbolical. " Your Excellency hath only brought it to paſs, that we have hopes yet to live; the memory of our name being perpetuated in your Excellencies books, which will not only ſurvive our Univerſities, but hold date even with time itſelf; foraſmuch as it pleaſeth you, moſt excellent Princeſs, ſo long as either name or honour remains, either to virtue or to books; and incontinently this age, by reading of your books, will loſe its barbarity and rudeneſs, being made tame by the elegance of your ſtyle and matter: and moreover it will *not* judge us to be *no-bodies*, whom ſuch an accompliſhed Princeſs hath *not* refuſed to make *not* only the peruſers, but even

diſcredit on the age in which it was offered, and ſtrongly impeaches the judgment, we would not willingly add the integrity, of the flatterers. They were probably dazzled, and almoſt blinded, by the high rank and ſolemn pomp of the Duke and Ducheſs of Newcaſtle. Abſurd, however, as were her Grace's pretenſions to philoſophical knowledge, and extravagant as are her other compoſitions, it cannot, we apprehend, be denied, that ſhe had conſiderable powers of imagination and invention. Mr. Jacob ſays, that ſhe had a great deal of wit, and a more than ordinary propenſity to dramatic poetry; and Langbaine obſerves, that, if it be conſidered, that both the language and plots of her plays are her own, ſhe ought in juſtice to be preferred to thoſe of her ſex, who have built their fame on other people's foundations (*l*). If her fancy had been enriched by information, reſtrained by judgment, and regulated by correctneſs of taſte, ſhe might probably have riſen to conſiderable excellence. A very able and elegant writer hath, within theſe few years, paid a much higher compliment to her genius and poetical merit, than hath been cuſtomary with modern authors. In a viſion of female poets riding Pegaſus, he hath thus expreſſed himſelf concerning the Ducheſs: "Upon this a lady advanced; who, though ſhe had ſomething rather extravagant in her air and deportment, yet had a noble preſence, that commanded at once awe and admiration. She was dreſſed in an old-faſhioned habit, very fantaſtic, and trimmed with bu-

(*l*) Ballard, *ubi ſupra*. Langbaine's Account of dramatic Poets, p. 391.

even the moderators, and judges of her works." [p. 25, 26.]

(6) Thomas Barlow, afterwards Biſhop of Lincoln.

Thomas Barlow (6), of Queen's College, Oxford, 1655, tells the Dutcheſs, that but for "a fatal ſickneſs I had long ere this returned my moſt humble and hearty thanks for that infinite honour you were pleaſed to do me (a poor impertinent thing in black), in deigning to write and truſt me with the diſtribution of your favours (or magnificence rather) to the Univerſity." [p. 66.]

In another epiſtle on the ſame occaſion, the ſame humble Divine repeats his aſtoniſhment, "that a perſon ſo illuſtrious and (for place and parts ſo) eminent, ſhould look upon ſo inconſiderable and impertinent a thing in black, as I am, but that I know the ſun doth ſhine on ſhrubs as well as cedars. If I miſtake not I told you in my laſt, that I had a manuſcript book in my keeping (for it was never yet printed), which the author intitles thus:—*Womens worth, or a Treatiſe proving by ſundry Reaſons that Women excell Men.* Many of my ſex will hardly believe it, yet I believe your Honour may prove the beſt argument in the world to convince them of their infidelity." [p. 70, 71.]

(7) Dr. Jaſper Mayne, author of the *City Match*, a Comedy, 1639; and the *Amorous War*, another Comedy, 1658.

Jaſper Mayne (7), of Chriſt-Church, Oxford, 1663, aſſures her Graces that a perſon is already engaged to tranſlate her works "into the Catholick language; though it will be hard to make them ſpeak ſo good *Latine* as they now do *Engliſh*." [p. 94.]

In a ſecond letter, 1664, he adds, "I have read as much of your Poetry, tranſlated by a young ſcholar, as hath hitherto paſt his pen. In ſome parts whereof I find him happy enough. But your excellent fancy expreſſing itſelf ſometimes in terms of art, and words only known to Philoſophy, he tells me the hardeſt part of his taſk will be how to find out current *Roman* words to match them. To remove which difficulty, I have directed him to read *Lucretius* before he proceeds further." [p. 96.] "Had I the art like ſome here, to teach birds to ſpeak, all the fowls which fly in your woods ſhould preſently be tranſformed to Nightingales, and taught muſick enough to ſing the praiſes of ſo great a miſtreſs." [p. 97.]

(8) John Fell, afterwards Biſhop of Oxford.

John Fell (8), of the ſame College, declares, "that it will reſt a problem not eaſily to be reſolved, whether her Grace appears greater in her acquiſitions or obligings; whether ſhe inſtructs the world, or enriches it more." [*Ibid.*]

(9) John Dolben, afterwards Archbiſhop of York.

The Biſhop of Rocheſter, in 1671 (9), tells the Duke—"I am glad to ſee the King do that which is ſo decent and worthy of him, as to order your Grace a tomb among the Kings, who have always been ſo near to him, and who ſtood up ſo cloſe to his father in extremity of danger, and ſo bravely, that had not God deſigned to reſtore the Crown in his own miraculous way, it had been certainly done before by your hand." [p. 107.]

The Students of Trinity-College, 1668, inform her Grace that they mean hereafter to dedicate the following epitaph to "her worthy name and memory."

To Margaret *the Firſt:*
Princeſs of Philoſophers:
Who hath diſpelled Errors:
Appeaſed the difference of Opinions:
And reſtored Peace
To Learning's Commonwealth. [p. 152.]

To this band of encomiaſts may be added Edward Rainbowe (10), afterwards Biſhop of Carliſle; the well-known Sir Kenelm Digby; Ambroſe Sorbiere, author of the Travels into England, anſwered by Sprat; Dr. Henry More, the myſtical Divine; Dr. Walter Charlton, Phyſician to the King; the Biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry, in 1663 (11); Joſeph Glanvil, the writer on Witchcraft; Sir Samuel Tuke, Bart. a dramatic author; Lord Berkley, the *Lord Plauſible* of Wycherley; Edward Howard, the *Perſon of Honour* alluded to in the Rehearſal; Shadwell the Poet; Hobbes the Philoſopher; ſome Profeſſors in foreign Univerſities, &c.

(10) Of Magdalen-College, Cambridge, and Vice-Chancellor in 1663.

(11) John Hacket.

The volume from which the foregoing extracts have been made, conſiſts of 182 pages, and concludes with ſeveral copies of verſes by Sir George Etherege, Shadwell, and others; together with an Engliſh Elegy on the death of the Ducheſs of Newcaſtle, by Knightly Chetwood, in whoſe guilt the author of this note would be involved, were he to produce any quotation from ſo impious a performance. This gentleman was afterwards Dean of Glouceſter, and wrote the Diſſertation on Paſtoral Poetry prefixed to Dryden's tranſlation of the Eclogues of Virgil.

Theſe examples of talents miſapplied, of learning degraded by ſervility, and adulation deviating into profaneneſs, ſufficiently authorize the ſeverity of *Prudentius*, who allows no praiſe even to conſummate elegance, when proſtituted to unwarrantable purpoſes.

Os dignum, æterno tinctum quod fulgeat auro,
Si mallet laudare Deum; cui ſordida monſtra
Prætulit, & liquidam temeravit crimine vocem.
Haud aliter, quam ſi raſtris quis tentet eburnis
Cænoſum verſare ſolum, limoque madentes
Excolere aureolis ſi fortè ligonibus ulvas;
Splendorem dentis nitidi ſcrobs inguinat atra,
Et pretioſa acies ſqualenti ſordet in arvo.

Contra Symmach. Lib. 1.

Since the above memorandum was drawn up, I have been told that the late ingenious and amiable Mr. Granger, in his ſecond edition of the *Biographical Hiſtory of England*, vol. iv. p. 60, has referred to the ſame collection of fulſome addreſſes; but it will appear that we have not claſhed in our extracts, or much impoveriſhed the book from which they are taken. Thoſe who chance to meet with it hereafter, will rather wonder at our forbearance to introduce more ample quotations from it, than find reaſon to charge our reſpective ſelections with partiality.

gles

gles and points; ſuch as was worn in the time of King Charles the Firſt *. This lady, I was informed, was the Ducheſs of Newcaſtle. When ſhe came to mount, ſhe ſprang into the ſaddle with ſurpriſing agility; and giving an entire looſe to the reins, Pegaſus directly ſet up a gallop, and ran away with her quite out of ſight. However, it was acknowledged, that ſhe kept a firm ſeat, even when the horſe went at his deepeſt rate; and that ſhe wanted nothing but to ride with a curb bridle. When ſhe came to diſmount, Shakeſpeare and Milton very kindly offered their hand to help her down, which ſhe accepted. Then Euterpe came up to her with a ſmile, and begged her to repeat thoſe beautiful lines againſt Melancholy, which (ſhe ſaid) were ſo extremely pictureſque. The Ducheſs, with a moſt pleaſing air, immediately began——

* There is a portrait of her at Welbeck, in a theatrical habit, which ſhe uſually wore. Granger, vol. iv. p. 60.

Dull Melancholy——————
She'll make you ſtart at ev'ry noiſe you hear,
And viſions ſtrange ſhall to your eyes appear.
Her voice is low, and gives an hollow ſound;
She hates the light, and is in darkneſs found;
Or ſits by blinking lamps, or tapers ſmall,
Which various ſhadows make againſt the wall.
She loves nought elſe but noiſe which diſcord makes;
As croaking frogs, whoſe dwelling is in lakes;
The raven hoarſe, the mandrake's hollow groan;
And ſhrieking owls, that fly i' th' night alone;
The tolling bell, which for the dead rings out;
A mill, where ruſhing waters run about.
She loves to walk in the ſtill moon-ſhine night,
And in a thick dark grove ſhe takes delight:
In hollow caves, thatch'd houſes, and low cells,
She loves to live, and there alone ſhe dwells.
There leave her to herſelf alone to dwell,
While you and I in mirth and pleaſure ſwell.

"All the while that theſe lines were repeating, Milton ſeemed very attentive; and it was whiſpered by ſome, that he was obliged for many of the thoughts in his L'Allegro and Il Penſeroſa to this Lady's Dialogue between Mirth and Melancholy (*m*)." The concluding remark we believe to be groundleſs, and, indeed, not conſiſtent with chronology.

(*m*) Connoiſſeur, vol. ii. p. 263—265. No 69.

The Ducheſs of Newcaſtle departed this life at London, in the cloſe of the year 1673, and was buried in Weſtminſter-Abbey, on the 7th of January, 1673-4. The ſuperb monument erected there to the memory of her and the Duke, and the inſcription upon it, are well known to the greater part of our readers. Her perſon is reported to have been very graceful. With regard to her character, her temper was naturally reſerved; ſo that ſhe ſeldom ſaid much in company, and eſpecially among ſtrangers. In her ſtudies, contemplations, and writings, ſhe was moſt indefatigable. She was truly pious, charitable, and generous; very kind to her ſervants; an excellent œconomiſt; and a complete pattern of conjugal affection and duty (*n*). It hath been thought ſurprizing, that ſhe, who devoted her time ſo greatly to writing, could acquit herſelf with ſo much propriety in the ſeveral duties and relations of life (*o*).

(*n*) Ballard, *ubi ſupra*, p. 213.

(*o*) Granger, vol. iv. p. 61.

Mr. Jonathan Richardſon, on the authority of a Mr. Fellows, relates, that the Duke of Newcaſtle being once complimented, by a friend, on the great wiſdom of his wife, anſwered, "Sir, a very wiſe woman is a very fooliſh thing (*p*)." The known attachment of his Grace to the Ducheſs, the high compliments he paid her, and the aſſiſtance he gave her in her works, detract from the credit of this ſtory. If there be any truth in it, the Duke's reply might be uttered in a fit of ill-humour, or in one of thoſe capricious ſtarts of temper to which moſt characters are occaſionally ſubject.] K.

(*p*) Richardſoniana, p. 249, 250.

CAVENDISH (CHARLES), brother to William the Third, and ſon to William the Second, Earl of Devonſhire. He was born at London May 20, 1620, and his Majeſty being his godfather, gave him the name of Charles (*a*). His genius being quick and lively, and at the ſame time very penetrating and ſolid, he was, according to the method eſtabliſhed in this noble family, put into a ſtrict and regular mode of education; and when he was thoroughly ſeaſoned with the principles of uſeful knowledge, he was ſent abroad with a Governor about 1638, to poliſh the learning he had acquired at home, by ſeeing the world abroad (*b*). He went firſt to Paris, and that great city ringing at that time with the fame of the ſiege of Luxemburgh, which it was thought the French army nigh that place would make, the martial genius of our young traveller prompted him to ſteal thither, from whence his Governor, with ſome difficulty, brought him back to his ſtudies in Paris (*c*). The next year he made the tour of Italy, when he viſited and made ſome ſtay at Naples, Rome, and Venice, from which laſt city, in the

(*a*) Kennet's Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family, p. 83.

(*b*) Memoirs of the Life of Col. Cavendiſh, MS.

(*c*) Kennet's Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family, p. 50.

ſpring of the next year, he embarked for Conſtantinople, leaving his Governor and Engliſh ſervants behind him. When he had ſatisfied his curioſity in viewing that famous capital of the Turkiſh empire, he made a journey by land through Natolia, and having ſeen whatever was worth ſeeing there, embarked for Alexandria, and travelled from thence to Grand Cairo. All the wonders of Egypt ſurveyed, he returned once more to Alexandria, took his paſſage in a ſhip bound for Malta, proceeded thence by ſea to Spain, then traverſing part of that kingdom and of France, returned ſafely to Paris, and after ſome ſhort ſtay there, came back to England in May 1641 (*d*). He appeared at Court with the greateſt advantages poſſible: he had a fine perſon, a ſprightly wit, a deep judgment, a generous ſpirit, a diſintereſted loyalty, and a nice ſenſe of honour. Theſe ſhining qualities made him equally the favourite of the King and Queen, and the darling of the people. He had a ſtrong paſſion for arms; and his mother, the Counteſs Dowager of Devonſhire, willing to gratify him, had thoughts of purchaſing Lord Goring's regiment of foot, then in the Dutch ſervice; and to qualify him for this command, he made the campaign that ſummer in the Prince of Orange's army, from whence he returned in the month of November (*e*). Upon his coming back, he found there was no neceſſity of ſeeking employment for his martial talents in ſtrange climates, the hard neceſſity of the times having unhappily naturalized them to his own. He repaired to York, and offered his ſervice to the King, in whoſe own troop he rode, under the command of Lord Bernard Stuart, brother to the Duke of Richmond, and a kinſman of his own, in which ſituation we find him, October 23, 1642, at the battle of Edge-Hill. It was of this troop, and upon that occaſion, that his Majeſty ſaid, *That the fortunes of thoſe who compoſed it, would buy the eſtates of the Lord* Eſſex, *and of all the officers in his army* (*f*). In this battle Mr. Cavendiſh ſo much diſtinguiſhed himſelf, that the Lord Aubigny, who commanded the Duke of York's troop, being killed in the action, he was preferred to that poſt as the reward of his ſervice (*g*). He did not continue long in that ſtation, but laid hold of the firſt opportunity to convert his troop into a regiment for the King's ſervice; and this brought him into the North, and under the command of his couſin the Marquis of Newcaſtle [*A*]. In this part of the world he proſpered greatly, and being informed that the Parliament garriſon at Grantham very much incommoded the adjacent country, he marched thither, attacked, reduced it, made priſoners three hundred and fifty men with their officers, and then demoliſhed it (*h*). Other actions he performed of leſs importance; and being declared Lieutenant-General of the horſe, was employed by the Marquis of Newcaſtle, to eſcort the Queen in her journey to Newark, which with great credit he performed. Her Majeſty recollected him at firſt ſight, told him very graciouſly that ſhe ſaw him laſt in Holland, and was glad to meet him again in England; and the firſt night, when Major Tuke came for the word, her Majeſty was pleaſed to give CAVENDISH (*i*). At Dunnington he had ſome advantage over the Parliament's forces, and was very active on that ſide: but that he marched with her Majeſty to Oxford, as moſt writers ſay, is hard to believe, her Majeſty, in her own letter, affirming directly the contrary; and that, at the requeſt of the gentry of the country, much againſt his own will, ſhe left him behind, with two thouſand foot, and twenty troops of horſe (*k*). Upon his having this command, and being informed that a great body of the enemy's troops were at Gainſborough, which they had ſurprized, and had made themſelves maſters of the Earl of Kingſton's perſon, Lieutenant-General Cavendiſh immediately marched that way, and in their paſſage had reſcued the Earl of Kingſton, if an unfortunate ſhot, haſtily fired, had not moſt unluckily killed him, in the cabin of the veſſel, in which they were carrying him down the Trent to Hull (*l*). This ſeemed to be an omen of the misfortunes that quickly followed; for on July 30, 1643, General Cavendiſh attacked a great body of the Parliament forces under Cromwell, and being overpowered was forced to a retreat, which the Lieutenant-General covered with a ſmall body of reſerve, and made a noble defence, till, by the ſuperiority of numbers, and weight of the enemy's cavalry, they were forced into a bog, and there, after quitting his horſe, and dangerouſly wounded, this gallant man loſt his life, throwing his blood in the faces of his enemies, as deſpiſing and diſdaining quarter

(*d*) Life of Chriſtian Counteſs of Devonſhire, p. 47.

(*e*) Kennet's Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family, *ubi ſupra*.

(*f*) Life of the Counteſs of Devonſhire, p. 49.

(*g*) Life of Col. Cavendiſh, MS.

(*h*) Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 20.

(*i*) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, by his Ducheſs, p. 34.

(*k*) Ruſhworth's Collections, vol. ii. P. iii. p. 274.

(*l*) Heath's Chr. p. 53.

[*A*] *Of his couſin the Marquis of Newcaſtle.*] The beſt account we have of this matter occurs in the work of one of the Hiſtorians of this noble family, and therefore it will be proper to give it in the author's own words (1). 'This troop was ſoon after 'put into the Prince of Wales's regiment, wherein 'the ſuperior officer put ſomething on Captain Ca'vendiſh which he thought an indignity, and there'fore he deſired his Majeſty to aſſign him one thou'ſand pounds (which his own brother the Earl of 'Devonſhire had preſented to the King) promiſing, 'that if his Majeſty would be pleaſed to let him have 'the Duke of York's troop out of the Prince of 'Wales's regiment, he would go into the North and 'raiſe the Duke a compleat regiment of horſe before 'the army could take the field; to which the King 'conſented, aſſuring him the honour of being Colo'nel of his new regiment. In order to compleat it, 'he accepted of Thomas Markham, Eſq; to be his 'Lieutenant-Colonel, and Mr. Tuke for the Captain 'of his firſt troop, and took his head quarters at 'Newark, keeping under many of the rebel garri'ſons at Nottingham, and other neighbouring parts, 'and by degrees became maſter of the whole country; 'ſo that the King's Commiſſioners for Lincolnſhire 'and Nottinghamſhire deſired his leave to petition 'the King that he might have the command of all 'the forces of their two counties in quality of Co'lonel-General; which he complied with, and the 'King granted.'

(1) Life of the Counteſs of Devon, by Mr. Pomfret, p. 49, 50.

at their hands (*m*), though, by ſome writers, this is differently reported [*B*]. His body was carried to Newark, where the people expreſſed their tenderneſs and concern for him, by keeping it above ground for ſeveral days, till they could give ſome vent to their grief, after which it was interred; and, thirty years after, upon his mother's death, removed to Derby, and buried under the ſame tomb with her (*n*). It was very remarkable, that, though at ſo great a diſtance of time, the lamentations of the people at Newark broke out afreſh, and the whole town was in tears upon the removing of his corps, as if he had been but juſt dead (*o*). But, after all, the nobleſt tribute paid to the memory of this great and gallant young man, is the epitaph, or rather elegiac verſes, of the celebrated Mr. Waller (*p*), which the reader, without doubt, will be well pleaſed to find in the notes [*C*]; more eſpecially, as it plainly ſhews, how much Cromwell valued himſelf

(*m*) Lloyd's Memoirs of the Sufferers for King Charles I. p. 673.

(*n*) Life of the Counteſs of Devon. p. 92.

(*o*) *Idem. ibid.*

(*p*) Waller's Poems, p. 209.

[*B*] *Though, by ſome writers, this is differently reported.*] We have ſeveral accounts of this gentleman's death ſo little correſponding with each other, that it requires an extraordinary degree of attention to find out the truth. In Heath's Chronicle, the ſtory is told at large, in theſe words (2): 'Some of Lord Willoughby's forces at Gainſborough, had ſurprized the 'Earl of Kingſton, father to the Marquis of Dorcheſter, and brought him thither, whence, for better ſecurity of his perſon, which was of great concernment to the King's affairs thereabout, they reſolved to ſend him to Hull. In the way thither, 'Colonel Cavendiſh, brother to the Earl of Devonſhire, with a party, purſued the pinnace to a ſhallow which it could not paſs, and demanded her and 'the Earl's ſurrender; which being refuſed, a drake 'was diſcharged, which unhappily killed the ſaid 'Earl and one of his ſervants, being placed on purpoſe on the deck to deter the Royaliſts from ſhooting; whereupon they preſently ſtruck ſail and yielded, 'but with a juſt revenge were all ſacrificed to the 'ghoſt of that moſt loyal and noble Peer. Notice 'of this party and their deſign being given to the garriſon, a ſufficient number under Colonel White, a 'Lincolnſhire gentleman, were haſtened to relieve 'the boat, or recover it if taken; who accordingly 'encountred with the Royaliſts, and being too many 'for them, this valiant perſonage was forced to take 'the Trent with his horſe, which ſwam him ſafe to 'the other ſide, but there ſtuck in the owze and mud; 'and as ſoon as the Colonel had got aſhore off his 'horſe's back, the enemy was come round by the 'ford, and ſeeing him deſperately wounded, offered 'him quarter; which he magnanimouſly refuſing, and 'throwing his blood he wiped off his face among 'them, was killed outright upon the place.' Much to the ſame purpoſe is the ſtory told us by Lloyd (3), only heightened a little by his declamatory way of delivering himſelf upon all occaſions. The Ducheſs of Newcaſtle has a very exact and very ſuccinct relation of this unfortunate accident (4), which I mention the rather, becauſe it ſhews the credit due to the facts ſet down in thoſe Memoirs, which are more accurately related than is commonly imagined. 'The forces, 'ſays ſhe, which my Lord had in the county of Lincoln, commanded by the then Lieutenant-General 'of the horſe, Mr. Charles Cavendiſh, ſecond brother to the then Earl of Devonſhire, though they 'had timely notice and orders from my Lord to make 'their retreat to the Lieutenant-General of the army, 'and not to fight the enemy, yet the ſaid Lieutenant-General of horſe being tranſported by his courage '(he being a perſon of great valour and conduct) 'and having charged the enemy, unfortunately loſt 'the field, and himſelf was ſlain in the charge, his 'horſe lighting in a bog. Which news being brought 'to my Lord when he was on his march, he made all 'the haſte he could, and was no ſooner joined with 'his Lieutenant-General, but he fell upon the ene'my and put them to flight.' After all, Cromwell's own letter to the Committee of the aſſociated counties at Cambridge, dated from Huntington, July 31, 1643, to which place he had been driven by Newcaſtle, gives the fulleſt account of this matter, and which deſerves moſt credit, as being written by an eye-witneſs. After having related the manner in which he collected a body of troops for the relief of Gainſborough, his arrival there, and beating the vanguard of this body of horſe, he proceeds in theſe words (5): 'I perceiving this body, which was the 'reſerve, ſtanding ſtill unbroken, kept back my Major Whaley from the chaſe, and with my own troop 'and the other of my regiment, in all being three 'troops, we got into a body: in this reſerve ſtood 'General Cavendiſh, who one while faced me, another 'while faced four of the Lincoln troops, which was 'all of ours that ſtood upon the place, the reſt being 'engaged in the chaſe. At laſt, General Cavendiſh 'charged the Lincolners, and routed them; immediately I fell on his rear with my three troops, which 'did ſo aſtoniſh him, that he gave over the chaſe, 'and would fain have delivered himſelf from me, but 'I preſſing on forced them down a hill, having good 'execution of them, and below the hill drove the 'General, with ſome of his ſoldiers, into a quagmire, 'where my Captain-Lieutenant *ſlew him with a 'thruſt under his ſhort ribs*, the reſt of the body was 'wholly routed, not one man ſtaying upon the place.' Another writer (6) aſſures us, that it was Colonel Bury who murdered this brave young gentleman in cold blood after quarter given, and that he made himſelf dear to Cromwell by this and ſome other acts of cruelty. We are told by ſome writers, that among the valuable papers collected by Dr. Moor, Biſhop of Ely, there were ſeveral of this gentleman's, which ſhowed him to have had very deep ſkill in ſome parts of the Mathematics (7). But I doubt there is a miſtake in this, and that theſe papers did not belong to him but to Sir Charles Cavendiſh, the Duke of Newcaſtle's younger brother, of whom the noble Hiſtorian (8) gives this character: *That he was a man of the nobleſt and largeſt mind, though the leaſt and moſt inconvenient body that lived*; and of whoſe great ſkill in the Mathematics, we are able to produce more teſtimonies than one (9), which makes it probable that theſe papers were his.

(2) Heath's Chr. p. 53, 54.

(3) Memoirs of the Sufferers for King Charles I. p. 673.

(4) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, by his Ducheſs, p. 33, 34.

(5) Ruſhworth's Collections, vol. ii. P. iii. p. 278.

(6) Pomfret's Life of the Counteſs of Devon. p. 53.

(7) Collins's Peerage of England, vol. i. p. 152.

(8) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 402.

(9) Life of the Duke of Newcaſtle, p. 74. Lloyd's Memoirs of the Sufferers for King Charles I. p. 673.

[*C*] *To find in the notes.*] The chief reaſon for giving place to this poem here is, becauſe the reader, from the peruſal of the foregoing article, will enter more clearly and fully into the ſenſe of it, and diſcern perfectly the force of Mr. Waller's hiſtorical application; which is at once as judicious as it is elegant and poetical (10).

(10) Waller's Poems, p. 209.

On the death of Colonel Charles Cavendiſh.

Here lies CHARLES CA'NDISH: let the marble ſtone,
That hides his aſhes, make his virtues known.
Beauty, and valour, did his ſhort life grace;
The grief, and glory, of his noble race!
Early abroad he did the world ſurvey,
As if he knew he had not long to ſtay:
Saw what great ALEXANDER in the Eaſt,
And mighty JULIUS conquer'd in the Weſt.
Then, with a mind as great as theirs, he came
To find at home occaſion for his fame:
Where dark confuſion did the nation hide;
And where the juſter, was the weaker ſide.
Two loyal brothers took their Sov'reign's part,
Employ'd their wealth, their courage, and their art:
The elder did whole regiments afford;
The younger brought his conduct and his ſword.
Born to command, a leader he begun,
And on the rebels laſting honour won:
The horſe inſtructed by their General's worth,
Still made the King victorious in the North:

Where

ſelf upon delivering his party from the arms of this hero, who, after a life ſhort in duration, but full of glory, ſlept thus in the bed of honour.

Where CA'NDISH fought, the Royaliſts prevail'd;
Neither his courage, nor his judgment, fail'd;
The current of his vict'ries found no ſtop,
'Till CROMWELL came, his party's chiefeſt prop.
Equal ſucceſs had ſet theſe champions high,
And both reſolve to conquer, or to die:
Virtue with rage, fury with valour ſtrove;
But, that muſt fall which is decreed above!
CROMWELL, with odds of number, and of fate,
Remov'd this bulwark of the Church and State:
Which the ſad iſſue of the war declar'd,
And made his taſk, to ruin both, leſs hard.
So, when the bank neglected is o'erthrown,
The boundleſs torrent does the country drown.
Thus fell the young, the lovely, and the brave;
Strew bays, and flowers, upon his honour'd grave!

C.

*** [It hath been remarked to us, by a very reſpectable correſpondent, that Charles the Firſt's obſervation with regard to his own troop, "That the "fortunes of thoſe who compoſed it, would buy the "eſtates of the Lord Eſſex, and of all the officers in "his army," ſhould not have been made by his Majeſty, or repeated by his well-wiſhers. The man who poſſeſſes forty ſhillings a year may, and ought to be, as zealous in the defence of his little inheritance, as he who is entitled to an annual income of forty thouſand pounds. Nor did thoſe who oppoſed the Court deſerve to be treated with contempt, though their purſes might not be ſo heavy as the purſes of the gentlemen who conſtituted the King's troop of horſe-guards. They had ſomething to defend, and what they had they would not give up without the authority of law.]

K.

CAVENDISH (WILLIAM), the firſt Duke of Devonſhire, one of the ableſt Stateſmen, and moſt diſtinguiſhed Patriots of his time. He was born January 25, 1640, and educated with all the care due to his high birth, and the great hopes excited by the pregnancy of his parts (*a*). When he was of a fit age to make the tour of Europe, he was ſent abroad under the care of Dr. Killegrew, who was afterwards Maſter of the Savoy, a gentleman perfectly ſkilled in polite literature, who gave his noble pupil a true reliſh of the claſſic writers, and contributed in other reſpects to form that fine taſte, for which this nobleman became afterwards diſtinguiſhed (*b*). His Lordſhip was one of the four Peers eldeſt ſons, that bore up King Charles the Second's train at his coronation in 1661 (*c*); and the ſame year he was elected one of the Knights for the county of Derby, and continued a member of that which was called the Long Parliament till it was diſſolved (*d*). September 21, 1663, he was created Maſter of Arts in the Univerſity of Oxford, by the ſpecial command of the Chancellor (*e*). In 1665 he went a volunteer, and expoſed his perſon extremely in his attendance upon the Duke, who commanded the Britiſh navy that year (*f*). In the ſpring of the year 1669, he accompanied his intimate friend Mr. Mountague in his embaſſy to France, and being accidentally at the Opera at Paris, met with an adventure, which, though it endangered his life, gained him a very high reputation (*g*) [*A*]. In 1677 he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Houſe of Commons, by a vigorous oppoſition of the Court meaſures; and, the year following, was very inſtrumental in forwarding an enquiry into the Popiſh plot, and was alſo of the Committee appointed to draw up articles of impeachment (*h*) againſt the Lord High-Treaſurer Danby. He was choſen Knight of the ſhire for the county of Derby, in the Parliament which met in the ſpring of the year 1679 (*i*), and, together with his inſeparable friend Lord Ruſſel, he was named of that Privy-Council, of whom the King gave this character: *That they were men whoſe known abilities, intereſts, and eſteem, in the nation, rendered them above all ſuſpicion of miſtaking or betraying the true intereſt of the kingdom* (*k*). He acted in this high ſtation with the ſame firmneſs as in Parliament, till finding his attendance ineffectual, in conjunction with the Lord Ruſſel, Sir Henry Capel, and Mr. Powle, he deſired leave to withdraw (*l*). He was again elected Knight of the ſhire for Derby, in that Parliament, which, after many prorogations, met upon the 21ſt of October, 1680 (*m*), and diſtinguiſhed himſelf therein, by a firm adherence to thoſe meaſures which he thought moſt conducive to the welfare of the nation, and the ſafety of the Proteſtant religion (*n*). In that ſeſſions, he carried up to the Lords an impeachment againſt the Lord Chief Juſtice Scroggs, for his arbitrary and illegal proceedings in the Court of King's Bench, and made two famous ſpeeches on the ſubject of the Excluſion Bill, to which he was a hearty friend (*o*). He repreſented the ſame county for which he had been choſen in three former Parliaments, in that held at Oxford (*p*), and behaved there with the ſame ſteadineſs and zeal: but as his Lordſhip well underſtood the nature of our excellent conſtitution, ſo he was as careful in avoiding

(*a*) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh.

(*b*) Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 155.

(*c*) Baker's Chr. p. 738.

(*d*) Parliamentary Regiſter, p. 74.

(*e*) Wood's Faſti, Oxon. vol. ii. col. 154.

(*f*) Corspleat Hiſt. of Engl. vol. iii. p. 255.

(*g*) Temple's Letters, vol. ii. p. 70.

(*h*) Journal of the Houſe of Commons, p. 189, 195, 196.

(*i*) Parliamentary Regiſter, p. 74.

(*k*) See the King's Speech to his Privy Council, April 20, 1679, and in the Houſe of Lords the next day.

(*l*) Compl. Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 368.

(*m*) Parliamentary Regiſter, p. 74.

(*n*) Collection of Debates in the Houſe of Commons, in the year 1680, p. 1.

(*o*) Compl. Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 379. Debates before cited, p. 154.

(*p*) Parliamentary Regiſter, p. 74.

[*A*] *Gained him a very high reputation.*] This accident, we are told, happened thus (1): Three officers of the French King's guard came full of wine upon the ſtage, and one of them coming up to him with a very inſulting queſtion, his Lordſhip gave him a ſmart ſtroke on the face; upon which they all drew, and puſhed at him very hard. Lord Cavendiſh ſetting his back againſt one of the ſcenes, defended himſelf very ſtoutly, notwithſtanding he had received ſeveral wounds, till at length a ſturdy Swiſs, belonging to the Lord Embaſſador Mountague, caught him up in his arms, and threw him over into the pit. In his fall, his arm catched upon an iron ſpike, and was grievouſly torn. The officers were, by the King's orders, ſent to priſon, where they remained, till by his Lordſhip's interceſſion they were diſcharged. Sir William Temple wrote him a very handſome letter upon this occaſion, dated July 18, 1669 (2), from the Hague, in which he compliments him highly upon his courage, and tells him, that the Dutch thought a thing of this kind could happen no where but in France, or at leaſt would have been ſuffered no where elſe, without the reſt of the company's interpoſing, which is a ſevere but juſt remark upon that nation.

(1) Kennet's Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh, p. 117, 118.

(2) Temple's Letters, vol. ii. p. 70.

whatever

whatever might injure it, by overſtraining the privileges of Parliament, as he was watchful over the encroachments of prerogative; and, therefore, though no man ſpoke more freely in the Houſe of Commons than he did, yet never any Member was more ſtudious to avoid any harſhneſs or indecency (*q*). He was not afraid of meeting and converſing with his noble friends, even after Parliaments were laid aſide: but though he was a hearty promoter of legal oppoſition, he ſincerely abhorred whatever tended to ſedition or confuſion; and, therefore, when at one of theſe meetings a very bold overture was made, he roundly declared *He would never go among them more*, and kept his word (*r*). His friendſhip to Lord Ruſſel induced him to appear as a witneſs for him at his trial, and the teſtimony he gave will do laſting honour to both their memories (*s*) [*B*]. When his noble friend was under ſentence of death, he ſent him a meſſage by Sir James Forbes, that he would come and change clothes with him in priſon, if he thought it practicable to make his eſcape (*t*); but that unfortunate Lord being too generous to accept the propoſal, he waited upon and aſſiſted him to the laſt, did all in his power to alleviate the grief of his diſconſolate Lady; and, to give the higheſt proof of his reſpect for his family, married his eldeſt ſon to the daughter of his friend (*u*). The ſame generous diſpoſition led him to ſend a challenge to Count Koningſmark, who, though ſtrongly ſuſpected of being concerned in the aſſaſſination of Mr. Thynne, had been acquitted by a jury; but it ſeems, that was a method of trial the Count thought fit to decline (*w*). In 1684, he became, by the deceaſe of his father, Earl of Devonſhire; and perſevering in the ſame generous principles, an attempt was made, in the reign of King James, to terrify him, by giving out that one poſitive witneſs was to be found, who would charge him with rebellious practices; but he put a ſtop to this ſcheme by deſiring to confront him (*x*). The Court, however, gained one advantage over him by a proſecution in the Court of King's Bench, for ſtriking a gentleman in the verge of the Court, for which he was fined thirty thouſand pounds (*y*) [*C*]. It is no wonder, that after ſuch treatment as this, he choſe to retire into the country; and that he might find ſome employment there worthy of his active and excellent genius, he pulled down the ſouth ſide of his houſe at Chatſworth, and rebuilt it with a front to his gardens, in ſo juſt, ſo regular, and noble a taſte, that it looked like a model of what might be done in after ages (*z*). But neither the hazards he had run, the diſappointments he had met with, or the pleaſures of his retirement, could hinder him from contriving in his mind ſuch methods as ſeemed to him practicable, for the relief of his country; and, therefore, with infinite danger to himſelf, he ventured to concert, with ſome noble friends, a plan for their common deliverance (*a*) [*D*]. When the Prince of Orange landed, he was one of the firſt

(*q*) See the Debates before cited, p. 316.

(*r*) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh.

(*s*) Trial of William Lord Ruſſel, fol. p. 53.

(*t*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, p. 560.

(*u*) Kennet's Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh, p. 134.

(*w*) Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 164.

(*x*) Funeral Sermon for the Duke of Devonſhire, p. 48, 49.

(*y*) Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 165.

(*z*) Kennet's Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh.

(*a*) See this explained at large in the note.

[*B*] *Will do laſting honour to both their memories.*] It appears from the trial, that Lord Ruſſel thought proper, in his defence, to call ſome perſons of quality, with whom he had been well acquainted and converſed much, that they might ſpeak from their knowledge of his former behaviour, whether they could think him guilty of a thing of the nature he was charged with. The anſwer given by the Lord Cavendiſh, was conceived in theſe words (3); 'I had the honour to be 'acquainted with my Lord Ruſſel a long time. I al-'ways thought him a man of great honour, and too 'prudent and wary a man to be concerned in ſo vile 'and deſperate a deſign as this, and from which he 'would receive ſo little advantage. I can ſay nothing 'more, but that two or three days ſince the diſcovery 'of this plot, upon diſcourſe about Colonel Rumſey, 'my Lord Ruſſel did expreſs ſomething as if he had 'a very ill opinion of the man; and, therefore, it is 'not likely he would entruſt him with ſuch a ſecret.'

(3) State Trials, vol. iii. p. 724.

[*C*] *For which he was fined thirty thouſand pounds.*] It ſeems, that the Earl of Devonſhire having received an affront from Colonel Culpepper, within the verge of the Court, ſo far reſtrained his reſentment, as not to take any ſatisfaction upon the ſpot; and afterwards thought fit, though the inſult was very rude, to compromiſe it, upon the Colonel's promiſe never to appear again at Whitehall (4). But after the defeat of the Duke of Monmouth, the Colonel was encouraged to ſlight the obligations he was under, and to come publicly to Court as uſual, where he was riſing into ſome degree of favour. This occaſioned a ſecond quarrel; for the Earl of Devonſhire meeting him in the King's preſence-chamber, and receiving from him, as he thought, an inſulting look, he took him by the noſe, led him out of the room, and gave him ſome diſdainful blows with the head of his cane. For this bold act, the Earl was proſecuted in the King's Bench upon an information, and had an exorbitant fine of 30,000 *l.* impoſed upon him, and was committed, though a Peer, to the King's Bench priſon, till he ſhould make payment of it. He was never able to bear any confinement that he could break from, and therefore, he eſcaped, only to go home to his ſeat at Chatſworth. Upon the news of his being there, the Sheriff of Derbyſhire had a precept to apprehend him, and bring him with his poſſe to town. But he invited the Sheriff, and kept him a priſoner of honour, till he had compounded for his own liberty, by giving bond to pay the full ſum of thirty thouſand pounds; which bond had this providential diſcharge, that it was found among the papers of King James, and given up by King William. We are told, that the Counteſs Dowager, his mother, being uneaſy to ſee him under ſo great a hardſhip, waited on the King to beg her ſon's pardon; and for diſcharge of the fine, did humbly deſire, that his Majeſty would accept of her delivering up bonds, and other acknowledgments, for above 60,000 *l.* lent by her huſband and his mother to his royal father and brother, in their greateſt extremities. But it ſeems, the Popiſh party then thought, the Earl had forfeited all title to gratitude and equity (5).

(4) Kennet's Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh, p. 136—139.

[*D*] *A plan for their common deliverance.*] We are told by the Hiſtorians of this family, that this noble Earl concerted meaſures with the Earl of Danby, Sir Scroop How, and others, previouſly to the Revolution (6). A very late author, whoſe account, I preſume, is taken from the tradition in that part of the country, gives us the following account (7): 'At Whittington, '*ſays he*, a village on the edge of Scarſdale in Der-'byſhire, the Earls of Devonſhire and Danby, with 'the Lord Delameer, privately concerted the plan 'of the Revolution. The houſe in which they met, 'is at preſent a farm-houſe, and the country people 'diſtinguiſhed the room where they ſate, by the name 'of the plotting-parlour.' We have a larger and more authentic account of this whole tranſaction from a moſt noble pen: I mean, that of the late Duke of

(5) This judgment was afterwards declared illegal by the Houſe of Lords, as the reader is told in the text.

(6) Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family by Kennet, p. 146—155. Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 166, 167.

(7) Dr. Akenſide's Ode, addreſſed to the Earl of Huntingdon, p. 26.

first who declared for him, ſecured the county town of Derby, and from thence marched to Nottingham, where he had the honour of receiving the Princeſs Anne, whom he lodged in the Caſtle, from which its noble owner, Henry Duke of Newcaſtle, thought fit at that time to retire, and afterwards conducted her to Oxford, to her conſort Prince George of Denmark (*b*). He then came up to London, and was one of that aſſembly of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, who joined in an addreſs to the Prince of Orange to take upon him the adminiſtration, till the Convention then ſummoned ſhould meet (*c*). In the Convention alſo, he was very active, argued ſtrenuouſly in ſupport of the reſolution of the Houſe of Commons, that King James had abdicated, and that the throne was vacant; which being once carried, he found himſelf at the head of a great majority, on the final reſolution, that the Prince and Princeſs of Orange ſhould be declared King and Queen of England (*d*). As the juſt reward of theſe his arduous and important ſervices, he was, on the 14th of February following, ſworn of the Privy-Council; and not long after, named Lord Steward of their Majeſties Houſhold (*e*); and on April 3, 1689, he was choſen one of the Knight's companions of the moſt noble Order of the Garter; and was inſtalled on the 14th of May following, with great ſolemnity (*f*). At their Majeſties coronation, he acted as Lord High-Steward of England (*g*); and in the firſt ſeſſion of Parliament afterwards, procured a reſolution of the Houſe of Lords, as to the illegality of the judgment given againſt him in the former reign, and a vote, that no Peer ought to be committed for non-payment of a fine to the Crown (*h*). Neither was he leſs ſolicitous to procure redreſs, as far as was poſſible, for others, who had been injured in the courſe of that and the former reign, and even in favour of the repreſentatives of ſuch as were deceaſed (*i*). In January 1691, he attended King William to the Congreſs at the Hague, where he lived in the utmoſt ſtate and magnificence, and had the honour to entertain ſeveral ſovereign Princes at his table, the King himſelf being preſent incognito; after which he waited upon the King to the camp, and having been preſent at the ſiege of Mons, returned to England with his Majeſty in April following (*k*). On the 12th of May 1694, he was created Marquis of Hartington and Duke of Devonſhire; and in the preamble of his Patent, the higheſt juſtice was done to his patriotiſm in the late reigns, and to his ſervices in this (*l*). Indeed, higher honours could hardly be done, or greater rewards conferred upon a ſubject; for beſides his Garter and White Staff, he was intruſted with the county of Derby as Lord Lieutenant, and *Cuſtos Rotulorum*, and was conſtituted alſo Lord Juſtice in Eyre (*m*). He ſhowed his gratitude to, and affection for that excellent Princeſs Queen Mary, by writing a pindaric poem on her death, which, as Mr. Dryden aſſerted, was the beſt that appeared upon that melancholy ſubject (*n*). The deceaſe of the Queen making it neceſſary for his Majeſty to appoint Lords Juſtices at ſuch times as the affairs of Europe required his preſence on the Continent, his Grace had the ſignal honour of being the only temporal Peer that was in every one of theſe commiſſions (*o*). But notwithſtanding all theſe honours and preferments, his Grace's conduct in Parliament was never governed by other dictates than thoſe of his conſcience; as appeared eminently in the caſe of Sir John Fenwick (*p*), and of the bill for the reſumption of the forfeited eſtates in Ireland; and in the latter, he not only voted but ſpoke againſt it, with his uſual freedom and eloquence (*q*). At the funeral of King William, his Grace and the late Duke of Somerſet, ſupported Prince George of Denmark as chief mourner (*r*). He was confirmed in all his offices by Queen Anne (*s*), whom he dutifully ſerved; and was, on the other hand, treated by her Majeſty with all imaginable marks of eſteem and confidence. In April 1705, he attended her Majeſty to Cambridge, and was there created Doctor in Law (*t*). In 1706, himſelf and his ſon the Marquis of Hartington, were in the number of the Engliſh Peers, appointed Commiſſioners for treating and concluding an union between the kingdoms of England and Scotland (*u*). This was the laſt of his public employments, for being ſeized with a ſevere illneſs, which yielded not to the art of the beſt Phyſicians, he departed this life, Auguſt 18, 1707, about nine in the morning, at Devonſhire-houſe in Piccadilly, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age (*w*). His Grace's character is too well known, and has been drawn by pens too eminent for us to hope to give any addition, either to the luſtre or the extent of his fame. He was a Nobleman no leſs diſtinguiſhed by his virtues than by his titles, and which alſo derives honour to

(*b*) Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 167.

(*c*) Compl. Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 505.

(*d*) Journal of the Houſe of Lords, Feb. 7, 1688.

(*e*) Compl. Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 515.

(*f*) Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 169.

(*g*) Compl. Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 524.

(*h*) Journal of the Houſe of Lords, May 6, 1689.

(*i*) See the article ARMSTRONG (Sir THOMAS) in this Dictionary.

(*k*) See an exact Relation of the Entertainment of King William at the Hague.

(*l*) Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 172.

(*m*) Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh.

(*n*) Lives of the Poets, vol. ii. p. 24.

(*o*) Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 174.

(*p*) Compl. Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 731.

(*q*) Kennet's Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family.

(*r*) Compl. Hiſt. of Europe for the year 1702, p. 111.

(*s*) Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 175. Hiſt. of Europe for the year 1702, p. 118.

(*t*) Pointer's Chronological Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 513.

(*u*) Taken from the Commiſſion, dated April 16, in the fifth year of her Majeſty's reign.

(*w*) Compl. Hiſt. of Europe for the year 1707, p. 489.

(8) Copies and Extracts of ſome Letters written to and from the Earl of Danby, now Duke of Leeds, in the years 1676, 1677, and 1678. With particular Remarks upon ſome of them, publiſhed by his Grace's direction, Lond. 1710, 8vo. in the Introduct.

Leeds, who at the time of this tranſaction was Earl of Danby; and who in a book, which he publiſhed to juſtify his own character, and to ſhew, that the beſt men who were concerned in the proſecution againſt him under the reign of King Charles II. afterwards changed their ſentiments, has this paſſage, in relation to the noble perſon, who is the ſubject of this article, (8), *viz.* The Duke of Devonſhire alſo, when we were partners in the ſecret truſt about the Revolution, and who did meet me and Mr. John D'Arcy for that purpoſe, at a town called Whittington in Derbyſhire, did, in the preſence of the ſaid Mr. D'Arcy, make a voluntary acknowledgment of the great miſtakes he had been led into about me, and ſaid, that both he and moſt others were entirely convinced of their error. And he came to Sir Henry Goodrick's houſe in Yorkſhire, purpoſely to meet me there again, in order to concert the times and methods by which he ſhould act at Nottingham (which was to be his poſt) and I at York (which was to be mine); and we agreed, that I ſhould firſt attempt to ſurprize York, becauſe there was a ſmall garriſon with a Governor there; whereas Nottingham was but an open town, and might give alarm to York, if he ſhould appear in arms before I had made my attempt upon York: which was done accordingly, but is miſtaken in divers relations of it.

his memory, by the ſolidity of his abilities, and the brilliancy of his parts. He was not only a Stateſman and a Patriot, but a Poet too; and, which is more, an excellent Poet, as his writings ſhew [*E*]. He was a Critic alſo, and ſo good a one, that Lord Roſcommon, whoſe verſes will live as long as our language, ſubmitted them to the reviſion of this ſevere, but candid judge (*x*). He was only once married, which was to the Lady Mary, daughter of James, Duke of Ormond (*y*), and their iſſue will be ſeen in the notes [*F*]. His

(*x*) Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 174.

(*y*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, vol. ii. p. 551.

[*E*] *As his writings ſhew.*] It is a very difficult matter to deſcribe, and that within the narrow compaſs of a note, the great abilities of this Nobleman, who was the friend and companion, and at the ſame time the equal, of Ormond, Dorſet, Roſcommon, and all the noble ornaments of that reign of wit, in which he paſſed his youth. It is, however, to his honour extremely, that he preſerved his public principles from being either tinged with ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion, or an enthuſiaſtic fondneſs, for that ſort of anarchy, which ſome call liberty. His frequent diſcourſe was to commend the conſtitution and laws of this kingdom, and to affirm, that as he always had, ſo he ever would endeavour to defend and preſerve them. He ſeemed to be made for a Patriot: his mien and aſpect were engaging and commanding: his addreſs and converſation were civil and courteous in the higheſt manner. He judged right in the Supreme Court, and on any important affair, his ſpeeches were ſmooth and weighty. As a Stateſman, his whole deportment came up to his noble birth and his eminent ſtations: nor did he want any of what the world calls accompliſhments. He had great ſkill in languages, was a true judge in Hiſtory, a critic in Poetry, and had a fine hand in Muſic. He had an elegant taſte in Painting, and all politer arts, with a ſpirit that was continually improving his judgment in them; and in Architecture had a genius, ſkill, and experience, beyond any one perſon of his age, his houſe at Chatſworth being a monument of beauty and magnificence, that perhaps is not exceeded by any palace in Europe. It was of this fine houſe, that Marſhal Tallard, who was a more ſucceſsful Courtier than he was a General, is reported to have ſaid a very fine thing, after being invited thither by the noble owner. His compliment at his departure, was conceived in theſe terms: *My Lord, when I come hereafter to compute the time of my captivity in* England, *I ſhall leave out the days of my enjoyment at* Chatſworth (9). His Grace's genius for Poetry ſhewed itſelf, particularly in two pieces that are publiſhed, and are allowed by the critics to be written with equal ſpirit, dignity, and delicacy.

(9) Kennet's Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family.

I. *An Ode on the Death of Queen* MARY, with this motto: *Poema eſt Pictura Loquens.*

II. *An Alluſion to the Biſhop of* Cambray's *Supplement to Homer.*

We may add to theſe, as an additional proof of his genius and character, the following inſcription, which he ordered to be placed on his monument, as it is an equal teſtimony of both.

WILLIELMUS DUX DEVON.
BONORUM PRINCIPUM FIDELIS SUBDITUS,
INIMICUS ET INVISUS TYRANNIS.

William Duke of Devonſhire.
Of good Princes the faithful ſubject,
An enemy to, and hated by, tyrants.

[*F*] *Will be ſeen in the notes.*] The iſſue of his Grace by the Lady Mary Butler, his only wife, and with whom he paſſed ſo many years with the moſt uninterrupted harmony, were three ſons and one daughter. 1. William Duke of Devonſhire. 2. Lord Henry Cavendiſh, repreſentative in Parliament for the town of Derby twice (10), who died May 10, 1700, leaving iſſue by his wife Rhoda, daughter to William Cartwright, of Aynoe, in the county of Northampton, Eſq; one daughter Mary, married to John, Earl of Weſtmoreland. 3. Lord James Cavendiſh, of Staley-Park, in Devonſhire; he married Anne, daughter of Elihu Yale, Eſq; formerly Governor of Fort St. George, by whom he had a ſon William, and a daughter Elizabeth. 4. Lady Elizabeth Cavendiſh, his Grace's only daughter, married Sir John Wentworth, of Broadſworth, in the county of York, Bart. by whom ſhe had three ſons.

(10) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, p. 236.

William, Duke of Devonſhire, was a Nobleman of unblemiſhed character and unſpotted integrity, enjoyed under the reigns in which he lived the higheſt employments, with the faireſt reputation, and died June 4, 1729 (11). He married the Lady Rachael Ruſſel, daughter of William Lord Ruſſel, and ſiſter to the Duke of Bedford, by whom he had iſſue, 1. William, Duke of Devonſhire. 2. Lord James Cavendiſh. 3. Lord Charles Cavendiſh, who married the Lady Anne Grey, third daughter to his Grace the Duke of Kent; and by her had two ſons. 4. Lord John Cavendiſh, who died May 10, 1720. His daughters were Lady Mary, who died unmarried; Lady Rachael, who eſpouſed Sir William Morgan, of Tredegar, Knt. of the Bath; Lady Elizabeth, who became the wife of Sir Thomas Lowther, Baronet; Lady Catherine, who died unmarried; Lady Anne, and Lady Diana, who alſo died unmarried. C.

(11) Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 181.

*** [William, the firſt Duke of Devonſhire, was undoubtedly a Nobleman of admirable public principles and character, whoſe political conduct in general, and whoſe affection to Lord Ruſſel in particular, together with the concern which he had in the Revolution, will ever render his memory dear to this country. He had, therefore, merit enough to recommend him, without its being neceſſary, on account of his writing two copies of verſes, to give him the praiſe of having been an excellent Poet. If Mr. Dryden ſaid, that his Grace's Ode on the death of Queen Mary was the beſt poem that appeared on that melancholy ſubject, it might be a tribute of flattery, which that great man had little ſcruple in paying to diſtinguiſhed rank; or it might be one of the beſt of the elegies occaſioned by her Majeſty's deceaſe, without its being entitled to any very high applauſe. Though we remember to have read, when young, both the Duke's pieces, we do not recollect their having made ſuch an impreſſion upon us as ever induced us to call for them again, or to eſtimate him, in our own minds, as a conſiderable Poet. Mr. Jacob, however, hath aſſigned him a place in his Poetical Regiſter, and hath produced ſome ſpecimens from the performances juſt mentioned, which only ſhew that his Grace, like ſeveral other Noblemen of his time, could occaſionally amuſe himſelf with verſification (12). Having, ſince the laſt ſentence was written, read the whole of the Ode on the death of Queen Mary, and ſome farther extracts from the "Alluſion to the Biſhop of "Cambray's Supplement to Homer," we continue in the ſame opinion. Mr. Walpole hath ranked the Duke of Devonſhire among his noble Authors, not only on account of theſe Poems, but on account, likewiſe, of two ſhort ſpeeches made by him, in King Charles the Second's reign, when he was a Member of the Houſe of Commons, and a paper which he delivered to the Mayor of Derby, in 1688 (13). The ſame ingenious writer hath thus briefly drawn his Grace's character: "A patriot among the men, "galant among the ladies. His friendſhip with "Lord Ruſſel, his free ſpirit, his bravery, duels, "honours, amours, are well known, and his epitaph "will never be forgotten (14)." Macky's account of him is, that he had been the fineſt and handſomeſt gentleman of his time; that he loved the ladies, and plays; that he kept a noble houſe and equipage; that he was tall, well made, and of a princely behaviour; and that he was of nice honour in every thing, but the payment of his tradeſmen (15). The laſt circumſtance, if true, greatly derogates from the worth and dignity of his character.

(12) Jacob's Poetical Regiſter, vol. ii. p. 23—26.

(13) Collins's Engliſh Baronage, p. 90—94. 107. 109—112. Royal and noble Authors, vol. ii. p. 99.

(14) *Ibid.* p. 98.

(15) Macky's Characters of the Court of Great-Britain, p. 18.

Mr. Colley Cibber relates, that, in the ſummer preceding the Revolution, when the Earl of Devonſhire was retired to Chatſworth, and had there been deeply

His corpſe was interred with his anceſtors in the Church of Allhallows in Derby, and his Ducheſs ſurviving him till the 31ſt of July 1710, deceaſed then in the ſixty-eighth year of her age; and on the 6th of Auguſt following, was interred in Weſtminſter-Abbey (z). Thus we have collected, digeſted, and tranſmitted to poſterity, the memoirs of ſome of the moſt eminent and celebrated perſons of this truly noble and illuſtrious family; and this, with ſuch regard to their deſcents, as might preſerve, as nearly as poſſible, the natural and chronological order of reading, and at the ſame time, leave as little of deficiency or obſcurity as the neceſſity of keeping within reaſonable bounds would permit. That there were many more of this line which deſerved to be remembred, we very well knew: but, as on the one hand, the nature of our deſign reſtrained us from mentioning any but the moſt diſtinguiſhed; we were conſcious, on the other, that the titles with which the merits of the houſe of Cavendiſh have been juſtly honoured by our Princes, have ſecured ſome memorials of their actions and fortunes; ſo that there is no danger that oblivion ſhould ever overſpread their memories, or hide from ſucceeding ages the glories of a houſe peculiarly remarkable for producing great men in almoſt every ſenſe of the word, and thoſe too, as good as they were great.

(z) Le Neve's Monum. Anglic. p. 202.

deeply engaged, with other Noblemen, in meaſures which ſoon after brought it to bear, King James ſent a perſon down to him, with offers to mitigate his fine, in the caſe of Colonel Culpeper, upon condition of ready payment. To this his Lordſhip replied, that if his Majeſty would be pleaſed to allow him a little longer time, he would rather chooſe to pay *double* or *quit* with him. The time of the intended riſing was then ſo near at hand, that the demand, it ſeems, came too late for a more ſerious anſwer (16). There is a circumſtance recorded in that ſplendid work, the Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, Eſq; which has an alluſion to this ſtory. The matter is thus related from a letter written by that excellent man to a friend, in the latter end of the year 1765. "I was in cloſe "connection with the late Duke of Devonſhire (17), "on matters of virtú, for ſome time before he died, "and had juſt obtained his confidence to ſo abſolute "a degree, as to have employed it to many noble "purpoſes. I had more than half perſuaded him, "in the ingenious bagatelle way, to cauſe dies to be "engraven for a ſeries of medals of the Dukes of "Devonſhire. And in the laſt converſation I had "with him, juſt before he became ſtricken, I ſaid to "him, that I had found the inſcription, though not "the ſubject, for the reverſe of the medal for the "firſt Duke of Devonſhire, DOUBLE OR QUITS, "at which we both laughed heartily. For he had "feelings, feelings too ſenſible, and died under them" (18). Nothing, as the ingenious and ſpirited writer of Mr. Hollis's life obſerves, could be more happily imagined than this inſcription; ſince, to ſecure the ſum of thirty thouſand pounds to the Crown, his Grace gave bond for ſixty thouſand to the Sheriff, who was ſent to Chatſworth to apprehend him. This might be called the Duke of Devonſhire's ſtake, hazarded on the event of the game of the Revolution, in which James might be ſaid to play for his Crown, againſt the Duke his antagoniſt. Had the project of the Revolution miſcarried, the Duke had loſt his DOUBLE STAKE; as it ſucceeded, he was QUITS. The people of England, adds the ſame writer, ought never to forget their obligations to this moſt noble, illuſtrious, and patriotic family. The character of the firſt Duke, inſcribed by his own order on his monument, deſcended to his poſterity. "William, the "ſecond Duke, continues our author, inherited his "father's principles and ſpirit with advantage. It "is a cold commendation given of him in the Bio-"graphia Britannica, that "he was a Nobleman of "unblemiſhed character and unſpotted integrity," "in compariſon of what a Miniſter of State, and an "excellent diſcerner of men, ſaid of him, a little "before his Grace's death, "that, ſhould there "have been a failure of Proteſtant heirs, and the "Crown ſhould have been to be diſpoſed of by the "rule of *detur digniori*, in a free election of the peo-"ple, the choice muſt inevitably have fallen on the "Duke of Devonſhire." The ſame honourable per-"ſon who communicated this anecdote, and was in-"timately acquainted with his Grace, ſaid, the "Duke had frequently in his mouth that fine ſtanza "of Horace,

"*Fortes creantur fortibus & bonis,*
"*Eſt in Juvencis, eſt in Equis Patrum*
"*Virtus; nec imbellem feroces*
"*Progenerant Aquilæ Columbam*——

"and particularly when he delivered his bowl, his "favourite exerciſe (19)." Mr. Macky's character of him, when he was Marquis of Hartington, is, that he had for many years made a conſiderable figure in the Houſe of Commons; that he was a man of very good ſenſe, a bold orator, and a zealous aſſerter of the liberty of the people; and that he was one of the beſt beloved gentlemen, by the country party, in England (20). Of the laſt Duke of Devonſhire, who died at the German Spa, on the 3d of October, 1764, Mr. Hollis ſays, that he was a Nobleman who was a friend to liberty and his country, and the arts (21).

Were it our deſign to enter into the hiſtory of families ſo much as our predeceſſors have ſometimes done, we could enlarge ſtill farther, with much pleaſure, on the Cavendiſhes. Among the noble and illuſtrious houſes which this country hath produced, few have been more diſtinguiſhed for their integrity and public ſpirit; and they ſtill continue to ſuſtain the ſame character. A juſt tribute of applauſe hath lately been paid to them in this reſpect, by a very ingenious author (22). Nor hath the race of Cavendiſh been deſtitute of the glory of ſcience, as well as of virtue. Lord Charles Cavendiſh, ſon to the ſecond Duke of Devonſhire, hath long been an eminent Member of the Royal Society, and celebrated for his philoſophical purſuits and knowledge. One of his Lordſhip's ſons, the Honourable Mr. Henry Cavendiſh, ſhines with no ſmall degree of luſtre in the ſame walk of literature, and hath made many important experiments and diſcoveries. Of theſe we could produce a variety of evidence, from the Tranſactions of the Society, Dr. Prieſtley's works, and other publications; but it is the intention of the Biographia to do juſtice to the dead, and not to adulate living merit.] K.

(16) Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber, vol. i. p. 55, 56. Fourth edition.

(17) William, the fourth Duke.

(18) Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, Eſq; vol. i. p. 173.

(19) *Ibid.* p. 173, 174.

(20) Macky's Characters, p. 47.

(21) Memoirs, *ubi ſupra*, p. 273.

(22) Dunbar's Eſſays on the Hiſtory of Mankind, p. 335.

CAWTON (THOMAS), a very learned Miniſter among the Nonconformiſts in the XVIIth century. He was the ſon of the Reverend Mr. Thomas Cawton, a worthy and truly religious Puritan, who was baniſhed for his loyalty (*a*) [*A*]. As for our author, he

(*a*) Life and Death of Mr. Thomas Cawton, Lond. 1662, 8vo. p. 5.

[*A*] *Baniſhed for his loyalty.*] Mr. Thomas Cawton, ſenior, was Miniſter of St. Bartholomew's behind the Royal Exchange, and had an exceeding fair character in the city. This occaſioned his being called to preach before the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of London, at Mercer's Chapel, February 25, 1648, when he delivered himſelf in ſuch plain terms againſt the canting hypocriſy of their governors, that he was firſt ſent for to

he was born at Wivenhoe, near Colcheſter, in Eſſex, about the year 1637, his father being then Miniſter of the place. The firſt rudiments of learning he received from his father, whom he attended in his baniſhment, and lived with him ſeveral years in Holland, where he ſtudied the Oriental languages under Mr. Robert Sheringham, at Rotterdam, with equal diligence and ſucceſs (*b*). About the year 1656, he was ſent to the Univerſity of Utrecht, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his extraordinary ſkill in the Oriental languages, in ſuch a manner as did honour to his country (*c*). On the 14th of December, 1657, he maintained a Theſis in relation to the Syriac Verſion of the New Teſtament, and printed his diſcourſe, as he did ſome time after another diſſertation on the uſefulneſs of the Hebrew language in the ſtudy of Theoretic Philoſophy, which treatiſes ſufficiently ſhew both the extent of his learning, and the ſolidity of his judgment (*d*) [*B*]. When he left Utrecht, the famous Profeſſor Leuſden ſubſcribed an ample teſ-

(*b*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 583.

(*c*) See the Account given of him by Mr. Leuſden in note [*C*].

(*d*) Theſe treatiſes were both printed in Latin at Utrecht, in 4to. 1657.

to Weſtminſter, and then committed to the Gatehouſe (1). This ſerved only to raiſe his character among the loyal Preſbyterians, who, when King Charles II. had thoughts of entering England, and aſſerting his right, intruſted him, with Mr. Chriſtopher Love, and ſome other worthy perſons, with the money raiſed by them for his Majeſty's ſervice, for which, when Mr. Love was impriſoned, and afterwards executed, Mr. Cawton betook himſelf to a voluntary exile, and retiring to Rotterdam, became Miniſter of the English Church there, ſpending the remainder of his days in peace and honour (2). His ſon took care to preſerve a juſt account of his merits and ſufferings by writing his life as is mentioned in the text. The title of it ran thus: *The Life and Death of that Holy and Reverend Man of God, Mr.* Thomas Cawton, *ſome time Miniſter of St. Bartholomew*, &c. To which is added, his Father's Sermon, intituled, *God's Rule for a godly Life, from Philippians* i. 27. which is the ſermon for the preaching of which he was impriſoned, London 1662, 8*vo*.

(1) See a brief Vindication of the Preſbyterians from the murder of King Charles I.

(2) Bates, Elenc. Mot. P. ii. p. 133.

[*B*] *Solidity of his judgment.*] The title of the firſt of theſe pieces runs thus: *Diſputatio de Verſione Syriaca Vet. & Novi Teſtamenti*, 4*to*. 1657. i. e. *A Diſcourſe on the* Syriac Verſion *of the* Old *and* New Teſtament. It is in ſome meaſure a reproach on our nation, that while many of our countrymen are admired for their parts abroad, their names are ſcarcely known at home; and for this reaſon it ſeems neceſſary to give ſome account of this learned Tract, which it does not appear that any of our Biographers have ever ſeen. Our author ſpeaks, firſt of the Syriac Verſion of the *Old Teſtament* (3); and in reſpect to this he obſerves, there may be four queſtions moved. I. *Whence this* Syriac Verſion *was made?* In anſwer to which he tells us, that there were antiently two, one from the Septuagint, and the other from the original Hebrew; but that the latter only was in uſe among the Maronites, Neſtorians, and Jacobites, of which the famous Primate Uſher obtained a copy from the Patriarch of Antioch, which is printed in the Engliſh Polyglot. II. *Who compoſed this Verſion?* Mr. Cawton ſhews, that this is abſolutely uncertain. III. *When were either of theſe* Syriac Verſions *made?* He ſays, the Maronites pretend, that it was made from the Hebrew under the reigns of Solomon and Hiram; but this he obſerves is carrying the thing too high, though, from various authorities, he is convinced it is a very ancient Verſion, and inclines to fix it about the time of the Apoſtles. IV. *Whether the* Syriac Verſion *of the* Old Teſtament *be of any moment?* He anſwers in the affirmative, and gives his reaſons, ſhewing alſo abundance of places wherein it varies from the Hebrew original. He comes next to the Syriac Verſion of the *New Teſtament*, as to which he ſays, there may be five queſtions moved. I. *By whom, and when was this* Verſion *made?* In anſwer to which he cites the Preface of Jacobus Martinus, in which it is aſſerted, that this is the oldeſt of all Verſions, and that it was either made by one of the Apoſtles themſelves, or by ſome of their Diſciples with their aſſiſtance. Our author does not, however, ſeem to give entire credit to this, and much leſs to what has been reported on the credit of William Poſtell, that it was made by St. Mark the Evangeliſt, which notion he refutes by very ſolid reaſons. He mentions, laſt of all, the ſentiments of Dr. Rainolds, who thought it might be made about the IIId or IVth century; and ſeems inclined to place it higher, chiefly for this reaſon, that in moſt of the copies of the Syriac Verſion, there are wanting the ſecond Epiſtle of St. Peter, the ſecond and third Epiſtles of St. John, the Epiſtle of St. Jude and the Revelation, which argue it to have been made before thoſe Scriptures were generally received by the Church. II. *By whom this* Verſion *has been publiſhed?* He acquaints us, that it has gone through many editions; in ſome of which, for want of Syriac, they have been forced to make uſe of Hebrew types. It was thus printed by Chriſtopher Plantin, at Antwerp, in 1575, but without vowels. In like manner by Elias Hutter, at Noremberg, in his Bible of twelve Languages, 1599; but there, though printed in Hebrew characters, it is pointed. Since theſe editions it has been publiſhed in the Syriac character, particularly in the Engliſh Polyglot. In moſt of theſe editions, the ſtory of the Adultreſs in the eighth Chapter of St. John, is wanting, as well as the ſeveral pieces before mentioned; but in the edition of Hutter, and the Engliſh Polyglot, they are found. In many, there are no points at all; in ſome, they are marked only here and there; but in Hutter, and the Engliſh Polyglot, they are marked throughout. But of all the editions, that publiſhed by Gutbirius, Profeſſor of Divinity at Hamburgh, which was printed in a pocket volume, 1663, is the beſt. III. *Whether the* Syriac Verſion *is of any moment, or has any utility?* He anſwers in the affirmative, and for this very good reaſon, that Syriac being the language in which our bleſſed Saviour and the Apoſtles ſpoke, their thoughts appear more clearly therein, than in any other; ſo that texts, which are very obſcure in the Greek, become plain and eaſy when we conſult the Syriac Verſion. Of this he gives ſeveral inſtances, particularly, 1 *Cor.* x. 2. *And were all baptized unto* Moſes *in the cloud and in the ſea*, where the ſenſe is far from being clear: in the Syriac it is, *By the hand of Moſes*, which is perfectly plain. He farther adds, that many words in the New Teſtament are abſolutely Syriac, though written in Greek characters, ſuch as Raka, Aceldama, Abba; ſo that without the knowledge of this tongue it is impoſſible to apprehend perfectly the force and energy of the Divine Writings. IV. *By what name is this language called in the* New Teſtament, *and where is it now the vulgar tongue?* This language, ſays he, is called the Aramite, from Aram, the ancient name of the country in which it was ſpoken, as it is Syrian from Syria the more modern. In the New Teſtament it is frequently called the Hebrew, becauſe Syriac was a dialect of the Hebrew: at preſent, the Syriac is ſcarcely any where the mother tongue, excepting in a few villages about Mount Libanus; but throughout all Aſia and Africk it paſſes for the learned language among the Chriſtians. V. *Which was the firſt tranſlation of this* Syriac Verſion *into Latin?* He tells us in anſwer to this, that Henry Stephens printed, in 1569, the Latin Verſion of Tremellius; that about two years afterwards, there appeared another Latin Verſion by Boderianus. But ſome diſpute has ariſen, whether one of theſe tranſlations was not ſtolen from the other. The ſecond piece publiſhed by our author is intituled, *Diſſertatio de Uſu Linguæ Hebraicæ in Philoſophia Theoretica*, printed at Utrecht in 1657. This diſſertation on the uſe of the Hebrew language in the ſtudy of Philoſophy, is likewiſe a very curious piece; but as it is written upon a more abſtruſe ſubject, and as this note is already of an extraordinary length, we forbear entering more particularly into its contents.

(3) This Analyſis was very carefully made from the work itſelf.

timonial in his favour, wherein he expreſſes a great regard for his perſon, as well as a juſt ſenſe of his parts (e) [C]. On his return to England, he went to Oxford, and was entered there of Merton-College, for the ſake of Mr. Samuel Clark, famous for his thorough knowledge of the Oriental languages (f). Our author ſhewed his loyalty by writing a copy of Hebrew verſes on his Majeſty's Reſtoration, having been pretty early in the year 1660 (g), admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts, at which time Profeſſor Leuſden's certificate was read publicly (h). In 1661, he was ordained by the Biſhop of Oxford (i); and in 1662, he publiſhed the Life of his Father (k). In all probability,

(e) Athen. Oxon. *ubi ſupra.*

(g) Britannia Rediviva, Oxon. 1660, 4to.

(h) Faſti, Oxon. vol. ii. col. 127.

(i) Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. ii. p. 73.

(f) Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, vol. ii. p. 73.

(k) Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 584.

[C] *As well as a juſt ſenſe of his parts.*] In this certificate he obſerves, that Mr. Cawton had, with infinite labour, ſtudied and acquired a perfect knowledge of the principal languages of the East; that he had eſtabliſhed a deſerved reputation, by publiſhing the treatiſes before-mentioned, and that he was in all reſpects a perſon of quick wit, piercing judgment, and deep erudition: but it may not be amiſs to cite part of the certificate (4). 'Totum vetus Teſtamentum 'Hebraicum partim punctatum, partim non punctatum perlegit & explicuit——Regulas Grammaticæ '& Syntaxeos Hebraicæ optime perdidiſcit. Deinde 'in Lingua Chaldaica Danielis & Paraphraſibus 'Chaldaicis, in lingua Syriacâ Novi Teſt. & in Lingua Arabica, & Commentariis Rabbinorum ſtrenuè 'ſeſe exercuit. Denique quæſtiones Philologico-'Hebraicas circa Vetus Teſt. Hebræum moveri ſolitas, ita perdidiſcit, ut ſummo cum honore duas 'diſputationes philologicas publicè defenderit, priorem de Verſione Syriaca veteris & Novi Teſt. poſteriorem vero, de Uſu Linguæ Hebraicæ in philoſophia Theoretica, illius fuit Reſpondens, hujus 'vero Author & Reſpondens. Certe in Diſputatione 'hac componenda, & in ejuſdem ſtrenua Defenſione, 'ingenium & eruditionem ſuam omnibus palam fecit, '&c. 18 Maii 1659, Joh. Leuſden.'——In all probability our author would have afforded his country more conſpicuous marks of his ſkill in theſe matters, if the taſte for that kind of learning had not begun to decay, and his own troubles for Nonconformity come on. All that he afterwards publiſhed, was a ſermon bearing the title of BALAAM'S WISH, *or the Vanity of deſiring, without endeavouring, to obtain the Death of the Upright.* London 1670, 8vo. and again, in 1675 (5). This is a very grave, ſolid, and judicious diſcourſe, and is at once a proof of the deep learning and ſincere piety of its author. I have ſeen a letter written by one Mr. Bruce, who ſtudied at Utrecht, to a relation of his in Scotland, which is dated in June 1682, in which, ſpeaking of his countrymen and other Britiſh ſubjects that had ſtudied in that Univerſity, he gives a very high character to our author in the following words: 'Beſides the late Dr. 'Nicholas Shepherd, who was Miniſter of the Engliſh Church at Middleburgh, Mr. Thomas Cawton, who died but a few years ago, and was a man 'very eminent among the Nonconformiſts, laid the 'foundation of his great knowledge in the Oriental 'languages here; and it is wonderful how freſh the 'memory of his proficiency in thoſe ſtudies remains 'in this place. The Profeſſor has a particular regard for thoſe of our nation, and takes a great 'pleaſure in ſpeaking of ſuch of them as have been 'under his care: but I never heard him mention any 'with greater reſpect than this gentleman, who was 'not only eminent for his knowledge in the Hebrew, 'but in the Syriac alſo, and other Eaſtern tongues; 'and wrote a treatiſe to ſhow the uſefulneſs of this 'kind of learning, not in Divinity only, but in the 'ſtudy alſo of Philoſophy, in which he was a very 'great maſter. That tract of his is become very 'ſcarce, ſo that it was with ſome difficulty that I procured it; and I am afraid, I ſhall meet with many 'ſuch obſtacles in my deſign of making a collection 'of all the pieces of that kind that have been printed 'in this country by the natives of Great-Britain; 'and which, according to the computation I have 'been able to make, will not fall very far ſhort of 'threeſcore. I doubt, whether any encouragement 'could be had for reprinting them, which might be 'done in three volumes in quarto: but if I am able 'to compleat ſuch a collection, I think it would be 'an acceptable preſent to one of our Univerſities, and 'with this view I ſhall take ſome pains, both here 'and at Leyden, and ſhall endeavour to procure the 'characters of the principal perſons at leaſt, from the 'ſeveral Profeſſors who were acquainted with them, 'and are ſtill living, &c.' C.

(4) Reg. Convoc. Un. Ox. quod incipit, 1659, p. 9.

(5) Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. ii. p. 73.

*** [Mr. Thomas Cawton, who was father to the ſubject of the preſent article, and Miniſter of Wivenhoe in Eſſex, before he had the living of St. Bartholomew's behind the Royal Exchange, was educated at Queen's College in Cambridge, and "there, "ſays Mr. Granger, laid the foundation of that "learning in which he had few equals, and began to "diſtinguiſh himſelf by that piety in which he had "ſcarcely a ſuperior. He was eminent for his knowledge of the ancient and modern languages, and "was well known in England and Holland, as an "Orientaliſt. He was very inſtrumental in promoting the great work of the Polyglot Bible, and was "an encourager of Dr. Caſtell's Polyglot Lexicon. "—The account of his life is an artleſs picture of a "man who did great honour to his profeſſion, and "was a pattern of virtue in every ſocial relation. "The author tells us, that when Mr. Cawton firſt "received the Sacrament, he fainted; and he ever "afterwards expreſſed the profoundeſt reverence, and "the moſt elevated devotion, at that awful ſolemnity (6)." From the effect which the receiving of the Lord's Supper had on Mr. Cawton, it is probable that he was not wholly free from ſuperſtitious ideas concerning that inſtitution. The rational, and, at the ſame time, the truly ſcriptural manner, in which the Sacrament has been explained by Mr. John Hales, Biſhop Hoadly, and, above all, by Dr. Bell, ſhews that there is nothing in it myſterious, terrifying, or alarming. However, Mr. Cawton's ardent piety was deſerving of the higheſt commendation.

(6) Biographical Hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 47.

From the manner in which Leuſden has expreſſed himſelf, in the paſſage cited in note [C], "illius "fuit Reſpondens, hujus vero Author & Reſpon-"dens," it hath been obſerved to us by a ſagacious correſpondent, that it is pretty evident, that the firſt diſſertation, *de Verſione Syriaca*, was not compoſed by Mr. Cawton junior; but that, in truth, it was drawn up by Leuſden himſelf. There is the more weight in this remark, as it is well known that it is not unuſual for the profeſſors abroad to write the *Theſes* which young men are to defend upon taking their degrees. Nevertheleſs, as the diſcourſe was uniformly aſcribed to Mr. Cawton by his contemporaries, and we do not know that his claim to having been the author of it hath ever been diſputed before, he ought not lightly to be deprived of a reputation which he hath ſo long poſſeſſed.

The writer of the preſent note is a ſucceſſor of Mr. Cawton; being the ſixth Paſtor of the Society of Proteſtant Diſſenters, which was originally formed by that gentleman, in the city of Weſtminſter. The three firſt Miniſters of the Congregation, Mr. Cawton, Mr. Alſop, and Dr. Calamy, have been thought worthy of a place in the Biographia, by my learned predeceſſor in it, Dr. Campbell. Mr. Samuel Say, the fourth, on account of his poems, his diſſertations on metrical harmony, and and his celebrated character of Mrs. Bridget Bendyſh, will deſerve to be noticed, either in a ſhort diſtinct article, or on ſome other occaſion. Dr. Obadiah Hughes, the fifth, who was a reſpectable man, of large property and conſiderable influence among the Diſſenters, publiſhed ſeveral ſermons; but did not otherwiſe diſtinguiſh himſelf by any literary undertaking. With regard to myſelf, I eſteem it an honour to have been ſo far connected with the Biographia Britannica, as to have uſed my beſt endeavours to enlarge and improve it in a ſecond edition.] K.

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he might have obtained very conſiderable preferment, if his principles had not led him to Nonconformity. When he retired from the Univerſity, he was taken into the family of Sir Anthony Irby, of Lincolnſhire, where he officiated for ſome years as Chaplain; but the air of that country diſagreeing with him, and the family going down thither on account of the plague in 1665 (*l*), he was obliged to quit it, and lived afterwards with the Lady Armin till about the year 1670, when he gathered a congregation of Diſſenters in the city of Weſtminſter, to whom he preached, with ſome interruption from the ſeverities of the government, for about ſeven years, till falling into a bad ſtate of health, he died of a gradual decay, April 10, 1677 (*m*), being then about forty years of age. He was buried in the New Church in Tothil-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, at which time his friend and Fellow-collegian, Mr. Henry Hurſt, preached his funeral ſermon; as did alſo Mr. Nath. Vincent in another place (*n*). He was a man, who, as his learning rendered him admired, ſo his virtues made him beloved by all parties. Anthony Wood, ſpeaking of the praiſes beſtowed upon him by Mr. Hurſt in his diſcourſe, gives them alſo his ſanction; *they were*, ſays he, *deſervedly ſpoken* (*o*). His congregation followed the advice he gave them on his death-bed; for he told them that he knew none ſo proper to be his ſucceſſor, as a certain Northamptonſhire Miniſter, who wrote againſt Dr. Sherlock. This was Mr. Vincent Alſop, whom they accordingly choſe (*p*).

(*l*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. ii. p. 73.

(*m*) See Mr. Hurſt's Funeral Sermon on our author.

(*n*) Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. ii. p. 73.

(*o*) Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 584.

(*p*) See the article of ALSOP (VINCENT) in this Dictionary.

CAXTON (WILLIAM), the firſt who introduced, practiſed, and communicated, the moſt uſeful and inſtructive art or myſtery of Printing, in England. He was born about the latter end of King Henry the IVth's reign, who died in the year 1412, and, as himſelf acquaints us, in the *Weald*, or woody part of Kent (*a*); and, therefore, not in the town that bears his name in Cambridgeſhire, as Dr. Fuller was miſled to believe (*b*). His father, Mr. William Caxton, who reſided with him at Weſtminſter when he was in the height of his buſineſs there, muſt have lived to a good old age, according to the memorial we have of his death (*c*). Whether Matilda Caxton, who founded a chantry in Walbrook Ward, in the City of London, and had a monument in St. Swithin's Church there after the repair of it in 1420, was any relation of his, my author does not intimate (*d*). The cuſtom which had long prevailed of impoſing that badge of Norman ſlavery, the French language, upon our children at the grammar-ſchools, as is very particularly obſerved by Ranulphus Higden, and John de Treviſa [*A*], being, in the younger years of Caxton, much worn off, and the neglect of it accounted no deficiency in education; he was, by the care of his prudent mother, ſo well inſtructed and qualified at home in reading and writing (*e*), as ſerved his occaſions very commendably, when he was put out to a genteel trade. But afterwards, by his diligent application, he arrived to a conſiderable proficiency, not only in writing, after a very clear, free, and dexterous manner, that ſtrong hand which was then in moſt requeſt, as may be ſeen in ſome copies of his books to this day, but in attaining both a competent knowledge of the Latin tongue, and to a good perfection in the French, when he was preferred to a conſiderable charge abroad by his Prince, and to very honourable patronage, in the latter part of that long courſe of time he continued there. He might be about the age of fifteen or ſixteen, when he was put apprentice to Mr. Robert Large, a Mercer of ſuch eminence in London, that he was elected one of the Sheriffs in the year 1430, and, nine years after, Lord-Mayor of this city (*f*). The ſaid Magiſtrate held his mayoralty in that which had been the Manſion-houſe of Robert Fitzwalter, anciently called the Jew's Synagogue, at the north corner of the Old Jewry; and here Caxton appears to have reſided with his maſter till his death, which happened on the twenty-fourth of April 1441, as by the Latin inſcription that was cut on the brazen-plated ſtone in the ſouth iſle of the pariſh church of St. Olave Jewry appears. To the reparation of this church Mr. Large gave two hundred pounds (*g*); and in his laſt will he bequeathed alſo to his ſervant Caxton, thirty-four marks; a conſiderable legacy in thoſe times, and a creditable, as well as early teſtimony, of his good behaviour and great integrity (*h*). He mentions himſelf afterwards, how much he was obliged to the city, and that company, of which he was a ſworn freeman; and he was now become a man of ſuch reputable character,

(*a*) His Prologue to The *Recuyel of the Hiſtories of Troy*.

(*b*) Worthies of England in Cambridgeſhire.

(*c*) In The compte of the Wardens of the Pariſhe Churche of Sayncte Margarete of Weſtminſter, from the 7 of May, in the Yere 1478, &c. to the 18 of May 1480, thus; *Item*, The day of buryeng W. Caxton, for 2 Torches, and 4 Tapers, 20*d*.

(*d*) J. Stow's Survey of London, edit. fol. 1633, p. 241.

(*e*) See his Prologue to Thyſtory and Lyf of Charles the Grete Kyng of Fraunce. Alſo John Bagford's Life of W. Caxton, annexed to his Propoſals for printing an Hiſtorical Account of the Art of Typography, in one ſheet folio. And Mr. J. S. Ames his Specimen, joined to his Propoſals for an Hiſt. of Printing in England, &c. in half a ſheet, 4to. p. 3.

(*f*) Fabian's Chron. R. Graſton; and Stow's Survey of Lond. p. 563. 565.

(*g*) Stow, as before, p. 288. 290.

(*h*) The Lyfe of Mayſter Wyllyam Caxton of the Weald of Kent, the firſt Printer in England, &c. by John Lewis, Miniſter of Margate in Kent, 8vo. Lond. 1737, p. 2.

[*A*] *As is very particularly obſerved by Ranulphus Higden, and John de Treviſa.*] The former, in his Polychronicon, tranſlated by the latter, and printed by Maſter Caxton (1), ſpeaking of the cauſes of the impairing of our language, ſays, 'One is, by cauſe that 'children that gon to ſcole learne to ſpeke firſt Englyſhe, and then ben compelled to conſtrewe her (‖) leſſions in Frenſh; and that have ben uſed ſyn 'the Normans come into Englond. Alſo gentilmens 'children ben lerned and taught from theyr yougthe 'to ſpeke Frenſh. And uplondyſh men will counterfete and liken himſelf to gentilmen, and arn beſy 'to ſpeke Frenſh, for to be more ſette by. Wherefore, it is ſayd by the comon proverbe, *Jack wold 'be a gentilman, if he coude ſpeke Frenſhe.*' To which, John de Treviſa, his Tranſlator, adds as follows: 'This manner was moche uſed tofore the grete 'deth (2): but ſyth, it is ſomedele chaunged. For, 'Sir John Cornuayl, a Mayſter of Gramer chaunged 'the techyng in Gramer ſcole, and conſtruction of 'Frenſhe; and other Scoolmayſters uſe the ſame way 'now in the yere of our Lord 1365 (3), the 9th yere 'of Kyng Rychard the ſecund, and leve all Frenſh 'in ſcoles, and uſe al conſtruction in Englyſhe. 'Wherein they have avantage one way, that is, that 'they lerne the ſonner theyre Gramer; and in another, diſadvantage; for nowe they lerne no Frenſh, 'ne conne none, whiche is hurte for them that ſhal 'paſſe the ſee: and alſo gentilmen have moche lefte 'to teche theyr children to ſpeke Frenſh.'

(1) Fol. 1482, lib. i. in Capit. *de Inculcarum Linguis.*

(‖) their

(2) There were two mortalities in the reign of King Edward III. the firſt in 1349, the ſecond in 1361.

(3) So Caxton's edition of Polychronicon, and ſo Wynkin de Worde's edition after him, which is erroneous; for 1365, is the 39th of Edward III. and the 9th of Richard II. is 1385, as it ſhould be here. So it is corrected in Julyan Notary's edit. of Higden's *Deſcript. of England*, at the end of his impreſſion of *The Fruit of Time*. And ſo Dr. Hickes, in the Pref. of his *Theſaurus*, &c. which correſponds with the MS. of Treviſa, in St. John's College.

character, of ſuch probity, abilities, and expertneſs in his buſineſs, that when he went to ſettle abroad, in the ſame year his maſter died, as he informs us himſelf (*i*), and is agreed on by thoſe writers who have beſt acquainted themſelves with his ſtory, he was deputed and entruſted by the Mercers Company, to be their Agent or Factor in Holland, Zealand, Flanders, &c. to eſtabliſh and enlarge their correſpondence, negociate the conſumption of our own, and importation of foreign manufactures, and otherwiſe promote the advantage of the ſaid corporation, in their reſpective merchandize, &c. (*k*). It ſeems that he ſpent about twenty-three years in thoſe countries, upon this, and ſuch like employments, before we hear of him again: but he had then acquired ſuch an eminent character for his knowledge and experience, his diligence and fidelity, that we ſee him joined with Richard Whetehill, Eſq; in a very honourable commiſſion, granted to them by King Edward IV. in the year 1464, to continue and confirm the Treaty of Trade and Commerce, between his Majeſty and Philip Duke of Burgundy; or, if they found it neceſſary, to make a new one; and the commiſſion gives both, or either of them, full power to tranſact and conclude the ſame. They are ſtiled *Ambaſſadors* and *Special Deputies*, &c. in the ſaid commiſſion; as, for the ſatisfaction of the curious, may appear in the tranſcript annexed [*B*]. There were afterwards, ſeveral other treaties between theſe two powers, for the communication of their merchandize, fiſhery, &c. in which, other Embaſſadors or Agents were after the like manner employed (*l*); and theſe, with other views of mutual advantage, produced a near alliance between them in the marriage of King Edward's ſiſter, the Lady Margaret of York, with the Duke's ſon Charles, in July 1468, he being then Duke of Burgundy, &c. (*m*). When this Lady Margaret arrived at the Duke's Court at Bruges, ſhe was very magnificently attended, and Maſter Caxton appears then to have been of her retinue. He was either now one of her houſhold, or held ſome conſtant poſt or office under her; becauſe, as he ſays, he received of her a *yearly fee* or ſalary, beſides many other good and great benefits (*n*); which alſo demonſtrates that he was very ſerviceable to her, or much in her favour. Being a man expert in penmanſhip and languages, as well as matters of commerce; and by his long converſation abroad with ingenious men, being alſo acquainted with matters of literature, which were now grown the faſhionable diſcourſe of thoſe parts more than ever, through the ſurprizing communication thereof by the new *invention of Printing*, of which Caxton muſt have heard the progreſs from its very birth, it is is highly probable that he was employed by the Ducheſs in ſome literary way; which, indeed, ſoon appeared, by her encouraging him in the practice of the ſaid new invention. It is evident, he had partly attained this myſtery of Printing, and, as he ſays himſelf, with great expence (*o*), before he was thus apparently eſtabliſhed in her ſervice; becauſe he no ſooner appears in it, but we ſee him employed by her, in tranſlating out of French, a large volume, and then in printing it himſelf, as we ſhall preſently more particularly ſpecify. Yet it is not likely that his firſt eſſay in this art ſhould be upon a book of that bulk, which now appears to be the firſt he printed; nor even upon another, which he is well atteſted to have alſo printed in Latin abroad, though, as it ſeems, before the other, becauſe this is rather more voluminous than that. However, as this, which is named *Bartholomeus de Proprietatibus Rerum*, may poſſibly have been his earlieſt performance of the two, we ſhall here firſt ſpeak more largely of it. The ſaid Latin edition of this book, which Caxton is affirmed to have been concerned in at the preſs, ſeems to have been, either that fair one, in which there is no mention made by whom, where, or when, it was printed; or another that was printed at Cologne in the year 1470 [*C*]. His engagement

(*i*) The Recueyl, &c.

(*k*) Mr. Lewis's Life of Caxton, as before.

(*l*) Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xi. edit. 1710, p. 591.

(*m*) *Idem*, p. 590. 601, &c. See alſo Francis Sandford's Genealogical Hiſt. of England, fol. edit. 1707, p. 402.

(*n*) The Recueyl, &c. as before.

(*o*) *Idem.*

[*B*] *For the ſatisfaction of the curious, may appear in the tranſcript annexed.*] This commiſſion is preſerved in the following title and form:

Super Trugis Burgundiæ.

A. D. 1464. An. 4 Ed. IV. } REX omnibus, ad quos &c. Salutem. Sciatis, quòd cum certa Appunctuamenta, Intercurſum Marchandiſarum inter Subditos noſtros ac Subditos cariſſimi conſanguinei noſtri *Ducis Burgundiæ* concernentia, ſub certis modo & formâ ante hæc tempora concordata fuerant & concluſa, ſæpiúſque interim prorogata; nos appunctuamenta illa pro Parte Noſtra teneri & obſervari volentes, ac de fidelitatibus & providis circumſpectionibus dilectorum & fidelium noſtrorum *Richardi Whetehill* Armigeri, & *Willielmi Caxton*, pleniùs confidentes, ipſos *Ricardum* & *Willielmum* noſtros veros & indubitatos Ambaſſiatores, Procuratores, Nuncios & Deputatos ſpeciales facimus, ordinamus, & conſtituimus per præſentes: dantes & concedentes eiſdem Ambaſſiatoribus, Procuratoribus, Nunciis & Deputatis Noſtris, & eorum utrique plenam Poteſtatem & Auctoritatem ac Mandatum generale & ſpeciale ad conveniendum, tractandum & communicandum cum *præfato Conſanguineo Noſtro*, ſeu ejus Ambaſſiatoribus, Procuratoribus, Nunciis & Deputatis, ſufficientem poteſtatem ab eodem Conſanguineo Noſtro ad hoc habentibus, de & ſuper continuatione Intercurſûs prædicti, & prorogatione ejuſdem, &, ſi neceſſe fuerit, de novo capiendâ, appunctuandâ & concludendâ, cæteraque omnia & ſingula quæ in præmiſſis neceſſaria fuerint & opportuna faciendum & exercendum; promittentes, bona fide, & in verbo Regio, Nos ratum, gratum & firmum, pro perpetuo habituros totum & quicquid per dictos Ambaſſiatores, Procuratores, Nuncios & Deputatos Noſtros, ſeu eorum alterum, in formâ prædictâ, actum, geſtum, ſeu procuratum fuerit in præmiſſis, ſeu aliquo præmiſſorum. In cujus, &c.

Teſte Rege, apud Wycomb, Viceſſimo die Octobris.
Per ipſum Regem, & de Datâ prædictâ, &c. (4).

(4) Rymer' Fœd. tom. xi. edit. 1710, p. 536.

[*C*] *Either that fair one — or another that was printed at Cologne in the year* 1470.] Of theſe two books, the late Mr. John Lewis gives us the following account:—'In the library of Bennet College, in 'Cambridge, is an edition of this book in Latin, in 'a large folio. It is an exceeding fair book; the 'types are very ancient, but well cut; and it is 'printed

gagement upon this larger work, might be the reaſon, that though he began the other at the command of Lady Margaret, not very long after ſhe arrived at Bruges, he did not finiſh it in three years, but laid it by, being a little diſcouraged at ſome difficulties or fatigues in it (*p*), and till he had inured himſelf, probably, upon ſome other work,

(*p*) *Ibidem.*

'printed without any ſignatures, date, or name of 'the place or Printer (5).' Of the other Latin edition, he ſays: 'We have an account, that it was 'printed at Cologne, in the year 1470, by John Ko- 'elholf: and, as this might be while Mr. Caxton was 'at Cologne, learning and practiſing the Art of 'Printing, he might poſſibly be aſſiſting in printing 'this book, or in the expence of it; and ſo be re- 'membered by De Worde as the Printer (6).' This authority for Caxton's being the Printer of a Latin edition of that book, being ſo good, it deſerves to be a little more amply conſidered; for this was Wynkin de Worde, whom Caxton probably knew at this time there, and whom he either brought with him into England, or ſent for him when he was ſettled here; the ſame who wrought under him till he died, and ſucceeded him with great reputation in his buſineſs, for above forty years, before he died himſelf. This Printer, who, by his long practice, greatly advanced and improved the Art among us, perceiving that author, whoſe name was Bartholomew Glanvill, a Franciſcan Friar (deſcended of the Earl of Suffolk's family) who flouriſhed about the year 1360 (7), was well accepted of abroad (inſomuch that there was another Latin edition of him publiſhed under the ſame Koelholf's name, who ſtiles himſelf *de Lubeck, Coloniæ Civem*, folio 1481) thought that a tranſlation of him would be no leſs acceptable to us. His reaſons were, that the work was a Natural Hiſtory, of ſuch variety; gathered moſtly from the ancients, and ſome moderns, who lived nearer the author's own time; explaining more eſpecially the nature and properties of beaſts, birds, fiſhes, ſtones, *&c.* that are mentioned in Scripture: and there being an Engliſh tranſlation made, by John de Treviſa before-mentioned, in the year 1398, at the command of his Patron, Thomas Lord Berkeley, which might be recommended to Caxton in his life-time; it was printed, though the edition is not dated, ſoon after his death, by Wynkin de Worde, at the prayer and deſire of Roger Thorney, Mercer; as De Worde informs us, in his poetical Proem to the ſaid work; wherein, having ſaid, there is no pleaſure comparable to the reading and underſtanding of wiſe books, with reſpect more eſpecially to thoſe perſons who, for the propagation of knowledge and virtue, delight in the making, reviving, or otherwiſe exhibiting them to the world, he proceeds in theſe words:

(5) Lewis's Life of William Caxton, p. 7.

(6) *Idem.* p. 8.

(7) Vid. Leland, Bale, and Pits.

And alſo, of your Charyte, call to remembraunce
The ſoule of William Caxton, firſt Prynter of this boke,
In Laten tonge at Coleyn, hymſelf to avaunce;
That every well diſpoſyd man may thereon loke (8).

(8) Prohemium Bartholomei.

From which it is reaſonably enough inferred, that he had a hand in compoſing, at the preſs, one of thoſe two former editions above-mentioned; for the latter was printed when he was in England. There are three more lines that follow, to make up the ſtanza, which are alſo ſo remarkable, that they muſt not be here omitted;

And John Tate the yonger, joye mote hem broke,
Which late hathe in Englonde doo make this paper thynne,
That now, in our Engliſh, this boke is prynted inne (9).

(9) *Idem.*

By which we are at once informed, that this Engliſh edition of Bartholomeus, printed by Wynkin de Worde, is the firſt book for any thing we yet know to the contrary, that was printed in England, upon paper that was made in England; and that John Tate the younger, firſt cauſed that paper to be made here, or was at the expence of introducing the art of that manufacture, ſo highly ſerviceable for the preſervation of all kinds of literature among us. The paper of this book is ſofter, ſmoother, and thinner, than that of Caxton's books: it might be alſo a fairer or whiter paper, could we behold it without the diſadvantage of age; nor is there to be ſeen in any of his, the ſame paper mark; which is, as I remember, in the midſt of every other leaf, or half ſheet, ſomewhat reſembling a Catherine-wheel, or Star of eight rays, encloſed in a double circle. This is different from the marks in any paper which Caxton printed on; and, therefore, his might more probably be imported from Holland; and in this book, may be the earlieſt ſpecimen of Engliſh made writing-paper now in being, though we had the uſe of ſuch paper in England long before. The regiſters made of paper which Dean Prideaux mentions (10), as inſtances of its great antiquity, being but as old as King Edward IIId's reign, do not approach near to its primitive invention; for we certainly have grants, conveyances, and other deeds and evidences in England, or at leaſt have had, and eſpecially among the very ancient collections of Richard Gaſcoyne, Eſq; that able Antiquary, who died about the time of the Reſtoration, written upon paper that was as old as the Conqueſt: and it is not improbable, but thoſe *Quaternions* of leaves ſtitched together, whereof King Alfred, ſo long before, made his little *hand books* (11), were alſo of paper, rather than parchment, or vellum; a book or tract no broader than a quarter of a ſheet of paper, anſwering that deſcription better, as being more contracted, pliable, and *handy* for uſe, than one as wide as a quarter of a ſkin of parchment, *&c.* We are told by one of the Antiquaries in Queen Elizabeth's reign, that the firſt Paper-Mill we had in England was erected at Ware in Hertfordſhire, as I remember (12), but have forgotten whether he mentions that John Tate the younger, was concerned therein. In the ſame reign, we had a Poet who wrote a pamphlet upon the ſame ſubject (13), with the ſetting forth of a Paper-Mill, built near Darthford, by a High German, called Mr. Spilman, Jeweller to the Queen. It is written in verſe; and though it might be forth-coming at Oxford in Anthony Wood's time, upon a late ſearch, it was not to be found there. Who that John Tate the younger was, we cannot be poſitive: but in the liſt of our Lord-Mayors of London, we find Sir John Tate, Mercer, ſon of John Tate, to have been elected, *anno* 1473. And *John Tate*, called *the younger*, ſon of Thomas Tate of Coventry, alſo elected in 1496, being eight years after his brother Sir Robert Tate, Mercer, was dignified with the ſame office (14); which John Tate the younger, we take to be the very man to whom we owe the art of making this moſt uſeful commodity: and *Joye mote hem broke* ſay I again, for the ſame, as honeſt Wynkin heartily ſaid before; by which, and this rare device of Printing, the moſt remote tranſactions, intelligence, and inventions of paſt times, are both made preſent, and tranſmitted to poſterity; by which, as from a fountain with innumerable conduits, knowledge and inſtruction are raiſed out of the deepeſt ſources of antiquity, and diffuſed through many parts at once; by which, the preſs will diſpatch as much in a day, as the pen in a twelvemonth, as it is expreſſed in the epigram made upon Ulric Han, who firſt carried it to Rome.

(10) Prideaux's Connexion, &c. Part i. lib. vii.

(11) A Diſſertation upon Pamphlets, in a Letter to a Nobleman, by W. O. 4to. 1731, p. 2.

(12) See William Valans his Tale of two Swans; 4to. Lond. 1590.

(13) Thomas Churchard's Deſcription and Diſcourſe of Paper, and the Benefits that it brings, &c. 4to. 1588. Alſo in Dr. Harris's Hiſtory of Kent, upon the ſame ſubject.

(14) See Stow's Survey of London, in the Catalogue of the Lord-Mayors, under thoſe years.

Imprimit ille die quantum non ſcribitur anno:
Ingenio, haud noceas, omnia vincit homo.

Or, to paſs over many other advantageous lights, in which the art might be celebrated, to conſider it only in its renovating property, we need go no farther than Maſter Wynkin again; if by way of novelty, we can bear once more with his ancient phraſe,

For yf one thyng myght laſte a thouſand yere,
Full ſone comyth aege, that frettyth all away;
But lyke as *Phebus*, wyth his bemes clere,
The *Mone* repyreth, as bryght as ony day,
When ſhe is waſtyd; ryght ſo may we ſay,
Theſe bokes old and blynd, when we renewe,
By goodly *Prynting*, they ben bryght of hewe.

the better to accompliſh this; but then being, by his ſaid patroneſs, prompted to bring it to a concluſion, he ſtuck painfully to it, till he brought it forth under the title of *The Recuyell of the Hiſtorys of Troye, &c.* which is the firſt book, at leaſt in being, or which we now know of, that was ever printed in the Engliſh tongue [*D*]. In the year laſt mentioned, King Edward was driven over to his brother-in-law, the Duke of Burgundy's court, to ſeek ſuccour againſt his rebellious ſubjects, where Caxton no doubt paid his obedience to him (*q*), and received his Majeſty's approbation for his engagement in this new art; but the King returned to England without any great enforcement, before Caxton compleated his ſaid work. He wrought ſome time upon it at Ghent, but he finiſhed it at Cologne in the year 1471. Then he returned to Bruges, and preſented his performance to the Lady Margaret, who very graciouſly accepted, and liberally rewarded him for it. He alſo then diſpatched his copies to his other friends and encouragers, who had been impatient for the ſame; and no doubt ſome of them he ſent into England, if he did not then bring them over himſelf. Hence it is, from this tranſmiſſion, or introduction of the ſaid ſpecimens or products of the art, that John Stow, and others of our Chronologiſts, have dated Maſter Caxton's firſt introducing the art itſelf among us, in or about that year (*r*); though indeed we cannot now find that the art was practiſed in England by him till at leaſt three years after, much leſs by any body elſe. However, a certain writer, very ſuperficially acquainted with our literary antiquities, yet moved by private intereſt, near two hundred years after, did, by a blind unauthoriſed ſtory, inſinuate, that a foreigner practiſed the art of Printing in England, ſix years before Maſter Caxton [*E*]. After he publiſhed *The Book of Troy*, he proceeded, it ſeems,

(*q*) Philip. de Comines. J. Speed's Chron. &c.

(*r*) Stow's Annals, fol. edit. 1615, p. 404.

[*D*] *The firſt book we now know of, that was ever printed in the Engliſh tongue.*] In the title page of this book, we read as follows:—'Here begynneth the 'volume, intituled, and named, The Recuyell of the 'Hiſtorys of Troye: compoſed and drawen out of 'dyverce bookes of Latyn into Frenſhe, by the Right 'Venerable perſone and Worſhipfull man, Raoul le 'Feure, Preeſt, and Chapelayn unto the Right Noble 'Gloryous and Myghty Prynce in his tyme, Phiſip, 'Duc of Bourgoyne, of Braband, &c. in the yeare of 'the Incarnacion of our Lord God, a thouſand four 'hundred ſixty and foure, and tranſlated and drawen 'out of Frenſhe into Engliſh by Willyam Caxton, 'Mercer of the cyte of London, at the commaundement of the Right Hye Myghty and Vertuouſe 'Princeſſe, his redoubtyd Lady Margarete, by the 'Grace of God, Ducheſſe of Burgoyne, &c. (15). 'Whiche ſayd tranſlacion and werke was begonne in 'Brugis in the countee of Flaunders, the fyrſt day of 'Marche, the yeare of the Incarnacion of our ſaid 'Lord God, a thouſand foure hondred ſixty and 'eight, and ended and fynyſhed in the holy cyte of 'Colen the xix day of Septembre, the yeare of our 'ſayd Lord God, a thouſand four hondred ſixty and 'enleven.' The ſaid title page (to diſtinguiſh this from ſubſequent editions) is printed, as well as ſome other principal parts in the book, with red ink; and it is ſaid to be printed with the ſame letter as the original edition was in 1464: but the French edition has two wooden cuts in it, and no name mentioned of the perſon who printed it: but this Printer is conjectured to have been an inſtructor of Maſter Caxton in his art (16). The reaſon why this book was recommended to him before any other, might be in compliment to the Duke of Burgundy's Chaplain, the author; and poſſibly to gratify the diſpoſition there was at this time in the Engliſh or Britiſh nation, to derive their original from Brutus and his Trojans. Caxton's great modeſty, diffidence, and humble opinion of his abilities, appear in this, as well as all others of his books, very much to his commendation; it having been obſerved out of the Prologue before it, 'That he thought himſelf ſo unqualified on account 'of his unperfectneſs in both languages, having never 'been in *France*, and lived out of England near *thirty 'years*, that he was *fully in wyll to have lefte it*, and 'accordingly laid it aſide for two years after he had 'begun it, or till 1470; when it fortuned, his *ryght 'redoubted Lady* ſent for him, to enquire, it ſeems, 'what progreſs he had made in this tranſlation. 'And when ſhe had ſeen, or read, five or ſix quires '(or parcells) of it, ſhe found a *defaute* in the Engliſh, but commanded him to *amande*, and *make an 'end of the reſidue*: accordingly he proceeded in his 'tranſlation; which he tells us, he begun in Brugis, 'the firſt of March, in the year 1468, continued in 'Gaunt, and finiſhed in Colen, the 19th of Sep-'tember 1471.' Having thus finiſhed the tranſlation of this book, he next ſays, 'He deliberated in him-'ſelf to take the laboure in hand of printing it, to-'gether with the third book of the *Deſtruction of 'Troy* (17), tranſlated of late by John Lydgate, a 'Monk of Burye, in Engliſh rithme.' Of this, Mr. Caxton gives us the following account, full of complaints of the painfulneſs of it to him.—'Thus, *ſays 'he*, end I this booke—and for as moche as in 'wrytynge the ſame, my penne is worne, myne hand 'wery, and myn eyen demmed, with overmoch lokyng 'on the white paper,—and that age creepeth on me 'daily, and feebleth all the body—and alſo, becauſe 'I have promyſid to dyverce gentilmen, and to my 'frendes to addreſs to hem as haſtely as I might this 'ſaid book; therefore, I have practyſed and lerned 'at my grete charge and diſpence, to ordyne this 'ſayde book in prynte, after the manner and forme 'as ye may here ſee; and is not wreton with penne 'and ynke as other bokes ben, to thende that all men 'may have them attones; for all the bookes of this 'ſtorye, named, THE RECULE OF THE HISTORYS 'OF TROYES thus emprynted as ye here ſee, were 'begonne in oon day, and alſo fyniſhed in oon day '(18).' Thus it is obſerved of Fauſt and Schæffer, the very firſt practiſers of this art of Printing, That they uſed to advertiſe the public, at the end of their firſt printed works from Mentz, that they were *non atramento, plumali canna neque æra*, not written with a pen and ink, as all other books had been before, but made by a new art or invention of Printing, or ſtamping them with characters, or types of metal, ſet in forms, whereby the ſeveral ſheets were done all at once, and not line by line, as when they were written (19). The ſame notice was given by other Printers in the firſt books that were printed by them in other towns and cities, as Dr. Middleton has truly obſerved (20).

[*E*] *That a foreigner practiſed the art of Printing in England, ſix years before Maſter Caxton.*] This is aſſerted by one Richard Atkyns; who, in the time of our Civil Wars, having reduced his fortune in the ſervice of the Crown, ſought to repair it after the Reſtoration, by endeavouring to entitle the Crown to one of the moſt valuable privileges of the people. And, after having been at the expence of above a thouſand pounds in Chancery, and other Law Courts, for nearly twenty-four years, to prove the right of the King's grant in printing of Law-books (21), he publiſhed a pamphlet in which he tells an unknown improbable tale, to prove the Art of Printing was a royal purchaſe, and thereby to inſinuate that it was a royal prerogative, in order to get himſelf made a Patentee

(15) This Lady Margaret's titles were, Ducheſſe of Burgoyne, of Lothrein, of Brabant, of Lymburgh and Luxemburgh; Countes of Flanders, of Artoys and of Burgoyne; Palatinee of Heynawd, of Holland, of Zeland and Namur; Marqueſſe of the Holy Empire; Lady of Fryſe, of Salins, and of Malines. The *Recuyell*, &c. and Rymer's Fœd. as before quoted.

(16) Mr. Ame's Specimen, joined to his Propoſals for The Hiſtory of Printing, &c.

(17) The Hiſtory, Siege, and Deſtruction of Troy, at the Commandement of King Henry V. 1412, in Engliſh Metre or Verſe. Tho. Speght's Catal. of John Lydgate's Works.

(18) Lewis's Life of Caxton; and The colophon to *The Recuyel*, &c.

(19) Lewis, as before, p. 6.

(20) Dr. Conyers Middleton's Diſſertation concerning the Origin of Printing in England; ſhewing, that it was firſt introduced and practiſed by our countryman William Caxton at Weſtminſter, and not as is commonly believed by a foreign Printer at Oxford, edit. Cambr. 4to. 1735, p. 16.

(21) See an Epiſtle to the Parliament, prefixed to The Original and Growth of Printing; collected out of Hiſtory, and the Records of this Kingdom: wherein it is demonſtrated, That Printing appertaineth to the Prerogative Royal, and is a Flower of the Crown of England, by Ric. Atkyns, Eſq; Printed by the order of Secretary Morrice, 4to. 1664.

ſeems, in printing others; and if he had before no hand in that edition of *Bartholomæus*, printed as above-mentioned at Cologne, he might now in the other undated one. Of the

Patentee for the printing of books in that Science, which, it is ſaid, he afterwards did; not heeding, therein, how ſlaviſhly, for a little private and pecuniary advantage, he undermined the liberties of his countrymen; how rancorouſly he vilified the Stationers, as a ſwarm of drones, who lived upon the labours of the painful Printers; or how unwarrantably he robbed Maſter Caxton of the honour wherewith he had long been, by the ſuffrage of all learned men, undeniably inveſted, of firſt introducing and practiſing this moſt ſcientifical invention among us. Indeed, as a Poet may have licence to make uſe of any incidents, or arguments, that are plauſible, or conducive to his purpoſe, there need be little exception made to a ſpeech in Shakeſpeare, where Jack Cade charges the Lord Say, who was put to death by his rebellious authority in 1450, with the following unpardonable crimes: 'Thou haſt moſt traiterouſly corrupted the 'youth of the Realm, in erecting a Grammar-'School! and whereas before, our fathers had no 'other books but the ſcore and the tally, thou haſt 'cauſed PRINTING to be uſed! and contrary to the 'King, his Crown and Dignity, thou haſt built a 'PAPER-MILL (22)!' If this Lord Say did really put theſe things in practice but a few years before he died, he might be ſet up for the firſt inventor of Printing himſelf; the earlieſt *Epocha* of any thing conſiderable in that art even abroad hardly appearing older. This is nothing in a poetical writer; and a critical one, will not ſeverely cenſure an *Anachroniſm* in him, which he will allow in the greateſt Poets among the ancients; ſince this our Poet has been leſs extravagant in chronology, or the æra of printing, than one of our moſt profeſſed Hiſtorians. For Dr. Fuller, under the year 1400, ſays (23), that, 'Over into England, about this time, firſt came the 'Myſtery of Printing.' But the author we are here more particularly to produce, Mr. Atkyns, where he undertakes to play alſo the Hiſtorian, as well as Shakeſpeare upon this ſubject, though he may not digreſs ſo much in point of time, yet in other circumſtances will prove, I am afraid, more a Poet of the two. His firſt buſineſs is, to ſet our Hiſtorians aſide; though he never read what one of the greateſt intelligence among them, who was Librarian to King Henry VIII. has ſaid, where he calls Caxton, *Angliæ Prototypographus*, 'The firſt Printer of England (24),' and only cites John Stow; whoſe words are theſe under the year 1459, 'The noble Science of Printing 'was about this time found in Germany, at Magunce, 'by one John Cuthemburgus, a Knight; and Wil-'liam Caxton, of London, Mercer, brought it into 'England about the year 1471, and firſt practiſed the 'ſame in the Abbey of St. Peter at Weſtminſter (25).' To this he adds the concurrence of Sir Richard Baker (26) and Mr. James Howel (27). In the next place, thoſe words are to be wilfully miſunderſtood, or quibbled out of their meaning, and then a ſtrange ſtory is to be put in their room, as follows. 'Hiſtorians 'muſt of neceſſity take many things upon truſt; they 'cannot with their own, but with the eyes of others, 'ſee what things were done before they themſelves 'were; *Bernardus non vidit omnia:* it is not then 'impoſſible, they ſhould miſtake. I ſhall now make 'it appear they have done ſo, from their own, as 'well as from other arguments. Mr. Stow's expreſſions are very dubious, and the matter expreſſed 'very improbable. He ſaith, Printing was firſt '*found* in Magunce, which preſuppoſes it was practiſed ſomewhere elſe before, and *loſt*: and further, 'That it was found in the reign of King Henry VI. '*Anno Dom.* 1459, and not brought into England 'till eleven years in the ſucceeding reign of Edward 'IV. being twelve years after; as if it had been *loſt* '*again*. If this be true, there was as little reality 'as expedition in obtaining it, the age of twelve 'years time having intervened; and ſo, indeed, it 'might be the act of a Mercer, rather than a more 'eminent perſon. But, when I conſider what great 'advantage the kingdom in general receives by it, I 'could not but think a publique perſon, and publique 'purſe, muſt needs be concerned in ſo publique a 'good. The more I conſidered of this, the more in-'quiſitive I was, to find out the truth of it. At laſt, 'a book came to my hands, printed at *Oxon*, *Anno* 'Dom. 1468 (28), which was three years before any 'of the recited authors would allow it to be in Eng-'land; which gave me ſome reward for my curioſity, 'and encouragement to proceed further: and in pro-'ſecution of this diſcovery, the ſame moſt worthy 'perſon, who truſted me with the aforeſaid book, did 'alſo preſent me with the *copy of a Record* and *manu-'ſcript* in *Lambeth-houſe*, heretofore in his cuſtody, 'belonging to the See, and not to any particular 'Archbiſhop of Canterbury; the *ſubſtance* whereof 'was this, though I hope, for publique ſatisfaction, 'the Record itſelf, in its due time, will appear.—'Thomas Bourchier, Archbiſhop of Canterbury 'moved the then King, Henry VI. to uſe all poſſible 'means for procuring a Printing-mould, for ſo it was 'there called, to be brought into this kingdom: the 'King, a good man, and much given to works of 'this nature, readily hearkened to the motion; and 'taking private advice how to effect this deſign, con-'cluded it could not be brought about without great 'ſecrecy, and a conſiderable ſum of money given to 'ſuch perſon or perſons, as would draw off ſome of 'the workmen from Harlem in Holland, where John 'Cuthenberg had newly invented it, and was him-'ſelf perſonally at work. It was reſolved, that leſs 'than one thouſand marks would not produce the 'deſired effect; towards which ſum, the ſaid Arch-'biſhop preſented the King with three hundred marks. 'The money being now prepared, the management 'of the deſign was committed to Mr. Robert Tur-'nour, who then was of the robes to the King, and 'a perſon moſt in favour with him, of any of his con-'dition. Mr. Turnour took to his aſſiſtance Mr. 'Caxton, a citizen of good abilities, who trading 'much into Holland, might be a creditable pretence, 'as well for his going as ſtaying in the Low-Coun-'tries. Mr. Turnour was in diſguiſe, his beard and 'hair ſhaven quite off, but Mr. Caxton appeared 'known and publique. They having received the 'ſum of one thouſand marks, went firſt to Amſter-'dam, then to Leydon, not daring to enter Harlem 'itſelf; for the town was very jealous; having im-'priſoned and apprehended divers perſons, who came 'from other parts for the ſame purpoſe. They ſtaid 'till they had ſpent the whole one thouſand marks in 'gifts and expences. So as the King was fain to 'ſend five hundred marks more; Mr. Turnour hav-'ing written to the King, that he had almoſt done 'his work; a bargain, as he ſaid, being ſtruck be-'tween him and two Hollanders for bringing off one 'of the workmen, who ſhould ſufficiently diſcover 'and teach this new art. At laſt, with much 'ado, they got off one of the under-workmen, 'whoſe name was Frederick Corſells, or rather 'Corſellis; who late one night ſtole from his 'fellows in diſguiſe, into a veſſel prepared before for 'that purpoſe; and ſo the wind, favouring the de-'ſign, brought him ſafe to London. It was not 'thought ſo prudent to ſet him on work at London, 'but by the Archbiſhop's means, who had been Vice-'Chancellor, and afterwards Chancellor of the Uni-'verſity of Oxon, Corſellis was carried with a guard 'to Oxon; which conſtantly watched to prevent 'Corſellis from any poſſible eſcape, till he had made 'good his promiſe, in teaching how to print. So that 'at Oxford, Printing was firſt ſet up in England; 'which was, before there was any Printing-Preſs, or 'Printer in France, Spain, Italy, or Germany; ex-'cept the city of Mentz, which claims ſeniority, as 'to Printing, even of Harlem itſelf; calling her 'city *Urbem Maguntinam Artis Typographicæ Inven-'tricem primam*, though it is known to be otherwiſe; 'that city gaining that art by the brother of one of 'the

(22) Shakeſpeare's ſecond Part of King Henry VI. Act iv. Scene vi.

(23) Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambridge, fol. 1655, p. 58.

(24) J. Lelandi Comment. de Scriptoribus Britannicis, edit. Oxon, 8vo. 1709, tom. ii. c. 586, p. 480.

(25) Stow's Annals, fol. 1615, p. 404.

(26) Baker's Chron. fol. 284.

(27) Howel's Londinopolis, or Hiſtorical Deſcript. of Lond. and Weſtm. fol. 353.

(28) That book, though not mentioned by this author, is intituled, *Expoſitio Sancti Ieronimi in Simbolum Apoſtolorum, ad Papam Laurentiam*; and at the end, *Explicit Expoſitio, &c. Impreſſa Oxonie, & finita Anno Dom.* MCCCCLXVIII, xvii *die Decembris*. See Mich. Maittaire's *Annal. Typogr.* edit. *Hagæ Comit.* 4to. 1719, vol. i. p. 63.

the next book which he is better known to have printed, I mean *The Game of Chefs*, it appears by an undated edition, that he made ſome ſmall impreſſion while he reſided in the

'the workmen of Harlem, who had learnt it at home 'of his brother, and after ſet up for himſelf at Mentz. 'This preſs at Oxon, was at leaſt ten years before 'there was any printing in Europe, except at Harlem and Mentz, where alſo it was but new born. 'This preſs at Oxford, was afterwards found inconvenient, to be the ſole Printing-place of England, 'as being too far from London, and the ſea; whereupon the King ſet up a preſs at St. Albans, and 'another in the Abbey of Weſtminſter; where they 'printed ſeveral books of Divinity and Phyſick: for 'the King, for reaſons beſt known to himſelf and 'Council, permitted then no *Law-books* to be printed; 'nor did any Printer exerciſe that *Art*, but *only* ſuch 'as were the *King's ſworn ſervants*; the King himſelf having the price and emolument for printed 'books (29).' Many objections have been made to this Narrative of that Record and Manuſcript, as it is called, for in nothing ſo bulky or conſpicuous as a Chronicle it is pretended to be preſerved; and many incoherencies with matters of fact detected therein. It is obſerved, I. That neither Mr. Atkyns, nor his anonymous friend, do any ways pretend to have ſeen the original of ſuch a Record, *&c.* much leſs to have compared the copy therewith. II. They give no account when, where, or by whom the ſame was written; nor by what means it came into, or by whoſe it was communicated out of, the Lambeth library. III. No author before, none beſides Mr. Atkyns, and thoſe who have taken it upon truſt from him, have ever mentioned this Record, or ever ſaw any ſubſtance or abſtract of it, though he pretends to wiſh the Record itſelf in due time may appear. IV. No ſuch Record was to be found at Lambeth by the perſon who was particularly employed to ſearch after it by the late Earl of Pembroke. V. That manifeſt inconſiſtences in this Narrative, with the moſt confirmed authorities we have now attained concerning the diſcovery of the Art abroad, have alſo raiſed many exceptions (30), and might ſo many more, with reſpect to the practice of it in England, as would ſufficiently diſtinguiſh, if thoroughly ſifted, the whole to have been a chain of inventions, hung upon two or three noted names, and the ſlight ſupport of a book printed at Oxford, without any Printer's name to it, and with a date at the end of it, which is atteſted to be falſe by the workmanſhip on every foregoing leaf in it, and many other corroborating circumſtances. Dr. Middleton having examined this relation of that pretended Record, makes ſeveral remarks upon it, from whence he concludes it to be a meer forgery (31); and thinks 'Mr. Atkyns, a bold vain man, might 'be the inventor of it, having an intereſt in impoſing upon the world, to confirm his argument, that 'Printing was of the Prerogative Royal, in oppoſition to the Stationers; againſt whom he was engaged in expenſive law-ſuits, in defence of the 'King's Patents, under which he claimed ſome exclusive powers of Printing.' As for the book aforeſaid, which, for its date of M.CCCC.LXVIII. would take place, as ſenior by ſix years, of all other books, that have been the iſſue of any Engliſh preſs, it is a ſuſpected date; and is very reaſonably taken by the ſaid Doctor, and others, to have been falſified originally by the Printer, either through deſign or miſtake; and an X to have been dropped or omitted in the age of its impreſſion (32): an error ſo common in Printing, eſpecially of numerals, that there are few readers, who have been much converſant in books, but have met with inſtances of it. Maſter Caxton himſelf will afford ſome examples; and, I have ſeen others in books ſo far antedated, that, if the dates alone were to carry it, or might ſatisfy us of the years in which they were really printed, they would entitle London to the invention of Printing, perhaps before any other place in Europe: but, if you were to inſpect, or examine them, the novelty of their ſubject matter, or more modern manner of Printing, would contradict their pretended antiquity: juſt as the caſe is here; where the neatneſs of the letter, and the regularity of the page; but, above all, the uſe of ſignatures, or letters and figures at the bottom, for the greater convenience of gathering the ſheets in order, and folding them in binding, being an improvement in the art, not uſed ſo early as the pretended date of that book, brings it to a certainty, that it is erroneous (33). And what farther confirms it is, that there was not any other book printed for ten or eleven years after at Oxford. If Frederick Corſellis was brought thither at ſuch expence, according to the Record, to practiſe the art, how comes it that he never printed any thing in all that while, or that his name appeared not to that one book, if he did print it? If he came to teach the Art there, how comes it that no-body learnt it? If he was diſcouraged, or met with any inconvenience there, he would have been acceptable at Cambridge; that Univerſity being boaſted to have a power to print within the ſame, *Omnes & Omnimodos Libros*, which the Univerſity of Oxford hath not (34): and yet we hear of no printing there, till long after there was at Oxford; and then, ſome of the earlieſt printing for their uſe, appears to have been executed by Wynkin de Worde, in the year 1510 (35). But it was ſome ſeven years after that, before Sibert, their Univerſity Printer, brought the Myſtery to any tolerable perfection; and then, indeed, he fairly ſet forth Eraſmus's book, *De Conſcribendis Epiſtolis*; the author at the ſame time living in Cambridge, who may be preſumed curious in ſuperviſing the impreſſion (36): and if there was ſuch a man as Corſellis at Oxford, who printed nothing but one book in eleven years, why might not he have been as well employed by the Univerſity of Cambridge, as were afterwards, the ſaid Wynkin and Sibert? If it was inconvenient to have the only preſs ſo remote from London, and the ſea, as at Oxford or Cambridge; and therefore preſſes were ſet up at Weſtminſter and St. Albans, according to Mr. Atkyns; Corſellis, if he was the only firſt performer of the Art, muſt have been heard of there, to have wrought at one, or other of them; and then, being a Foreigner, it would probably have been upon Latin books: but where, among us, do we hear of any ſo early printed, that ſuſpected one before-mentioned excepted, as ſome of the Engliſh ones, that were ſet forth by Caxton? If the King, for reaſons beſt known to himſelf and Council, permitted no Law-books to be printed; and, if no Printers exerciſed that art, but only ſuch as were the King's ſworn ſervants, as Mr. Atkyns alſo above aſſerts; how came John Lettou and Will. de Machlinia, two foreign Printers in London, who were no ſworn ſervants of the King, to print Judge Littleton's book of Tenures about the time of, or not long after, his death? Laſtly, if Maſter Caxton was thirty years abſent from England, as Bale, Pits, and many other authors have allowed from his own words, then, how could he be within that time ſent from hence, with Mr. Turnour, to lie at Amſterdam and Leyden in Holland, in order to ſpirit over a Printer from Harlem; when he was at that very time waiting upon the Ducheſs of Burgundy, tranſlating and actually printing a book himſelf by her command, at Bruges in Flanders? In ſhort, the more I conſider Mr. Atkyns's Record, or account of it, the more it appears a fiction or romance; whereas, if we admit of Dr. Middleton's conjecture, as what is moſt obvious and probable about the date of that book, all the repugnance will be reconciled, all the obſcurity cleared up: a numerical letter in the date being only reſtored therein, makes it M.CCCC.LXXVIII. Then, the book appearing printed in the ſame manner, and with the ſame letter, as two more, the next two oldeſt books at Oxford were printed the next year: we may preſume, by another alſo printed not long after them, at the ſame place, with the name of its Printers, that the ſame hands printed them all; and then there will be no room to allow of any ſuch man as Corſellis to have been before there; nor need to ſubmit to ſuch contradictions, as we have obſerved muſt occur, by his intro-

(29) Rich. Atkyns's Original and Growth of Printing, &c. p. 3—5.

(30) See Samuel Palmer's General Hiſt. of Printing, and particularly in England, 4to. 1732, B. iii. ch. 3, &c.

(31) Diſſertat. on the Origin of Printing in England, p. 6.

(32) *Idem.* p. 7.

(33) *Ibid.* p. 91

(34) Coke's Inſtit. 4. Of the Juriſdiction of Courts, p. 228.

(35) Robert Alynton's *Suplifica Principia*, was then printed by him at London, *Ad uſum Cantabrigienſem*, ſays Dr. Fuller, in his Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambr. fol. 1655, p. 59.

(36) Vid. Caii Hiſt. Cant. Acad. lib. ii. p. 127.

the Court at Bruges. In theſe employments upon thoſe, and perhaps other like works, and in the time required to provide himſelf with preſſes, types, and all other printing materials, in order to practiſe and eſtabliſh the art in his own country, being now arrived at the evening of life, and naturally inclining homeward, he might paſs three years; till he appears, by the edition of the book of *Cheſs*, dated in 1474, to be ſettled in England; which book is reputed to be the firſt (*s*) that was ever printed in this kingdom [*F*]. Though we do not meet with any books of Caxton's printing that bear date

(*s*) John Bagford, Sam. Palmer, Dr. Middleton, &c.

introducement at the time and in the manner aforeſaid. If then it be granted, that the book of St. *Jerom* in diſpute above cited, was printed at Oxford the year laſt-mentioned, the preſs will appear to be kept going ſome time there; for the next year it alſo produced *Leonard Aretin's tranſlation of Ariſtotle's Ethics* (37). And though the name of its Printer is not mentioned therein, there will appear good reaſon to believe, that no perſon named Corſellis had any hand in it; that both were printed with the ſame Types, and that theſe were ſet by the ſame Compoſitor. The ſame preſs alſo brought forth another performance the ſame year, printed after the ſame manner. This, like the firſt, is a religious treatiſe, upon *Original Sin*, compoſed by Egidio Romano (38). Of all theſe three books, the Oxford Antiquarian ſays, *Perſpicuis magis & pulchrioribus, quam recentiores nonnulli*; that they are more diſtinctly printed, and more beautiful, than ſome of later date. Which ſimilitude or congruity of workmanſhip in them, very much implies, that they were not done by different hands. And, indeed, ſo few there were then in England, that but four years after theſe books were printed, an Act of Parliament was paſſed, whereby leave was given to 'any artificer, or merchaunt ſtraunger, of 'what nation or country he was, or ſhould be of, to 'bring into the Realme, and ſell by retaile, or 'otherwiſe, anie book, writen or printed (39).' And the reaſon hereof, is ſaid, by another act, to have been, that there were then, 'But *few Printers* within 'the Realme, which could well exerciſe and occupie 'the ſcience and crafte of Printing (40);' which would not be expected, if ſo great a Maſter of it was purchaſed over, and guarded here, to teach it us ſo long before, as fifteen years. But the whole myſtery of this firſt printing at Oxford, ſeems to be cleared up in the annals of the Art the following year; and that Frederick Corſellis, of whom we have hitherto ſeen nothing but the name, ſeems to be turned at laſt into Thomas Hunte, who is commemorated in ſome Latin verſes, printed by (41) his partner Theodoric Rood, at the end of Aretin's Latin tranſlation of Phalaris's Epiſtles, for having printed the firſt Latin books at Oxford, as Nic. Jenſon had done among the Venetians. Theſe muſt be thoſe books before-mentioned, with, perhaps, others now loſt, or then tranſported, if my ſaid author computes right, that Hunte printed at Oxford, ſo ſoon as four years after Caxton began to print at Weſtminſter (42). Rood was a native of Cologne in Germany, where poſſibly Caxton might know him, and whence he might probably draw him, after he was himſelf ſettled at Weſtminſter, to aſſiſt Hunte at Oxford, as he did from 1480 to 1485, and how long after is not obſerved. It is farther added, 'That the Engliſh had then a 'good reliſh of, and were well pleaſed with, the Latin tongue; and, that Hunte and Rood printed ſo 'many books, as to export, or ſend them abroad; or 'at leaſt, ſo ſufficiently to ſupply all demands for 'books in that language at home, that there was no 'occaſion for the Venetians to ſend any of their 'printed books hither, as they were before wont to 'do (43).' Laſtly, it is to be farther remarked, That as the care and diligence of the moſt curious and inquiſitive *Literati*, have hitherto been able to find no more than four books printed by thoſe two Printers; ſo it makes it the more probable, that Hunte was the Printer of the three books beforementioned, which are dated in 1468 and 1479. So that, in the whole, of the firſt printing at Oxford, and the ſtory of Corſellis, it may in effect be made out, partly by this Hunte, who firſt printed there, and partly by that Rood, who was introduced from Cologne (by Turnour and Caxton, if you pleaſe, but let it be after the Art was in action at Weſtminſter) and might have, for ought we know, ſome aſſiſtant with him; whom I would rather ſuppoſe to be that Corſellis himſelf, than give the leaſt diſpleaſure to any perſon, by totally diſcrediting any late inſcription upon a monument of the dead.

(37) Intituled, Textus Ethicorum Ariſtotelis, per Leonardum Aretinum luciditſimè tranſlatus correctiſſimeque impreſſus, Oxon. Anno Domini MCCCCLXXIX.

(38) Tractatus brevis & utilis de Originali Peccato, editus à fratre Egidio Romano, Ordinis fratrum Heremitarum Sancti Auguſtini. Impreſſus & finitus Oxonie, à Nativitate Dom. MCCCCLXXIX. xiiii. die Menſis Marcii.

(39) Anno Primo Ric. III. cap. ix.

(40) Ann. 25 Hen. VIII. cap. xv.

(41) See them in Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 24, 25.

(42) *Ibidem.*

(43) *Ibidem.*

[*F*] *Which book is reputed to be the firſt that was ever printed in this kingdom.*] Mr. Lewis, out of the Preface of the *ſecond Edition* of this book, printed without any date, or name of the place at which it was printed, makes a citation of Caxton's; where, expreſſing how commendable it is in thoſe who will take pains, to inſtruct the unlearned and ignorant in wiſdom and virtue, he adds, 'Emonge whom, there 'was an excellent Doctour of Dyvynyte in the Roy-'ame of Fraunce, of the Order of thoſpital of Saynt 'John's of Jheruſalem, which entended the ſame, 'and hath made a booke of the *Cheſſe moralyſed*; 'whiche at ſuche tyme as I was reſident in Brugys, 'in the Counte of Flaunders, cam into my Handes; 'whiche whan I had redde and overſeen, me ſemed 'ful neceſſarye for to be had in Engliſhe; and in 'eſchewyng of ydlenes, and to thende, that ſomme 'which have not ſene it, ne underſtonde Frenſh ne 'Latyn, I delybered in my ſelf to tranſlate it unto 'our maternal Tongue. And when I ſo had achyeved 'the ſaid Tranſlacion, I dyde doo ſette in enprynte 'a certeyn nombre of theym, which anone were de-'depreſshed and ſolde. Wherfore bycauſe thys ſayd 'Book is ful of holſom wyſedom, and requyſyte unto 'every aſtate and degree, I have purpoſed to en-'prynte it, ſhewyn therin, the figures of ſuch per-'ſones as longen to the play (44).' By this it ſhould appear, that the former edition was without figures; and thoſe in this are very rudely cut; of which Mr. Lewis farther obſerves, 'That thoſe of the *Alphines*, 'which are directed to be formed in manner of judges 'ſetting in a chair, with a book open before their 'eyes; and of the *Rookes*, which ben Vycarys and 'Legates of the Kynge, have ſuch caps, or hoods, on 'their heads, as Mr. Caxton's picture has (45).' And, indeed, it has been preſumed, that the Prints which have been made of Caxton were invented from ſome of theſe Figures. The edition of this book, which we have ſeen, is a ſmall folio, and it is that which is dated as above; and the Title is as follows: *The Game and Play of the Cheſſe; in which Thauctorities, Dictes, and Stories of auncient Doctours, Philoſophers, Poetes, and of other wyſe men been recounted, and applied unto the Moralitie of the publique Wele, as well of the nobles, as of the comyn people. Tranſlated out of French, and imprynted by* William Caxton, *fyniſhed of, the laſt day of Marche, the yere of our Lord God, a thouſand foure hundred and* LXXIIII. Our typographical Antiquaries all allow this book to have been printed in England, though no place is mentioned in it; and alſo to have been the firſt ſpecimen of the Art among us. As ſuch it has been ſo valued, that it is ſaid, the late Earl of Pembroke, for a fair copy thereof, which was given him by Mr. Granger, preſented him with a purſe of forty guineas. It is dedicated by Caxton to the King's brother, George Duke of Clarence; who being about four years afterwards ſentenced to death for treaſon, made his end, according to his choice, as it is ſaid, in the Tower of London, in a butt of Malmſey. And it is juſtly obſerved, to thoſe who doubt of its being printed in England, that by Caxton's telling the Duke, he made this Booke *in the name and under the ſhadewe of his* noble Protection, it is very ſtrongly implied that he was *in England*; ſince how could he be under *his* protection *out of it* (46). Farther, as a memorial that printing was firſt practiſed in England this year, 1474, it is preſumed that Caxton afterwards uſed at the end of his books, that Cypher or Device, complicating the two latter figures of that date in a knot, between the initial

(44) Mr. Lewis's Life of W. Caxton, p. 142.

(45) *Idem. ibid.*

(46) *Ibid.* p. 11.

date till three years after this, it is very probable that a few of his undated books, especially ſome written by Chaucer, Lydgate, &c. as they bear the aſpect of his earlieſt performances, were printed in this interval, of which, ſuch as cannot be adjuſted under their proper years, ſhall be mentioned at the end, after thoſe which are dated have been ſpoken of. John Stow, and others following him, have not only ſaid that Printing was introduced by Caxton, about three years ſooner than the year laſt mentioned, but he expreſsly ſays, 'That in the Eleemoſinary, or Almonry (at Weſtminſter-Abbey) 'now corruptly called the Ambry (*t*), for that the alms of the Abbey were there diſtri-'buted to the poor, John Iſlip, Abbot of Weſtminſter, erected the firſt preſs of book-'printing that ever was in England; and Caxton was the firſt that practiſed it in the 'ſaid Abbey (*u*).' Whoever authoriſed him, it is certain he did, there, at the entrance of the Abbey, exerciſe the art; from whence a printing-room is to this day called a *Chapel*. But Stow and his followers are all miſtaken in the Abbot's name: for if Iſlip was Abbot of Weſtminſter as early as he makes him, he muſt have been ſo above three-ſcore years, according to the account of his death and funeral which is ſtill in being (*w*). It is certain, that Dr. Thomas Milling was Abbot in the year ſpoken of; a learned man, celebrated by John Leland for his knowledge in the Greek tongue; a rarity in thoſe days among the Monks. He was, in the ſaid year when that book was printed, made Biſhop of Hereford; when he ſeems to have held this Abbey *in commendam*. He outlived Mr. Caxton, was buried in the Abbey, and then was ſucceeded by the bountiful John Eſtney; by whoſe monumental inſcription alſo in the ſaid Abbey it appears, as tranſcribed by Mr. Camden, that he ſurvived Caxton ſeven years (*x*) before John Iſlip ſucceeded him; ſo that, if Iſlip was at any charge in ſettling Mr. Caxton in his buſineſs, it muſt have been about twenty-four years before he had this preferment in the ſaid Abbey. As for what Mr. Hearne mentions of Abbot Iſlip's knowing Mr. Caxton before, and employing him to tranſcribe and tranſlate ſeveral old pieces for his uſe, though it may not be altogether improbable, yet there is no other authority for it, than John Bagford's ſhort and inaccurate account of Caxton's Life, annexed to the Propoſals he publiſhed for printing an *Hiſtorical Account of the Art of Typography* (*y*). Caxton, in one of his books, having enumerated ſome of thoſe he had before printed (*z*), mentions, after the former two, *The Hiſtory of Jaſon*, which, though undated, we ſhall therefore next give ſome account of [*G*]. It is thought this book was printed by him in the

(*t*) To this day the houſe is the ſign of the *King's Head*, ſays Bagford, but doth not ſeem ſo ancient, being a brick building, &c.

(*u*) Survey of London, edit. fol. 1633, p. 525.

(*w*) Lately in the poſſeſſion of John Anſtis, Eſq; Garter King of Arms, and probably to be found alſo in the Herald's Office: wherein it appears, that this John Iſlip died Abbot of Weſtminſter in the year 1532.

(*x*) Reges, Reginæ, Nobiles, & alii in Eccleſiæ Collegiata B. Petri Weſtmonaſterii Sepulti, &c. Lond. 4to. 1600. Sig. H. 2. b.

(*y*) See a larger Account of Mr. Bagford's Scheme, and Collections for this Work, in The Philoſophical Tranſactions for June 1707, which was drawn up by Mr. Humphrey Wanley. Bagford lived nine years after that, and never publiſhed his Hiſtory; but his papers are in the Harleian Library of MSS.

(*z*) The Golden Legende.

initial letters of his name, which we ſhall more particularly expreſs in its due place. The book was originally written in Latin; and the author of it has been called Jacobus de Theſſalonica, of the order of preaching Friars (47). But Antonius Senenſis, in his chronicle of the ſaid order, calls him Jacobus de Cezolis; and ſays, he flouriſhed about the year 1295. Lambecius obſerved, That his true name was Caſulis, from the city of Caſali in Italy, where he was born; which was corrupted to Theſſalis, and ridiculouſly to Theſſalonica. He agrees with the former author, as to the age of the writer; but L'Abbe removes him backward nearly a century. Du Freſne ſuppoſes Jac. de Ceſſulis, and Jac. de Theſſalonica, to be two different men of the ſame order; the firſt living about the time aforeſaid, and the laſt about 1410. The ſame learned writer thinks this game of Cheſs to have been an Arabian, or Perſian game, ſince he derives the title *de ludo Schaccorum*, from the word Schach, which in Arabic ſignifies a King, who is the principal perſon in the Game. This book having been rendered out of Latin into French, was now tranſlated by Maſter Caxton from thence, into Engliſh. Others have written upon the ſubject; namely, one Simon Ailward, an Engliſh Poet, who lived in the year 1456, and wrote a book of Latin Monkiſh Rymes upon this game; ſome of which may be ſeen in my author (48). We have a little book or two in Engliſh proſe, one in 4*to*, the other in 8*vo*, upon the ſame ſubject; but whether written upon the ſame plan with thoſe before-mentioned, and with reſpect to any moral, or political application, I do not now remember.

(47) Vide Oudin, De Script. vol. iii.

(48) J. Pits, in Append. Illuſtr. Angl. Script. Cent. iv. p. 939.

[*G*] *Which we ſhall next give ſome account of.*] It is entitled, *The Hiſtorie of Jaſon; towchyng the Conqueſte of the Golden Fleſe: Tranſlated from the Frenſh, and printed by William Caxton*, in a thin folio, without date. By the order in which Mr. Caxton mentions it in his *Golden Legend*, as we obſerved, it ſhould be the next book he printed. It is with a type different from the former two, and with which he printed ſeveral others. It was written in French by the old Duke of Burgundy's Chaplain, author of *The Recuyel* before-mentioned, and by him dedicated to the ſaid Duke *Philip*, ſurnamed the *Good*, who, in memory of Jaſon's expedition, founded the order of the Golden Fleece. It was newly compiled from all the hiſtories of Jaſon, eſpecially what Dares Phrigius had written (49), and Guido de Columpnys upon that ſubject (50). This tranſlation was enterpriſed by Caxton, as he ſays, in his prologue, 'For the honour and worſhip 'of King Edward IV.' who had been elected Knight of the ſaid order in the firſt Chapter held by his brother-in-law Charles Duke of Burgundy, May 8, 1468. Caxton alſo mentions a ſtately chamber in the old Duke's caſtle at Heſdin in Artois, finely adorned with the paintings of this ſtory, and ſome other curious embelliſhments of art, in theſe words. 'Well 'wote I, that the noble Duc Philippe, firſt founder 'of this ſaid order, did doo make a chambre in the 'caſtell of Heſdyn, wherein was craftyly and curyouſly depeynted the conqueſte of the Golden Fleſe 'by the ſaid Jaſon. In which chambre I have ben, 'and ſeen the ſayd hiſtorie ſo depeynted; and in re-'membraunce of Medea, and her cunning and ſci-'ence, he had doo make in the ſayd chambre by 'ſubtyll engyne, that, when he wold, it ſhulde ſeem, 'that it lightned, and after thondre, ſnowe and 'rayne, and all within the ſayd chambre, as aft 'tymes, and when it ſhulde pleaſe him, which was 'all made for his finguler pleaſir (51).' 'Tis probable that all theſe fine ornaments were deſtroyed when that town and caſtle were demoliſhed by Philibert Emanuel Duke of Savoy, and General to the Emperor Charles V. in 1553. But afterwards, by the advice of John German, Biſhop of Nevers, the firſt Chancellor of this order, Jaſon's Fleece was changed for Gideon's, and his ſtory was wrought into rich hangings of gold and ſilver, which were remaining in the court at Bruſſels in the year 1652, when Chiflet publiſhed his book of this order (52). Hence ſome people miſconceived the foundation of the order, as Caxton well obſerves, where he ſays, in the ſaid prologue, 'Howe well ſome perſones affirme and ſaye, 'that the ſayde ordre hath taken his original of the 'Fleſe of Gideon, I will not diſpute.' He alſo ſays, that he preſumed not to preſent it to the King, becauſe

(49) De Bello Trojano.

(50) Deſtructionis Trojæ Hiſtoria.

(51) Caxton's Prologue to The Hiſtorie of Jaſon.

(52) Breviarium Ordinis Velleris Aurei.

the year 1475, as we have obſerved in the note, or at fartheſt the year after. But of the time when he printed his next book, and the place where, we can ſpeak with greater certainty, becauſe he mentions them both in it: it is properly a book of Apophthegms collected out of the works of the Ancients, and firſt compiled in Latin, which was afterwards tranſlated into the French tongue, and thence into Engliſh, by a Nobleman of great merit and renown, who was the Queen's brother; a man no leſs famous for arms than literature. This book, which is intituled, *The Dicts and Sayings of the Philoſophers*, was printed by Caxton at Weſtminſter in 1477. Of this, together with a ſhort Collection of Proverbs in verſe, which he printed the ſame year, we ſhall refer to ſome farther particulars [*H*]. Between the month of May in the next year, and ſome time

becauſe he did not doubt but he had it in French: But intended through his licence, and the ſupportation of the Queen, to preſent it to his moſt redoubted young Lord the Prince of Wales, to the intent he might begin to learn to read Engliſh. It has been reckoned, that the ſaid Prince was then about five years old (53); which, if a right computation, will prove this book to have been printed in 1475. There was a book printed upon the ſame ſubject a few years after abroad, but whether a new edition of this, or a different work, we know not (54).

(53) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 145.

(54) The Hiſtorie of the Knyght Jaſon, by Gerard de Leew, fol. Andewarp 1480. The ſame Printer emprinted The Chronycles of the Reame of Englonde, with their Appertignaunces. *Annales Typograph.*

[*H*] *We ſhall here refer to ſome farther particulars.*] The former of theſe two pieces, named *The Dictes and Sayengis of the Philoſophers, tranſlated out of Frenſh by Antone Erle Rywyers*, &c. and *Emprynted by William Caxton at Weſtmeſtre, Folio* 1477, conſiſts of ſeventy-five leaves. This tranſlator was Anthony Wydeville, Earl of Rivers, Lord Scales, and of Newſells, a man renowned in his time for his literary, as well as warlike accompliſhments. He was the ſon of Sir Richard Wydeville, the firſt Earl of Rivers, by Jaquetta his wife, relict of John Duke of Bedford, and daughter to Peter of Luxemburgh, Earl of St. Paul. The ſaid Anthony Wydeville was, when about ſeventeen years of age, with the Earl his father, ſtolen or forced away at Sandwich, and carried to France; as may be read in a memorandum of William de Wyrceſtre's, which is quoted in theſe words, '*Cito poſt dictum feſtum nativitatis Domini* 1459, *Johannes Denham, cum aliis de Caleſia, ſecrete intravit Sandwycum, ac ibidem cepit Dominum de Reverys, & Antonium Widewele filium ejus, cum multis magnis navibus, & adduxit Caliſiæ, Comitatibus Marchiæ & Warrenici & Sarum, Caliſiæ exiſtentibus* (55).' Elizabeth, the ſiſter of this Anthony, a beautiful lady, the relict of Sir John Gray of Grooby, was married to King Edward IV. in 1464. She lived to ſee her ſons, two hopeful Princes, murdered, beſides her father, and this her worthy brother aforeſaid; and died herſelf deſpoiled of all, in reſtraint, at the monaſtery of Bermondſey in Southwark (56). A few years after, the ſaid Anthony Lord Scales, became much renowned, far and near, for the moſt magnificent feats of chivalry in Smithfield, that were, perhaps, ever performed there; whereof, having ſome years ſince been poſſeſſed of a very ancient and curious hiſtory, in manuſcript, containing the whole ceremony, which is, probably, the moſt copious and exact account of any ſuch martial ſolemnity now in being, a tranſient view of its contents, by the heads thereof, in ſome parts enlarged a little out of the chapters themſelves, may not be here unacceptable. This great and ſolemn encounter at the tilt or tournament, *&c.* was performed between the ſaid Anthony Lord Scales, and Anthony the natural ſon of old Duke Philip beforementioned; therefore called *The Baſtard of Burgundy*, more often, and as a more honourable title (*), than by that of his Earldom, Count de la Roche, or other lordſhips, that he had. He was a man no leſs famous for his wit and courage than the Lord Scales; was the challenger himſelf to fight him on horſeback and foot; and there were granted letters by his Majeſty of ſafe conduct to the baſtard and his train, it ſeems upon this occaſion, which are preſerved among our records (57). The capital title in that old manuſcript hiſtory of thoſe feats of chivalry between theſe two champions, is as follows, *The Actes of the full honorable and knightly Armes doon betwene the right noble Lords Sir* Antony Wodevile, Lord Scales and of Newſelles, *brother to the moſt high and excellent Princeſs, the Queen of* Englonde, *and of* Fraunce, *and Lady of* Irlonde, *Chalenger*; *and Sir* Anton, *the Baſtarde of* Bourgoine, *Earl of* Roche, *and Lord of* Bener *and* Benereſſe, *afore the mooſt Chriſtien and victorious Prince,* Edward IV. *the King of* Englond, *and of* Fraunce, *and Lord of* Irlond; *the eleventh and twelfth daies of* Juyne, *in the ſeventh yeere of his* Reigne, *Defender: The Erle of* Worceſtre, *the grete Coneſtable of* Englond (58); *in* Smythfeilde. Then follow the diſtinct narratives of the whole proceedings therein, in *twenty-four chapters:* but as there are alſo three or four more of them, which precede that title, and relate to others following it, being, perhaps, inadvertently omitted, or not timely enough received to be entered in their proper order, we think it more regular and comprehenſible to mention them with thoſe whereunto they relate, than to ſpeak of the ſame things divided, and in different places; but ſhall refer in the margin to the pages whereon they are written, of which we ſhall here make the ſaid connexion; and then, a ſhort view of the whole will more orderly ſtand in this manner. Chap. I. The Fortune of the Empriſe of the ſaid full noble and valerioufe Knyght Sir Antony Wodevile; ſhewing, how on the Wedneſday after the Feaſt of the Reſurection, he had, in preſence of the Queen, a Collar of Gold, with the rich *Flower of Souvenance* enamell'd, faſtned above his knee, by ſome of her Ladys; with a Parchment Roll, or Bill, drop'd in his Bonnet, containing the Charge and Adventure he was to undertake. II. The Prologue of the ſaid Lord Scales, after redyng of the ſaid Bill, and the Chapters contained therein, for certain Arms on Horſeback, and on Foote. Shewing the 'foreſaid Prize was received of the Ladies on the 17th of April 1465.(†) III. The Contents of the Lord Scales's Letter to the Lord Baſtard, dated the 18th of April following. This relates to, or is expreſſed more at large in one of the Chapters preceding the Title above, thus deſcrib'd: 'This is the Writing and Articles ſent by the Lord 'Scales unto the Baſtard of Burgoyne;' dated from Shene, the day laſt mentioned (59). IV. The Supplication of the ſaid Lord to the King, that an Herald may carry over the ſaid Prize and Chapters to the Lord Baſtard, with the King's command to Cheſter-Herald to carry the ſame, and to the Conſtable of England to record this memorable Act. To this may properly follow, the Certificate of John Tiptoft Earl of Worceſter, High Conſtable of England, atteſting, the Queen's giving the *Flower of Souvenance* to the ſaid Sir Anthony Wodvile, Lord Scales, as a Charge to undertake the Enterpriſe, and his Delivery of it to Cheſter-Herald, that he might carry it over to be touched by the Baſtard, in token of his accepting the Challenge, on the 22d of April (60). V. The Preſentation of the ſaid Letter and Prize to the Lord Baſtard at Bruxels the laſt day of April; and his touching the ſame, by Licence of the Duke of Burgundy (with his Speech and Preſents thereupon). VI. The Names of thoſe preſent at the Touching of the Prize. Theſe were Lords, Knights, Squires, Gentlemen, and Heralds; as in a Chapter before the Title (61). The Anſwer of the ſaid Lord Baſtard to the Lord Scale's Letters aforeſaid. Dat. Bruxells, 4 May (62). VII. The coming of the Lord Baſtard to Graveſend 19 of May, accompanied with Lords, Knights, Eſquires, *&c.* above four hundred; met by Garter King of Arms. VIII. The Return of Cheſter-Herald to Greenwich, with the Prize touched, 23d of May. IX. The Meeting of the Baſtard at Blackwall by the Lord High Conſtable, with ſeven Barges, and a Galley full of Attendance, richly covered with Cloth of Gold and Arras, 30th of May: Is appointed the Biſhop of Saliſbury's

(58) Not the Duke of Clarence, as in John Stow, 1468.

(†) So this extract of that MS. but *Quere* if it ſhould not be 1467 or 1468; being the 7th of King Edward, as was before ſaid.

(59) Fol. 17.

(60) Fol. 20.

(61) *Idem.*

(62) Fol. 21.

(*) Vide *Pontus Heterus*, de *Rerum Burgundicarum.*

(56) Sandford's Genealog. Hiſt. fol. 407.

(57) Pro Baſtardo Burgundiæ, ſuper Punctis Armorum Perficiendis; in Rymer's Fœd. vol. xi. fol. 1710, p. 573.

time in the ſame month two years after, died that William Caxton at Weſtminſter, who has been taken for the father of our Printer (*a*), as we before obſerved. In the ſame

(*a*) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 19.

Saliſbury's Palaces in Fleet-ſtreet, and at Chelſea, for lodging. X. The King's Proceſſion to London, and ſolemn Meeting of the Baſtard in Fleet-ſtreet, where his Lordſhip and the Lord Scales had the firſt Interview, who bore the Sword before the King, Tueſday 2d of June. XI. The Preſentation to the King at Weſtminſter, of the Baſtard the ſame Day: His deſire for the day of Battle to be fixed; and alſo, the like deſire of the Lord Rivers, in behalf of his ſon the Lord Scales. The Barriers order'd in Smithfield (63), and the day appointed is the eleventh of June. XII. The Proceſſion or coming of the Lord Scales from Greenwich richly accompanied and array'd: Lodged in the Biſhop of Ely's Palace in Holborne, Friday 5th of June. XIII. The Chapter holden at Paul's by the Conſtable, for declaration of doubts moved upon the Chapters or Articles of Combat. XIV. The Names of the Lord Scales's Counſel, and the Baſtard's. XV. The Field more particularly appointed and deſcribed. XVI. The Proceſſion or coming of the Lord Scales to St. Bartholomew's, 10th of June. XVII. The Ordenance of keeping of the Field by the Heralds, 11th of June. XVIII. The Entrance into the Field on the ſaid day of Battle by the Lord Scales, attended by nine Noblemen, who bore his weapons. XIX. The Ornaments of the Trappers, and the nine Pages on Horſeback, who attended him. XX. The Deſcription of his Pavillion. XXI. The coming of the Baſtard with ſeven Followers; his Pages on Horſeback, and Noblemen bearing his Arms; all richly adorn'd. XXII. The Proclamation at the four corners of the Field. XXIII. After the Cry of *Leſſer Aller*, the Encounter is begun: The Baſtard and his Horſe thrown to the Ground (64). He refuſes to fight any more on Horſeback. XXIV. The Arms done on Foot the next day. Their Attendants and Accoutrements particularly deſcribed. The King forbids the perilous Spears that were brought for them, it being but an act of Sport. The whole Iſſue of the Combat; in which the Lord Scales appearing again too hard for the Baſtard, and the King perceiving they were growing in earneſt, and into a cruel aſſault, gave the ſignal to part them (65); commanding them to ſhake hands and reſpect one another, as brothers in arms; which they did, in the middle of the field, and ſo departed. Theſe are the heads of that ancient manuſcript. As to the particulars of the combat, farther than are mentioned in the margin, we refer to the chronicles; only, if the date of the year that theſe Juſtes were performed in, is rightly here mentioned, then it ſhould ſeem rather to be upon celebrating the Coronation of the Lord Scales's ſiſter Queen Elizabeth. And if the King's letters of ſafe conduct for the Baſtard before-mentioned are rightly dated in Rymer, that is in October the next year, they may import a new permiſſion for another trial of ſkill in the 6th of K. Edward, which he calls 1466. But if this ſhould be 1467, then we may with Stow fix the combat upon the concluſion of the marriage between King Edward's ſiſter and the duke of Burgundy's ſon, in the year 1468 (66). As for what farther concerns the ſtory of this noble author, the Lord Scales, we ſhall only mention, that in the times of the Civil Wars, between the Houſes of York and Lancaſter, his father Richard, the firſt Earl Rivers, with John his ſon, were in the year 1469 taken in the foreſt of Dean, and, by the faction at Northampton, with others beheaded, at the command of George, Duke of Clarence, and the Earl of Warwick. As for this his ſurviving ſon, Anthony, Earl Rivers, who was afterwards counſellor and governor of the young Prince Edward; and of whom Sir Thomas More ſays, *Vir haud facile diſcernas manuve, aut conſilio promptior* (67): He was a man of ſuch abilities, that it was difficult to diſtinguiſh, whether he was more able to adviſe, or to execute in affairs of ſtate. As ſoon as King Edward died in 1483, he was ſent for from Ludlow, with his royal Pupil, by the Protector Richard, ſeized at Stoney-Stratford, conveyed to Pontefract, and there, with others, beheaded the ſame day, in the Month of June, that the Lord Chamberlain Haſtings, was at London (68), being aged about forty one years, as it may be computed from the account of his age at the death of his mother, Jacquett Ducheſs of Bedford, in 1472, as it ſtands upon record in the *Eſcheats*. With what ſuperior ſplendor he ſhines among the illuſtrious, and, as it were, peerleſs, among peers, may be read in the general chronicles, the particular accounts of his family (69), and the memorials or teſtimonies of his merit that have been preſerved in the works of ſeveral heraldical Antiquaries (70). Of the books he publiſhed, this containing *The Sayengies of the Philoſophres* was the firſt, printed by Caxton at Weſtminſter in 1477, containing ſeventy-five leaves. The Earl, in his preface, obſerves, That every human creature is ſubject to the ſtorms of fortune, and perplexed with worldly adverſity, of which he had largely had his part; but having been relieved by the goodneſs of God, he was exhorted to diſpoſe his recovered life to his ſervice. And underſtanding that there was to be a jubilee and pardon at St. James's in Spain, Anno 1473, he determined upon a voyage thither. So in July, the ſame year, he ſet ſail from Southampton; when a worſhipful gentleman in his company, named Lowys de Bretaylles, lent him, to paſs over the time, this book of the *Sayings of the Philoſophers*, in French, which had been tranſlated from the Latin by Meſſieur Johan de Teonville, Provoſt of Paris (71). The Earl was very much taken with the wholeſome and ſweet ſayings of the *Paynems*; and finding how, 'It ſpeaketh univerſally of the exam-'ple, weel, and doctrine of alle Kynges, Prynces, 'and to people of every eſtate; lawdes vertue and 'ſcience, blames vices and ignorance;' though he could not then, nor in all that pilgrimage, overſee it well at his pleaſure, through the diſpoſitions that belong to the taker of a jubilee and pardon, and the great acquaintance he found there of worſhipful folks, he intended at a more convenient time to be better acquainted with it. Remaining in this opinion, after the King commanded him to attend upon the Prince, and having then leiſure, he tranſlated it into Engliſh, which had not been before done. But as there were divers copies of this book, differing from each other, he concludes with intimating his hopes, that he ſhall not be cenſur'd for that which he has follow'd, or his tranſlation be judged of by thoſe which vary from it. The work itſelf opens with the Sayings of Sedechias, and goes on with thoſe of many eminent ancients; as Homer, Solon, Hyppocrates, Pythagoras, Diogenes, Socrates, Plato, Ariſtotle, Alexander, Ptolemy, Seneca, St. Gregory, Galen, and ſome others, who are each of them allow'd a chapter for his ſayings, but the laſt is more miſcellaneous. A taſte of theſe Apophthegms may be read in the account of this book that has been before given, and is here, in ſome parts, made uſe of (72). At the end of the tranſlation of this work there is a remarkable chapter added, of three leaves (which concludes the whole volume) written by William Caxton, or the Earl in his name. For, as it contains a tranſlation from the French, of thoſe Sarcaſms of Socrates againſt the fair ſex, which our noble tranſlator of the reſt had purpoſely paſſed over, in the proper place, under the chapter of that philoſopher; the reader is left to judge, if the ſaid Earl ſeriouſly intended to favour the fair, by ſuch an omiſſion in the middle of his book, whether his Printer would probably make ſo free as to publiſh it of his own accord, though in his own name, more conſpicuouſly at the end of it. If it is a piece of *fineſſe*, it is artfully enough conducted, whether by tranſlator or printer, to expoſe the fair ſex more notoriouſly, under the notion of forbearing to do it at all. We know not that it has been ſo interpreted, nor can declare in what vein Maſter Caxton's apology for the ſaid addition was written, or is to be read; but ſhall leave it to the reader, to decide whether there is not ſomething of a droll humour, or delicate air of raillery, in the following expreſſions: 'I fynde that my ſayd Lord hath 'left out certayn and dyverſe concluſions towchyng 'women! wherein I mervaylle that my ſayd Lord 'hath not wreton them, ne what hath mevyd him ſo

'to

(63) The Liſts were 120 yards and 10 feet long; and 80 yards 10 feet broad; double barr'd, 5 feet between the bars: The timber and workmanſhip coſt 200 marks; beſides fair and coſtly galleries for the Nobility, &c. of both ſexes. See Hall, Stow, &c.

(64) Some ſay this was the ſecond day of the Tourney; the ſpike in the chafron of Lord Scales's horſe at the encounter, running into the noſtrell of the Baſtard's horſe, he reared ſo an end, that both he and his rider fell to the ground. Stow's Annals, p. 420.

(65) When the point of Lord Scales's pol'ax entering the ſight of the Baſtard's helm, he might have plucked him on his knees. *Idem.*

(66) Stow's Annals, as before, anno 1468. There is a diſagreement in authors about a year throughout this reign. See Speed, edit. 1623, fol. 868; and Lewis, in Caxton's Life, p. 31.

(67) In Vit. Ricardi III.

(68) See Hall, Grafton, Speed, &c.

(69) In Dugdale's Baronage, &c.

(70) Among the MS. Collections of Sir Richard Seynt George, Norroy King at Arms, and his deſcendants.

(71) Some call him William de Tignonville, or Thignonville, and ſay he was Provoſt of the Univerſity there in 1408, and that his tranſlation is intituled, *Les Dicts Moraux des Philoſophes, les Dicts des Sages, & les Secrets d'Ariſtote*: Annales Typogr.

(72) The Britiſh Librarian, 8vo. 1738, p. 65.

ſame year, 1478, he printed another book, which was tranſlated by the ſaid Anthony Earl Rivers before-mentioned. This is intituled *The Cordyal*, and its double title ſeems to have occaſioned ſome miſtakes [*I*]. We have already ſpoken of the Printing that

‘ to do, ne what cauſe he hadde at that time: But I ‘ ſuppoſe that ſome *fair* Lady hath deſired hym to ‘ leave it out of his booke; or elleys he was amorous ‘ on ſomme *noble* Lady, for whoſ love he wold not ‘ ſette it in his booke; or ellys, for the very affec- ‘ tyon, love, and good wylle that he hath unto *alle* ‘ *Ladyes* and Gentylwomen, he thought that Socrates ‘ ſpared the ſothe, and wrote of women more than ‘ trouthe. For if he had made fawte in writing of ‘ women, he ought not, ne ſhold not be belevyd in ‘ his other Dyctes and Sayinges. But I appercyve ‘ that my ſaid Lord knoweth veryly, that ſuche ‘ defautes ben not had ne founden in the women ‘ born and dwellying in *theſe parties*, ne regions of the ‘ world. Socrates was a *Greke*, boren in a ferre contre ‘ from *hens*, whyche contre is alle of othre condycions ‘ than *this* is; and men and women of other nature ‘ than they ben here in *this contre*; for I wote wel, ‘ of what ſomever condicion women ben in Grece, ‘ the women of *this contre* ben *right good, wiſe, play-* ‘ *ſant, humble, diſcrete, ſobre, chaſt, obedient* to their ‘ huſbondis, *trewe, ſecrete*, ſtedfaſt, ever *buſy*, and ‘ never *idle*; *attemperat* in ſpeking, and *vertuous* in ‘ *alle their workis*; or at leaſt ſholde be ſoo. For ‘ which cauſes ſo evydent, my ſayd Lord, as I ſup- ‘ poſe, thoughte it was not of neceſſite to ſette in his ‘ booke the ſaiengis of his auctor, Socrates, touchyng ‘ women. But for as much as I had commandment of ‘ my ſayd Lord to correct and amende, whereas I ‘ ſholde fynde fawte; and other fynde I none, ſauf that ‘ he hath left out theſe *Dictes and Sayinges of the wo-* ‘ *men of Grece*; therefore in accompliſhing his com- ‘ mandment, for as moche as I am not in certayn whe- ‘ der it was in my Lord's copye or not (73); or ellis ‘ paradventure that the winde had blowe over the leef ‘ at the tyme of tranſlation of his booke, I purpoſe ‘ to wryte the ſame Saynge, of that Greke, Socrates, ‘ whiche wrote of the women of Grece, and nothyng ‘ of them of *this Reyame*, whom, I ſuppoſe, he never ‘ knewe; for if he had, I dar plainly ſaye, that he ‘ wold have *reſerved them in eſpeciall*, in his ſaid ‘ dictes. Alway not preſumyng to put and ſette ‘ them in my ſayd Lordes book, but in the *ende*, ‘ aparte, in the reherſayll of the workis; humbly re- ‘ quirying all of them that ſhal rede this lytyl reher- ‘ ſayll, that, yf they fynde ony faulte, tarrette it to ‘ Socrates, and not to me, *&c.*' Thus much may ſuffice both of this apology, and for an example of the pleaſant and ironical ſtyle, or manner of expreſ- ſion in thoſe times. As for the Typographical re- marks that have been made on this earlieſt product of the preſs, at Weſtminſter, that is expreſsly mentioned to have been printed there, they may be read in the book before quoted (74). We ſhall only obſerve far- ther here, that there is a beautiful manuſcript of it in being, written in as fair, regular, and even a Ro- man hand, as if it was printed; and having before it an illumination or painting in miniature, repreſenting King Edward and his Queen, the Duke of Clarence and his children, and Earl Rivers in his Surcoat of Arms, making a preſentation of his book (75).

The other piece, which the ſaid Earl tranſlated, and Caxton alſo printed the ſame year, as is above in the text obſerved, was *The Morale Proverbes of Chryſtyne of Pyſe*. They conſiſt of two ſheets in folio, are com- poſed in diſtichs or couplets of Engliſh verſe, and are uſually bound with the former book. One of the ſaid proverbs, is as follows:

Little vailleth good example to ſee,
For him, that wole not the contrarie flee.

That Lady was an Italian born at Piſa: but her fa- ther removing to Bologne in France, ſhe wrote her book in the language of that country (76), and flou- riſhed about the year 1400. At the end of this ver- ſion, Caxton has ſome rhymes, informing us by whom it was written, and tranſlated, and declaring his own exactneſs in printing the ſame. This he mentions in two ſtanzas, whereof part of the laſt contains theſe words:

Go thou litil quayer, and recommaund me
Unto the good grace of my ſpecial Lorde
Therle Ryveris, for I have emprynted the
At his commandement following ev'ry worde
His copye, as his Secretary can record.

Therein following our old Patriarch of the Engliſh Muſes,

Go litil Quaire unto my livis Quene,
And to my very hertis ſoverayne,
And be right glad, for that ſhe ſhal the ſene;
Soche is thy Grace (77).

[*I*] *This is intituled the Cordyal, and its double title ſeems to have occaſioned ſome miſtakes.*] That is, in ſpeaking of it as two books, when it is but one (78). There is a pious Preface before it, written by the ſaid Earl Rivers, as it ſeems, and at the end of the author's Prologue enſuing it appears, that it is called, *The Cor- dyal*, from the reaſons urging, that the four important articles treated of therein, death, judgment, hell, and heaven, ſhould be *cordially* imprinted in our hearts. But the firſt words of the book are, *Memorare Noviſſi- ma, & in Eternum non peccabis*, from Eccleſiaſticus; whence it is often titled from thoſe two firſt words. This book, like *The Dicts and Sayings*, has no num- bers of the pages at top, nor ſignatures or catch words at bottom. The three or four lines of every chapter are ſhortened, to leave room toward the margin for the *initial letter*, which is always a ſmall one, only to di- rect the Painter of the capitals, which are here in me- tal to print ſuch initials. The beginnings of the chap- ters are alſo adorned with red, and many of the ſmaller capitals that begin the periods, with yellow. In the *Type*, there are ſeveral combined letters, and ſome marks of abbreviation: In the *Orthography*, words not always ſpelled alike; and as to *Pointing*, the only ſtops, are a little ſquare one, like a croſs, and little oblique daſhes. The Epilogue or Concluſion is written by Caxton, wherein he ſays, ‘ This book is thus ‘ tranſlated out of Frenſhe into our maternal tongue, ‘ by the Noble and Virtuouſe Lord Anthoine, Erle ‘ Ryviers, Lord Scales, and of the Iſle of Wight; ‘ Defenſeur and Directeur of the cauſes Apoſtolique ‘ for our holy Fader the Pope in this Royame of ‘ Englond (79); Uncle and Governour to my Lorde ‘ Prince of Wales. Which book was delivered to me ‘ William Caxton by my ſaide noble Lorde Ryviers, ‘ on the day of Purification of our bliſſid Lady, fallying ‘ the Tewſday the ſecunde day of the moneth of Fe- ‘ verer in the yeer of our Lord M.CCCC.LXXVIII, ‘ for to be emprinted, and ſo multiplied to goo abrood ‘ emong the peple, that thereby more ſurely myght ‘ be remembred, *The Four laſt Thingis* undoubtedly ‘ comyng. And it is to be noted, that ſythen the ‘ tyme of the grete tribulacion and adverſite of my ‘ ſaide Lord, he hath been ful vertuouſly occupied; ‘ as in goyng to Pilgremagis to Seint James in Galice, ‘ to Rome, to Seint Barthylmew, to Seint Andrew, ‘ to Seint Mathew, in the Royalme of Naples; and ‘ to Seint Nicholas de Bar in Puyle, and other divers ‘ holy places. Alſo hath procured and goten of our ‘ holy Fader the Pope, a greet and large indulgence, ‘ and greet and large indulgence, and grace unto the ‘ chapel of *our Lady of the Piewe*, by Seint Stephens ‘ at Weſtmeſtre, for the relief and helpe of Criſten ‘ ſowles paſſed out of this tranſitorie world; which ‘ grace is of the like vertue to thindulgence of *Scala* ‘ *Celi*. And notwithſtaunding the greet labours and ‘ charges that he hath had in the ſervice of the Kyng ‘ and of my ſaid Lord Prince, as well in Wales as in ‘ Englond, which hath be to him no litle thought ‘ and beſines, bothe in ſpirite and body, as the fruit ‘ thereof, experimently ſheweth; yet over that, ten- ‘ riche his vertuous diſpoſicion, he hath put him in ‘ devoyr

(73) My Lord's words are, under the Chapter of Socrates — *And the ſaid Socrates had many ſeyinges againſt women, whiche is not tranſlated.*

(74) The Brit. Libr. p. 63.

(75) This fine MS. of the Earl's tranſlation of the ſaid Dicts and Sayings, &c. is preſerved in the Lambeth Li- brary.

(76) Intituled, Les Proverbes Moraux, & le Livre de Pru- dence, par Chriſ- tine de Piſan, fille de M. Tho- mas de Piſan, Autrement dit de Bologne. *Vid Oudin de Script.* tom. iii. col. 2220.

(77) Chaucer's Complaint of the Black Knight.

(78) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 19, 20.

(79) Of theſe ti- tles, ſee Sir Hen. Speiman, in Gloſſar. *Voc. De- fenſor.* And DuFreſne's Gloſſ. in *V. Advocatus.* And Richelet's Dictionaire, in *V. Directeur.*

that began to make its appearance at Oxford in 1479; and about this time, Caxton ſeems to have had an increaſe of hands to carry on his buſineſs more expeditiouſly at Weſtminſter; for henceforward we ſhall find his preſs more fruitful, and that, for the generality, he printed more books in a year, than he did in the beginning. Thus he is obſerved to have ſet forth three books more in 1480, which therefore may be ſpoken of in one note together [*K*]. It ſeems that about this time there was another printing preſs

‘ devoyr at all tymes when he might have a leyſer, ‘ whiche was but ſtartemele, to tranſlate diverſe ‘ bookes out of Frenſh into Engliſh. Emong other, ‘ paſſed thurgh myn hande, the booke of the *Wiſe* ‘ *Sayinges, or Dictes of Philoſophers*, and the wiſe and ‘ holſom *Proverbis of Chriſtine of Pyſe*, ſet in metre. ‘ Over that, hath made diverſe *Balades* agenſt the ‘ *ſeven dedely Synnes* (80). Furthermore it ſeemeth, ‘ that he conceiveth wel the mutabilitie and the un- ‘ ſtablenes of this preſent lyf, and that he deſireth ‘ with a greet zeal and ſpirituell love our gooſtley ‘ help and perpetuel ſalvation, and that we ſhal ab- ‘ horre and utterly forſake thabominable and damp- ‘ nable ſynnes, which comunly be uſed now dayes; ‘ as pride, perjurye, terrible ſwering, thefte, murdre, ‘ and many other. Wherefore, he took upon him ‘ the tranſlating of this preſent werke, named *Cor-* ‘ *dyale*; truſting, that bothe the reders and the herars ‘ thereof ſholde knowe them ſelf herafter the better, ‘ and amende thair lyvyng, or they departe, and loſe ‘ this tyme of grace to the recouvre of their ſalvacion. ‘ Which tranſlating, in my jugement is a noble and ‘ a meritorious dede. Wherfor, he is worthy to be ‘ greetly commended, and alſo ſingulerly remembred ‘ with our goode prayers. For certaynely, as well ‘ the reders as the herers, well conceyvyng in their ‘ hertes, the forſayd *Foure laſt Things*, may thereby ‘ greetly be provoqued and called from ſinne to the ‘ great and plentiouſe mercy of our bliſſid Saveour; ‘ which mercy is above all his werkis. And no man ‘ beyng contrite and confeſſed, nedeth to fear thobteyn- ‘ ing thereof; as in the Preface of my ſaide Lordes ‘ booke, made by hym, more playnly it appeareth. ‘ Then in obeyng, and followyng my ſaid Lordes com- ‘ mandement, in which I am bounden ſo to do, for the ‘ manifolde benefetes and large rewardes of hym had ‘ and receyved of me undeſervid, I have put me in ‘ devoyr taccomliſhe his ſaide deſir and comaundе- ‘ ment; whom, I beſeche Almighty God to kepe ‘ and mayntene in his vertuous and laudable actes and ‘ werkis, and ſende hym thaccompliſhement of his ‘ noble and joyous deſirs and playſirs in this worlde; ‘ and after this ſhort daungerous and tranſitory lyf, ‘ everlaſting permanence in heven: *Amen*. Which ‘ werke preſent, I began the morn after the ſaide Puri- ‘ ficacion of our bleſſid Lady; whiche was the daye ‘ of Seint Blaſe, Biſhop and Martir, and finiſhed on ‘ the even of th Annunciacion of our ſaid beiſſid Lady, ‘ fallyin on the Wedneſday, the xxiiii day of Marche, ‘ in the xix yeer of Kyng Edwarde the Fourth.’

(80) He alſo wrote another ballad or dit y when he wa: afterwards priſoner in Pontefract Caſtle, beginning *Sum what Muſyng and Mournyng*, &c. which is inſerted by John Roſſe in his Hiſt. p. 214.

[*K*] *Which therefore may be ſpoken of in one note together.*] Theſe three books are named, *The Image of the World*, *Ovid's Metamorphoſes*, and *The Chronicles*, with a *Deſcription of England*. *The Ymage, or Myrrour of the World*, was, as it appears in the Prologue, tranſlated out of Latin into French, by the direction of John Duke of Berry and Auvergne, *anno* 1245; and now tranſlated out of French into Engliſh by W. Caxton; at the requeſt and expence of the Honour- able and Worſhipful man, Hugh Brice, Alderman, and Citizen of London (81); with intent to preſent the ſame to the Vertuous, Noble, and Puiſſant Wil- liam, Lord Haſtynges, Lord Chamberlain to King Edward the Fourth, and Lieutenant of the Town of Calais, and the Marches there; whom he humbly beſeecheth to receive in gree and thank. Which book containeth in all ſeventy-ſeven chapters and twenty- ſeven figures; without which it may not eaſily be un- derſtood. The copy here followed, was engroſſed, and in all points ordained by chapters and figures in French, in the town of Bruges in June 1464; and undertaken by him to be tranſlated into Engliſh, the ſecond day of January 1480, in the Abbey of Weſt- minſter. And in his Epilogue, at the end, having beſeeched the Lord Chamberlain to pardon his rude and ſimple tranſlation; ‘ and yf ther be fault in meſuryng ‘ of the firmament, ſunne, mone, or of the earth, or ‘ in ony other mervaylles herin conteyned, I beſeche ‘ you not tarette the defaulte in me, but in hym that ‘ made the copye.’ So having repeated the time when he began to tranſlate the ſame, as before, he adds, that he finiſhed it the eighth day of March, the ſame year, the twenty-firſt year (†) of King Edward IV. The firſt edition of this book is printed upon a thicker and better paper than the others: it has alſo no large capitals printed at the beginning of the chapters; they being ſtill painted or drawn out with a pencil in vermillion or red ink, but there are ſignatures at the bottom of every other four leaves. The figures are ſimple and but thinly ſhaded; and ſome of them keep a little up to the dreſs of the times, eſpecially in the long beaked ſhoes. In ſome copies, the pages at top are number- ed, and the figures of the celeſtial and terreſtrial ſpheres are explained in writing by Caxton himſelf. There was afterwards another edition of this book printed on a different letter, though it might be Cax- ton's, with a different wooden cut to the ſecond chapter. It has alſo large *initials* printed before each of them, and at the end, there is this addition— *Caxton me fieri fecit*, which in the firſt edition is want- ing, and ſhews it to have been that which Mr. Lewis deſcribes (82). He ſays, that ‘ At the end of this ‘ book, is printed an Epilogue, with Mr. Caxton's ‘ cypher, which ſhews he uſed it not above ſix years ‘ after he has ſuppoſed him to have firſt printed in ‘ England; though it is not unlikely that he uſed it ‘ ſooner, only, as is very common with other old ‘ books, this leaf has been torn out (83),’ and ſo it might be with the copy of this edition we have ſeen; no ſuch cypher appearing at the end thereof. This copy had been in the poſſeſſion of the late Reverend Mr. Thomas Baker, of St. John's College, Cam- bridge; who in the ſhort account he has drawn out from the Prologue, in one of the blank leaves before it, has theſe words—‘ It was then valued for the mat- ‘ ter it contains, is now valuable for the print, aud ‘ is yet a preſent for a Lord.’ Indeed, there are ſome marvellous reports in this book, which would perſuade us there have been performed, through great know- ledge in ſome of the Sciences, no leſs ſurprizing miracles by the Antients, than have been aſcribed, through religion, to ſome of the legendary Saints. But of Virgil in particular, there are ſuch extraordi- nary performances here ſpecified, as ſurpaſs any thing of his own heroes, and would ſend the moſt profound magician to ſchool. The Artificial Dove of old, or the more modern Iron Fly, were nothing to compare with Virgil's Copper Fly in this book, which could chaſe all other Flies, for ſuch a ſpace from his pre- ſence. And Virgil's Brazen Horſe, is here ſuch a Doctor among the ſpecies, that the moſt diſeaſed of thoſe animals was preſently cured by looking only upon it. Theſe rarities, with the ſpacious city he built upon an egg, were to be ſeen, as precious or profitable reliques at Naples, when this book was firſt written; and doubtleſs that great Lady's tinder-box, at which he obliged all the citizens of Rome to light their candles, who would rekindle the fires he had extinguiſhed throughout that city, would have been as great a curioſity, had it been repoſited among the reſt. But ſuch an artiſt he was, in building the wonderful bridge here deſcribed; which how per- formed, no man knew, but all men could paſs ſafely over, as might make us wiſh him to be a live at the preſent day; and Friar Bacon's Brazen Head ſeems to have been but a loggerhead in compariſon of that here affirmed to be of Virgil's making; which was endowed with ſo much brains, as to anſwer all queſ- tions, and foretel all events, and thoſe with ſuch true Oracular Amphibology, that it proved too hard for it's

(†) It is thought it ſhould be the Twentieth, ac- cording to his reckoning.

(81) He was a Goldſmith, She- riff of London 1475, and Lord Mayor of the ſaid city 1485.

(82) Life of Cax- ton, p. 27.

(83) *Idem*. p. 26.

preſs erected at St. Albans in Hertfordſhire, by one who was a Schoolmaſter in the Abbey, and the firſt, if not the only Printer there, in a Chapel within the limits of that monaſtery, as we are informed by Mr. Bagford; who adds, that Caxton and he held a cloſe correſpondence (*b*). 'Tis thought that Caxton furniſhed him with a ſet of the types he could beſt ſpare; and thoſe indeed which he did uſe, do much reſemble ſuch of Caxton's as were rudeſt or moſt worn. It is preſumed alſo, that Caxton taught him his art of Printing, as well as furniſhed him with materials to exerciſe the ſame (*c*). There was alſo a little practice of the art, about the ſame time, in the city of London.

(*b*) Bagford's Life of Caxton, p. 4.

(*c*) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 48.

it's maker; who, unable rightly to interpret one of it's reſponſes, fell a ſacrifice to his own art: which, with other ſuch like curious particulars, here mentioned of him, have eſcaped ſome of his moſt conſiderable editors; and may in the whole, ſuggeſt to us, the extenſive aſſiduity of Popiſh impoſture and avarice, in raiſing profit and admiration from the ignorant, out of miracles and reliques, in every other ſcience, as well as the diſtricts of ſanctity; out of Heathen as well as Chriſtian examples, and wherever they think any name of Antiquity is venerable enough to ſolemnize their abſurdities and impoſitions, as well in profane as ſacred ſtory (84). This book ſeems to have been very attractive in it's time, and had other editions after this: one of them, to make it the more amuſing, was adorned with many more wooden cuts than either of theſe; though ſeveral of them have no reference to any thing mentioned in the book. There is an abridgment of Caxton's Prologue at the beginning; but his name as the tranſlator is ungratefully ſunk by one of his own profeſſion; ſo early did they begin to be unfaithful in reprinting of books, or tranſmitting them unmaimed and complete to poſterity (85).

(84) See Thymage or Myrrour of the World, Part iii. cap. xiii. Of the Mervailles that Virgyle made by Aſtronomye in his time, &c.

(85) This edition is intituled, The Myrror and Dyſcryption of the Worlde; with many Marveylles and the Seven Sciences, &c. emprynted by Laurence Andrewe at the Golden Croſs by Flete Bridge, fol. without date.

Next after this, is mentioned by Caxton himſelf in his *Golden Legend*, as tranſlated out of French and printed by him, '*The XV bokes of Metamorphoſes, in which ben contayned the Fables of Ovid.*' This book is placed by Ouduin under this year, where he ſays, *Libri XV. Metamorphoſeon Ovidii in Anglicam proſam per Caxtonum converſi, A.D.* 1480. And after him, Mr. Lewis mentions it in the ſame year; but John Bagford dates it a year before. In Mr. Samuel Pepys's library at Magdalen-College in Cambridge, there is a MS. copy of part of this book, intituled, *A Proſe tranſlation of Ovid's Metamorphoſes, beginning at the tenth book*; and at the end, this colophon; 'Thus endeth Ovyde his booke of Metamorphoſe, 'tranſlated and fyniſhed by me William Caxton at 'Weſtmeſtre, the xxii day of Apryll, in the yere of C 'our Lord M.IIII.LXXX, and the xx year of the regne 'of Kynge Edward the fourth.'

The third book printed by Mr. Caxton this year, was *The Chronicles of Englond*; to which is added, *The Deſcripcion of Englond, Wales, and Scotlond, and alſo Yrlond*, in folio. Many authors have fallen into errors and miſtakes about this book; and many have cenſured Caxton, as the compiler, who was but the Printer of it. He ſays himſelf, that he endeavoured to emprint the ſame at the requeſte of divers gentilmen, and only ordeyned a table of the matters ſhortly compiled and chapitred, that every man may find more readily what he pleaſes to rede. Which booke begyneth at Albyne, and endeth at the begynnyng of the regne of Kyng Edward the IIIIth (86). The title of the firſt chapter is, *The Names of this Londe*, which begins thus — In the noble Londe of Sirrie, there was a noble Kyng and myghty—At the end, Caxton ſays it was emprinted by him in th Abby at Weſtmynſter. Fynniſhid and accomplyſhid the X day of Juyn the yere of th Incarnacion of our Lord God M.CCCC.LXXX, and in the xx yere of the regne of Kyng Edward the fourth. Upon the miſapprehenſion of Caxton's being the author of this Chronicle, many reflections have been made on him. John Major, the Scotiſh Hiſtorian (87), charges him with improbabilities and inconſiſtencies, and ſays, the invective againſt Robert and David Bruce, contains as many falſhoods as words, when he ſhould have accuſed the author from whom he printed. Yet, as he incorporates the Engliſh and the Scotch Hiſtory together, he takes the greateſt part of what relates to his own country from the Engliſh writers (88), as Bede, Froiſſart, and Caxton; which laſt, he owns he often literally tranſlates; and chuſes to follow his Hiſtory, at the ſame time that he is quarelling about the truth of it; eſpecially, where it aſſerts the dependency of the Crown of Scotland upon that of England. But Biſhop Nicholſon, in his reflexions on Caxton, as encouraging his readers, by the opportunity he had of being acquainted with the Court tranſactions of his own time, in the reign of King Edward IV. to hope for great matters from him, when his fancy only led him into an undertaking above his ſtrength (89); has therein moſt ſeverely reflected on himſelf, by falling into the cenſure of that which was beyond his knowledge; for if he had read theſe Chronicles, he would have found at the very entrance, as it has been obſerved, that they conclude at the beginning, and not at the end of the ſaid King Edward's reign. In theſe Chronicles it is reported, that King John was poiſoned at the Abbey of Swineſhed near Lincoln, by a Monk of that houſe, for which Caxton has been ignorantly cenſured, as the firſt broacher of that ſtory, at leaſt in Engliſh Hiſtory. He was the firſt Printer of it, it is true; but it was faithfully, from an old Engliſh manuſcript, which was the original of this whole Chronicle (90), ſo that it is no otherwiſe to be called his, than as it paſſed his preſs; and ſo thoſe who know how to ſpeak of it, do diſtinguiſh; as John Stow, where he ſays — The Engliſh Chronicle, printed by William Caxton, and therefore, called Caxton's Chronicle (91), &c. yet Robert Parſons the Jeſuit, who was not enough acquainted with this Chronicle to make ſuch diſtinction, charges Caxton with being the firſt author of this ſtory (92), and a late writer of notes on Rapin's Hiſtory of England, as the firſt who mentions it in Engliſh (93). Withal adding, that it is not mentioned by any Hiſtorian who lived within ſixty years of King John's death, or before 1276; when his being poiſoned is mentioned in the Chronicle of John Abbot of Peterburgh, which ends in 1259. How can Caxton, John Fox, or Sir Francis Haſtings, be accuſed juſtly of malice or forgery in diſplaying this ſtory, when there are more ancient Hiſtorians, who have ſo circumſtantially and poſitively avouched the ſame (94), that even ſucceeding writers, who have been friends to Monkery, have made no ſcruple to believe it? And why ſhould they not; ſays the learned and judicious Dr. John Barkham in the life of this King, ſince an author, more ancient and unexceptionable than all the reſt, even King John's ſon and ſucceſſor in his kingdoms averred it, when the Prior of Clarkenwell ſaucily told him, being in that houſe, 'That, as ſoon as he ceaſed to do juſtice towards his 'Prelates, he ſhould ceaſe to be a King:' To which his Majeſty enraged with his traitorous threat, reply'd, 'What! mean you to turn me out of my king-'dom, and afterwards to murder me, as my father was 'dealt with (95).'

(89) Nicholſon's Hiſtorical Library, fol. edit. 1736, p. 69.

(86) See Caxton's Prologue to the Chronicles of England.

(87) De Geſtis Scotorum, 4to. 1521.

(88) Mackenzie's Lives of the Scots Writers, vol. ii. fol. 315.

With theſe *Chronicles of England* is uſually joined, *The Deſcription of Englond, Wales*, and *Scotlond*, and alſo *Yrlond*; which was fynyſhed the 18th day of Auguſt the yere of our Lord God 1480, and the 20th yere of the regne of King Edward IV. This was printed from John de Treviſa's Engliſh tranſlation of Ranulph Higden, author of the *Polychronicon*, and afterwards reprinted with the *Fructus Temporum*, &c. This Deſcription conſiſts of twenty-nine chapters. It has been obſerved, 'That from the Conqueſt down 'to the reign of King Henry VIII. our Engliſh Geo-'graphers have either been very few, or the want of 'Printing has occaſioned the loſs of moſt of them, 'and that this of Caxton's is the only thing in its 'kind which we have (96).' And yet it is certain, as another author truly obſerves, this is not Caxton's but Higden's Deſcription, and only printed by him from Treviſa's tranſlation of it into Engliſh, as has been hinted before (97).

(90) There are ſeveral MSS. of this Chronicle; one in Bennet-College Library, &c.

(91) Annal. in Hen. VI.

(92) Father Parſons's Warn Word to Sir Fra. Haſting's Waſte word, 8vo. 1602, Enc. 2. cap. 15.

(93) Engliſh edit. of Rapin in 8vo. vol. iii. p. 242.

(94) Eulogium; MS. in Bibl. D. Rob. Cotton. And another MS. Hiſt. written in the reign of King Edward I. Alſo Pet. Langtoft; R. Higden; John of Tynmouth; Thom. Otterbourne, the Franciſcan; John of Lichfield, the Monk of Leiceſter, &c. &c.

(95) Mat. Paris, Hiſtor. Major, p. 854. Alſo in Dr. Barcham's Life of King John, in Speed's Chronicles.

(96) Biſhop Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library.

(97) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 4.

Of

Of the few books that were printed there, as well as at St. Albans, and eſpecially the chief of them, a Chronicle, comprehending the ſubſtance of Caxton's in the note laſt mentioned, which, for want of proper diſtinction, has occaſioned ſome confuſion in the citation thereof, we ſhall give a ſhort account below [*L*]; and ſo proceed to enquire after

[*L*] *We ſhall give a ſhort account below.*] The moſt antient book printed at either of theſe places, that has been taken notice of, was a *Treatiſe of Rhetorick*, and according to the printed catalogue of the choice library of the late Dr. John More, Biſhop of Ely, ſet forth at St. Albans in 1480 (98). Though it is ſaid, the copy of this book, which is in Bennet College Library, has neither at the beginning or end, any account of the Printer's name, or of the place or time, where or when it was printed. The next in courſe of time was Jacobus de Valentia's book on the Pſalms, printed in the city of London by John Lettou, the next year (99). This printer was in all probability a Frenchman, or a German, who was then allowed to practiſe that art in this city. And at the ſame time there was another foreign printer in the ſaid city, William of Machlin, who printed another religious book in Latin, called *The Chriſtian's Mirror*, at the expence of a Dutch Merchant, who is named in the title thereof, as it is here likewiſe exhibited in the margin (100). Theſe two foreigners alſo printed in conjunction, as well as apart, but neither was their letter ſo fair or clear, nor their compoſing ſo regular as Caxton's. They ſet forth Sir Thomas Littleton's Tenures, in a thin folio, ſoon after the others, as we before obſerved; and in the Latin colophon at the end, mention that book to have been newly imprinted by them, in the city of London, near the church of All Saints, or All Hallows; but which church they meant of that name is not now very diſtinguiſhable. There was one John Latton, who was Autumn Reader of the Inner Temple, in the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth years; Double Reader in Lent, the twenty-fourth; and Treaſurer of the ſaid ſociety the twenty-ſixth of King Henry the VIIIth, whom ſome have imagined to be either the printer of thoſe Tenures; or, as an eminent lawyer, had ſuch reſpect for that book, and the merits of it's author, that it was, at leaſt, by his procuration and expence, the ſaid Machlin printed the ſame: but therein they are as erroneous as Sir William Dugdale is, in the account he gives of the ſaid book (101); for if that Lettou had been this Latton, and was at the charge of printing that work, he would have been diſtinguiſhed in like manner as the other benefactors to their other impreſſions were. Beſides, one of the two religious books above was printed by Lettou himſelf, without any aſſiſtance of Machlin; which ſhews that he was a profeſſor of the art: but where do we ſee any eminent Lawyers, even in our days, when that art is much better known, and more generally practiſed in this city, than it was then, employing their time in printing of Pſalm books, or any other? But the book which has neareſt relation to any of Caxton's, and was printed not long after theſe, was that chronicle above-mentioned in the text, ſaid to have been printed at St. Albans, and is therefore often ſtiled *The Book of St. Albans*, and *The Chronicle of St. Albans:* it is entitled, The *Chroniclis of Englonde, with the Frute of Tymis*, printed in a thick ſhort folio 1483; which part, relating to the latter title, being tranſlated or gathered moſtly from foreign authors, chiefly concerning Scripture, and foreign hiſtory, the book is improperly quoted as Caxton's (102), though his chronicle printed three years before, and relating chiefly to the affairs of England, or the MS. he followed, is involved therein. In the prologue, the ſaid Chronicle and Fruit of Times, are ſaid to be compiled together at Saynt Albons, in the year aforeſaid; but it is not mentioned to be printed at St. Albons, nor even compiled, or printed by the ſchoolmaſter there; much leſs by *John Inſomuch*; a name ſurely that was never aſcribed to the compiler or printer of this book, till it appeared in Sir Henry Chauncy, where he is giving an account of the firſt printing at that monaſtery (103). Indeed Wynken de Worde, at the end of his edition of this book in 1497 ſays, 'That 'Chronicle, with the *Fruyte of Tymes*, was compyled 'in a Booke, and emprynted by *one ſome time ſcole-maſter* of St. Albans.' If there was any ſuch flaw or obſcurity about thoſe words, *one ſome time* in Sir Henry's copy of that impreſſion, as might tempt any body who thought they could reſtore the true reading, to ſuppoſe it ſhould be, and therefore made out of it that name, Sir Henry might have ſome colour of authority for his aſſertion; but it is rather believed the firſt word of the book itſelf, which is *Inſomuch*, ran in his head for the name of the author. This work is divided into ſeven parts: the laſt part makes half the book, and begins at the Conqueſt. Not only the initials of every chapter, but many other capitals in every chapter are drawn or painted with red ink. The leaves are not paged at top, nor have they any words of direction from page to page at bottom; but they have ſignatures. There are three ſimple wooden prints in ſome of the leaves towards the beginning, of the Tower of Babel, the City of London, and that of Rome, with ſome few others. This author propoſes in the prologue, that the *ſeventh* or laſt part of theſe chronicles ſhould be continued, 'from the Normans, *to oure tyme*, whych 'is, under the regne of Kynge Edward the fourth, '23 yere, *whoof noble Cronycles, by cuſtome, may not* 'be ſeen.' Yet, in the beginning of the *ſeventh* part of the *table*, it is added again, '*Continuying to our dais*, 'that is to ſay, to the regne of King Edward the IV. 'the twenty-third yere.' But at the end of the chronicle, this compiler does not deſcend ſo low by near a dozen years, being as it is thought cut off by death; for the laſt paragraph ends with the popedom of Sixtus IV. who was choſen 1471, and is yet, at the makyng of this boke, ſais he; concluding that, 'John Abbot 'of Habingdon was this Popys Legate in Englonde, 'to diſpoſe of the treſour of the chirch, to withſtand 'the myſbylevabull Turke, *&c.*' In a copy of this firſt edition, which I have ſeen, there are ſeveral eraſements with a pen, either by the examiners of heretical paſſages in ſuch old books, or ſome zealous bigot to Popery, of ſome paſſages, which were thought not very conſiſtent with the polity of holy Church; and as he all along interlaces the hiſtories of Emperors and Popes in this work, ſo where he ſpeaks of one of them, it gave ſuch offence, that the words were entirely croſſed over with a pen in that manner; but being not indiſcernable, I could read them to be as follows, '*Johanne Anglicus*, of the nacion of Maguntynne, about this 'tyme was Pope, and ſhe was a woman, arryed in 'mannys garmentys: Bot ſhe profetid ſo in holy Scripture, that ther wos founden none lyke hir. Then 'ſhe wos choſen Pope; bot afterward, ſhe wos with 'childe; and when ſhe ſhuld have gone opynly in 'proceſſion, ſhe traveled and deceſſid: And this is the '*ſixt pope* the whiche, to this tyme, had the nam of '*Holyneſſe*, and were *vecius:* And this perſon, as 'other curſed popis wer, was punyſhed of God; nor 'ſhe wos not nombred in thee boke of Popis (104).' Yet was there no Engliſh chronicle in theſe popiſh times ſo generally read, nor any for above an hundred and fifty years after, ſo often reprinted, as this was, by Wynkin de Worde, Richard Pynſon, Julyan Notary, *&c.* even to five or ſix impreſſions in the ſpace of thirty years. I have ſeen a remark, written in one of Pynſon's copies, printed 1510, upon the laſt leaf but one, after the words, *havyng Poſſeſſyon of all the Realme*, that *here ends Caxtons Chronicle*. Theſe later editions of this *Fruit of Times and Chronicle*, have annexed to them *The Deſcription of Englond*, &c. before-mentioned, which Caxton reprinted from *Treviſa's Polychronicon*, though both their names are omitted in Pynſon's edition; which concludes with a ſhort Latin epilogue, briefly enumerating the Kings of England from the Conqueſt; which we find not in the others. They all are embelliſhed with wooden cuts, different from one another; and the laſt edition has moſt of them in number. But the next moſt famous book that was printed at St. Alban's, and, it ſeems, with Caxton's letter, is all we ſhall here take notice of, as the off-ſpring in theſe early times of that preſs; and it is the rather not to be omitted,

(98) Intituled, Rhetorica Nova Fratris Laurentii Gulielmi de Saona, ordinis Minorum, compilata in Alma Univerſitate Cantabrigiæ, ann. 1478. Impreſſa ap. Villam St. Albani 1480.

(99) Jacobus de Valentia in Pſalterium. Excuſ. in Civitate Londonienſi, ad expenſas Wilhelmi Wilcox, per me Johannem Lettou, fol. MCCCCLXXXI.

(100) Speculum Chriſtiani — Iſte Libellus impreſſus eſt in opulentiſſima Civitate Londoniarum, per Willelmum de Machlinia, ad inſtantiam nec non expenſas Henrici Urankenbergh Mercatoris.

(101) Origines Juridiciales, fol. edit. 1671, p. 58.

(102) So Richard Grafton in his Hiſt. of Engl. vol. ii. As ſayth Caxton in his Chronicle which he calls *The Fruit of Tyme*. So Fox— It is found in the Chronicle of William Caxton, called *Fructus Temporum*.

(103) In his Hiſtory and Antiquities of Hertfordſhire.

(104) *The Frute of Timis*, at the end of the fifth Part.

after the next offspring of Caxton's preſs; which ſeems to have been intituled, *The Conqueſt of Jeruſalem, by Godfrey of Bologne*, a book which had been written to inſtigate the

omitted, becauſe of divers miſtakes that have been made, concerning both it, and it's author. This book treats of Hunting, Hawking, and Heraldry; and is aſcribed to an illuſtrious and heroic Lady, of great gifts in body and mind; a ſecond Minerva in her ſtudies, and another Diana in her diverſions; in ſhort, an ingenious *Virago*, as Bale and Pits call her, who lived about 1460, and yet ſhe was no leſs than an Abbeſs, as Sir Henry Chauncy, or Prioreſs, as Dr. Middleton ſtiles her, of the ſtrict and mortified Nunnery at Sopwell in Hertfordſhire; who ſays alſo, that ſhe was ſiſter to Richard Lord Berners of Eſſex (†). But that the ſaid Juliana Barnes was ſuch a religious Lady, and ſo nobly deſcended, no author, as yet, has attempted to prove. As for the book in queſtion, it has been ſometimes called *The Gentleman's Recreation*, and *The Gentleman's Academy*, or book of *St. Albans*. But of the original edition now before us, there is a colophon comprehending the true title, in theſe words, *Here, in thys boke afore, ar contenyt the bokys of* Haukyng *and* Huntyng, *with other pleſuris dyverſe, as in the boke apperis: and alſo of* Coot Armuris, *a nobull werke. And here now endyth* The boke of Blaſyng of Armys, *tranſlatyt and compylyt togedyr at* Seynt Albons, *the yere from the Incarnacion of owre Lorde Jhu Criſt* M.CCCC.LXXXVI. In the laſt leaf, there is a kind of coat or ſcutcheon, ſtampt from a wooden print in colours, repreſenting Gules, a Saltire, in a bordure, Or, within a rundel; out of which ariſes a kind of double croſs having a bar above and below, argent. There is this inſcription at top, *Hic finis diverſorum Generoſis valde utilium, ut intuentibus patebit:* and at bottom, *Sanctus Albanus*. The firſt paragraph of the book ſufficiently expreſſes the contents of the firſt treatiſe, which begins with the ſame word as the Chronicle of St. Albans did, as follows, 'Inſomoch, that gentillmen and honeſt perſones have grete delite in *Haukyng*, and deſire to have the maner to take Haukys: and alſo how, and in waat wyſe, they ſhulde gyde theym ordynateli: and to knaw the gentill termys in communyng of theyr Haukys; and to underſtonde theyr ſekeneſe, and enfermitees: and alſo to knawe medecines for them accordyng; and mony notabull termys that ben uſed in Haukyng, both of their Haukys and of the Fowles, that their Haukys ſhall ſley: therefore, this book followyng, in a dew forme, ſhewys veri knawlege of ſuche pleſure to gentillmen and perſonys diſpoſed to ſe itt.' To particularize the chapters, and all the terms that were uſed in this ſport, and of the birds of prey that were kept to make it, whereof ſo many volumes have, with ſo much unprofitable induſtry been written, were enough both to furniſh out a Dictionary of the jargon, moſtly derived from the French, and expoſe the immoderate application of our anceſtors at the ſame time, in making ſuch a profound ſcience of it. A ſport, unknown to the Roman (105), nor mentioned till about the time of Alaricus the Goth, by Julius Firmicus. From the Turks and other Barbarians, the Europeans, and the Engliſh eſpecially, aped it in great extravagance down to the laſt century, though perhaps to little more benefit or importance, than the Perſians did, who trained up their ſparrows to hawk after butterflies (106); it appearing in the laſt chapter of this book before us, that there were Hawks appropriated to all degrees of the people, from an Emperor, down to the holy-water Clerk, and poor man, or the beggar: ſo true it is, that he was accounted nobody, who in thoſe ages, wherein the indulgence of falconry ſo licentiouſly reigned, had not an hawk on his fiſt; eſpecially, as I ſaid among us; ſeeing that, even by foreigners, who have practiſed theſe bewildering diverſions themſelves with exceſs, our Engliſh Nobility have been reproached as more inordinately addicted to them; as if they had nothing better in them, or depended on nothing more noble to prove their gentility, than Hawking and Hunting (107). Nay, theſe ſports have been maintained as the moſt preferable accompliſhments by ſome of our Nobility themſelves, in thoſe of their own rank; as may be ſeen in the wiſe ſpeech of that lordly ſcorner of Literature, who ſaid; *It was enough for Noblemen's ſons to winde their horn, and carry their hawk fair, and leave ſtudy and learning to the children of mean people:* To whom, the learned Secretary of King Henry VIII. reply'd, *Then you and other Noblemen muſt be content that your children may winde their hornes, and keep their hawks, while the children of mean people manage affairs of State* (108). How deep would the Mad Doctor in Poggius have ſouſed this ſportſman in his pit, for the reſtoring him to his ſenſes? eſpecially, if it were conſidered, that from ſuch as he, ſo much treſpaſſing of one neighbour upon another, has been occaſioned; ſo much litigiouſneſs and enmity towards one another; and ſo much expence, not only in law-ſuits, but in accommodations for the ſport itſelf; ſo far exceeding the example produced by that facetious Florentine, of one who expended four hundred crowns *per annum*, to kill five or ten crowns worth of birds, that among the inſtances of greater prodigality in our nation, we have it recorded of Sir Thomas Monſon, who was a very expert Falconer, that he was at a thouſand pounds charge in goſhawks, only for one flight (†). All this conſidered, it is no wonder the diverſion at length dwindled away to that moderation in which it deſerves, as well as all other ſports, to be exerciſed. This treatiſe of *Hawking*, which is written in proſe, and has no author's name aſcribed to it, conſiſts of fifty-one pages; where it is ſhown to be at an end, by the word *explicit*. The next leaf begins thus — *Lykewiſe, as in the booke of* Hawkyng, *aforeſayd are writyn and noted the termys of pleſure belongyng to gentillmen havyng delite therin: in the ſame manner thye booke followyng ſheweth to ſych gentill perſonys, The maner of* Huntyng *for all maner of Beeſtys, wether thay be Beeſtys of Venery, or of Chace, or Raſcall. And alſo it ſhewith all the termys convenyent, as well to the Howndys as to the Beeſtys aforeſayd,* &c. This treatiſe of Hunting is written in verſe, divided into ſeveral chapters; and the whole poem contained in twenty-three pages. It ſeems in general to conſiſt of two parts, and the readers are addreſſed throughout the firſt, in the perſon of a woman, who begins the work, with diſtinguiſhing the beaſts of Venery; and having adviſed, whereſoever you are, in wood or in field, to give heed to what *Triſtram* ſays, or informs you of; ſhe alſo adds, if you will liſten, you ſhall learn of your *dame*, which kinds thoſe beaſts of Venery are; ſo names the Hart, the Hare, the Boar, and the Wolf; then proceeds to the Beaſts of the Chaſe, &c. And in ſeveral other parts, ſpeaks to her ſons of Venery, and bids them

Say childe where you goo, yowre dame taght you ſo.

In the chapter of Hunting the hare, there are many French terms uſed, as the faſhionable phraſes in that ſport at thoſe times. What we call the ſecond part, is a kind of dialogue in ſeveral chapters, between the *Maſter Hunter and his Man*. At the end of the whole poem we read theſe words, '*Explicit* Dam *Julyans Barnes, in her boke of Huntyng.*' In the next page, there are three or four ſhort chapters diſtinguiſhing, which are Beaſts of the Chace; of the Sweet, and Stinking Foot: The various names of Hounds: The Properties of a Grayhound; and how to be trained, or what he is fit for every year. After which we have a long liſt in two leaves, of the proper terms, by which any *companies of beaſts and fowls*, as well as ſeveral bodies or ſocieties of *men* and *women* are to be called in the Sportſman's Dialect; among which, there are ſome, one would ſcarcely expect to meet with from a Lady of that holy calling and character which are aſcribed to the writer of theſe pieces; as, *an Uncredibilitie of Cocoldis*; *abominable ſight of Monkis*; *a rage of Mydenys*; *a ſuperfluyte of Nunnys*, &c. which however true thoſe diſtinctions might be, are not very conſiſtent with a woman in that character. But indeed, there are words ſo blunt and indecent, both in the treatiſe of Hawking (110), and in this poem on Hunting (111), as were very unbecoming a woman, in any character. There is another liſt in the next page, of the terms or phraſes then uſed in carving, or, as it is

(†) Dr. Middleton's Origin of Printing, &c. p. 14.

(105) Jul. Scaliger Comment. in Cir. fol. 344. Salmuth, Comment. in Pancirol. De Nov. Repert.

(106) Sir Anthony Shirley's Relation of his Travels into Perſia, Lond. 4to. 1613.

(107) Paulus Jovius in Deſcr. Britan.

(108) Ric. Pacæi De Fructu qui ex Doctrina percipitur Baſ. 4to. 1517.

(†) Sir Anthony Weldon's Court and Character of King James, 12mo. 1650, p. 105.

(110) In the Chap. of Medicines for *Wormys*, called *Anguellis*.

(111) In the laſt Chap. *How ye ſhall breke an Hert.*

the Princes of Chriſtendom to another Holy War againſt the Turks, in order to diſpoſſeſs them of the Holy Land. The ſame year alſo, he tranſlated out of the Dutch tongue and

is called, of breekyng or dreſſyng divers Beeſtis, Fowlis, and Fyſshes. Laſtly, there is a table in another page, of all the Shyreys and Byſhopryches in the Reolme of Englond: but what congruity it bears with any thing in the foregoing treatiſes we perceive not. Thus all we ſee of Juliana Barnes is, that ſhe verſified a tract upon Hunting written by Sir Triſtram, whom Mr. John Manwood, of Lincoln's-Inn, in his treatiſe of *Forreſt Law*, calls a Monk and an old Forreſter, and always in quoting it aſcribes it to him, and never to her (†).

(†) Manwood's Laws of the Foreſt, edit. 4to. 1665, p. 98. 104, &c.

The next treatiſe printed in this book, though of a martial nature, and perhaps leſs likely to engage the ſtudies of a religious woman, is yet by authors aſcribed alſo to this Lady, though her name appears neither before nor after it. Beginning thus, *In thys booke following is determyned, The Lynage of Coote Armuris, and how Gentilmen ſhall be knowen from ungentill Men; and how Bondeage began, firſt in Aungell, and after ſucceded in Mankynde; as it is ſhewede in proceſſe, boothe in the childer of Adam and alſo of Noe, and how Noe devyded the worlde in thre partes to his thre ſonnys. Alſo there be ſhewyd the nine Colowrys in Armys, figured by the nine Orderis of Aungelis; and it is ſhewyd by the forſayd Colowris, wych ben Worthy, and wych ben Royall; and of Rigalities, whiche ben Noble, and wich ben Excellent. And ther ben here the Virtuys of* Chyvalry, *and many other notable and famowſe Thyngys, to the Pleſure of noble Perſonys, ſhall be ſhewyd, as the werkys followyng witteneſes, whoſoever likyth to ſe thaym and rede thaym, wych were to long now to rehers: and after theys notable Thyngs aforeſayde, followyth,* The Blaſyng of all maner Armys *in Latyn, French, and Engliſh:* ſo it begins with, *Incepit Liber Armorum.* Some fabulous Antiquities, Applications, and Alluſions, in this part of the ſaid work, ſeem to have been gathered from another of much the like complexion (112), which informs us, the beginning of theſe laws of arms were before the ten commandments of God. It is here alſo obſerved, that Chriſt was a gentleman, by his mother's ſide; and Prince of Cote Armure. After this part, intituled, *The Lynage*, &c. conſiſting of twenty-two pages, follows the laſt part, concerning *The Blaſyng of Armys*; in which there are a hundred and ſeventeen coats or ſcutcheons printed from wood, coloured, and blazoned in Latin, French, Engliſh. The example of higheſt Antiquity here produced, is that of King Arthur; who is ſaid to have changed his Three Dragons, and his other Shield of Three Crowns, for a Croſs of Silver, in a Field of Vert; with the Image of our Lady on the right, and her Son in her arm. A little farther it is obſerved of the Arms of France, which were, 'Three Flowris in 'maner of Swerdis, in a Felde of Aſure; that they 'were given (from heaven) to the Kyng of Fraunce, 'in ſygne of everlaſtyng trowbull, and that he and 'his ſucceſſaries, allway with betaill and ſwerddys 'ſhulde be punyſhid.' A little farther, ſpeaking of a coat conſiſting of a corded croſs, the author ſays, 'The which croſs I ſe bott late, in the Armys of a 'Nobull Man; the wich in very deed was ſumme 'tyme a crafty man, a Roper, as he hym ſelfe ſayd.' Where the quartering of the Arms of France and England is ſpoken of it is thus accounted for, that thoſe of France appear firſt. 'It ſhall not be tedeous to 'no man, that Fraunce is put before Englonde in 'blaſing; bot the cauſe is this, for thArmys of 'Fraunce, in armys to be put afore, and we have a 'generall rule, that whenſumever in armys be two 'colouris, or moo, in the poynt of the Shelde, then 'ye ſhall not begyn at the poynt to blaſe them, bot in 'the right parte, or ſide, of thoſe armys: that ſame 'coloure, ther founde, in the right ſide of the Shelde, 'is nott the Felde of thArmys; for it may be for-'tune, it is not the greateſt coloure in thArmys afor-'ſayd, but les, or with othir equall; and never the 'les ye ſhall begyn to blaſe ther.' Another remarkable quartering is obſerved in the Arms of Queen Anne, the wife of King Richard II. who bare 'ThArmys of Englond, Fraunce, and thEmperor of 'Almayn quartili, and in twenty one partes: that is 'to ſay in the right ſide of the Shelde, in the firſt 'quarter, ſhe bare thArmys of Fraunce, Thre Flore 'Delucis of Golde, in a Felde of Aſure; and in the 'ſecond quarter, Thre Libartis of Golde, in a Felde 'of Gowles; and in the thirde quarter, An Egle 'ſplayd, with two Neckis; and in the fourth, A 'black Lyon rampyng, in a Felde of Silver; and ſo 'chaungeably ſhe bare theſe Armys, in twenty one 'quarteris, the which ſeldyn is ſeen in Armys.' Farther, on treating of Bordures Gobonated, it is ſaid, 'This ſame Bordure baare that nobull Prynce the 'Duke of Glouceſtyr, brothyr to that nobull weri-'owre Kyng Henri the fifth; the wich Royall Duke 'bare in his Armys, The hooll Armys of Fraunce 'and Englond quartily, with a Bordure Gobonatit 'of Silver and Sable.' And after having diſcuſſed a nice point upon the Arms of Roger Mertemor Earl of Marche, whether they ſhould be called Bordured or not, there is mention made, in another chapter, 'Of 'certain Nobles who bore Fuſils in their Arms; of 'the nombur of which, ſais our author, my Lord of 'Glauceſtur that nobull Prince, uncle to King Henry 'the ſext, was:' adding, 'That he bore Three 'Fuſſils in a bar, in his Arms (but they are wrong 'blazoned in the text, or coloured in the ſcutcheon 'here) by the reſon of certain Londes belongyng to 'the Mounte.' This ſeems to be one of the lateſt inſtances taken notice of in theſe examples of Blazonry, excepting that of the noble Roper at firſt mentioned, and the notice taken of Duke Humphrey's arms. And this laſt part conſiſts of fifty-ſix pages, beſides that which contains the Arms of St. Albans at the end, before-mentioned. Thus have we paſſed through this whole book; and it is a more ample deſcription, or account of it, than has been yet given; the ſcarcity whereof has occaſioned many erroneous aſſertions. Though no name is aſcribed to this laſt part or book of Arms, yet has it been appropriated, like the others, to the pious Lady aforeſaid. The author was apparently converſant abroad in the world, often among courtiers, and men of quality. And how likely ſuch a perſon, ſuch a critick in the doctrine and laws of Chivalry, a ſcience ſo full of oſtentation to the world, was to have any ſuperintendency over a Nunnery of religious votaries, trained to ſtrict abſtinence, ſanctity, and retirement from the world, is not eaſy to reſolve. But in ſhort, this very treatiſe is ſaid to be abſtracted from that part of Dr. Nicholas Upton's book of *Military Affairs*, which treats *De Inſignibus Anglorum Nobilium* (113), who died in 1457, ten years after his patron Duke Humphrey, before-mentioned, in the ſaid treatiſe; to whom it was originally dedicated: And how inconſiſtent with the character and decorum that muſt have been expected in a Lady ſo religiouſly devoted, the other tracts in this book are, has partly before appeared. It ſeems not, that Bale or Pits ever ſaw this original edition, becauſe they alſo mention with it, a book of Fiſhing, as of this Lady's writing; which is not to be met with, but in the ſecond edition of theſe tracts, printed by Wynkin de Worde at Weſtminſter, in folio 1496; and therein it is neither aſcribed to her, nor any body elſe; but only printed in this larger volume of thoſe ſubjects relating to the Gentry and Nobility; that every idle and ordinary perſon might not be able to purchaſe it, as they would if it had been publiſhed in a little pamphlet by itſelf. And in the Preface to that *Treatyſe of Fyſshynge with an Angle*, there is expreſſed ſome intentions alſo of publiſhing a Treatiſe of Fowling. But nothing more of Juliana Barnes appears, than her name at the end of the ſaid doctrine of Hunting, as was before obſerved; from which ſuch high characters have been drawn of her, with ſuch noble alliance, and ſuch holy profeſſion imputed to her, as are before-mentioned. In that ſecond edition, it has been noted, that ſhe propoſed in her ſaid poem on Hunting, as her model, *A Deſcription of the Myrthes of Huntynge by the Duke of York, Maſter of the Game*; and he might feign himſelf to appear in the character of the old Triſtram before mentioned, or it might be the name of his principal

(112) Geſta Trojanorum.

(113) Vide N. Uptoni De Militarii Officio, Lond. fol. 1654.

and printed, a political diſcourſe called *Reynard the Fox*; beſides two books of Cicero's, and two orations of Banatuſius Magnomontanus (*d*), which are commonly bound in one volume together; of which three books, or ſix diſcourſes, ſince the reader may expect ſome diſtinct account, as hath been given of the others, we ſhall in like manner draw together ſome deſcription or memorials of them at the bottom of the page [*M*]. The

(*d*) J. Lelandi Comm. de Script. Britan. p. 48.

cipal Huntſman or Foreſter. However that was, when the book appeared afterwards in a later edition, publiſhed not improbably by Gervaſe Markham, he ſays expreſsly in the title page, that the book of Hunting, Hawking, and Armory were *all compiled by* Juliana Barnes in the year 1486 (114). And yet in the firſt paragraph of the treatiſe of Hunting, which is here all reduced to proſe, he ſays, Theſe, and none other be the ancient laws of Sir Triſtram: hence, Mr. Manwood, in his Foreſt-Laws, as was ſaid afore, always quotes Sir Triſtram, and never Mrs. Barnes; and not only gives him the title of Knighthood, but makes him a Monk withal. Sir Henry Chauncey never ſaw the edition printed at St. Albans of this book, nor perhaps any other, becauſe he calls it by a wrong title; *The Gentleman's Recreation*, *&c.* and makes the preſs delivered of it in 1481, five years before its time (115). But he contradicts himſelf in calling her Abbeſs of Sopwell, when he has a diſtinct chapter upon the religious foundation there, and only calls it a Priory; but mentions nothing of Juliana Barnes, in that place. The firſt perſon I have met with, who call her Lady Prioreſs of that Nunnery, is the author of the printed catalogue of Biſhop More's library, where he is giving a title of this book; and as for what has been more lately advanced (†), that Mrs. Barnes was ſiſter to Richard Lord Berners of Eſſex; in none of the pedigrees we have ſeen of this name, neither that in Sir Henry Chauncey's Hiſtory laſt quoted, nor that, more copious, drawn up by late Mr. Peter le Neve, Norroy King of Arms (116), nor that lately publiſhed in the Hiſtory of the county of Eſſex (117), does any ſuch Lady Abbeſs, or Lady Prioreſs, or any other Lady, of one name, or the other, appear, like thoſe of her in queſtion. And indeed, ſuch a contraſt of characters in one perſon, is apt to raiſe very conteſting ideas. One cannot reconcile the notions thoſe ſubjects inſpire, of their authors being ſo expert and familiarly practiſed in thoſe robuſt and maſculine exerciſes, with the character of ſuch a ſedate, grave, pious, matron-like Lady, as the Prioreſs of a Nunnery is imagined to be; a conjunction of ſuch extreams, ſeeming quite unnatural. Indeed, we have, and ſo we may have had, your romping, roaring hoydens, that will be for horſing and hunting after the wildeſt game, in the moſt giddy company: but to join ſo much of theſe rough and impetuous diverſions, as is required to obtain the proficiency aforeſaid, with the moſt ſerene and ſolemn profeſſion of a mortified and ſpiritual life in herſelf, and the charge or care of training it in others, muſt make an unaccountable mixture. In that light, there appears ſuch a motley maſquerade, ſuch an indiſtinction of petticoat and breeches, ſuch a problem and concorporation of ſexes, according to the image that ariſes out of the ſeveral repreſentations of this religious Sportſwoman or Virago, that one can ſcarcely conſider it, without thinking Sir Triſtram, the old Monkiſh Foreſter, and Juliana, the Matron of the Nuns, had united to confirm John Cleveland's *Canonical Hermophradite* (118): but other examples of the like inconſiſtencies being alſo united to dreſs up one character, might make this appear the leſs extraordinary, if there was any need to inſtance them.

(114) The Gentleman's Academy, or Book of St. Albans, &c. Reduced into a better method by G. M. Printed for H. Lownes, 4to. 1595.

(115) Sir Henry Chauncey's Hiſtorical Antiquities of Hertfordſhire, fol. 1700, p. 448, 449.

(†) Dr. Middleton's Origin of Printing.

(116) The Pedigree of Katherine Knyvet, &c. lineal heir of Sir John Bourchier, Knight of the Garter, the firſt Lord Berners. By P. Le Neve Norroy, 1717.

(117) The Hiſt. and Antiquities of the County of Eſſex, fol. by N. Salmon.

(118) The Works of Mr. John Cleveland, &c. 8vo. 1687, p. 20.

[*M*] *Deſcription or memorials of them at the bottom of the page.*] The firſt of theſe here mentioned, is intituled, *The Siege and Conqueſt of Jheruſalem, with many other Hiſtoryes therein compryſed: and of the Meſeaſes of the Criſten men in the holy Lands; and of their Releef, &c. and how Godeffroy of Boloyne was firſt Kyng of the Latyns in that Royamme; and of his Deth: tranſlated* and *reduced* out of *Frenſshe* into *Engliſshe*, by me ſymple perſone *William Caxton*; being begun the 12th of Marche, fynyſhed the 7th of Juyn, and emprynted the 20th of Novembre, fol. 1481. The deſign of this work, as we ſaid was, that every Chriſtian man might be the better encouraged to enterprize war for the defence of Chriſtendom, and to recover the ſaid city of Jeruſalem alſo, that Chriſtians may go thither with ſtrong hand to expel the Saracens and Turks out of the ſame, that our Lord might be there ſerved, *&c.* (119). Matters of fact ſeem to have been the chief purſuit of the author in this Hiſtory; and though ſome *mervayllous workes* do occur in it, yet it ſeems not ſo over-run with enthuſiaſtic romance, as ſome other Hiſtories of this age on that ſubject are. Our tranſlator ſays, he preſents this book to King Edward IV. which very preſentation book was ſold in the auction of Mr. Richard Smith's library (120). That expedition was incited by Pope Gregory VII. and it was reported, that no leſs than two hundred thouſand Chriſtians were confederated therein: old and young, rich and poor, went without any preſſing or compulſion. Beſides Godfrey of Boloyne, there were other chief leaders, as Beemond, Duke of Naples; and Hugh, the King of France's brother: and this paſſage was made by the Vyſyon of our Lady, as Maſter Caxton informs us in another book (121). The next work, intituled, *Thyſtorye of Reynard, or Reynart the Fox*, in *4to.* was looked upon by the late Mr. Thomas Hearne, the Antiquary of Oxford, to be an admirable piece, written with a good deſign to repreſent a wiſe and politic government. In the firſt page of it, as Mr. Lewis informs us, for this is one of Caxton's pieces we have never ſeen, there is his cypher, before ſpoken of (122), printed in this manner, but larger; in memory, as it is preſumed, of the year in which, and the perſon by whom, the art of Printing was firſt practiſed among us. We are by the ſame author informed, that Caxton ſays there is in this book, 'Wreton the parable 'of good Leryng, *&c.* for an example to the people:' And that he ſays farther, 'I have not added ne 'mynyſhed, but have followed as nigh as I can my 'copi, whiche was in Dutche; and by me Wyl-'lyam Caxton, tranſlated into this rude and ſym-'ple Englyſshe, in the Abbaye of Weſtmeſtre 'the vi day of Juyn in the yere of our Lord 'M.CCCC.LXXXI, and in the xxi yere of the reigne 'of Kynge Edward IIII.' The third volume he printed this year, is intituled,—*Tullius his book of* OLD AGE: *whereunto is added, his book of* FRIENDSHIP; *and the Decleracyon, ſhewing wherein* HONOURE *ſhold reſte:* emprynted by William Caxton, fol. 1481. He does not mention who was the tranſlator of the firſt part of this work, which is *Tully de Senectute*, as Leland has alſo obſerved: but a late author informs us of a memorial of Wyllyam de Wyrceſtre, alias *Botaner*, which he has entered againſt the year 1473, by which it appears that he was the tranſlator of this piece; in which memorandum it is ſaid, 'On the 20th of Auguſt, I preſented to Wyl-'liam Waynflete, Biſhop of Wincheſter, the book 'of *Tulley of old Age*, tranſlated by me into Engliſh '(123).' This Wyllyam Wyrceſtre was an Antiquary and Phyſician, whence he had the name perhaps of *Botaner* or Herbaliſt; and alſo an Aſtronomer of great abilities for the age he lived in. He was born in the city of Briſtol, *anno* 1415, and was ſometyme ſervaunte and ſoget, or ſubject, withe his reverent maſter John Faſtolf Chevalier, and exerciſed in the werres contynuelly above 44 yeres (†); and in ſo great favour he was with Sir John, that he left him one of the executors of his laſt will, which is dated a little while before his death on the third of December 1459. In faithful and cordial affection to the memory of his ſaid renowned maſter, he wrote a book of the *Life and Actions of the ſaid Sir John Faſtolf*, which hath been ſaid to be ſtill in being. That account of his being the tranſlator of this book is farther confirmed by what Caxton ſays in his Preface before it, 'That it was 'tranſlated and thyſtoryes openly declared by the or-'denaunce

(119) Catalogus Bibliothecæ Harleianæ, vol. iii. 8vo. 1744, p. 193.

(120) Bibliotheca Smithiana, 4to. 1682, p. 275.

(121) Caxton's Chronicle in the year 1061.

(122) Life of Caxton, p. 51.

(123) Mr. Anſtis's Regiſter of the Order of the Garter, vol. ii.

(†) Itinerarium Will. Worceſter, MS. in Bennet-Coll. Library.

The next production of Caxton's preſs, was a copious body of Hiſtory in the year 1482, intituled *Polychronicon*, according to the Engliſh tranſlation of John de Treviſa, from the Latin of Ranulphus Higden, the Monk of Cheſter. Upon this Hiſtory, Caxton beſtowed ſome extraordinary pains; not only in tranſcribing it entirely over, to modernize, and render the obſolete ſtyle more conformable to the phraſe or language of his own time, but he compiled and added alſo a *Continuation* thereof, down to the beginning of the King's reign under whom he then lived; and after that, he was at the trouble of collecting, and writing into the margins of his impreſſion, the ſeries of *Chronology* which was wanting in the copy he followed. And yet here, as in all other of his books, he ſpeaks of his own toilſome endeavours with ſo much diffidence and humility, as if he feared they would prove more offenſive than acceptable, and procure him rather the cenſure than approbation of his readers; as may appear in the abſtract of his own account of the ſaid Hiſtory ſubjoined, and the obſervations which others have made thereon [*N*].

The

'denaunce and deſyre of the noble auncyent Knyght 'Sir Johan Faſtolf of the countee of Norfolk Bannerette, lyving the age of fourſcore yere; exercyſyng the 'warrys in the Royame of Fraunce and other countrees, 'for the diffence and unyverſal welfare of bothe 'Royames of Englond and Fraunce, by forty yeres 'enduryng; the fayte of armes hauntyng, and in admynyſtryng juſtice and politique governaunce under 'three Kyngs; that is to wete, Henry IV, Henry V, 'Henry VI, and was Governour of the Duchye of 'Angeou, and the countree of Mayne; Capytayne 'of many townys, caſtellys, and fortreſſys, in the ſaid 'Royame of Fraunce; having the charge and ſaufgarde of them dyverſe yeres, ocupyeng and rewlynge 'three hondred ſperes, and the bowes accuſtomed 'thenne; and yeldyng good acompt of the forſaid 'townes, caſtellys, and fortreſſes to the ſeyd Kyngs, 'and to their Lyeutenauntes, Prynces of noble recommendacion; as Johan, Regent of Fraunce, Duc 'of Bedford; Thomas, Duc of Exeter; Thomas, Duc 'of Clarence, and other Lyeutenauntes.' It appears further in Caxton's ſaid proem, That this treatiſe of *Old Age* had been tranſlated out of Latin into French by Laurence de Primo Facto, at the command of Lewis, Duke of Bourbon; and as Caxton prays his reader, to take this reducing patiently, ſubmitting himſelf to his amendment or correction; he might have an hand in modelling the ſaid diſcourſe, according to the neweſt mode of ſtile from the ſaid French tranſlation: yet in the main, he might follow as to the ſenſe, the tranſlation made by Wyrceſtre from the Latin, it ſeems at the command of Sir John Faſtolf; becauſe he ſays ſome things that in the original were compendiouſly ſpecified, and in a manner hard or obſcure in the text, are more amply expounded, and rendered ſweeter to the reader, keeping yet the juſt ſentence of the Latin. To this is joyned the ſecond treatiſe, which is of *Friendſhip*, beginning thus;—'Here followeth the ſaid *Tullius de Amicicia*, tranſ'lated into our maternal Engliſhe tongue, by the 'noble famous Erle, therle of Wurceſtre (ſone and 'heyre of the Lord Typtoft) which in his tyme flow'red in vertue and cunnyng; to whom I knew none 'lyke emonge the Lordes of the temporalitie in Sci'ence and moral vertue.' This treatiſe is marked with ſignatures in the ſame manner as the former at the bottom of the pages, but in neither are they numbered at top. Laſtly, follow the *Two Declarations* made by Publius Cornelius Scipio and Gayus Flamyneus, rivals for the love of Lucrice: ſhewing wherein *True honour and Nobility conſiſts*: the former placing it in blood, riches, and the worſhipful deeds of his anceſtors, without urging any thing of his own life or manners; the latter inſiſting that nobleneſs cannot be derived from the glory or merits of another man, or from the flattering goodneſs of fortune, but muſt reſt in his own proper virtue and glory. After theſe orations, Caxton concludes with requeſting his readers to remember the tranſlator, both of them, and the treatiſe of Friendſhip before them; 'I mean, *ſays* 'he, the Right Vertuous, and Noble Erle, therle of 'Wurceſter, which late pytouſly loſt his life; whos 'ſoul I recommende vnto youre ſpecial prayers; who 'alſo in his time made many other vertuous workes, 'whiche I have hard of. O good bleſſyd Lord God! 'what grete loſſe was it of that noble, vertuous, and 'well-diſpoſed Lord? whan I remembre and adver'tyze his lyf, his ſcience, and his virtue; methink'eth God not diſpleſyd ouer grete loſſe of ſuch a 'man, conſyderyng his eſtate and conning; and alſo 'thexerciſe of the ſame; with the grete laboures in 'gooing on pylgremage to Jheruſalem; viſyting there 'the holy places that our bleſſyd Lord Jheſu Criſte 'holowed with his bleſſyd preſence, and ſhedding there 'his precious blood for our redempcion, and from 'thens aſcended unto his Fader in heaven. And 'what worſhip had he at Rome, in the preſence of 'of our holy fader the Pope? And ſo in all other 'places unto his deth; at which deth, every man that 'was there, might lern to dye, and take his deth pa'ciently; wherin I hope, and doubte not but that 'God receyved his ſoul into hes everlaſtyng blyſſe: 'for as I am enformed, he ryght adviſedly ordeyned 'alle his thinges, as well for his laſt will of worldly 'goodes, as for his ſowle helthe; and pacyently and 'holyly, without grudchyng in charyte to fore, that 'he departed out of this world, whiche is gladſom 'and joyous to here, &c.' This John Lord Tiptoft, Earl of Worceſter, thus praiſed and lamented by his editor, was born at Everton in Cambridgeſhire, educated at Baliol-College in Oxford, where he attained to great learning; was created by King Henry VI. a Viſcount, Earl of Worceſter, and Lord High Conſtable of England; and by King Edward IV. Knight of the Garter; he was twice Lord High-Treaſurer of England; and in 1467, Deputy-Lieutenant of Ireland. In the Civil Wars between thoſe Kings, he could not be ungrateful to one, who had ſo much advanced him, nor diſloyal to the other, in whom the right of the Crown lay; ſo he viſited the Holy Land, and at Rome made ſuch an oration before Pope Pius II. that with the eloquence thereof, it drew tears from his eyes. But returning home in the ſhort and unlucky interval of King Henry's reſtitution, which was remarkable for nothing but the death of this worthy Lord; he was accuſed of ſome pretended rigor in the government of Ireland, being ſuſpected of favouring ſecretly King Edward's party; ſo that in 1470, the ax cut off more learning in this Nobleman at a blow, than it left in the heads of all the Nobility beſides. He wrote ſome orations and epiſtles beſides thoſe two tranſlations above-mentioned, and was buried in the Dominican's Convent in London according to Leland, who beſtows high commendations upon him, not only for his great learning and Ciceronian eloquence, but for his many virtues and other deſerts (124).

[*N*] *In the abſtract of his own account of the ſaid Hiſtory, and the obſervations which others have made thereon.*] Becauſe this *Polychronicon, tranſlated from the ſaid Ranulphus Hygden, Monk of Cheſter, by Sir Johan Treviſa, Chapelayn unto Lord Thomas of Barkley*, and dedicated to him, comprehends the occurrences of many ages, it is ſo called; and from *His* great example, who wrought all his works in ſix days, and reſted on the ſeventh, he divides it into ſeven books. The firſt deſcribes all countries in general, more eſpecially Britain; the other ſix are a conciſe model of civil hiſtory, from the Creation down to his own time; that is under the reign of King Edward III. Treviſa, in his Dialogue prefixed, in defence of *Tranſlations* ſays, that Higden brought the Hiſtory down to his laſt days. It ends in 1357; which therefore gives more credit to their report, who write, that this hiſtorian died in 1363, than theirs, who prolong

(124) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 43, &c. See alſo Bale, Camden, Brook, Sir James Ware, de Script. Brit. Fuller's Worthies, and Dugdale's Baronage.

The next year, 1483, there are no leſs than ſix books, ſaid to be of his printing, extant, if not one or two more alſo printed in the ſame year, that are undated. Theſe are intituled, *The Pilgrimage of the Soul*; *Liber Feſtivalis*; John Gower's *Confeſſio Amantis*; *The Legend of the Saints*; Cato's *Diſtichs*; and *The Knight of the Tower*. As the account that is to be given of theſe need not be very circumſtantial, they may all be comprehended under one note [*O*]. There have alſo been two other books entered into the

(125) Catal. Bibl. Harleianæ, vol. iii. p. 24.

prolong his life fourteen years beyond that (125). But Treviſa's account of the time when he finiſhed the ſaid tranſlation, printed at the concluſion of this work, is an error of the preſs, or of the copy, which Caxton followed; for here in print it is 1357, the ſame year that Higden finiſhed the hiſtory itſelf; whereas Treviſa mentions later dates in his own notes or additions interſperſed, as we have before obſerved (126): however, Archbiſhop Uſher, and Biſhop Nicholſon after him, among other miſtakes, ſay, thoſe interpolations were not made by Treviſa, but the editor (127). But as Mr. Lewis rightly obſerves, out of the old manuſcript of this tranſlation, it was ended by Treviſa in 1387; which will comprehend the lateſt date mentioned by him in thoſe notes. After the ſaid ſeven books, we have one more compiled by Caxton himſelf, which continues the hiſtory down to 1460, 'and the firſt year of King Edward IV. 'which amounts to an hundred and three years,' ſays he, in his epilogue, at the end of the book: and this exactly correſponds with the year in which Higden concluded his Chronicle. But in reſpect to the addition Caxton has made, he complains for want of thoſe advantages which printing, had it been in uſe in that period, might have afforded, by the intelligence or communication of hiſtorical materials for his purpoſe; that few writers could be heard of in thoſe days, who preſerved in their regiſters the occurrences of the times: ſo that he could meet with no other authorities than a book entituled, *Faſciculus Temporum* (128); and another, called *Aureus de Univerſo*, which yet contributed but little to his undertaking. Indeed the fifteenth century has not been accounted very fruitful in eminent writers, eſpecially of hiſtory: And it has been obſerved, particularly of the reign of Edward IV. that even the favourers of juſtice and his cauſe, have not known what account to give of the times (129), or how to form a regular hiſtory out of ſuch an heap of confuſion. Yet there were authors in that age who might have been aſſiſtant to Caxton, could he have arrived at the knowledge of them; but their writings remaining in manuſcript, and, as it were, locked up in obſcure confinement, till they were ſet at liberty by the preſs, are come to be better known in our times, than when they were written (130). We ſhall only obſerve farther of Treviſa's tranſlation, that the chronological tables, wherewith Higden ſays he charged his margins, in double and treble columns, were omitted in the copy that Caxton followed, or at leaſt left unprinted by him; wherefore in ſome of the printed copies, thoſe tables are written throughout with red ink, and probably with his own hand. All we ſhall farther add of Ralph Higden, the reputed author, is, that by a compariſon which has been made of ſome old MS. copies of this *Polychronicon*, with the *Polycratica Temporum* of Roger Ceſtrenſis, a Benedictine Monk alſo of St. Werberg, that are repoſited in the *Harleian Library*, there have been ſome reaſons found to believe, that our Ralph of Cheſter did endeavour to appropriate Roger of Cheſter's labours to himſelf; and particularly by a crotchet he uſed in the initial letters of the ſeveral chapters, which begin his *Polychronicon*, out of which it has been obſerved there may be read theſe words, *Præſentem Chronicam compilavit frater Ranulphus Monachus Ceſtrenſis*. But this was a whimſey uſed by other hiſtorians of thoſe times, as an author before cited has obſerved (131).

(126) See the marginal remark (3) in the note [*A*].

(127) Vid. Uſſeri Hiſt. Dogm. edit. ab Hen. Wharton, p. 157. 439; and Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, edit. fol. 1736, p. 65.

(128) Mr. Maittaire mentions a book called *Faſciculus Temporum*, per *Joannem Pryſs*, fol. Argentine, Anno Dom. 1487.

(129) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 63.

(130) As, Froiſſart, R. Avesbury, Tit. Livy, T. de la More, J. Roſſe, H. Knyghton, T. Walſingham, J. Wethamſted, and T. Otterborne, &c. &c.

(131) Biſhop Nicholſon, as above, fol. p. 64, 65. 67.

[*O*] *They may all be comprehended under one note.*] Yet that we may ſpeak diſtinctly of them, we ſhall begin with that which is called, *The Pylgremage of the Sowle; tranſlated out of Frenſshe into Engliſshe: Full of devout maters towching the ſowle, and many queſtyons aſſoyled, to cauſe a man to lyve the better in this world*, &c. It was printed by Caxton at Weſtminſter, and finiſhed the ſixth day of June, fol. 1483, 'and the 'firſt yere of the regne of Kynge Edwarth the Fyfthe '(132).' This *Pylgremage* is related in the manner of a dream. The author was a man of copious imagination; and this verſion out of French, with ſomewhat of additions, as it is ſaid at the end, was made in the year of our Lord 1413. Mr. Mattaire ſays it was written in French by Antoine Gerard, and entituled by him *Le Pelerinage de l'Ame*, and printed at Paris 1480 (133). As for the tranſlator, it does not directly appear who he was, but among the additions above-mentioned to be made, ſome, if not all of the poetry, ſeems to be a part; and much of that, written in the ſtile and ſtanzas of John Lydgate. This is remarkable, that the thirty-fourth chapter of that poet's *Life of the Virgin Mary*, which is a digreſſion in praiſe of Chaucer, and the author's lamentation for the loſs of him, who uſed to correct his works, he being then newly dead; and that, the thirty-fourth chapter of the ſecond book of this Pilgrimage ſhould be the ſame poem; which being unſuitable for any body to repeat, to whom Chaucer had not done ſuch ſervices, offers ſome probabilities that this tranſlation was made by Lydgate (134). The next he this year printed is entitled,

(132) This young Prince began his reign April 9, and was murdered in the Tower, and ſucceeded by his uncle Richard III. on the 22d of June in the ſame year.

(133) Annal. Typog.

(134) Catal. Bibl. Harleianæ, vol. iii. p. 126.

Liber Feſtivalis: or Directions for keeping Faſt all the year. 'Tis ſaid to be printed at Weſtmynſtre by William Caxton the laſte day of Juyn, Anno Domini 1483, in quarto (135). It conſiſts of ſhort diſcourſes or ſermons on the principal Sundays and holy days in the year. There have been many editions of this book. We never ſaw this of Caxton's; but one printed, though without the printer's name, by Wynkin de Worde in 1496, we have ſeen, and others. Thoſe ſermons on the principal Faſts and Feaſts, *&c.* are interlarded with hiſtorical narratives out of the legends; that the clerks who excuſed themſelves for default of books, might have this to teach their pariſhioners therein, and ſhew them, what the ſaints ſuffered and did for God's ſake. Mr. Hearne obſerves, 'That this book conſiſts of a courſe of homi-'lies, in which are many *odd ſtories*: That it goes by 'no other name but that of *Feſtivall*, among curious 'men, who are very inquiſitive after copies of it (136).' It may be farther obſerved, that ſome of thoſe odd ſtories are ſuch, that the Papiſts are now aſhamed of them. Mr. Lewis ſpeaks of four ſermons more added to this edition, which were alſo of Caxton's printing, as he ſays, and which, we, as well as Mr. Palmer, have ſeen in a ſeparate book; but printed alſo by Wynkin de Worde, though his name is not mentioned therein; yet viſibly his performance, as well by his type, as his cuſtom of regiſtring at the end, the number of his ſignatures. This Engliſh book, printed at Weſtminſter the ſame year as the other, 1496, has a Latin title, and is called *Quatuor Sermones*, though it is not very diſtinctly divided into four ſermons; but the two firſt ſeem to be comprehended under certain topics, by which we are inſtructed how to attain the knowledge of God; as the articles of the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Commandments (137), the ſeven Sacraments, the ſeven Deeds of Mercy, the ſeven deadly Sins, and the nine Torments of Hell. The third ſermon treats of the three parts of Penance; contrition, confeſſion, and ſatisfaction: And that which ſeems to be the laſt ſermon is called the *General Sentence*, or *Church Curſes*; which were read to the congregation quarterly; ſome of which are ſingularly obſervable; ending very expreſsly againſt the with-holders of *Tythes*. After which follows the *Modus Fulminandi Sententiam*, in Latin; wherein all the violators of any articles mentioned in the ſaid general ſentence, are excommunicated, anathematiſed, given up to the Devil, and damned by *holy Church*, to all intents and purpoſes; wherever they are, in whatever doing, unleſs they repent and make ſatisfaction; after which ſentence the lights were extin-

(135) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 67, 68.

(136) Hearne's Chron. of Robert of Glouceſter, vol. ii.

(137) Of the Cenſure and Danger there was in reading only the Pater Noſter, Creed, &c. in Engliſh, above twenty years after this book was printed. See Lewis, p. 69, out of Fox, Tindal, Archbiſhop Arundel, &c.

the Catalogue of his Works, under the ſame year; but as we find not that they have any dates to them, whereby they can be poſitively fixed under this year, that which we

guiſhed *ad Terrorem*, and all the bells ſet a jangling (138). This quarterly cuſtom of curſing and damning the people, was begun, it ſeems, by Archbiſhop Langton, in the year 1222; of which conſtitution, and the expoſition of John Wicliff thereupon, more may be read in one of the authors before quoted (139). We are in doubt, whether there be any older editions of the *Liber Feſtivalis*, and the *Quatuor Sermones*, in Engliſh, than thoſe here mentioned, however they have been aſcribed to Caxton, under the year aforeſaid; and if there is not, they ſhould be reſtored to Wynkin de Worde.

(138) Catal. Bibl. Harleianæ, vol. iii. p. 388.

(139) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 74.

The next book he printed this year, is entitled, *Confeſſio Amantis: That is to ſaye in Englyſshe, The Confeſſion of the Lover; made and compyled by* Johan Gower, *ſquyre, borne in* Walys, *in the Tyme of King* Richard *the ſecond. Which book treteth, how he was confeſſyd to* Genyus *preeſt of* Venus, *upon the Cauſes of Love, in his five Wyttes, and ſeven dedely Synnes*, &c. *with divers Hiſtoryes and Fables, touching every matere compryſed therein.* This is the title of the ſaid book. And at the end we read as follows, *Emprynted at Weſtmeſtre, by me* Willyam Caxton, *and fyniſhed the 2d day of Septembre, the* fyrſt *yere of the regne of King* Richard the Third, *the yere of our Lord* a Thouſand CCCCLXXXXIII. which to agree with that year of the ſaid King, muſt manifeſtly be a figure of X too much; like the error of ſetting one too few, in the early printed book, before-mentioned, at Oxford. The very title of this original edition may ſerve to correct ſeveral errors; and among others, even in ſo eminent an Antiquary as Leland; who ſays, as Fuller alſo does, and every body elſe after him, that Gower was born in Yorkſhire (140), whereas he appears, in the very front of this book, to have been a Welſhman: Then again, they have made him of the knightly order, and called him Sir John Gower, after Bale, *&c.* But here we ſee he is called no more than a ſquire. The ſame author would alſo make him *Poet Laureat*, from the little band or fillet, with four roſes, or white quarter-foyles, that were carved about the head of his monumental effigies in St. Mary Overy's church, as if it had been a wreath of bays; and Fuller, from the ſame, would think him a Judge (141), though that, with the collar of SS. carved round his breaſt, and a white ſwan at the end of it, were no other than the cognizances of Henry Earl of Darby, afterwards King Henry IV. which his eſquires, or ſome of his officers wore. But there is an error in Mr. Mattaire, of miſpelling his name, which Mr. Lewis has fallen into (142), and which could proceed from nothing elſe, but the miſtaking one letter in his name, as it appears in that old print, for two; where the firſt ſtem of the ꝟ appearing ſo much longer than the others, they have taken it for an l and a v, ſo inſtead of Gower they have called him Glover. This work he began at the encouragement of King Richard the ſecond, as his own words inform us (143), and in the ſixteenth year of his Majeſty's reign; when, as he more particularly tells us, meeting that King upon the river of Thames, his Majeſty called him into his barge, and among other diſcourſes, enjoined him to undertake ſome new work for his entertainment. Therefore he reſolved upon ſuch a performance as might neither be void of prudence for the wiſe, nor of matter of diverſion for thoſe who were gallantly diſpoſed. And becauſe few men then wrote in Engliſh, as he tells us, in his ſecond prologue (144), 'he determined to write this book in our 'own tongue, for the general uſe of his countrymen.' Thus we ſee his motive for writing this book, the matter it treats of, and the time when he began it; but through the frequent interruptions of ſickneſs and natural infirmities of old age, it ſeems he did not finiſh it long before the ſaid King was murdered in Pontefract Caſtle in Yorkſhire. And about that time he addreſſed it by the ſecond prologue to that Prince's ſucceſſor, Henry of Lancaſter, aforeſaid. This laſt prologue only, was printed with this firſt edition of Gower; but from ſuch an imperfect copy, as 'tis ſaid, that it wanted in ſeveral places, not only leaves, but whole columns and pages; which, together with the changing of words, and tranſpoſing of ſentences, made this eaſy author unintelligible, as the next editor, Tho. Barthelette, pretends (145), who was printer to King Henry VIII. dedicated his edition of this book to the ſaid Prince, and in his preface thereto reſtores the original prologue. Chaucer and Gower uſed to ſubmit their works to each other's correction; and the latter wrote many other books, beſides this, both in verſe and in proſe; and one or more of them is in being, though none beſides was ever printed. He was blind ſome time before he died, if, after his blindneſs, he preſented his ſong in *Praiſe of Peace*, to King Richard; and it is not unlikely but he ſurvived Chaucer ſome few years, though the time of his death is not diſtinctly agreed on.

(140) De Script. Britan.

(141) Fuller's Worthies in Yorkſhire.

(142) Life of Caxton, p. 80.

(143) Gower's Confeſſio Amantis, the firſt Prologue printed in the ſecond edition, by Thomas Barthelette, fol. 1532.

(144) Printed in this firſt edition.

(145) T. Berthelette's Preface to his edit. of Gower, as before.

The next product of Caxton's preſs, in the ſame year was, *The Golden Legende: wherin ben conteyned alle the hygh and grete Feſtys of our Lord; the Feſtys of our bleſſyd Lady; the Lyves, Paſſyons, and Myracles of many other Sayntes; and other Hyſtoryes and Actes. Fynyſhed at Weſtmeſtre, by Wyllyam Caxton* 1483. This is the firſt edition of the Golden Legend in Engliſh: it is printed in double columns on a ſpacious form, and that copy which we have ſeen, is perhaps the largeſt and moſt pompous of Caxton's printing; adorned with many wooden cuts, different from thoſe in the following editions; with the initial letters in red ink. At the end, whence the title above is extracted, we alſo read theſe words; 'Whych werke I 'have accompliſhed at the commaundement and re-'queſte of the noble and puyſſaunte Erle, and my 'ſpecyal good Lord Wylliam, Erle of Arondel.' There is but one preface to this edition; but to his next, in a ſmaller ſize, there is alſo another; expreſſing, that as the work would be over-chargeable to him, he began to deſpair of going through with it; till the ſaid Earl ſent a gentleman to him, named John Stauncy, who ſolicited him, in no wiſe to leave off, and promiſed that the ſaid Lord during his life 'Shold geve, *ſays he*, and graunt to me a yerely fee; 'that is, to wete, a bucke in ſommer, and a doo in 'wynter; with whych fee I hold me wel contente, '*&c.*' It is an error in Biſhop Nicholſon, where he ſays, That *Capgrave's Legenda Sanctorum Angliæ* was tranſlated into Engliſh by Caxton, and firſt printed in the year 1516 (146). Tho' indeed, he does, as he is charged by that author in the Legend of St. Urſula, add 15,000 men to the martyrdom of the 11,000 virgins, from what he had heard at Cologne. But after all the monſtrous improbabilities of that ſtory, how rationally the ſaid 26,000, may be reduced to two perſons, may appear in a modern French Hiſtoriographer, who is of Father Sirmond's opinion about this Legend, that thoſe who firſt broached it, finding, in ſome old martyrological MSS. *St. Urſula, & Undecimilla V. M.* that is, *St. Urſula and Undecimilla, Martyrs*; and imagining that *Undecimilla* with the *V.* and *M.* which followed, was an abbreviation for *Undecem Millia Martyrum Virginum*; did thence out of *two virgins*, make *eleven thouſand* (147). The truth is, of this whole volume, it is no tranſlation from any one author; for Caxton tells us, he had by him a Legend in French; that, we ſuppoſe, called *La Legend d'Oree*, and another in Latin, and a third in Engliſh, which varied in divers places; and alſo that many Hiſtories were compriſed in the two other books, which were not in the Engliſh one: therefore, ſays he, 'I have wryton one oute of the ſayd three 'bookes; which I have orderyd otherwyſe than the 'ſayd *Engliſshe Legendis*, which was ſo tofore 'made (†).' The following editions have ſeveral of the Lives and Hiſtories differently diſpoſed. For this begins with the Advent, Nativity, *&c.* of our Lord: and this edition has at the end, *The noble Hiſtory of the Expoſicion of the Maſs*, and the *Twelve Articles of our Faith*, which are wanted in the following editions; but it concludes with the life of St. Eraſmus, the holy Biſhop, as they do (148). Beſides another edition of this book, printed by Caxton, the ſame year, as Mr. Richard Smith has reported, in the copy he had thereof in his library (149), there was another printed by

(146) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, fol. p. 98.

(147) Valeſiana, 8vo. Amſterd. 1693.

† Caxton's firſt Pref. to the Golden Legend.

(148) Catal. Bibl. Harleianæ, vol. iii. p. 134.

(149) Idem, p. 12[illegible].

we have to ſay of them may be mentioned apart [*P*]. The next year, 1484, we meet with no more than a ſingle ſpecimen of his performance, unleſs that mentioned in the laſt

by Julyan Notary; who has ſuppreſſed Caxton's name at the end, as his cuſtom was in reprinting his books (150); and afterwards there was another impreſſion made of it by Wynkin de Worde; who at the end thereof ſays, that it hath been diligently amended in divers places, where it was requiſite (151). The reaſon why it was called the *Golden Legend*, is therein given to be, 'That as gold paſſed 'all other metalls in value, ſo this Legend excelled 'all other books.' Yet an ingenious Spaniard has deſcribed it by a compariſon of it's author to metals of a much inferior value (152), which indeed, in relation to ſeveral of the Monkiſh miracles in it, are more ſuitable thereto. The next he printed this year was,

The boke ſaid or called Cathon, tranſlated out of Frenſshe into Engliſshe, in th Abbaye of Weſtmeſtre 23 *of Decembre* 1483. It contains Cato's Diſtichs or Precepts in Latin, with a Verſion and Comment in Engliſh. And he tells us, it had been tranſlated out of Latin into Engliſh by Maſter Benet Burgh, late Archdeacon of Colcheſter (153), and High Canon of St. Stephen's at Weſtminſter; but becauſe there had lately fallen into his hands this book in French, which rehearſed many fair inſtructions, he had tranſlated that into Engliſh; which he preſented to the city of London, and moſt gratefully tenders his ſervice thereto; where he calls himſelf a *Conjurye*, or ſworn citizen of the ſame, of the fraternity and fellowſhip of Mercery; and ſays, he owes of right his ſervice and good-will to it, being in duty naturally bound to aſſiſt and counſel her as far as he can, even as to his mother, of whom he received his nouriture and living; and that he ſhall pray for the proſperity and policy of the ſame during his life.

The laſt we meet with of his, dated this year, is, *The booke of Thenſeignementes* (154) *and Techinge that the* Knyght of the Toure *made to his* daughters, *and ſpeketh to many fayre Enſamples. Enprinted* at Weſtmiſtre, fol. the laſt day of Janyver, 1 Richard III. This he tranſlated, he ſays, into our maternal Engliſh, at the requeſt of a noble Lady, who had brought forth many fair daughters, for the love ſhe always had towards them, and a deſire to increaſe their knowledge in virtue: wherefore he entreats thoſe who ſhould learn any thing therein, 'By whiche they 'ſhould ben wyſer and better, that they ſhould give 'laud and thankynge to the ſayd Ladyes good 'grace, *&c.*'

[*P*] *That which we have to ſay of them, may be mentioned apart.*] Theſe two books Mr. Lewis mentions as printed by Caxton under the year aforeſaid, 1483, tho' there appears no date into them. The firſt, he names, *The Fables of Æſop, Avian, Alphonſus, and Poggius: tranſlated out of Frenſshe into Englyſh, at Weſtmeſtre.* 'The leaves of this book, he 'ſays, are numbered, I°. II°. and III°. and it has 'the ſignatures, but not the direction, or catch-'word; nor any date (155).' As we remember not to have met with it, we can ſpeak no more of it. The other is intituled,

The book of the Ordre of Chyvalry or Knyghthode: tranſlated out of the Frenſshe, and imprinted by William Caxton, 4*to.* without date. Mr. Lewis (156) has, by ſome miſtake, inſerted the year 1483, in that part of Caxton's Reherſal, at the end of this book, which he tranſcribes. We remember no other volume of ſo ſmall a ſize of Caxton's printing. It conſiſts of about an hundred pages, and is perhaps one of the ſcarceſt of his performances that are now in being: Tho' no date of the year when it was printed is expreſſed, it may be gueſſed at within a year, over or under, by ſuppoſing it in 1484, from the ſhort reign of that Prince to whom it is inſcribed at the end, as we ſhall ſee. There are large initial letters uſed at the beginning of the chapters, and only one ſort of points which are oblique or ſloping daſhes; there are alſo ſome double or united types, as in his other books; alſo ſignatures, but no catch-words at the bottom of the leaves, nor any numbers at top. It is divided into eight chapters. The I. ſhews how a Knight, who was an Hermit, beſtowed this rule or order of Chivalry upon a ſquire. The II. treats of the original of Chivalry or Knighthood. III. Of the Office of Chivalry. IV. Of the Examination that ought to be made of the Eſquyre, when he enters into the Order. V. In what manner the Squire ought to receive Chivalry. VI. Of the *Signefyaunce* of the Arms belonging to a Knight. VII. Of the Cuſtoms that appertain to a Knight: and VIII. Of the Honours that ought to be done to a Knight. By all this it will appear how different the Honour, the Profeſſion, and the Qualifications required in Knights anciently were, from thoſe for which they have been created in latter days (157). At the end, we have Caxton's Epilogue or Rehearſal; in which he ſays this tranſlation was made by him at the requeſt of a genteel and noble Squire, according to the copy he delivered him; which book, he ſays, was not fit for ordinary perſons, but only thoſe noble gentlemen, who by their virtue intend to enter into the order of Chivalry; which had not been exerciſed as in ancient times, when the noble acts of the Knights of England were renowned through the univerſe, ſuch as before the days of Chriſt, were Brenius and Belinus; who from Britain, now called England, even to Rome, and beyond, conquered many realms; whoſe noble acts remain in the Hiſtories of the Romans. And ſince the Incarnation, behold, ſays he, that noble King of Britain, King Arthur, with all the brave *Knights of the Round Table*, whoſe deeds of Chivalry fill ſo many volumes, as is incredible to believe. 'O ye Knyghts 'of Englond! where is the cuſtom and uſage of noble 'Chyvalry, that was uſed in tho dayes? *What do you 'now*, but go the *baynes* (*), and *playe at dyſe?* 'And ſome not well adviſed uſe not honeſt and good 'rule, ageyn all ordre of Knyghthode. Leve this, 'leve it; and rede the noble volumes of Saynt Grael, 'of Lancelot, of Galaad, of Triſtram, of Perſeforeſt, 'of Percyval, of Gawayn, and many mo: there 'ſhalle ye ſee manhode, curtoyſe, and gentleneſs. 'And loke in latter dayes of the noble actes ſyth the 'Conqueſt; as in Kyng Richard's dayes, *Cuer dû 'Lyon*; Edward I, and the III, and his noble ſones; 'Syre Robert Knolles, Syr John Hawkewode, Sir 'Johan Chaundos, and Syre Gaultier Manuy: rede 'Froiſſart (†). And alſo behold that vyctoryous and 'noble Kynge Harry the Fyfthe, and the Captayns 'under hym; his noble brethren; therle of Salyſbury, Montagu, and many other, whoos names 'ſhyne gloryouſly by their virtuous nobleſſe and actes 'that they did in thonour of thordre of Chyvalry. 'Allas; what do ye, but ſlepe and take eaſe, and ar 'all diſordered fro Chivalry. I wold demaunde a 'queſtion, yf I ſhould not diſpleaſe. *How many 'Knightes ben there now in Englond, that have thuſe 'and thexercyce of a Knyght?* That is, to wete, 'that he knoweth his hors, and his hors hym? That 'is to ſaye, he beynge redy at a poynt, to have al 'thyng that longeth to a Knyght; an hors, that is 'accordyng, and broken after his hand; his armures 'and harnoys mete and fyttyng, and ſo forth. I 'ſuppoſe, and a due ſerche ſhold be made, ther ſhold 'be many founden that lacke; the more the pyte is. 'I wold it pleaſyd our ſoverayne Lord, that twyes or 'thryes in a yere, or at leſt ones, he wold do cry, '*Juſtes of Pees*, to thend that every Knyght ſhold 'have hors and harneys, and alſo the uſe and crafte 'of a Knyght, and alſo to tornoye one ageynſte onee 'or two ageynſt two, and the beſt to have a prys, a 'dyamond or jewel, ſuch as ſhold pleaſe the Prynce. 'This ſhold cauſe gentylmen to reſorte to thauncyent 'cuſtoms of Chyvalry, to grete fame and renowmee; 'and alſo to be alwey redy to ſerve theyr Prynce, 'when he ſhalle calle them, or have nede. Thenne 'late every man that is come of noble blood, and 'entendeth to come to the noble ordre of Chyvalry, 'rede this *lytyl book*, and doo therafter, in kepyng 'the lore and commaundements therin compryſed; 'and thene I doubte not he ſhall atteyn to thordre of 'Chyvalry, *&* *cetera.*' So he preſents the ſaid book to his dread ſovereign Lord King Richard, King of England

(150) The Golden Legend, &c. imprynted by Jul. Notary, fol. 1503

(151) Legenda Aurea, &c. Lond. fol. 1527.

(152) Ludovicus Vives, de Diſciplinis, l. ii. p. 91.

(153) See Newcourt's Repertorium, vol. ii.

(154) Inſtructions.

(155) Life of Caxton, p. 79.

(156) Idem, p. 81.

(157) Britiſh Librarian, p. 191.

* Baths, or Bagnios.

† If Caxton had tranſlated and printed this Hiſtorian, it is preſumed, we ſhould have had a more correct and genuine work, than his French editors have given us; by whom, the Engliſh name is at leaſt, if not the facts, were much corrupted.

laſt note was printed the ſame year. Of this, and three more which we find of his printing the next year, 1485, it may be expected we ſhould give ſome deſcription, as of the reſt [Q]. There has been a *Book of Homilies* aſcribed to him the ſame year, though it ſeems to be no other than the *Liber Feſtivalis* before mentioned, which my author has, among other errors, multiplied into two books more (*e*); and alſo entitles him to another in 1486, from Mr. Bagford, which neither of them we believe ever ſaw (*f*). It is better atteſted, that in the year following he printed *The Book of Good Manners* in folio, which was compiled by Jaques le Graunt, an Auguſtine Friar, from the Scriptures, Holy Fathers, &c. It was delivered, as Caxton ſays, to him, by his

(*e*) Directions for keeping the Feaſts, &c. and An Expoſition on the Lord's Prayer, &c. See S. Palmer's Hiſtory of Printing, &c.

(*f*) A Treatiſe againſt Pride, ib.

England and France, that he may command the ſame to be read to the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen within his Realm; that the ſaid noble order of Chivalry may be hereafter better practiſed and honoured, than it had been of late times. So praying for his Majeſty's welfare, and after this life, for one everlaſting, he concludes (158).

(158) Rehearſal to the Book of Chyvalry.

[Q] *It may be expected we ſhould give ſome deſcription, as of the reſt.*] The firſt of theſe four is called, *The Ryal book: or book for a King*. In which is compriſed, The Ten Commandments: The Twelve Articles of Faith: The Seven deadly Sins: The Seven Petitions of the Pater-Noſter: The Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt: The Seven Virtues, &c. It was compiled, as Caxton ſays, at the requeſt of *Philip le Belle* of France 1279, and was reduced by himſelf out of French into Engliſh at the requeſt of a ſingular friend, a worſhipful Merchant and Mercer of London, for a ſpecial book, to know all vices and branches thereof, and alſo all virtues; which for the great ſubſtance compriſed therein, ought above all others to be called *The Royal book: or book of a King*; every man being ſuch, as the Scripture calls him, who can wiſely and perfectly govern himſelf according to virtue: and alſo becauſe it was compoſed at the requeſt of that noble King Philip. It was printed the 2d of Richard III. fol. with figures (159).

(159) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 96, where, by miſtake, he ſays it was printed in the 2d of Ric. II.

The next is intituled, *Thyſtorye of the noble, right, valyant, and worthy Knyght*, Parys, *and of the fayr* Vyenne, *the Daulphyns Doughter of* Vyennoys; *the whyche ſuffred many Adverſytees, bycauſe of theyr true Love, or they coude enjoye the Effect thereof of eche other: tranſlated out of Frenſshe into Engliſshe by William Caxton, at Weſtmeſtre*, &c. Emprynted, fol. 1485. That Dauphin is here named, Sir Godfrey of Alaunſon, kinſman to Charles, King of France in 1271. The ſtory ends, after all their diſappointments, with the Marriage of that Conſtant Pair. It does not appear, in Dr. Middleton's catalogue of thoſe books printed by Caxton, which are preſerved in the publick library at Cambridge, that there is any copy of it there.

But what was accounted his capital work this year, is a large thick volume, intituled, *The Byrth, Lyf, and Actes of King* Arthur; *of his noble* Knyghtes *of the* Round Table, *their marvayllous Enqueſtes and Adventures*; *th Achyeviyng of the* Sang real; *and in the end,* Le Morte D'Arthur; *with the dolorous Deth and Departyng out of thys World of them Al. Whiche book was reduced to the Engliſshe by Syr* Thomas Malory, Knyght, *and by me* (William Caxton) *devyded into twenty one bookes; chaptyred, and emprynted, and fynyſhed in th' Abbey Weſtmeſtre, the laſt day of July, the yere of our Lord* 1485. Sir Th nas Malory ſeems to have drawn this voluminous romance out of ſeveral manuſcripts, written in the French and Welch tongues, of the ſaid King Arthur and his Knights; and to be converſant in the adventures of ſuch redoubted champions, Caxton thought would inſpire a noble ſpirit of valour in our gentry, which made him recommend it to them, as was before obſerved (160). If this Sir Thomas Malory was a Welchman, as Leland, and others after him aſſert, he was probably a Welch prieſt; as appears not only by the legendary vein which runs through all the ſtories he has thus extracted and wove together, but by his concluſion of the work itſelf, in theſe words: 'Praye for me, whyle I am on 'lyve, that God ſende me good delyveraunce; and 'when I am deed, I praye you all, praye for my 'ſoule; for this booke was ended the 9th yeer of the 'reygne of Kyng Edward the Fourth, by Syr Tho-'mas Maleore, Knyght, as Jeſu helpe him for his 'grete myght, as he is the *ſervaunte* of Jeſu, bothe 'day and nyght.' As the author has not made his heroes any great commanders of their paſſions in their amours, nor rigorouſly confined them to honour and decorum, in point of fidelity and continence, his book became a great favourite with ſome perſons of the higheſt diſtinction for a long time. It had two or three impreſſions afterwards, and ſeems to have been kept up in print, for the entertainment of the lighter and more inſolid readers, down to the reign of King Charles I. (161), though Mr. Aſcham had long before paſſed ſuch a cenſure upon it, as might have put it out of continuance upon his remembering, at what time, and in what place, it had ſupplanted all others; where he obſerves that, in our forefathers time, when Papiſtry, as a ſtanding pool, covered and overflowed all England, few books were read in our tongue, ſaving certain books of Chivalry, as they ſaid for paſtime and pleaſure; which, as ſome ſay, were made in Monaſteries, by idle Monks, or wanton Canons; as one, for example, MORTE ARTHUR; the whole pleaſure of which book ſtandeth in two ſpecial pointes; in open man-ſlaughter and bold bawdry. In which book, thoſe be counted the nobleſt Knights, that kill moſt men without any quarrel, and commit fouleſt adulteries by ſubtleſt ſhifts; as Sir Lancelot, with the wife of King Arthur, his maſter; Sir Triſtram, with the wife of King Mark, his uncle; Sir Lamerock, with the wife of King Lote, that was his own aunte. This is good ſtuff for wiſe men to laugh at, or honeſt men to take pleaſure in! Yet, ſays he, I know when God's Bible was baniſhed the Court, and MORTE ARTHUR received into the Prince's chamber (162).

(160) Caxton's Book of the Ordre of Chivalry, in the Rehearſal.

(161) One edit. is called The Storye of the moſt noble and worthy Kynge Arthur, &c. folio, emprinted by Thomas Eaſt. Another is, The moſt ancient and famous Hiſt. of the Renowned Arthur, &c. 4to. 1634, &c.

(162) Roger Aſcham's Schole-Maſter: or, a plaine and perfect Way of Teaching children to underſtand, write, and ſpeake the Latin Tonge, &c. 4to, 1571, Book i.

The third book we meet with of Caxton's printing this year, bears the title of *Thyſtory and Lyf of the moſt noble and Cryſten Prince, Charles the Grete, Kyng of Fraunce, and Emperour of Rome: reduced out of Frenſshe, by William Caxton, and by him emprinted the firſt day of Decembre, fol.* 1485. This work, through it's great ſcarceneſs, has not been ſufficiently deſcribed in the Hiſtories of our firſt printed books. Dr. Middleton, by not mentioning it, implies, that they have it not in the publick library at Cambridge: and Mr. Lewis mentions it in ſuch a curſory manner, as if he had never ſeen it (163). Though it was originally compiled moſtly to the honour of Frenchmen, yet, as our tranſlator obſerves, it is for the profit of every man. Herein, beſides the Hiſtory of *Charlemain* himſelf, the reader will find that of *Richard* of *Normandy*, with the feats of *Rowland* and *Oliver*, and ſeveral others of his champions. Much of that vein which was in the ſpiritual inſpirers of Invaſions againſt the Turks, Saracens, and other Miſcreants, as they were called, under the title of the *Holy War*, appears in this book. It was firſt gathered together by our tranſlator, at the incitement of Henry Bolounyer, Channon of Lauſanne, the whole three parts out of two French books; that is to ſay, The firſt and third part, out of an old authentick book, named (‡), *Myrrour Hyſtoryal* (a fine copy whereof was in Iſaac Voſſius's library) and the ſecond part out of an old romance; and at the requeſt of ſome ſingular friends, eſpecially Mr. William Daubeny, one of the Treaſurers of King Edward IV. Jewels, tranſlated into Engliſh, and printed as above. Whether that treatiſe of the Actions and Manners of the Emperour Charles, which is ſaid to have been written by Chriſtiana of Piſa before-mentioned in French, and finiſhed on the laſt day of November 1404 (164), was ſerviceable in the compiling of this, we know not, having never ſeen it.

(163) Life of Caxton, p. 97.

(‡) This ſeems to be the ſame work with the *Speculum Hiſtoriale* of Vincentius Beluacenſis.

(164) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 97.

ſpecial

ſpecial friend, who was a Mercer of London, named William Praat, and tranſlated by him out of Frenſhe, finiſhed the eighth of June, the year laſt mentioned, and *emprynted* the 11th of May after, 1487. The year after this, we meet not with any books that are expreſsly mentioned to have been printed by him; whether he was interrupted by any ſickneſs, as he was now grown very aged, and probably infirm; or the books he printed this year happen to be loſt; or whether they were ſome of thoſe he printed without dates, we cannot now determine. Indeed Mr. Palmer aſcribes one to him in this year, 1488, but erroneouſly; for it appears not to have been printed till after his death (*g*). In the year 1489, we meet with two books appropriated to him; an account of which may appear in the note [*R*]. Two more of his books which bear date the ſucceeding year, are alſo to be met with in the libraries of the curious. The one, a proſaick tranſlation of Virgil, or Hiſtory drawn out of his poem of Æneas; and the other, a book of neceſſary inſtructions or preparations for death; a doctrine he now very wiſely took to the learning of, ſince he was ſo near putting it in practice. Theſe are the two laſt books we have met with of his printing that are dated; and as there are always ſome hiſtorical memorials, or other remarkable particulars, in the proems or poſtſcripts of his other books, that are worthy of preſervation or revival, ſo there are in theſe; which therefore deſerve ſome extract to be made of them, like the reſt [*S*]. Others have entitled him to

(g) Intituled, Dives and Pauper: a Dialogue on the X Commaundments; empryn edbyRic. Pynſon,fol.1493, and by W. de Worde, 1496, &c.

[*R*] *An account of which may appear in the note referred to.*] The firſt of theſe books is intituled, *The Doctrine of Sapience.* It is a collection of diſcourſes upon moral and divine ſubjects, illuſtrated with examples and parables; and divided into eighty-three chapters. The two laſt whereof are, 'Firſt, The 'Excuſacyon of hym that made thys booke.' And the other, 'The Complaint of hym that made thys 'boke.' In the former of theſe, we find that the ſame was firſt made in the year of our Lord 1388, by the Rev. Father in God, Guy de Roy, Archbiſhop of Sens: but the year after, a religious brother of the Order of Clugny, reading it diligently over, and finding it deficient in examples and authorities, he ſupplied it therewith; preſerving, however, all convenient brevity; becauſe, in matters of devotion, the world was then ſo moderate, as to be ſatisfied with a little, and preferred ſhort maſſes, but long meals. It was tranſlated by Caxton, out of French at Weſtmeſtre, and fynyſhed the 7th of May 1489. One of the authors who have written of Caxton, mentions this as the firſt book he had ſeen with Caxton's cypher printed at the end of it; but it is to be found, as we have obſerved, in ſome, much earlier. If he did not uſe it ſo early as to the book of Cheſs, it might be found taken out of another book, and bound up with it, and ſo anſwer Mr. Palmer's account, that it did appear therein; but it is wanting in many of his books, wherein it was firſt printed, becauſe being printed often on the laſt or ſpare leaf, at the end, it has, as a picture, been torn out by children (165). Not that it is always a proof the book was printed by Caxton, wherein it does appear: for it is well known to thoſe who have been converſant in our firſt printed books, that Wynkin de Worde uſed Caxton's cypher to many books by him printed ſeveral years after Caxton's death, which has occaſioned frequent miſtakes in our catalogues, and multiplied the liſt of Caxton's books, far beyond the number he printed.

(165) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 99.

The other work printed by Mr. Caxton the ſame year is called, *The book of the Fayttes of Armes and of Chyvalrye: made and drawen out of ſeveral authors, by Chryſtyne of Pyſe, in Frenſsh:* tranſlated into Engliſh, and printed by *William Caxton*, fol. 1489. This Lady was born at Piſa in Italy; but removing with her father to Bologne in France, ſhe wrote her book in the language of that country, and flouriſhed about the year 1400. In her Prologue to this book, ſhe apologizes for herſelf, to thoſe who would object, that the handling of her diſtaff and ſpinning-wheel might have better become her, than meddling with thoſe warlike ſubjects, according to the example of Minerva; by anſwering, that the invention and even uſe of arms, were owing to that Goddeſs, as well as arts. Her work, divided into four parts, is gathered out of *Frontinus*, *Vegetius*, and *Tharbre of Bataylles*; *with many other thynges ſett into the ſame, requiſite to Werre*, &c. There are ſome chapters towards the end, treating of that final Trial of Right, &c. by *ſingle combat, within the liſts*, as it was allowed and ordained by the Imperial and Lombard laws; which have been eſteemed the moſt curious part of the book. What opinion King Henry VII. had of it, may appear by Caxton's own words at the end, where he ſays, 'It 'was delivered to him by that King in his Palais of 'Weſtmeſtre the 23 of January in the 4th year of his 'regne; who deſired and wylled him to tranſlate it 'into Engliſh and put it into print, that every gen-'tleman born to arms, and all manner of men of 'warre, &c. ſhould have knowledg how to behave 'themſelves in feats of war, &c.' Accordingly, the tranſlation was finiſhed the 8th of *Juyll* the ſaid year, and emprynted the 14 day of Juyll next following, and full finiſhed (166).

(166) Catal. Bibl. Harleianæ, vol. iii. p. 265.

[*S*] *Some extract to be made of them, like the reſt.*] The firſt of theſe two books is intituled, *The Boke of* Eneydos; *compyled by* Vyrgyle: *which hath he tranſlated oute of Latine into Frenſhe, and out of Frenſhe, reduced into Engleyſshe, by me* William Caxton, *the 22d day of Juyn, the Yere of our Lorde* 1490; in a thin folio. This reduction of that epic poem to an hiſtorical narrative in proſe, was then a very acceptable and much approved work, to familiarize ingenious men to the contents thereof, and attract them to a better acquaintance with the original. As to the author, he ſeems to be that perſon, whoſe book in French, upon the ſame ſubject, was printed ſeven years before (167). This work begins ſo high as the building of Troy by Priamus, and is continued, beyond the ſlaughter of Turnus by Æneas, to the ſucceſſion of his ſon Aſcanius, and two or three ſucceſſions beyond. In the ſixth chapter the author has ſome digreſſory animadverſions upon Boccace, for relating the ſtory of Dido, in his *Fall of Princes*, differently from Virgil; and recites his account, as well as that of his author. And in chapter 33, he paſſes over Æneas's deſcent into hell, *becauſe 'tis feign'd*, and *not to be believ'd*; as if ſeveral other parts of this ſtory, which he has repeated, were not as incredible as that. But to paſs to the Tranſlator and Printer; we obſerve his ſtyle to be more *ornate*, as he terms it, or dreſſed up in ſuperfine words, eſpecially of the French extract, than we believe it would have been, had he not ſubmitted it to ſuch correction as he gratefully owns was done by him. There appear alſo ſome improvements in the printing of this book, beyond what may be obſerved in ſome of thoſe before ſpoken of, by a greater regard to regularity in the page, and not running out, but keeping the lines all even at the end. There are alſo here large initials at the beginning of every chapter, and beſides commas and periods, alſo colons and ſemicolons, or what might be deſigned as ſuch, though not always printed perhaps to anſwer the purpoſe of them (168). Our Tranſlator, in his preface, which is nearly two leaves, informs us, that ſitting in his ſtudy, where lay divers *paunflettis* and books, this work in French happened to come to hand; in reading whereof, he took great pleaſure, for it's judicious and eloquent ſtyle; for which, as well as the ſubject matter, he thought it would

(167) Livre des Eneides, compilé par Virgyle, tranſlaté de Latin en François, par Guillaume de Roy, Lyon, 1483.

(168) The Britiſh Librarian, p. 127, &c.

to the printing of ſeveral books beyond this year, 1490; but their miſ-reckonings, with the cauſes of them will be made to appear. Indeed, beſides all thoſe books above-mentioned, which are ranged in their annual order, according to the direction of their dates, we find that he printed alſo ſeveral others, which are undated; and therefore they cannot be diſtinctly remitted to the years under which they firſt appeared. Some there are, which neither mention the time when, the place where, nor the perſon's name by whom, they were printed; yet they were probably ſet forth by him, though not after the year aforeſaid, nor all of them, that have been aſcribed to him; becauſe

would be very proper for the inſtruction of young Noblemen, as it had long ſince been learned daily in ſchools, eſpecially in Italy and other places; ſo he undertook to tranſlate it. But when he ſaw and conſidered the fine and ſtrange terms to be uſed therein, he doubted whether it would pleaſe ſome gentlemen, who had lately objected, that in his tranſlations he had adopted ſome over-curious terms, which could not be underſtood by the common people, and deſired him to make uſe of *old and homely termes* in his tranſlations; that is, long-accuſtomed and native, not new-fangled and foreign words; and he wiſhes he could ſatisfy every body; ſo he took an old book and read in it, but he found the Engliſh ſo rude and broad that he could not well underſtand it. And the Lord Abbot of Weſtminſter (†) ſhewed him certain evidences written in old Engliſh, for him to reduce into the then current language, and he found them ſo written, that he ſays they approached nearer Dutch than Engliſh, and he could not make them plainly underſtood. 'And certaynly, ſays he, our langage 'now uſed, varyeth ferre from that which was uſed 'and ſpoken whan I was born; for we Englyſh men 'ben borne under the domynacyon of the mone, 'which is never ſtedfaſte, but ever waverynge; 'wexyng one ſeaſon, and waneth and dyſcreaſeth 'another ſeaſon; and that comyne Englyſhe that is 'ſpoked in one ſhyre varyeth from another. In ſo 'muche, that in my dayes happened, that certaine 'merchauntes were in a ſhip in *Tamyſe*, for to have 'ſayled over the ſee into Zelande, and for lacke of 'wynde, they taryed atte *Forlond*, and went to 'lande, for to refreſhe them; and one of them named 'Sheffelde, a Mercer, came into an hows, and axed 'for mete, and ſpecially he axed *for eggs*, and the 'goode wyf anſwerde, *that ſhe coude ſpeke no Frenſhe*; 'and the marchaunt was angry, for he alſo coude 'ſpeke no Frenſhe, but wolde have hadde egges, 'and ſhe underſtode hym not. And thenne at laſte 'another ſayd, that *he wolde have eyren*; then the 'good wyf ſayd, that ſhe underſtod him wel. Loo, 'what ſholde a man in thyſe days wryte, *egges*, or '*eyren?* Certaynly it is harde, to playſe every man, 'by cauſe of diverſite and chaunge of langage. For 'in theſe days, every man, that is in ony reputacyon 'in his countre, will utter his communicacyon and 'matters in ſuch manners and termes, that fewe men 'ſhall underſtonde them; and ſom honeſt and grete 'Clerkes have ben wyth me, and deſired me to 'wryte the moſte curyous termes that I coude fynde: 'and thus, bytween playn, rude, and curious I ſtand 'abaſhed. But in my judgmente, the comyn termes 'that be dayli uſed ben lyghter to be underſtonde 'than the old auncyent Englyſhe. And for as moche 'as this preſent booke is not for a rude uplondyſh 'man to labour therin, ne rede it, but only a Clerk 'and a noble gentleman, that feleth and underſtondeth in faytes of armes, in love, and in noble 'Chyvalry; therfor in meane bytwene bothe, I have 'reduced and tranſlated this ſayd booke into our 'Englyſhe; not over-rude, ne curyous; but in ſuch 'termes as ſhall be underſtanden, by Goddys grace 'accordyng to my copye. And yf ony man wyll 'entermete in redyng of hit, and fyndeth ſuche termes 'that he cannot underſtande, late hym goo rede and 'lerne Vyrgyll, or the Pyſtles of Ovyde; and ther 'he ſhall ſee, and underſtande lightly all, yf he have 'a good redar and enformer; for this booke is not 'for every rude and unconnynge man to ſee, but 'Clerkys and very gentylmen that underſtands gentylnes and ſcyence. Then I praye alle them that 'ſhall rede in this lytyl treatys, to holde me for excuſed for the tranſlatynge of hit; for I knowleche 'my ſelfe ignorant of connynge to empryſe on me ſo 'hie and noble a worke. But I praye Mayſter *John* '*Skelton*, late created Poete Laureate in the Unyverſite of Oxenforde, to overſee and correcte thys ſayd 'booke; and taddreſſe and expowne where as ſhall 'be founde faulte, to thym that ſhall requyre it: for 'hym I knowe for ſuffycyent to expowne and Englyſhe every difficulte that is therein: for he hath 'late tranſlated the Epyſtles of Tulle, and the booke 'of Dyodorus Syculus (†), and dyverſe other workes 'oute Latyn into Engliſhe, not in rude and olde langage, but in polyſhed and ornate termes craftely; 'as he that hath redde Vyrgyle, Ovyde, Tullye, 'and all the other Poets, and Oratours, to me unknowen: and alſo he hath redde the ix Muſes, and 'underſtands their muſicalle Scyences, and to whom 'of them eche Scyence is appropred: I ſuppoſe he 'hath dronken of *Elycon*'s Well. Then I praye hym, 'and ſuch other, to correcte, adde, or mynyſhe, 'whereas he, or they, ſhall fynde faulte; for I have 'but folowed my copye in Frenſhe, as nygh as me is 'poſſible. And yf ony worde be ſayd therein well, 'I am glad; and yf otherwyſe, I ſubmytte my ſayd 'boke to theyr correctyon; which boke I preſente 'unto the hye born my tocomynge naturell and 'ſoverayne Lord *Arthur*, by the Grace of God, 'Prynce of Walys, Duc of Cornewayll, and Erle of 'Cheſter, fyrſt begoten ſone and heyer unto our moſt 'dradde, naturall, and ſoverayn Lorde, and moſt 'Cryſten Kynge Henry the VII. by the Grace of 'God, Lorde Kynge of Englonde, and of Fraunce, 'and Lorde of Ireland; byſeching his noble Grace 'to recyve it in thanke of me his moſt humble ſubget and ſervaunte: and I ſhall praye unto Almighty 'God for his proſperous encreaſyng in vertue, wyſdom, and humanyte; that he may be egal with the 'moſt renouned of alle his noble progenytours; and 'ſo to lyve in this preſent lyf, that after this tranſitorye lyf, he, and we all, may come to everlaſtynge lyf in heaven; *Amen*.' We read in Mr. Lewis, That the bright and accurate author of the *Dunciad* tells us, 'Caxton tranſlated into proſe Virgil's Æneis as an Hiſtory; and that he ſpeaks of it 'in *a very ſingular manner*, as of a book *hardly* '*known*.' But this cenſure, ſays my author, is confuted by the very copy of Caxton's Preface to this book, which even this ingenious writer has printed in his Appendix. So he extracts ſome particulars before recited; and concludes, with, *How eaſy a matter is it to make dunces at this rate* (169)!

(†) This was Dr. Thomas Milling, as was before obſerved, (and not John Iſlip) who ſhewed him theſe old Saxon Deeds.

(†) A MS. of his Tranſlation of this author, if not the other, is ſtill in being.

(169) Life of Caxton, p. 149.

The other book he ſet forth the ſame year is called *A Lityll Treatiſe, ſhorte and abredged, ſpekynge of the arte and crafte to knowe well to Dye: tranſlated oute of Frenſhe into Englyſhe, by William Caxton, the xv day of Juyn*, and printed by him, *folio*, 1490. This important ſubject, of ſuch univerſal concern, was prudently undertaken by Mr. Caxton at the age he was now advanced to, and under the decay he now perhaps felt approaching, which put an end to his laudable labours when he was about a twelvemonth older. It is the more to be regarded, in that he choſe, by this work to ſet himſelf the example of that doctrine which is therein recommended. It is divided into ſix parts; treating Of the Praiſe of Death, and how we ought to die gladly; Of the Temptations we are under at the Point of Death; Of the Queſtions that ought to be made at that Time; Of the Inſtructions that ought to be given; Of the remembrance of God's Dooings and Sufferings for us; and Of certain devout Prayers that ought to be ſaid by, or for, the dying Perſon. From all theſe articles it may evidently appear, as the author concludes, That to every perſon who would die well, it is neceſſary that he learn to die, before death comes, and prevents him (170).

(170) Catal. Bibl. Harleianæ, vol. iii. p. 129.

both

both his type and his cypher, having been ſometimes uſed by his ſucceſſor, as hath been obſerved, have miſguided ſome, as an erroneous opinion that he lived three or four years longer than he did, has others, to father performances upon him in which he could have no hand. Of all theſe undated books we ſhall make the cleareſt diſtinction we can, and ſpeak in the beſt order our intelligence has enabled us, under one more head or diviſion [*T*]; and then, all that remains farther to be obſerved is, that though he

[*T*] *And ſpeak in the beſt order our intelligence has enabled us, under one more head or diviſion*] And firſt of thoſe which are thought to have been among ſome of his earlieſt productions. Among theſe, as he had a ſingular reſpect for Chaucer, ſo after he had it in his power to extend his renown, by the publication of his works, he ſeems to have no longer deferred this juſtice to them, than he could procure the manuſcripts that would inſpire him to pay it. From thence he printed, I. *Boecius de Conſolatione Philoſophie*, in folio, without date, or place where printed; without capital initials to the chapters, ſignatures, catch-words at bottom, or numbering of pages at top. In his poſtſcript at the end, he ſays, that foraſmuch as the ſtyle is difficult to be underſtood by ſimple perſons; 'Therefore, the worſhipful Fader and firſt 'foundeur and enbeliſsher of ornate eloquence in our 'Engliſsh; I mene Maiſter Geffery Chaucer hath 'tranſlated this ſayd worke oute of Latyn, into oure 'uſual and moder tonge; folowyng the Latyn as 'neygh as is poſſible to be underſtande; wherein, 'in myne oppynyon, he hath deſervid a perpetuell 'lawde and thanke of all this noble Royame of 'Englond; and in eſpeciall of them that ſhall rede 'and underſtande it.' Then he tells us farther, that becauſe this tranſlation was not diſperſed, nor known; 'atte the requeſte, *ſays he*, of a ſinguler friende and 'goſſib of myne, I William Caxton have done my 'debuoir and payne tenprynte it, in form, as is here 'afore made, in hopyng that it ſhal prouffit moche 'peple, to the wele and helth of their ſoules, and 'for to lerne to have and kepe the better pacience in 'adverſitees. And furthermore, I deſir and require 'you, that of your charite ye wold praye for the 'ſoule of the ſayd worſhipful man, Geffery Chaucer, 'firſt tranſlatour of this ſayde boke into Engliſsh, 'and embeliſsher, in making the ſayd language 'ornate and fayr, which ſhal endure perpetuelly, 'and therefore he ought eternally to be remembrid; 'of whom the body and corps lieth buried in 'th Abbay of Weſtmeſtre beſide London to fore the 'chapele of Seynte Benet, by whos ſepulture is 'wreton on a table hangyng on a pylere, his epita-'phye maad by a Poete Laureat, whereof the copye 'foloweth, *&c.*' This epitaph, conſiſting of thirty-four lines in Latin, was compoſed by Stephen Surigon, Poet-Laureate of Milan, at the coſt and inſtance of Mr. Caxton; and may be ſeen in ſeveral editions of Chaucer's works (171). It is not improbable, but Chaucer himſelf was under ſome ſuch tribulation, when he tranſlated this book, as the author was, when he wrote it: but of that, we have no room to expatiate here. Another part of the ſame author, Caxton alſo printed, as we are informed, which was II. *A Collection of Chaucers and Lydgates Poems*, quarto. This book is without any ſignatures, date, or name of place, or printer, and contains fourteen pieces of theirs and John Skogan's writing, as they are enumerated by Mr. Lewis (172). That this collection was of Caxton's printing, we cannot affirm, having never ſeen it. But others of Chaucer's works are well known to have been firſt ſet forth by him, as III. *The Canterbury Tales*; tho' it doth not appear, that any of our Typographical Hiſtorians have ſeen a perfect copy of his edition, becauſe they have quoted nothing from the proem, or epilogue of it. That which we have ſeen in the Harleian library was imperfect; ſo is another that Mr. Samuel Pepys was poſſeſſed of, which is preſerved with his other books, in Magdalen College, Cambridge. The contents thereof were tranſmitted by Dr. Daniel Waterland, then Maſter of the ſaid college, to my author, when he was writing upon this ſubject, and he has printed the ſame (173); wherein it appears, that the number of Prologues and Tales in the ſaid copy amounts to fifty; beſides, as it ſeems, Chaucer's tract of Repentance or Retractation for writing his Parſon's Tale; which, in ſome following editions, was rejected as ſpurious, and an impoſition upon his name, contrived by ſome of the Prieſts, in revenge for his having expoſed them. We have been informed, that Caxton publiſhed two editions of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales *; but ſome have obſerved, that he could not get ſuch complete copies as have ſince been diſcovered, and that therefore his editions have fallen into ſuch neglect and decay. We have ſeen ſome other little pieces of Chaucer's that were alſo printed by him, as IV. His *Troylus and Creſeyde*, folio, without date; and V. *The Book of Fame, made by Geferey Chaucer*, emprinted by Wylliam Caxton, fol. without date. This poem is in three books, and towards the end of the ſecond, there is, in a note written upon the margin of the copy that was in the Harleian library, in a modern hand, theſe words, 'Here all other editions are imperfect; and there 'are ſome lines in others which are not here, and 'therefore are to be ſuſpected.' Caxton, at the concluſion of this work, has given a great encomium of Chaucer (174). Theſe two pieces are printed in a leſs character than the edition before-mentioned of the Canterbury Tales, which we have ſeen; but it might be of the ſame ſize with that of the other edition that is ſpoken of; and ſo Caxton might by degrees, as he could meet with the manuſcripts, deſign a compleat and uniform edition of Chaucer; but we think he never did proceed much farther towards the ſame, than what we have ſpoken of. But to the other Poet lately mentioned with him, we have ſeen entitled, VI. *The Lyf of our moſt bleſſyd Lady, Mayde, Wyf, and Moder of our Lord Jheſu Cryſt: Compyled by Dan John Lydgate, Monke of Burye, at the Excitation and Styryng of the Noble and Victoryous Prince, King Harry the fyfthe. Empryntyd by Wyllyam Caxton.* Folio, without date. This is a poem, divided into eighty-two chapters, three of which are concerning the Virgin's Midwives; and therein are to be found, which is more than every body knows, the names of them. In the concluſion we have ſome of Maſter Caxton's poetry, with two ballads, as he calls them, in Latin and Engliſh (175). There is another work of the ſame author printed alſo by him under the title of VII. *The Laberous and moſt Merveylous Werkes of Sapience*; a thin folio, without date. Though neither the Author's nor Printer's name appears to this poem, it was viſibly enough printed by Caxton and compoſed by Lydgate, had we not the authority of John Stow for it, in the catalogue of his writings. The author tells us it was written at the command of his Sovereign, perhaps King Henry V. and it ſeems to be one of the ſcarceſt of his pieces extant. It is not mentioned, as we remember, by any writer who has undertaken to enumerate Caxton's works. There ſeems to be more invention in it, and variety of matter, than in moſt other of his compoſitions; diſplaying, after a copious debate between *Mercy* and *Truth*, *Juſtice* and *Peace*, a diſtinct ſurvey throughout the palace and domains of *Sapience*, of all the products of Nature, Arts, and Sciences, in ſeveral chapters; with his farther reference at the end of each, to the authors who have written upon them (176). We have alſo VIII. his book named, *Speculum Vitæ Chriſti: or, The Myrrour of the bleſſyd Lyf of Cryſte: Compiled from the Latin Booke of Dr. Bonaventure*, De Meditacione Vite Jheſu Criſti. *Together with a ſhorte Treatyce of the hyheſt and moſt worthy Sacramente of Cryſtes bleſſid Body, and the Merveylles thereof, &c.* folio. Imprinted by William Caxton, without date. This book is divided into ſeven parts, according to the ſeven days of the week; and in the Latin Proem before it we are informed, that whatever is tranſlated therein from the work aſcribed to Bonaventure, is diſtinguiſhed in the margin by a B, and all the reſt, which is interlaced by the

* One of theſe editions might be only ſuperviſed or corrected by Caxton: for Richard Pynſon, in the Proheme to his edition of the *Tales*, ſtyling Caxton his worſhipful Maſter, ſays, that 'This 'boke had bin di-'ligently ovirſene, 'and duely exa-'mined by *his* 'Politike Reaſon, 'and Overſight.'

(171) As that printed by Thomas Godfray, fol. 1532; and that by Geo. Biſhop, fol. 1602, &c.

(172) Life of Caxton, p. 104.

(173) Idem, 105, &c.

(174) Catal. Bibl. Harleianæ, vol. iii. p. 242.

(175) Id. p. 122.

(176) Ib. p. 229.

he printed no more books, yet had he ſuch a ſhare of health, or at leaſt ſuch ſtrength of intellects, in the advanced years he was now arrived at, that he kept preparing copy for

the Tranſlator, is ſignified by an N. It is farther ſaid in that Proem, that, about the year 1410, the Compiler preſented the ſaid tranſlation and additions, to Archbiſhop Arundell, for his inſpection and examination, before it was publiſhed; who ſingularly approved of it, and exerted his Metropolitan authority in recommending it to the publick, for the edification of the Faithful, and the confutation of the Lollards. It is adorned with many wooden cuts; and the firſt of them, printed before the ſaid Proem, repreſents the Tranſlator preſenting his book to the ſaid Archbiſhop of Canterbury (177). The reaſon given for the title of this book, as Mr. Lewis obſerves, or it's being called *The Myrrour of the bleſſyd Lyf of Jheſu Criſte*, is becauſe the Life of Chriſt may not be fully deſcribed, as the Lives of other Saints, but in a manner of likeneſs; as the image of a man's face is ſhewed in the *Myrror*, or looking-glaſs (178). The next that occurs, is IX. Three Eccleſiaſtical pieces in Latin, intituled, *Directorium Sacerdotum: ſive* Ordinale Secundum Uſum Sarum; *una cum* Defenſorio ejuſdem Directorii: Item *Tractatus qui dicitur* Crede Michi, fol. without date. To this book is prefixed a Calendar; at the end of which is Caxton's cypher; and in the Prologue that follows, it appears, that the ſaid Ordinal was written by Clement Maydeſtone, Prieſt, the ſame, we take it, who was a learned Carmelite, and wrote the Hiſtory of Archbiſhop Scroop's Martyrdom (179), beſides other things. At the end of the *Defenſorium Directorii*, there is a colophon, expreſſing, That Directory and Defence of it to have been printed by William Caxton at Weſtminſter near London. After which follows the *Crede Mihi*, which was ſo named, becauſe it might be depended upon, as the true and approved form or rule of the church of Sarum (180). Theſe three are ſaid to be the only tracts we have of Caxton's printing in Latin; though there is a good deal of Latin text mixed with ſeveral of the tranſlations he publiſhed; as Cato, Boëtius, and two or three more; which are proofs ſufficient that he did not confine himſelf only to the printing of Engliſh books. X. *The Chaſtyſing of Goddes Chyldren*, a book prouffytable for manne's ſoule, and ryght comfortable to the body; and ſpecially in adverſite, fol. without date (†), or any appearance of the Printer, farther than by Caxton's cypher. There is a copy of it in Secretary Pepys's library. XI. *A Booke compoſed of dyvers Goſtley Matters*; of which the firſt is named *Orologium Sapiencie:* ſhewing ſeven points of true love of everlaſting wiſdom. At Weſtmiſtre, folio. This name was given it, becauſe the ſubject of it was communicated to the author in a viſion, under the figure of a fair *Orloge* adorned with roſes, and cymbals ſweetly ſounding. There is beſides in this book, 2. *The Twelve Prouffytes of Tribulacion*, and 3. *The Holy Rule of Saynt Benet*. Printed alſo at Weſtmiſtre, at the deſire of certain worſhipful perſons, perhaps rather at Caxton's preſs than by him, as the Latin lines by my author quoted ſeem to imply (181). XII. *The Curiale of Alayn Charetier*, tranſlated out of French into Engliſh, and printed in a very thin folio, by W. Caxton, without date. This is the copy of a letter Charetier wrote to his brother, who deſired to come and live at Court (182). Charetier was a famous French Poet and Hiſtorian, and Secretary to Charles VI. and VII. Kings of France. He was a great refiner of the French language, and died in 1458 (183). By which it may be computed, that his poem called *La Belle Dame ſans Mercy*, could never be tranſlated by Chaucer, though an old tranſlation of it is printed in his works. XIII. *The Lyf of the Holy and bleſſyd Vyrgyn Saynt Wenefryde.* It is a very thin folio, of fifteen leaves only, without date; but, at the end of the Life is this colophon, 'Thus endeth the Decollacion, the Lyf after, and the Tranſlacion of Saynte Wenefrede Virgyn and Martir, whiche was reyſed, after that her Hede had been ſmyton of the ſpace of 15 Yere; reduced into Engliſh by me William Caxton.' Then follow the Offices of the Popiſh Church, in Latin, upon the day of her paſſion, her tranſlation, &c. (184). Whether this is a tranſlation of that religious Romance from the Epitome of her Legend in Friar Capgrave, or from his original, written more at large by Robert Prior of Shrewſbury, we have not leiſure to examine: but from a copy of this Prior's Life of her, there was an Engliſh tranſlation publiſhed above an hundred years ſince (185), which being reprinted towards the latter end of Queen Anne's reign, with additions, by it's Popiſh editor, of ſeveral miraculous cures performed at Winifred's Well in Wales, there was another impreſſion given of it the next year by Dr. William Fleetwood, then Biſhop of St. Aſaph, with ſuch learned and judicious notes annexed thereto (186), as may ſerve to reduce the zeal of her Pilgrims to a due temper, and correct the jeſuitical doſe of miracles, to the ſatisfaction of all readers, having either affection for the reaſonableneſs of our Eſtabliſhed Faith, or averſion for the dotages of Popery.

There are ſtill ſome other books, which have been thruſt into the liſts of Caxton's Works, which we have met with no certainty that he ever printed: ſuch as, 1. *The Siege of Rhodes*, in proſe; written, and dedicated to King Edward IV. by John Kay his humble Poet Laureat. 2. *The Spouſage of a Virgin.* 3. *The Book of Arts and Sciences.* 4. *De Fide & Cantu Famule ſue.* 5. *The goody Narration, how St. Auguſtine, the Apoſtle of England, raiſed two dead bodies at Long-Compton: Collected out of divers authors; tranſlated by Jhon Lidgate Monk of Bury.* This ridiculous miracle is pretended to have been performed upon the corps of a patron of the church there, who had been excommunicated an hundred and ſeventy years before, and on the corps of the Prieſt who had ſo expelled, to confront him, becauſe he had refuſed to pay the ſaid Prieſt his tythes (187). Of this fiction, which betrays its own inconſiſtency with the age it pretends to concern, there is alſo a MS. in the Cottonian Library; and ſuch a tract, with the aforeſaid title, was printed in quarto about the year 1525, but no body has produced, or pretended to hear of one, printed ſo early as Caxton's time. There has been likewiſe 6. *The Life of St. Edward the Confeſſor*, aſcribed to him in Mr. Bagford's Catalogue of his Works, which is all the authority others alſo ſeem to have had for repeating it in theirs. Some books he might print no farther than in part, and leave them unfiniſhed, which might be compleated by his ſucceſſor; others he might recommend, or leave in charge, to be printed after his death. Hence, perhaps, we may ſome how account for that different expreſſion at the end of ſome books which are reputed his, *Caxton me fieri fecit.* In one of theſe caſes, the leaving of a book behind him, which he had not quite printed, or compoſed at the preſs, we are told there is an example in 7. *The Lyff of that gloryous Vyrgyn and Martyr Saynt Katheryn off Sene: With the Revelations of Saynt Elyſabeth, the Kynges Daughter of Hungarye. Emprynted at Weſtemyſtre, by Wynkyn de Worde*; fol. without date. It is thought that Caxton tranſlated this book, and printed the greateſt part of it; being viſibly with his type, all but the laſt page, and two or three leaves beſides in the book, which are ſaid to be printed with Wynkin's letter; if the difference in that book which occaſioned this obſervation, was not owing to the taking ſome leaves out of one impreſſion to compleat the ſaid copy, which might be of another. As for Caxton's cypher at the end of it, it has been ſaid before, that Wynkin uſed it to ſeveral books he printed entirely himſelf after Caxton's death; yet perhaps with ſome regard or diſtinction to ſuch only, as Caxton might have ſome hand in, deſign of printing, or deſire to have printed. That remarkable Legend was compiled by Fryar Reymond, of the Order of St. Domynic, Doctor of Divinty, and Confeſſor to this Holy Virgin. He ſays the truth of what is here written may be proved by the writings of her Confeſſors, and alſo the witneſſes he propoſes to cite at the end of each chapter; and they were doubtleſs thought needful; here being many miracles faſtened upon her, as well after, as before her death, which happened

(177) Id. p. 122.

(178) Life of Caxton, p. 110.

(179) H. Wharton's Anglia Sacra, vol. ii. p. 369, &c.

(180) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 111.

(†) The only edition we have ſeen, with other tracts annexed, was printed in a thin folio by Wynkin de Worde, 1493. Vide Catal. Bibl. Harleian. vol. iii. p. 125.

(181) Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 112, &c.

(182) Catal. Bibl. Harl. vol. iii. p. 122.

(183) Vid. Oudini Com. de Script. Eccleſ. & Baillet Jugemens des Savans, edit. Amſterd. 4to. tom. iv. p. 10.

(184) Cat. Bibl. Harl. vol. iii. p. 29.

(185) The admirable Life of Saint Wenefride, Virgin, Martyr, Abbeſs, and Patroneſs of Wales, by J. F. with a copper print of her *Well*, and herſelf kneeling before a crucifix, *Permiſſ. Superior.* 8vo. 1635.

(186) The Life and Miracles of St. Wenefrede, together with her Litanies, with ſome Hiſtorical Obſervations made thereon, 8vo. 1713.

(187) Selden's Hiſt of Tythes, edit. 4to. 1618, cap. ix, x. Alſo Sir W. Dugdale's Hiſt. & Antiq. of Warwickſhire. Dr. Prideaux's Origin of Tythes, p. 165; and Biſhop Kennet's Paroch. Antiq.

for the preſs to the very laſt. And indeed, that a man ſhould, for twenty years together, after age had crept over, and begun to make impreſſions upon him, when others

happened on the twenty-ſixth of April, 1380. As for St. Elizabeth, who ended her life in 1261, ſhe declared ſhe had ſo great certainty of all her *Revelations*, that 'She wolde rather ſuffree Deth, thenne 'doubte ony lytyll part of theim, that they were not 'trewe (188).' As for St. Katherine, the ſaid Wynkin alſo printed afterwards a book of her *Revelations*, in which ſhe is called the New Seraphical Spouſe of Chriſt, and ſhe concludes her work with begging of him 'That ſhe may renne in the deedly 'way, with the lyghte of Holy Faythe; with the 'whiche lyghte me ſeemeth, thou haſe made me now 'lately, *Ghoſtley Drunke* (189).' The work is ſaid to have been written as ſhe indited, in her mother tongue, was tranſlated into Engliſh by *Dane James*, and printed at the coſt of Richard Sutton, Eſq; Steward of the monaſtery of Syon. The copy, whence theſe obſervations were made on it, had belonged to the Lady Elizabeth Strickland, a ſiſter of that monaſtery, and is ſtill in being. The laſt book we ſhall take notice of that has been aſcribed to Maſter Caxton, is intituled, 8. *Vitas Patrum: The right Devoute, meche lowable, and recommendable Lyff of the ould ancyent holy Faders Hermytes; late tranſlated out of Latyn into Frenſhe, and diligently corrected in the City of Lyon, the Yere of our Lord* 1486, *upon that which hath be wryten, and alſo tranſlated out of Greke into Latyn, by the bleſſyd and holy Saynt, Saynt Jerom &c. and other ſolytary relygyous Perſones after hym; and after, in the Yere of our Lorde* 1491 *reduced into Englyſhe; following the Copy, alwaye under Correccyon of Doctors of the Chirche. Emprynted in Weſtmynſtre by Wynken de Worde*, folio, with ſeveral wooden cuts, 1495. The ſaid Wynkin, in his colophon at the end of theſe Lives of the Hermits, or *Holy Faders lywynge in Deſerte*, informs us, *it was tranſlated out of Frenſhe into Englyſhe by Wyllyam Caxton of Weſtmynſtre, late deed*, and that *he fynyſhed it at the laſte Daye of his Lyff*. Had theſe particulars been duly regarded, they might have prevented thoſe errors, which have been the conſequence of ſtretching his life two or three years beyond that in which he died. There have been other miſtakes made about this book, as if it were only a different edition of the *Golden Legend* before mentioned. But it is indeed a different book from any already ſpoken of, and may properly enough be admitted into the Catalogue of Caxton's Works, in his character as a Tranſlator, though not as the Printer thereof (190).

(188) Catal. Bibl. Harleianæ, vol. iii. p. 125.

(189) The Orcharde of Syon, in whiche is contayned the Revelacyons of Seynt Katherine of Sene; with ghoſtly Fruytes and precyous Plants for the Helthe of Mannes Soule. Imprynted at London by Wynkyn de Worde, fol. 1519.

(190) Catal. Bibl. Harleianæ, vol. iii. p. 127.

This is all we have here to ſay of Caxton's Works in particular: ſome more pieces there are, that we might be thought tedious to ſpeak any farther of, which have, in certain Catalogues, been attributed to him; wherein through ignorance, or craft to advance their value, his name is often joined to old black-lettered books, which he did neither tranſlate or print; as others, which he did, may have been loſt, before their antiquity rendered them rarities, and deſirable to be preſerved in the libraries of the curious. His judgment in the choice of thoſe authors or arguments upon which he did beſtow his time and labour, is rarely to be called in queſtion; becauſe, as we have often obſerved, the ſubjects were commonly pitched upon, and he enjoined and encouraged by others, perſons of the higheſt rank and authority to ſet them forth. As for the choice or form of his type or letter, his, like that of the other firſt Printers, muſt have been taken from the moſt eſtabliſhed, and beſt known writing then in uſe; for had they uſed any new-invented character, men muſt have gone to ſchool again to have read it. As for other diſtinctions, in the mechaniſm of his work, or his improvements in the art of Printing, than we have incidentally ſpoken of, we ſhall refer our readers to Mr. Palmer's remarks, who was a good judge, being a good Printer himſelf; and to the obſervations that may be made by an attentive inſpection of Caxton's own books for that purpoſe. If any aſk, How it came to paſs that he printed none of the Greek or Roman Claſſicks? we may anſwer, by another queſtion, How came it that none of them were printed in thoſe days at either of the Universities? why, it was not the taſte of that age; it was not the reading in faſhion: no, the Heathen and Profane examples in thoſe old Greek and Roman Poets and Hiſtorians, were not ſo reliſhable to Mother Church, as Ordinals, Confeſſionals, and ſuch books as would inſpire pious contributions, and enlarge eccleſiaſtical revenues; or ſuch as would inſtruct them in Holy Knight Errantry, in Pilgrimages or Sainterings to the Holy Land, or the brave attempts of Military Chriſtianity, to raviſh it out of the hands of it's Miſcreant Poſſeſſors by Holy Wars. As for his not printing any of the Engliſh tranſlations of the Old or New Teſtament, as Treviſa's, and others that there were, beſides Wycliff's in his time, as well as ſome more early and leſs liable to objection; the danger of ſuch an undertaking may appear in the words of Sir Thomas More, where he ſays, 'That 'on account of the penalties ordered by Archbiſhop 'Arundel's Conſtitution' (which were the ſame with thoſe of being the Fautors of Hereſy, *viz.* the greater excommunication and death (191) 'though the old 'tranſlations that were before Wycliff's days re-'mayned lawful, and were in ſome folkis handys had 'and red, yet he thought no Prynter would lyghtly 'be ſo hote to put any Byble in prent at hys own 'charge, and then hange upon a doubtfull tryall, 'whyther the firſt copye of hys tranſlacyon was made 'before Wycliff's dayes, or ſynnis: for yff yt were 'made ſynnys, yt muſt be approved byfore the prynt-'yng.' But ſuch an approbation, my author intimates, was not then to be obtained (192). In ſhort, how much this new ART of PRINTING alarmed the Prelacy, and how much they feared it would uncloke the myſteries in which they had involved religion, and thus produce the *Reformation* which enſued, cannot better appear than in a letter of Cardinal Wolſey's to the Pope, where he ſays, That his Holineſs could not be ignorant what divers effects the new invention of Printing had produced; for as it had brought in, and reſtored books and learning, ſo together it had been the occaſion of thoſe ſects and ſchiſms which daily appeared in the world, but chiefly in Germany; where men begin now to call in queſtion *the preſent faith and tenets of the Church*, and to examine how far religion is departed from it's primitive inſtitution. And that which was particularly to be moſt *lamented*, they had exhorted *lay* and *ordinary men* to *read the Scriptures*, and to *pray in their Vulgar Tonge*. That if this were ſuffered, beſides all other dangers, the common people at laſt might come to believe, that there was *not ſo much uſe of the Clergy:* for if men were perſuaded once, they could make *their own way to God*, and that the *prayers* in their *native* and *ordinary language*, might pierce Heaven as well as in *Latin*; How much would the authority of the *Maſs* fall? How prejudicial might this prove to all Eccleſiaſtical Orders (193)? However, Mr. Caxton cannot be charged with any deſign, in eſtabliſhing the *Art* among us, but what was very laudable. He had no thought of diſturbing the faith, or tenets of the Church: He made choice of ſuch books to print, as had a tendency to promote religion, and encourage virtue and good manners; or 'Books, in which he 'found many good enſeignmentis, and learnynges, 'and good enſamples for all maner of peple in gene-'rally: ſpecial books to know all vyces and braunchis 'of them, and alſo al vertues,' as he expreſſes it in his own ancient phraſe; for the frequent and neceſſary uſe whereof, throughout this account of his Life, we may be allowed the ſame apology as was made by one of our late learned Antiquaries upon the like occaſion (194), who hopes the extracts he has made will not be diſreliſhed, becauſe they have been inſerted in their primitive ſpellings and obſolete terms; which he dares own are, like the precious ruſt and canker upon antique coins and medals, the moſt convincing marks both of their *antiquity* and *genuineneſs*. O.

(191) Lyndewood's Provinciale.

(192) Sir Thomas More's Dyalogues, fol. edit. 1529, p. 49, col. 1.

(193) Liberty of Conſcience, the Magiſtrates Intereſt, &c. 4to. 1668, p. 21; from Lord Herbert's Hiſtory of King Henry VIII.

(194) Mr. Anſtis, in his Order of the Garter.

*** [Though it cannot be denied that the arguments alledged, in note [*E*], againſt the ſtory of Corſellis's having been a printer at Oxford, ſo early as

others naturally covet a ceſſation from labour, eſpecially of the brain; that he ſhould ſtill, after he had given between fifty and threeſcore teſtimonies of his indefatigable diligence,

as the year 1468, are extremely forcible, we have ſeen, nevertheleſs, under the article of Richard Atkyns, that ſome things in favour of Atkyns's narration, have lately been ſuggeſted by Mr. Meerman and Mr. Bowyer. Whether the ſuggeſtions of theſe gentlemen are ſufficient to confirm the fact, may, however, juſtly be doubted. But ſhould it be granted that Corſellis exerciſed the art of printing in England at the time ſpecified, yet, ſince he only produced a ſingle book, which book muſt have been executed with *ſeparate cut types in wood*; and ſince, even according to Atkyns's relation, Caxton was one of the perſons principally concerned in bringing Corſellis over to this country; very little can, at any rate, be detracted from Caxton's glory. He it was who, by the uſe of *fuſile types*, here firſt carried the art to perfection, and who, by the number and variety of his works, gave full eſtabliſhment to this admirable invention. We have not, therefore, thought ourſelves authoriſed to change the language of our learned and laborious predeceſſor, in the beginning of the article.

With regard to the origin of the game of Cheſs, and the books upon it, mentioned in note [*F*], we may obſerve, that the moſt curious and learned diſquiſition concerning that and other games, which this country has produced, is to be found in Dr. Thomas Hyde's Opuſcula, a valuable edition of which hath appeared, within theſe few years, from the Clarendon preſs, under the inſpection of the late Dr. Gregory Sharpe, Maſter of the Temple. From Dr. Hyde's work, which is loaded with quotations from the Oriental languages, a perſon of leiſure and judgment might draw up ſuch an account of the games he hath treated upon, as would be of general uſe and entertainment. Caxton did not know that the French book, from which his "Game and Play of the "Cheſſe" was taken, was tranſlated from the Latin (195).

(195) Warton's Hiſtory of Poetry, vol. ii. p. 41.

As to what is ſaid, in note [*L*], concerning Juliana Barnes, or Berners, as ſhe was more properly called, we refer to our article upon that lady (196). Mr. Ballard and Mr. Thomas Warton have no doubt of her exiſtence; and the latter ingenious gentleman hath ſhewn, that, conſidering the manners of the times, there is nothing ſo extraordinary, as might otherwiſe be imagined, in an Abbeſs's writing a Treatiſe of Hawking and Hunting (197).

(196) Biog. Brit. vol. ii. p. 274, 2d edition.

(197) Idem ibid. Hiſt. of Poetry, ubi ſupra, p. 171, 172.

To the account of John Tiptoft, Earl of Worceſter, in note [*M*], as well as of Anthony Wydeville, Earl of Rivers, in the notes [*H*] and [*I*], many particulars might be added; but theſe two illuſtrious noblemen will deſerve to be treated of in diſtinct articles.

Mr. Tyrwhit hath very juſtly applauded the ingenuous temper which Caxton ſhewed with reſpect to his editions of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales. It was to his honour that he choſe to make theſe Tales one of the earlieſt productions of his preſs; for Mr. Ames ſuppoſes that he firſt printed them in the year 1475 or 1476. The manuſcript, however, from which they were taken, happened unluckily to be one of the worſt, in all reſpects, that could poſſibly have been met with. But when Caxton was informed of the imperfections of his edition, he very readily undertook a ſecond, "for to ſatisfy the author," as he ſays himſelf, "whereas toſore by ignorrance *he* had "erred in hurting and diffaming his book." His own account of the matter is ſo much to the credit of his character, that it deſerves to be inſerted. "Whyche book I have dylygently oversen, and "duly examyned, to thende that it may be made "accordyng unto his owen makyng; for I fynde "many of the sayd bookes, whyche wryters have "abrydgyd it, and many thinges left out. ¶ And "in some places have sette certayn versys that he "never made ne sette in hys booke; of whyche "bookes, ſo incorecte, was one brought to me vi. "yere passyd, whyche I supposed had ben veray "true and correcte, and accordyng to the same I "dyde do enprynte a certayn nomber of them, "whyche anon were sold to many and dyuerse gentylmen, of whom one gentylman cam to me, and "sayd that this book was not according in many "places unto the book that Gefferey Chaucer had "made. To whom I answered, that I had made it "accordyng to my copye, and by me was nothyng "added ne mynusshyd. Thenne he sayd he knewe "a book whyche hys fader had and moche louyd, "that was very trewe, and accordyng unto hys owen "first book by hym made; and sayd more, yf I "wold enprynte it agayn he wold gete me the same "book for a copye. How be it he wyst well, that "hys fader wold not gladly departe fro it. To whom "I said, in caas that he coude gete me suche a book, "trewe and correcte, yet I wold ones endeuoyre me "to enprynte it agayn, for to satisfy thauctour, "where as to fore, by ygnoraunce, I erryd in hurtyng and dyffamyng his book in dyuerce places, in "setting in somme thynges that he neuer sayd ne "made, and leuing out many thynges that he made, "whyche ben requysite to be sette in it. And thus "we fyll at accord, and he ful gentylly gate of hys "fader the said book, and delyuered it to me, by "whiche I have corrected my book, as heere after "alle alonge, by thayde of almyghty God, shal "folowe" (198).

(198) Appendix to Mr. Tyrwhit's Preface to his Edition of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, p. vi.—viii. Ames's Typographical Antiquities, p. 55, 56.

Caxton was not only a printer, but a poet. Beſides his rhyming introductions and epilogues with which he frequently decorates his books, he has left a poem of conſiderable length, entitled the WORK OF SAPIENCE. It comprehends, not only an allegorical fiction concerning the two Courts of the Caſtle of Sapience, in which there is no imagination, but a ſyſtem of natural philoſophy, grammar, logic, rhetoric, geometry, aſtronomy, theology, and other topics of the faſhionable literature. Though Caxton appears, by the prologue, to be the author, yet Mr. Warton thinks it not improbable, that he might on this occaſion employ ſome profeſſed verſifier, at leaſt as an aſſiſtant, to prepare a new book of original poetry for his preſs. "The writer's deſign, is to "deſcribe the effects of wiſdom from the beginning "of the world: and the work is a Hiſtory of Knowledge or Learning. In a viſion, he meets the "Goddeſs SAPIENCE in a delightful meadow; who "conducts him to her caſtle, or manſion, and there "diſplays all her miraculous operations. Caxton, "in the poem, invokes the *gylted Goddeſs* and moſt "*facundyous Lady* Clio, apologiſes to thoſe *makers* "who delight in *termes gay*, for the inelegancies of "language, which as a foreigner he could not avoid, "and modeſtly declares, that he neither means to "rival or envy Gower and Chaucer" (199).

(199) Hiſt. of Poetry, ubi ſupra, p. 194, 195.

Caxton, by tranſlating, or procuring to be tranſlated, ſuch a number of books from the French, greatly contributed to promote the ſtate of literature in England. It was only in this way that he could introduce his countrymen to the knowledge of many valuable publications, at a time when an acquaintance with the learned languages was confined to a few eccleſiaſtics. Ancient learning had as yet made too little progreſs among us, to encourage him to publiſh the Roman authors in their original tongue. Indeed, had not the French furniſhed Caxton with materials, it is not probable, that Virgil, Ovid, Cicero, and many other good writers, would by the means of his preſs have been circulated in the Engliſh language, ſo early as the cloſe of the fifteenth century. It is remarkable, that from the time in which Caxton began to print, down to the year 1540, during which period the Engliſh preſs flouriſhed greatly under the conduct of many induſtrious, ingenious, and even learned artiſts, only the few following claſſics, ſome of which ſcarcely deſerve that name, were printed in England. Theſe were, "Boethius de Conſolatione," both Latin and Engliſh, for Caxton, without date: the Latin "Eſopian Fables," in verſe, for Wynkyn de Worde, 1503: "Terence," with the Comment of Badius Aſcenſius, for the ſame, 1504: "Virgil's Bucolics," for the ſame, 1512: "Tully's Offices," Latin and Engliſh, the tranſlation by Whittington, 1533. Of theſe books the "Eſopian Fables," and "Virgil's Bucolics" came to a ſecond edition. The

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diligence, in the publications he had made, which are computed to have amounted to that number; and now, as he could be little leſs than fourſcore years of age, that he ſhould be deſirous of giving ſtill freſh and farther inſtances of his zeal to promote or diſperſe the moſt virtuous examples and pious inſtructions among his countrymen; theſe, as they are no ordinary proofs of the painful ſervices he beſtowed upon them, ſo they have deſerved no common acknowledgments. It is eaſy to recollect, from what has been ſaid, that the novelty and uſefulneſs of his art, recommended him to the ſpecial notice and encouragement of three crowned heads, and their royal families, beſides ſome of the greateſt Noblemen in their reigns. And ſurely, as he juſtly merited thoſe honours, he has alſo, praiſes that might be equal to them. It was the leaſt then that Bale could beſtow upon him, and yet ſome ignorant or ungrateful Tranſlators have made it ſtill leſs, where he ſays that he was *Vir non omnino ſtupidus, aut ignaviâ torpens*; a man by no means dull, or benumbed with ſloth: *Sed propagandæ ſuæ Gentis Memoriæ ſtudioſus admodum*; but exceedingly intent upon ſpreading abroad the Hiſtory of his country (*h*), and ſuch other topicks, as we have ſeen, that he thought would moſt effectually inculcate religion, virtue, and good manners; to promote which, his great age ſeems not to have any ways abated his conſtant application. For he was now aſſiduouſly engaged in tranſlating from the French, a large volume of the *Holy Lives of the Fathers Hermets living in the Deſerts*; a work that ſtill, from the examples of quiet and ſolemn retirement therein ſet forth, might farther ſerve to wean his mind from all worldly attachments, exalt it above the ſolicitudes of this life, and inure him to that repoſe and tranquillity, with which he ſeems to have deſigned it. For we are informed by Wynkin de Worde, that this book was tranſlated in the year 1491, by William Caxton, and that he finiſhed it the laſt day of his life, as we have before obſerved in the preceding note. So that, nothing can be plainer, than that he finiſhed his life and tranſlation together, on the ſame day in that year; which, though others had alſo read, who have ſpoken of his death, yet has it been miſtaken by moſt of them, becauſe the book was not printed by the ſaid Wynkin till four years after, in 1495; which date, and the expreſſion of it's being tranſlated by W. Caxton, *late deed*, they regarding more than the date of the tranſlation, have concluded that he either died that year (*i*), or the year before (*k*). But Wynkin's account of his maſter's death is ſo true, that it agrees with the memorandum in being, of ſome expences at his funeral in St. Margaret's church at Weſtminſter, where, between the twenty-ſeventh of May 1490, and the third of June 1492, in the ſecond year of this account, *viz.* 1491 (*l*), it appears, in the Warden's account-book of the ſaid pariſh, that ſix ſhillings and eight-pence were charged for four torches, and ſix-pence for tolling the bell (*m*), at the burying of the ſaid William Caxton; and farther, in the ſame book, among the receipts ſix years after, that he had left (we ſuppoſe in his laſt Will, though it is not to be found in the Prerogative Office) thirteen copies of his *Golden Legend*; and by another book, preſerved alſo in the ſame place, (being a Regiſter of many particulars relating to the Abbey,) that his executors

(*h*) Bal. Script. Illuſtr. Major. Brytan. Catal. edit. Baſil. fol. 1557, Cent. 8. cap. 43.

(*i*) Mr. Bagford.

(*k*) Dr. Middleton.

(*l*) Mr. Lewis, p. 117, makes it 1492, which ſhould be corrected.

(*m*) Idem, p. 118.

Univerſity of Oxford, during this period, produced only the firſt book of "Tully's Epiſtles," at the expence of Cardinal Wolſey, without date, or printer's name. The Univerſity of Cambridge cannot boaſt, during the term ſpecified, the honour of having printed a ſingle claſſic. No Greek book, of any kind, had hitherto appeared from an Engliſh preſs. It is believed, that the firſt Greek characters uſed in any work printed in England, are in Linacer's tranſlation of *Galen de Temperamentis*, printed at Cambridge, in 1521. In this book a few Greek words, and abbreviatures, are here and there introduced. In the ſame author's treatiſe, *De emendata Structura Latini Sermonis*, printed by Pinſon in 1522, many Greek characters are intermixed; and in the ſixth book there are ſeven lines together in that language. But the printer apologiſes for his imperfections and unſkilfulneſs in the Greek types. Theſe, he ſays, were but recently caſt, and not in a ſufficient quantity for ſuch a work. "Æquo Animo feras ſiquæ "Literæ, in Exemplis Helleniſmi, vel *Tonis* vel "*Spiritibus* careant. His enim non *ſatis inſtructus* "erat Typographus, videlicet *recens* ab eo *fuſis* "Characteribus Græcis, nec *parata* ei *Copia* qua ad "hoc agendum opus eſt." The ſame embarraſſments appear to have happened with regard to Hebrew types, as might ſtill more be expected, from that language's being much leſs known. Doctor Robert Wakefield, Chaplain to Henry the Eighth, publiſhed in the year 1522, his *Oratio de Laudibus & Utilitate trium Linguarum Arabicæ, Chaldaicæ, & Hebraicæ*; but he was obliged to omit his whole third part, becauſe the printer, who was Wynkyn de Worde, had no Hebrew types. There are, however, ſome few Hebrew and Arabic characters introduced; but they are extremely rude, and evidently cut in wood. They are the firſt of the ſort uſed in England. It was a circumſtance favourable at leaſt to Engliſh literature, that the illiteracy of the times obliged our firſt printers to employ themſelves ſo little on books written in the learned languages. Moſt of the works printed by Caxton and his immediate ſucceſſors were Engliſh. The multiplication of Engliſh copies multiplied Engliſh readers, and theſe again produced new vernacular writers; the exiſtence of a preſs inducing many perſons to turn authors, who were only qualified to write in their native tongue (200).

(200) Ibid. p. 123, 124.

Soon after the article of Caxton was written by Mr. Oldys, Mr. Ames publiſhed his Typographical Antiquities. In the catalogue which is there given of the books printed by Caxton, we do not find any that have not been mentioned by our learned predeceſſor. There are, however, in Ames's publication, ſome farther extracts from the works of our famous printer, to which ſuch of our readers may have recourſe as are not already ſatisfied with the long and elaborate account of him given by Mr. Oldys (201).

(201) Ames's Typographical Antiquities, p. 1—75.

The apology which Mr. Oldys hath made, at the end of his laſt note, might, in ſome meaſure, be applied to his own ſtile. He had converſed ſo much with our old writers, that his language in general is very antique. We have corrected it in various particulars; but we muſt have written the whole article over again, in order to render the diction quite modern. Beſides, it would have loſt its *race*: it would not have been Mr. Oldys.] K.

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gave to it, thirteen years after his death, two copies of *The Life of St. Katherine*, and two of *The Birth of our Lady*. It is thought he died unmarried, as there is no intelligence of his leaving any other iſſue than thoſe of his preſs; which may ſerve as a MONUMENT of his induſtry and benevolence to poſterity, till ſome of his ſucceſſors in the art, ſhall, in juſtice to him, or in honour to themſelves, raiſe him *one* in *marble*.

CECIL (WILLIAM) Baron of Burghley, Burleigh, or Burly, Secretary of State in the reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth, and afterwards Lord High-Treaſurer of England; one of the ableſt Stateſmen, and one of the worthieſt Miniſters, that this, or perhaps any other nation, has produced (*a*). There is no doubt that he was deſcended of a very antient and honourable houſe, and therefore there was no need that he ſhould be flattered with a fabulous deſcent from an old Roman family. He was himſelf very knowing in genealogies, and made many of thoſe collections, which have enabled ſuch as have conſidered this matter ſince, to trace his pedigree with great perſpicuity and exactneſs (*b*) [*A*]. His father was Richard Cecil, Eſq; Maſter of the Robes to King Henry VIII. and his mother Jane, daughter and heireſs of William Hickington of Bourne in the county of Lincoln, Eſq; both perſons of very great character and worth (*c*), and for whoſe memories their ſon teſtified the higheſt reſpect, even in his moſt exalted fortune [*B*]. He was born in the houſe of his grandfather David Cecil, Eſq; at Bourn in Lincolnſhire,

(*a*) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, chap. v.

(*b*) Camden's Remains under the title of ſurnames, p. 40. Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 405.

(*c*) Life of William Lord Burleigh by one of his Domeſticks, MS. differing in ſome particulars from that publiſhed.

[*A*] *With great perſpicuity and exactneſs.*] It is juſtly obſerved, by a very judicious author, that ſurnames in our country were a long time before they took any ſettled form, and that how well ſoever the deſcent of a family might be proved, there would be ſtill great variations in the manner of ſpelling the name by which it was diſtinguiſhed (1). As for inſtance, in the preſent caſe; Sitſilt, Sicelt, Seycil, Seiſel, after which it came to be wrote Cycele, then Cycyl, as it ſtands in many of the old manuſcripts of the reigns of King Henry VIII. and Edward VI; laſt of all, it came to be ſpelt Cecil as we write it now (2); and the reader will forgive me if I tell him, what I think he will not meet with any where elſe, that this new orthography ſeems to have been the invention of Polydore Virgil: at leaſt the firſt time I have met with it, appears in a letter of his addreſſed to the noble perſon who is the ſubject of this article (3). From hence ſome took occaſion to ſuggeſt, the deſcent of this family from a Patrician ſtock of the ſame name amongſt the Romans; and a certain writer upon our Antiquities ſpeaks of this very ſeriouſly (4): 'Of the families of the Camber Britons, ſays 'he, otherwiſe called Welſhmen, or of ſuch as being 'iſſued from Wales do now remain in England, I 'ſhall not need to ſpeak, conſidering their ſurnames 'are eaſily known, by being commonly according to 'their own moſt ancient cuſtom. With this people 'it is not to be doubted, but that during the ſpace 'of about five hundred years that they were ſubject 'to the Romans, divers of the Romans ſettled and 'mixed themſelves among them, whoſe poſterity hath 'ſince remained in account, as being of the ancient 'families of Wales; and I do find very probable 'reaſon to induce me to think, that, among others, 'the honourable family of the Cecils being iſſued 'from Wales, is originally deſcended from the Ro-'mans.'

(1) Camden's Remains, p. 95.

(2) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 405.

(3) Strype's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 145.

(4) Verſtegan's Reſtitution of decayed intelligence in Antiquities, p. 244. Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 473.

But the truth of the matter is, that this ſurname is as little Welſh as Roman; for the beſt Genealogiſts agree, that Robert Sitſilt, an aſſiſtant to Robert Fitz Hamon in the conqueſt of Glamorganſhire, in the fourth year of King William Rufus, anno 1091, was the anceſtor of the family (5); which Robert was rewarded with lands by the ſaid Robert Fitz Hamon, for his ſervices, and afterwards by marriage had Alterennes in that part of Herefordſhire called Ewyas land, with other lands in Herefordſhire and Glouceſterſhire (6). From this Robert Sitſilt the founder, the family is very clearly traced down to Philip Siſelt, who married Maud, daughter and heir of William Philip Vaughan of Tilliglaſſe, by whom he had two ſons, Philip, who enjoyed the eſtate of Alterennes in the pariſh of Walterſton, in the county of Hereford; and David, who was the grandfather of William Cecil Lord Burleigh, of whom we are ſpeaking (7).

This David Sifelt having purchaſed a fair eſtate in Lincolnſhire, founded, 22 Hen. VII. a chantry in St. George's in Stamford (8), and in 3 Hen. VIII. was conſtituted Water-Bayliff of Wittleſey-mere in the county of Huntington, and alſo Keeper of the Swans there, and throughout all the waters and fens in Huntingdon, Cambridge, Lincoln, and Northamptonſhire, for the term of thirty years (9). Alſo in 5 Hen. VIII. he was made one of the King's Serjeants at Arms, and having this employment at Court, obtained, for Richard his ſon and heir, the office of a Page of the Crown (10). Likewiſe in 8 Hen. VIII. he obtained a grant for himſelf and ſon, of the Keeperſhip of Clifford Park in the county of Northampton (11). And in 15 Hen. VIII. continuing ſtill Serjeant at Arms, he was conſtituted Steward of the King's Lordſhip of Coly Weſton in that county, and was Eſcheator of the county of Lincoln from 15 November 21 Hen. VIII. to 15 November 22 Hen. VIII. (12) In 23 Hen. VIII. on the death of Sir William Spencer, Knt. he was conſtituted Sheriff of Northamptonſhire for the remaining part of that year, and was alſo Sheriff the next enſuing year (13). And having been three times Alderman of Stamford, departed this life in the year 1541, the 32d of Hen. VIII. as ſhould ſeem by the probate of his laſt Will and Teſtament, which bears date that year (14). It is very remarkable, that in this Teſtament, he is ſtyled David Cyſſell of Stamford in the county of Lincoln, Eſq; and that it appears he left behind him two ſons, Richard and David, and a daughter Joan. His body, according to his directions, was interred in the pariſh-church of St. George at Stamford (15), and it was at this gentleman's houſe, that the great man of whom we are ſpeaking was born, as is mentioned above in the text; ſo that there was no kind of reaſon for recurring to art or contrivance, much leſs to fiction or forgeries, to entitle him to an ancient and honourable deſcent.

(5) Powel's Hiſt. of Wales, p. 124. 141, 142. Hollingſhed's Chronicle, p. 1255.

(6) Barnes's Hiſt. of Edward III. p. 75.

(7) From an ancient Pedigree of this Family, drawn by the hand of Camden.

(8) Pat. 22 Hen. VII. m. 1.

(9) Pat. 3 Hen. VIII. m. 11.

(10) Pat. 8 Hen. VIII. m. 11.

(11) Pat. 8 Hen. VIII. m. 13.

(12) Pat. 15 Hen. VIII. m. 1.

(13) Fuller's Worthies, in Com. Northam. p. 299.

(14) Butcher's Survey of Stamford, at the cloſe of Peck's Antiquarian Annals of that town, p. 27. Ex Regiſt. Spert. qu. 3. in Cur. Prerog. Cant.

(15) Peck's Antiquarian Annals of Stamford, in the cloſe.

[*B*] *Even in his moſt exalted fortune.*] It is requiſite that we ſhould here give ſome account of the parents of Lord Burleigh; and firſt then of his father, who, as we have ſhewn, was the eldeſt ſon of David Cyſſell of Stamford in the county of Lincoln, Eſq; and whoſe own name was Richard. By the intereſt of his father at Court, he was preferred, in the eighth year of Henry VIII. to be one of the Pages of the Crown (16). In 12 Hen. VIII. he waited on the King at that famous interview with the King of France, between Calais and Guiennes; and in 22 Hen. VIII. being Groom of the Robes to that King, obtained a grant of the office of Conſtable of Warwick-caſtle, then in the Crown (17). In 27 Hen. VIII. being one of the Grooms of the Wardrobe, he had a grant of the office of Bayliff of the King's water called Wittleſey-mere, and the cuſtody of the ſwans, and of thoſe waters called Great Crick and Merys, in the counties of Cambridge, Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Northampton, for the term of thirty years, after the expiration of the term granted to David Cyſſell his father (18). In 31 Hen. VIII. he was Sheriff of Rutlandſhire (19). In 32 Hen. VIII. being written Richard

(16) Pat. 8 Hen. VIII. m. 11.

(17) Pat. 22 Hen. VIII. m. 1.

(18) Privat. Sigill. 27 Hen. VIII.

(19) Wright's Hiſt. of Rutlandſhire, p. 12.

Lincolnſhire, September 13, 1520 (*d*), and received the firſt tincture of letters in the grammar-ſchool at Grantham, whence he afterwards removed to Stamford (*e*). About the year 1535 he was removed to the univerſity of Cambridge, and entered of St. John's college, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the regularity of his life, and a very ſtrict, indeed a very ſurpriſing, application to his ſtudies (*f*) [C]. When he had laid a ſolid foundation of ſound and uſeful learning, according to the laudable cuſtom of that age, his father thought fit to ſend for him up to London, and about the year 1541 placed him at Gray's-Inn (*g*), with an intention to have bred him in the profeſſion of the Law, which, though his fortunes afterwards took another turn, was a circumſtance very happy for him, as it led him to a perfect acquaintance with the conſtitution of his country, of which he was always a paſſionate admirer, and in every ſtation of life zealous in it's defence and protection. While he was thus employed, an accident introduced him to the knowledge and favour of his Sovereign. It fell out, that O-Neil, a famous Iriſh Chief, being at Court, brought with him two of his Chaplains, who were very great bigots, not only to the faith, but to the power of the Roman Pontiff, with whom Mr. Cecil, coming to ſee his father, chanced to have a very warm diſpute, which was managed in the Latin tongue, with ſo great ſkill and vivacity on the part of Cecil, that the two Prieſts, finding their deficiency in point of argument, fell into a downright paſſion. This being reported to the King, who, whatever failings he might have, was certainly one of the moſt learned Princes of his time, he had the curioſity to ſee the young man, and after a long converſation was ſo much taken with his abilities, that he directed his father to find out a place for him; but as there was nothing vacant, the old gentleman aſked the reverſion of the *Cuſtos Brevium*, which was readily granted, and ſome years afterwards came into his poſſeſſion (*h*). This early introduction at Court gave a new biaſs to Mr. Cecil's inclinations, and induced him to think of puſhing his fortune in that road which he had ſo happily entered. In all probability he was encouraged to this by the family to which he became allied by marriage; for having eſpouſed Mary, the ſiſter of Sir John Cheke, a gentleman of fair character and great learning, which ſeems

(*d*) Lord Burleigh's Diary.

(*e*) Life of William Lord Burleigh, by one of his Domeſticks.

(*f*) See this matter fully explained in the ſubſequent note.

(*g*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 774.

(*h*) Life of William Lord Burleigh, by one of his Domeſticks.

Richard Cecyll of Burley in the county of Northampton, Eſq; he had a grant to him, his heirs and aſſigns for ever, of the ſcite of St. Michael's priory near Stamford, and the church, and 299 acres of arable land, lying in the pariſh of St. Martin's in Stamford, in the county of Northampton (20). In 34 Hen. VIII. being then Yeoman of the Wardrobe, he was made Yeoman of the King's manors of Naſſington, Yarwel, and Upton, in the county of Northampton, for life (21). In 36 Hen. VIII. he purchaſed the manor of Eſyngdon in the county of Rutland, then alſo in the Crown, as a parcel of the Earl of Warwick's lands (22). In 37 Hen. VIII. he ſurrendered his cuſtody of Warwick caſtle (23). He remained Yeoman of the Robes to King Edward VI. to the laſt day of his life, which was the nineteenth of May 1552 (24); and dying at Court, his body was interred in the pariſh church of St. Margaret's Weſtminſter. In the month of April, 1553, a commiſſion was iſſued to Sir Richard Cotton, Sir Ralph Sadler, and Sir Walter Mildmay, Knights, together with Edmund Pidgeon, Clerk of the Wardrobes, any three or two of them, to take an account of Jane Cecil, and Sir William Cecil, Knt. Adminiſtrators of the Teſtament of Richard Cecil, for certain robes, apparel, and jewels of the King, in the cuſtody of the ſaid Richard (25). As for his widow, who was the daughter of William Hickington of Bourn in the county of Lincoln, ſhe ſurvived, and remained his widow thirty-five years, and was a very grave, religious, and virtuous lady, delighting much in works of piety and charity, as well in her life-time as at her deceaſe; and ſhe had the comfort of ſeeing her children, and her childrens children, to the fourth and fifth generation; departing this life March 10, 1587, when ſhe had lived ſeven years above fourſcore. Beſides the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, theſe worthy perſons had three more children, all daughters, *viz.* Margaret, who married firſt Roger Cave of Stamford, Eſq; and after his deceaſe, Ambroſe Smith of Boſworth, Eſquire; Elizabeth, married firſt to Robert Wingfield of Upton, Eſq; afterwards to Hugh Allington, Eſq; and Anne, who was married to Thomas Whyte of Tucksford, Eſq; (26). The Lord-Treaſurer Burleigh cauſed to be erected at the upper end of the north chancel in St. Martin's church at Stamford, a noble monument to the memory of his parents, and by it is his own.

(20) Pat. 32 Hen. VIII. m. 7.

(21) Pat. 36 Hen. VIII. m. 7.

(22) Pat. 36 Hen. VIII. m. 28.

(23) Peerage of England, vol. ii. p. 134.

(24) As appears from the inſcription mentioned hereafter.

(25) Strype's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 491.

(26) Peck's Antiquarian Annals of Stamford, in the cloſe, p. 69.

[C] *Indeed a very ſurpriſing application to his ſtudies.*] He was entered of St. John's college May 27, 1535 (27), and finding ſeveral perſons of diſtinguiſhed parts then ſtudents there, this inſpired him with ſuch a thirſt for learning, that he made an agreement with the Bell-ringer to call him up at four o'clock every morning, applying himſelf with ſuch vigour to his ſtudies, that with much ſitting a humour fell into his legs, of which, not without difficulty, he was cured, though his Phyſicians conſidered it as one of the principal cauſes of that inveterate gout with which he was tormented in the latter part of his life (28). Dr. Nicholas Medcalfe, who was at this time Maſter of the college, was his great patron, and frequently gave him money to encourage him (29); but the ſtrong paſſion he had to excel his contemporaries, and to diſtinguiſh himſelf early in the univerſity, was the chief ſpur to his endeavours. At ſixteen he read a Sophiſtry Lecture, and at nineteen a Greek Lecture, not for any pay or ſalary, but as a Gentleman for his pleaſure; which was the more remarkable at that time, as there were but few who were maſters of Greek, either in that college or in the univerſity. But though he applied himſelf with ſo much aſſiduity to Greek literature, yet he always affected a general knowledge, as never intending to tie himſelf up to the ſtudy of any ſingle branch of ſcience (30). He purſued the ſame method when at Gray's-Inn, and took the aſſiſtance of converſation as well as books in both places, delighting very much in free diſputes upon all ſorts of ſubjects, by which he became very early both a copious and correct ſpeaker. He was very happy in two qualities which rarely meet, for he had a ſtrong memory and a ſound judgment. He aſſiſted both, by an indefatigable application, by recording every thing with his pen that occurred either in reading or from obſervation; and this in the moſt methodical manner, as is evident from the vaſt collections he left behind him upon a great variety of ſubjects (31). He addicted himſelf particularly to the Antiquities of his own country, and to the Hiſtories of the great families, which he underſtood better than moſt men of his time: neither did he forſake his ſtudies when he came into great employments, but was perpetually reviewing and adding to his notes, which gave him that admirable facility of writing, in which he ſurpaſſed moſt in his time, and was hardly excelled by any (32).

(27) Lord Burleigh's Diary.

(28) Life of William Lord Burleigh, by one of his Domeſticks.

(29) Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambridge, p. 95.

(30) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(31) As appears from what are ſtill preſerved in ſeveral publick and private Libraries, beſides numbers that are loſt.

(32) The reader may find ample teſtimonies of this in the Appendixes to Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. Strype's Memorials, Annals, &c.

to have happened about this time (*i*) [*D*], he was by him recommended to the favour of the Earl of Hertford, uncle to his royal pupil, ſo well known afterwards by the title of Duke of Somerſet (*k*). In the beginning of the reign of Edward VI. he came into the poſſeſſion of his office of *Cuſtos Brevium*, which brought him in two hundred and forty pounds a year (*l*); and having married to his ſecond wife Mildred, daughter of Sir Anthony Cook the Director of the King's ſtudies, he found himſelf as well ſupported in his pretenſions at Court as he could deſire (*m*). In 1547, his noble patron, the Protector, gave him at once a great proof of his favour, and a high mark of his confidence, by appointing him Maſter of Requeſts, an office, not of diſtinction only, but of great truſt (*n*). He was quickly after favoured with another mark of the Protector's kindneſs, who took him with him in his expedition into Scotland, where he was preſent in the battle of Muſſleburgh, Sept. 10, in the ſame year (*o*); and his life was very narrowly ſaved there by the tenderneſs of one of his friends, who in puſhing him out of the level of a cannon, had his arm ſhattered to pieces by that ſhot, which otherwiſe had diſpatched Mr. Cecil (*p*). Upon his return to Court he grew into ſuch favour with his excellent maſter, that in 1548 he was advanced to the high poſt of Secretary, which he enjoyed twice in that reign, and for want of diſtinguiſhing this, ſome eminent writers have fallen into great confuſion (*q*) [*E*]. But as there is no courſe of life ſo ſubject to ſudden turns of fortune as that in a Court, ſo it was not long before Mr. Cecil learned this from experience; for the very year after, a ſtrong party being formed againſt the Lord Protector, many of whom were members of the Privy-Council, they aſſembled at London, while the King and the Lord Protector with his friends were at Hampton-Court, and finding themſelves ſupported by the city of London, they ſent a bold charge to the King, againſt the Duke of Somerſet, to Windſor-caſtle, whither he was then removed, which produced all that they expected; for that noble perſon being of a mild and gentle diſpoſition, and above all things apprehenſive of a civil war, ſuffered himſelf not only to be diveſted of his power, but alſo to be made priſoner (*r*). At the ſame time, his friends, Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir John Thynne, Edward Rolfe, and William Cecil, Eſqrs; were committed to cuſtody; and though it is aſſerted by ſome great Hiſtorians, that when the reſt were ſent to the Tower Mr. Cecil was diſcharged (*s*), yet we find in his own Diary that he was ſent to that priſon in November 1549; and we are alſo told, that he continued there about the ſpace of three months (*t*). His behaviour, however, having been always juſt and moderate, had procured him many friends, and

(*i*) Lord Burleigh's Diary.

(*k*) Camden's Annal. Eliz. p. 774.

(*l*) As appears from his own computation in his Diary.

(*m*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 774.

(*n*) Life of William Lord Burleigh, by one of his Domeſticks. Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 774.

(*o*) Lord Burleigh's Diary. Life of William Lord Burleigh, by one of his Domeſticks. Camden. Annal. p. 774.

(*p*) Life of William Lord Burleigh, by one of his Domeſticks.

(*q*) Lord Burleigh's Diary.

(*r*) Sir John Hayward's Life and Reign of Edward VI. in the Compleat Hiſt. of England, vol. ii. p. 306, 307. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, P. ii. p. 136, 137.

(*s*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, P. ii. p. 138. Rapin's Hiſt. vol. viii. p. 71.

(*t*) Life of William Lord Burleigh, by one of his Domeſticks. The entry in his Diary runs thus: *Menſe Novembris* iii Ed. VI. *fui in Turre.*

[*D*] *To have happened about this time.*] The author of his Life tells us, that on the 8th of Auguſt, 33 Henry VIII. he took to wife Mary Cheke, ſiſter of Sir John Cheke, Knight, who lived with him not above a year and a quarter, by whom he had his firſt ſon Thomas. The ſame writer farther obſerves, that this was after he had ſpent ſome time at the Inns of Court (33). This does not very well agree with what Camden tells us, for he ſays expreſsly, that he married this lady in the twentieth year of his age, while he was at St. John's; that ſhe lived with him a year or two, and that after he came to Gray's Inn he married his ſecond lady (34). The truth of the matter is, that the former writer is ſomewhat, but Mr. Camden is almoſt in every particular miſtaken. Lord Burleigh, in his manuſcript diary, has ſet down the day of his birth, Sept. 13th, 1520. Mr. Camden places his birth in the year 1521. Lord Burleigh, in his diary, ſets down the time of his coming to Gray's Inn thus, *May* 6th, 1541, *I came to* Gray's Inn, *when in my twenty-firſt year*; and he marks the time of his marriage thus, *Auguſt* 8th, 1541, *I married Mary Cheke at* Cambridge; ſo that it is plain he married his firſt wife after he was at the Inns of Court, as the writer of his life ſays. In Lord Burleigh's diary we find, that this eldeſt ſon Thomas was born May 5, 1542, and that his firſt lady died Feb. 22, 1543, at two in the morning, ſo that ſhe muſt have lived longer with him than the writer of his life mentions.

(33) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(34) Camden's Annal. Eliz. p. 774.

[*E*] *Some eminent writers have fallen into great confuſion.*] It does not appear that any of our hiſtorians had the leaſt intimation of Mr. Cecil's being Secretary of State ſo early. The writer of his life ſays, that in the ſecond year of King Edward VI. he was committed to the Tower about the Duke of Somerſet's firſt calling in queſtion, that he remained there a quarter of a year, and was then enlarged: he then proceeds thus, *The Duke of Somerſet perceiving the King's great liking to Mr. Cecil about the third year of the King's reign, preferred him to be Secretary of State, being but twenty-five years old, and Anno* 5 *Ed.* VI. *he was made a Knight* (35). All which is equally confuſed and incorrect; for Mr. Cecil was much older than he ſpeaks of when King Edward came to the Crown; and it was not in the third, but in the ſecond year of his reign that Mr. Cecil was made Secretary of State, the firſt time; which we learn from his own diary, where he entered it thus——*Sept.* 1548, *cooptatus ſum in Officium Secretarii*, i. e. I was admitted to the office of Secretary in Sept. 1548. It appears from Biſhop Burnet, that when the great diſturbance happened in October 1549, Sir William Petre and Sir Thomas Smith were Secretaries (36); but as we hear nothing of his removal, it is very probable that Mr. Cecil was Secretary likewiſe; ſince as the reader will obſerve in the text, there were afterwards three Secretaries in this reign. It is plain, that Biſhop Burnet was miſtaken in affirming, that Mr. Cecil was diſcharged at Windſor, and not committed with the reſt to the Tower, ſince both himſelf and the writers of his life poſitively ſay the contrary (37). King Edward, in his Journal, makes no mention at all of Mr. Cecil's being removed from his poſt, or of his being ſent to the Tower; but he takes notice, that Dr. Wotton was made Secretary of State at this time (38); and though Biſhop Burnet is clear, that it was in the room of Sir Thomas Smith, yet it might as well be in the room of Mr. Cecil; for Mr. Camden, who mentions Sir Thomas Smith's being Secretary in this reign, ſays, that he was made ſo when Cecil was the other Secretary, and from thence it is not poſſible to diſtinguiſh when he was made (39). It appears from King Edward's Journal, that Mr. Cecil did not long continue in diſgrace, but was very ſoon brought into buſineſs again, though he was not reſtored to his office (40). When this happened we learn from thoſe words in the King's Journal, Sept. 6th (1550) *Mr.* Wotton *gave up his Secretaryſhip, and* Mr. Cecil *got it of him* (41). In the month of October following the King granted him an annuity of one hundred pounds, in conſideration of his ſaid office, during his Majeſty's pleaſure, to be paid from the augmentation from the Michaelmas preceding (42). And thus we have done all in our power to clear up this matter.

(35) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(36) Hiſt. of the Reformat. vol. ii. p. 135.

(37) Life of William Lord Burleigh. Lord Burleigh's Diary.

(38) See the King's Journal, in Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. vol. ii. Append. p. 9.

(39) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 318.

(40) See the King's Journal, as before, p. 17.

(41) Ib. p. 20.

(42) Strype's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 493.

theſe taking advantage of the King's perſonal regard for him, not only procured his liberty, but brought him again to Court, where his abilities were found ſo uſeful, that the Duke of Northumberland, who had now the greateſt credit, was willing that he ſhould be reſtored to his office; and accordingly, by the reſignation of Dr. Wotton, this was brought about (*u*). There are many writers who fix this promotion to the eleventh of October 1551, but his own Diary aſſures us it was in the month of September; and it appears from King Edward's Journal of his own reign, that it was upon the ſixth of that month (*w*). But it is true, that on the eleventh of October he was knighted, and ſworn of the Privy-Council (*x*). His credit and favour were now greater than ever, and his intereſt with his Royal Maſter was ſuch, that he was believed to have a great ſhare in thoſe productions that were ſaid to fall from the King's pen; for when a letter from his Majeſty, in relation to her perverſeneſs in religion, was preſented to the Princeſs Mary, ſhe could not help crying out, *Ah! Mr. Cecil's pen took great pains here* (*y*). He ſteered with all the caution and circumſpection that thoſe critical times required, and was particularly careful to avoid taking any ſhare in the Court quarrels that were ſo frequent during that ſhort reign. Yet it was not poſſible for him, with all his ſkill and diligence, to eſcape falling under ſome difficulties, more eſpecially in that fatal buſineſs of the death of the Duke of Somerſet, towards whom he is by ſome charged with much unkindneſs, for which, however, there is no viſible foundation (*z*) [*F*]. The Duke himſelf was a man, though of a tender nature, ſometimes intemperate in ſpeech; and there is reaſon to doubt, that ſome who were pretty near him, might take occaſion to excite and draw from him thoſe unguarded expreſſions, which were afterwards made uſe of as a pretence, though a very poor pretence it was, to take away his life (*a*). Sir William Cecil did indeed keep his ground at Court when his noble patron fell; but this was not owing to the Duke of Northumberland's favour, but to ſeveral other cauſes (*b*). In the firſt place his abilities were wanted, and his moderation eſteemed, the Duke of Northumberland being no enemy to men of capacity who did not oppoſe him. Sir William Cecil ſtood extremely well with the King, had his ear very much, and was the perſon to whom his Majeſty confided his moſt ſecret thoughts; ſo that, without ſome apparent offence in him, no wiſe man would ever entertain a thought of his removal: add to all this, that he lived in ſtrict friendſhip with the moſt eminent and worthy perſons about the Court, and more eſpecially with thoſe who were immediately about the King's perſon: and we ſhall eaſily diſcern, why Northumberland himſelf, with all his power and his peeviſhneſs, choſe

(*u*) Life of William Lord Burleigh, by one of his Domeſticks.

(*w*) See the King's Journal in Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. P. ii. in p. 20 of the Appendix.

(*x*) Stow's Annals, p. 604. Godwyn's Hiſt. p. 244, 245.

(*y*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. P. ii. p. 174.

(*z*) Strype's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 476.

(*a*) Hayward's Hiſt. of the Life and Reign of Edward VI. in Kennet's Compleat Hiſt. of England, vol. ii. p. 321.

(*b*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. vol. ii. p. 223.

[*F*] *For which, however, there is no viſible foundation.*] After what has been ſaid in the former notes, and the variety of authorities alledged in ſupport of the facts laid down in them, we may ſafely truſt the reader with a piece of libel which was tranſmitted to the Lord Burleigh himſelf, when he was High-Treaſurer of England, by one of his agents abroad, who extracted it from a Latin treatiſe, written and publiſhed by the Papiſts on purpoſe to defame him; in which there is collected all that had ever been whiſpered by his enemies to his prejudice, in regard to the firſt ſcenes of his life. Thus it runs; 'Of the 'Lord Treaſurer's pedigree they write in this manner: Cecil his father, groom of the Wardrobe, 'was never called maſter but in jeſt; and his mother 'would never ſuffer herſelf to be called miſtreſs, but 'when her ſon was made Baron of Burleigh. His 'grandfather, one of the King's guard, kept the 'beſt Inn in Stamford, himſelf firſt of all bell-ringer 'in St. John's College in Cambridge, and after grew 'by learning and cunning, by the help and favour of 'Sir John Cheke and Sir Anthony Cooke, to be 'Secretary to the Duke of Somerſet, Protector, to 'whom he was a ſtickler, to ſet him againſt his own 'brother, the Admiral, for pleaſing the Ducheſs, 'and to cut off his head as he did; the principal inſtrument to bring in Father Latimer to be an agent, 'as he was in that tragedy, and for this ſervice, by 'the Ducheſs of Somerſet's procurement to her huſband, Mr. Cecil was made Secretary to King Edward VI. After ſeeing Dudley Earl of Warwick 'more cunning and potent than the Duke of Somerſet 'his maſter, he ſecretly forſook him, and betrayed 'him, and gave matter of overthrow to Warwick 'againſt him; for which ſervice Mr. Cecil was ſet up 'by Warwick, and brought into the King's favour 'and council again; and he followed that man's fortune ſo long as he ſtood in proſperity, even to the 'deprivation of all King Henry VIII. his children, 'and penned the proclamation and oaths that the 'Duke of Northumberland and Suffolk ſet forth 'againſt them, and could have been content to have 'diſpatched them with his own hand, if Northumber'land would have put him to it (43).' As to his deſcent, and the eſtates of his family, when this noble perſon was born, they have been ſo fully ſet out from records, that no doubts can be entertained about them. As to the Lord Admiral it is very probable, that in his poſt of Secretary of State Mr. Cecil might draw ſome of the proceedings againſt him; but that either he or the Duke were inſtigated by the Ducheſs to put that great man to death, is a vulgar calumny; ſince it is certain his own crimes made it neceſſary, and there are very few acts of attainder that can be ſo well juſtified as that by which he fell. He endeavoured to ſupplant his brother the Duke of Somerſet, in the firſt year of his nephew's reign; he aimed at marrying the Lady Elizabeth, but being defeated in that, he privately eſpouſed the dowager Queen Catherine, who it was ſtrongly ſuſpected he poiſoned. He then renewed his addreſſes to the Lady Elizabeth, engaged the Maſter of the Mint to cheat the King of ten thouſand pounds a month, to enable him to raiſe a rebellion; and the very laſt words he ſpoke before his execution were, to direct his ſervant to carry two letters which he had written, to excite the Ladies Mary and Elizabeth to revenge his death upon the Protector. It was his own knowledge of this man's crimes, and not Mr. Cecil's inſinuations, that induced the pious martyr Latimer to ſpeak againſt him in his ſermons (44). As for Mr. Cecil's attachment to the Duke of Somerſet, he loſt his liberty and his office for him; and before his laſt troubles began, the Duke was ſo far from ſuſpecting Cecil, that he ſent for, and communicated his fears to him; upon which he made him this anſwer (45), *That if he was innocent he might truſt to that, and if he was otherwiſe he could but pity him*; which does indeed prove the Secretary's prudence, but without the leaſt prejudice to his integrity. As for the latter part of this libel, it will be cleared up by conſidering what is ſaid in the text of his diſlike to the whole proceeding, with regard to King Edward's will, founded upon inconteſtable authorities.

(43) Extract of a ſeditious Treatiſe, written in Latin, and publiſhed in the Low Countries under the feigned name of *Philopatris*, ſent by one of the Lord Treaſurer's ſervants by way of information.

(44) Strype's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 476, 477.

(45) King Edward's Journal of his own Reign.

rather

rather to uſe the Secretary with the utmoſt civility, than to aim at giving him any uneaſineſs (*c*). Neither is there any neceſſity of recurring to any ſiniſter motives, to account for that high regard ſhown by this powerful favourite to our riſing Stateſman; ſince while all the reſt of the Courtiers almoſt were involved in factions and intrigues, he conſtantly attended the buſineſs of his office. He was appointed one of the Commiſſioners for eſtabliſhing a new body of Eccleſiaſtical Laws, and though Sir John Hayward affirms that this came to nothing (*e*), yet in that, as well as in many other things, he was miſtaken (*f*). Secretary Cecil was alſo very aſſiduous in ſettling the debts of the Crown (*g*), and in contriving ways and means for their diſcharge; and, which muſt appear ſomewhat ſtrange, conſidering the confuſion of the times, he, at this juncture, framed a ſcheme for the benefit of trade, which ought to render his memory immortal [G]. It appears plainly, that notwithſtanding the great favour the Secretary ſtood in with his maſter, and the court that was paid him upon this account by the greateſt men, yet he neither made private advantages to himſelf by grants, nor would he hinder in any manner the fortunes of other men, as is clear from his conſenting to the appointment of Sir John Cheke, Third Secretary, with Sir William Petre and himſelf; and as that gentleman was his brother-in-law, it is very probable that he was inſtrumental in his promotion (*h*). On the 12th of April, 1553, Sir William Cecil was made Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, with an annual fee of an hundred marks, a very moderate reward ſurely for his many and great ſervices (*i*). In reference to the diſpoſition of the Crown, made by the King his maſter to the Lady Jane Grey, eldeſt daughter of Frances Ducheſs of Suffolk, who was alſo the eldeſt daughter of Mary, Queen-Dowager of France, and Ducheſs of Suffolk, younger ſiſter to Henry VIII. it was an affair in contriving of which he had no concern; but, on the contrary, when he diſcovered it in agitation, he made ſuch a diſpoſition of his effects as he thought proper for their ſecurity, in caſe he was impriſoned or obliged to leave the kingdom (*k*). A certain author indeed charges him with having a great hand in it, and with drawing moſt of the papers relating to that ſettlement, but without any colour of juſtice; for the inſtrument was drawn by the Judges, who thought to ſecure themſelves from being anſwerable for what they did by taking out the King's pardon (*l*). Sir William Cecil, when he was deſired to ſign this inſtrument, as a Privy-Counſellor, by the King himſelf, refuſed to do it, but, at his Majeſty's earneſt entreaty, ſubſcribed ſimply as a witneſs of the King's ſigning (*m*). After the deceaſe of King Edward, the Duke of Northumberland would have had him draw the Proclamation of his daughter-in-law, declaring her title, and ſhewing the legality of it; but Sir William very judiciouſly obſerved, that this was entirely out of his province, and ſo transferred it upon the Attorney and Solicitor-General as better ſkilled in the Law. The Duke would afterwards have put him upon writing a letter in juſtification of the Lady Jane's title, in which Queen Mary was to be treated as a

(*c*) See the Life of Sir Thomas Smith, by Mr. Strype.

(*e*) Hayward's Life and Reign of Edward VI. in Kennet's Compl. Hiſt. of England, vol. ii. p. 236, 237.

(*f*) Strype's Eccleſiaſtical Memorials, vol. ii. p. 479.

(*g*) A Compleat View of what the King owed in the month of Feb. 1551, from the MS. of Sir William Cecil, is inſerted in the 9th chapter of the ſecond Book of Strype's Memorials of the reign of Edward VI.

(*h*) See the Life of Sir John Cheke, p. 135.

(*i*) Strype's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 506. Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xv. p. 330.

(*k*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. vol. ii. p. 223, 224.

(*l*) Sir John Hayward's Hiſt. of the Life and Reign of Edward VI. as before cited.

(*m*) This is taken from an account of that whole tranſaction drawn up by order of Sir William Cecil himſelf, for clearing up his conduct in that affair.

[G] *Which ought to render his memory immortal.*] It was at this juncture that the liberties of the Merchants of the Steel-yard were ſeized into the hands of the Crown, whence we may date all the beneficial trade of this kingdom (46). It is true, that our commodities and manufactures were exported before, and it is likewiſe true, that corporations multiplied apace; that new trades were continually ſpringing up, and that a ſpirit of induſtry began to diffuſe itſelf through the nation. Yet our commerce was in a bad ſituation, we had hardly any ſhipping, the ſtaple of our woollen trade was at Antwerp, the Italians remitted our money, and the Germans and Flemings carried on the whole trade of export and import; ſo that while we were in this wretched ſituation the people laboured and ſweated, and the ſtrangers ran away with all. A very few Engliſh merchants there were, and they took abundance of pains to give the government ſome light into this affair; and Sir William Cecil comprehending what they ſaid, ſupported their cauſe ſo well in council, that they carried their point againſt the foreign merchants; by which I may venture to ſay, the commerce of this iſland was ſet free: not that I concur in the common opinion, of there being little or no traffick before the reign of Queen Elizabeth, but becauſe I am ſatisfied, from a very laborious enquiry into this matter, that though the trade of England was very conſiderable even then, yet the trade of the Engliſh was very inſignificant, and muſt have continued ſo, if it had not been for this bold ſtep: which ſhows how much good ſtateſmen may do to their country, when they really mean it well, and take pains to inform themſelves how it's welfare may be promoted. But beſides this, Sir William Cecil was the patron of another project, which though it was not brought to bear, yet plainly ſhews how indefatigable he was in conſulting the publick good. This project conſiſted in aboliſhing the ſtaple at Antwerp, and opening two free ports in England, *viz.* Southampton and Hull. There is ſtill extant a paper, containing the whole of this ſcheme, digeſted in the cleareſt method poſſible; ſhowing upon what motives the ſtaple at Antwerp ought to be ſuppreſſed, how far that conjuncture was favourable to ſuch a deſign, the reaſons why Southampton and Hull were made choice of, in preference to other parts, the favourable conſequences that might be expected from ſuch eſtabliſhments, and the danger and difficulties that were to be apprehended in making this attempt, with their remedies. We may hence diſcern, that Sir William Cecil was none of thoſe haſty miniſters, who after taking a ſcheme into their heads, or having it propoſed to them, proceed all at once to carry it into execution, without weighing or conſidering it's conſequences; but a wiſe and prudent manager, who took care to examine every undertaking to the bottom, by viewing it in all the lights poſſible. The troubles and perplexities of that reign ariſing from factions at home, and the unſettled ſtate of things abroad, prevented him at this time from performing, what, upon mature deliberation, he judged beneficial for the nation. But he never loſt ſight of his deſign, or abandoned his care of trade, till by degrees, and as occaſions offered, he delivered it from moſt of thoſe difficulties and embarraſſments with which, till this time, it had been encumbered; and therefore we had reaſon to ſay in the text, that his conduct in this reſpect ought, amongſt a wiſe, free, and grateful people, to render his memory immortal.

(46) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformat. vol. ii. p. 207. Sir John Hayward's Life and Reign of Edward VI. p. 326. Strype's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 330.

baſtard;

baſtard; but he plainly refuſed him, and his example being followed by every body elſe, the Duke was forced to draw it himſelf (*n*). All this time the Privy-Counſellors were in the Tower, and looked upon themſelves as little better than priſoners, which put Sir William upon contriving means for their eſcape, which was effected after the Duke of Northumberland's march into Cambridgeſhire, by aſſembling the Privy-Council at the Earl of Pembroke's houſe, called Baynard Caſtle, where moſt of thoſe who met declared for Queen Mary, the Earl of Arundel and Lord Paget going off to her that very night, and Sir William Cecil followed the next day; and though ſome attempts had been made to prejudice him in her Majeſty's favour, yet he was very graciouſly received, and with very good reaſon (*o*) [*H*]. But as he very well knew that he had many powerful enemies, and foreſaw the complexion of the enſuing reign, he made uſe of this early favour to obtain a general pardon (*p*). It is ſcarcely to be doubted, that if he would have changed his religion, he might have continued in his office, but he choſe to loſe this that he might keep that. He did not however apprehend, that his having no ſhare in the miniſtry, obliged him either to oppoſe thoſe who had, or to forget the perſonal friendſhip and great intimacy in which he had lived with many of them, which therefore he kept up; and being well acquainted with the moderate and mild diſpoſition of Cardinal Pole, he conſented to go with the Lord Paget and Mr. Haſtings to invite him to England; which he accordingly did, and returned with him November 23, 1554 (*q*), in hopes that he might balance the power of Dr. Stephen Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, Lord High-Chancellor, and Prime-Miniſter to Queen Mary; a Prelate of great abilities, but very zealous for the religion and power of the Church of Rome, though he had not been always of that opinion (*r*). In the month of May 1555, he attended the Cardinal, with other Lords commiſſioned to treat of a peace, and remained beyond the ſeas two months (*s*). After his return, a Parliament being ſummoned to meet the twenty-firſt of October following, he was choſen Knight of the Shire for the county of Lincoln, and behaved in the Houſe of Commons, not only with great freedom and firmneſs, but with much ſpirit and vivacity, having a large ſhare in a debate which produced the rejecting of a bill from the Houſe of Lords, for confiſcating the eſtates of ſuch as had quitted the kingdom on the ſcore of religion (*t*). This behaviour, as it might be naturally expected, created him ſome trouble, out of which however he extricated himſelf by his great addreſs, without the loſs either of liberty or of reputation (*u*) [*I*]. He was again choſen to repreſent the county

(*n*) Strype's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 476.

(*o*) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(*p*) Sir William Cecil's Vindication of his own conduct.

(*q*) Lord Burleigh's Diary.

(*r*) Sir Thomas Smith's Life, by Mr. Strype.

(*s*) Lord Burleigh's Diary.

(*t*) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(*u*) See this matter clearly explained in the note.

[*H*] *And with very good reaſon.*] There is ſomething very ſingular in the account which a celebrated hiſtorian has been pleaſed to give us of Sir William Cecil's behaviour: for after telling us, that he waited upon the Queen, was graciouſly received, and might have kept his employment, if he would have complied ſo far as to have declared himſelf of her Majeſty's religion, he cloſes theſe matters of fact with the following remark (47). 'He was nevertheleſs expoſed to 'no perſecution on account of his religion, whether 'his artful behaviour gave no advantages againſt him, 'or his particular merit procured him a diſtinction 'above all other Proteſtants.' As to the artfulneſs of his behaviour, it will beſt appear from the anſwer he gave to thoſe honourable perſons, who by command of the Queen communed with him on this ſubject, to whom he declared, 'That he thought himſelf bound 'to ſerve God firſt, and next the Queen; but if her 'ſervice ſhould put him out of God's ſervice, he hoped 'her Majeſty would give him leave to chuſe an ever-'laſting, rather than a momentary ſervice; and as 'for the Queen, ſhe had been his ſo gracious Lady, 'that he would ever ſerve and pray for her in his 'heart, and with his body and goods be as ready to 'ſerve in her defence as any of her loyal ſubjects, ſo 'ſhe would pleaſe to grant him leave to uſe his con-'ſcience to himſelf, and ſerve her at large as a pri-'vate man, which he choſe rather than to be her 'greateſt counſellor (48).' The Queen took him at his word, and this was all the art Sir William uſed to procure liberty of conſcience for himſelf; unleſs we ſhould call it art, that he behaved himſelf with much prudence and circumſpection afterwards. We may add to this however, that the remark is falſe in fact, as well as capable of being taken in a ſiniſter ſenſe; for there were many other Proteſtants treated with the like indulgence, ſuch as Sir Thomas Smith, who had been alſo Secretary of State, and who had treated both Gardiner and Bonner roughly enough in the days of King Edward, and yet was not only ſuffered to live in peace, but alſo had a penſion given him of one hundred pounds per annum (49). The famous Roger Aſcham alſo, who had been Latin Secretary to King Edward, enjoyed both his freedom and his employment; and this by the favour of Stephen Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, as is plain from the letter he wrote to that prelate, to deſire his favour (50). It is therefore not unkind barely, but unjuſt, to repreſent Sir William Cecil as the only Proteſtant unperſecuted under the reign of Queen Mary, and as particularly diſtinguiſhed in that reſpect; whereas others ſhared the ſame liberty, and were even better treated than he.

(47) Rapin's Hiſt. of England, vol. ii. p. 62.

(48) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(49) Strype's Life of Sir Thom a Smith.

(50) Aſchami Epiſtolæ, p. 263.

[*I*] *Without the loſs either of liberty or of reputation.*] The buſineſs particularly mentioned in the text was occaſioned by Sir William's oppoſition to the bill, for confiſcating Proteſtants eſtates, and ſome warm ſpeeches the ſame day on other ſubjects, but more eſpecially in relation to a money-bill, in all which Sir William Cecil delivered himſelf frankly againſt the conduct of the adminiſtration. One day, ſays the author of his life, when he had ſpoken with more than ordinary applauſe, Sir Anthony Kingſton, Sir William Courtney, Sir John Pollard, and ſeveral other members, invited themſelves to dinner with him. Sir William ſaid they ſhould be welcome, provided they ſaid nothing at table of parliamentary affairs, to which they agreed. At dinner, however, ſome of them talked a little too freely, for which Sir William reproved them, and charged them with breach of promiſe. The Privy-Council had intelligence of all that paſſed, and ſending for the knights and gentlemen committed them all, reſerving Sir William Cecil to be laſt examined. As ſoon as he came into the room, and had paid his obedience to the Council, he made it his humble requeſt, that they would not treat him as they had done the reſt, which he owned he thought was a little ſevere, *viz.* in committing them firſt, that they might hear them afterwards; whereas it was his ſuit, to be heard firſt, and if then there ſhould appear juſt cauſe he was content to be committed. 'You ſpeak, Sir William, 'ſaid Lord Paget, like a man of experience, go on.' Sir William making uſe of this licence proceeded to ſet the affair in ſuch a light, that by the conſent of all the Council he was diſcharged (51). But neither the riſque he ran upon this occaſion, or the violent

(51) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

county of Lincoln in the laſt Parliament of this reign, in which he obſerved the ſame ſteady conduct; and while he was thus employed in the ſervice of his country openly, he entertained a private correſpondence with the Lady Elizabeth, the preſumptive heir of the Crown, to whom he gave ſuch notices from time to time, as were highly uſeful to her in her diſtreſſed circumſtances (*w*). As this could not be done without danger to himſelf, ſo it was very gratefully as well as graciouſly acknowledged by that Princeſs on her acceſſion to the throne, November 16, 1558 (*x*). The firſt ſervice that he rendered her was, upon the very day that ſhe became Queen, by preſenting her with a paper, conſiſting of twelve particulars which were neceſſary for her to diſpatch immediately (*y*). At the time of her ſiſter's deceaſe, Queen Elizabeth was at her manor of Hatfield, whither before it was long, moſt of the great men repaired to her; and on the twentieth of the ſame month her Council was formed, when Sir William Cecil was firſt ſworn Privy-Counſellor and Secretary of State; and as he entered thus early into his Sovereign's favour, ſo he continued in it as long as he lived; which if in one ſenſe it does honour to the abilities and ſervices of Cecil, it was in another no leſs glorious to the Queen his miſtreſs, who, in this reſpect, did not act from any ſpirit of partiality or of prepoſſeſſion, but with that wiſdom and prudence which directed her judgment in all things (*z*). She ſaw plainly that Sir William Cecil's intereſts were interwoven with her own, and ſhe very judiciouſly diſcerned, that he was fitteſt to be her Counſellor, whoſe private ſafety muſt depend upon the ſucceſs of the counſel he gave. It was neceſſary to make theſe remarks, becauſe it ſhews the reader the true ſtate in which he ſtood with his miſtreſs; for though there were other perſons, who were ſometimes as great or greater favourites than Cecil, yet he was the only miniſter whom ſhe always conſulted, and whoſe advice ſhe very rarely rejected (*a*). The very firſt thing he adviſed was to call a Parliament, and the firſt thing he propoſed to be done there was the ſettlement of religion; in reference to which he cauſed a plan of Reformation to be drawn, with equal circumſpection and moderation; for though no man was a more ſincere Proteſtant, yet he had no vindictive prejudices againſt Papiſts; nor did he, on the other hand, lay any greater weight upon indifferent things, than he judged abſolutely neceſſary for preſerving decency and order; for he very well knew, that without an Eſtabliſhed Church the State could not at that time ſubſiſt: and whoever conſiders the ſhare he had in eſtabliſhing it, and has a juſt veneration for that wiſe and excellent eſtabliſhment, cannot but allow, that the moſt grateful reverence is due to his memory (*b*) [*K*]. The conſtant and daily buſineſs of his office, which,

(*w*) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(*x*) Camden. Annal. p. 26.

(*y*) Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 5.

(*z*) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia.

(*a*) Life of Lord Burleigh.

(*b*) Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 82. Oſborne's traditional Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. Strype's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 246.

counſels that prevailed in the latter part of Queen Mary's reign, could deter him from rendering his country ſervice in that ſtation in which he had alone power to act, ſince Popery became again the eſtabliſhed religion. His own account of this matter, ſet down by way of remark in his diary, will at once ſhow the ſituation he was in, and his ſentiments on that ſituation, and therefore I ſhall tranſcribe it, as more ſatisfactory than any thing that could be offered on this head by another pen (52). xxi *Octobris* 1555, *comitia erant celebrata Weſtmonaſterio in quibus ego interfui, aliquo eum periculo. Nam quamquam invitus electus fueram, ut eques conſularis pro Lincolnicenſi provincia, tamen in illo conſeſſu libere ſententiam dixi, unde odium mihi peperi. Sed melius fuit obedire Deo quam hominibus.* 'On the 21ſt of October the parliament 'met at Weſtminſter, in which, not without ſome 'danger, I diſcharged my duty as a member. For 'though I ſought it not, yet being returned knight 'for the county of Lincoln, I ſpoke my mind freely, 'whereby I incurred ſome diſpleaſure. But better 'it is to obey God than men.' It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that this voluntary choice of Sir William Cecil for the county of Lincoln, both in this and in the ſucceeding parliament, which was the laſt of that reign, does equal honour to him, and to thoſe who choſe him; for even at that time of day, the court exerted both art and power in order to carry it's point in parliament; and it plainly appears, from the collections of ſtate papers (53), and private letters relating to thoſe times, that both the influence of miniſters, and downright corruption, were employed to gain the members to compliance, as alſo to engage the people to chooſe members that would comply (54). The proceeding therefore of ſo great a county as Lincoln in ſuch a caſe, was a clear proof, that the men of property therein had eſcaped the contagion; and that theſe uncorrupt perſons ſhould without any ſolicitation, or even application, of Sir Wiliam Cecil, fix upon him to be knight for their ſhire, is a noble teſtimony of his merit; as it very clearly proves, that he was thought a man of the greateſt candour and courage by thoſe who knew him beſt, and who, as they were incorruptible themſelves, would moſt certainly take care in their choice to have ſuch a repreſentative as they thought above corruption.

(52) Lord Burleigh's MS. Diary.

(53) Strype's Memorials, vol. iii. in the Collection of Records.

(54) Collection of State Papers in the hands of J.C.

[*K*] *The moſt grateful reverence is due to his memory.*] We have an account from Camden of the wiſdom and prudence of this reformation, and he gives a ſuccinct account of the heads of that famous paper which was drawn up for the management of it (55). This paper is alſo mentioned by Burnet in his Hiſtory of the Reformation (56), and is actually inſerted in his collection of records (57), and there is another copy of it printed by Strype (58); but it is not yet agreed who was the author of this paper. Some think it was John Hales, others aſcribe it to Mr. Beale, Clerk of the Council; but Strype is rather inclined to think it was penned by Sir Thomas Smith: the title of it is, *The Device for the* alteration *of* religion *in the firſt year of Queen* Elizabeth, *offered to Secretary* Cecil. It conſiſts of *ſeven* queſtions, all of them very ſhort, propounding the principal things to be done towards a Reformation, with their anſwers, at large. Two things are certain with regard to this paper, firſt, that it was the baſis of all that was afterwards done in parliament; and ſecondly, that it was offered to the Queen, and ſome of her principal miniſters, by Secretary Cecil. To me, I muſt confeſs, it is very apparent, that it was either written by, or under the direction of, Sir William Cecil himſelf, though he took the neceſſary precaution of making it paſs for a thing propoſed to him, that he might not ſeem too aſſuming, and that he might not be obliged to enter into the defence of every particular in it, if the Queen or her miniſters, had thought proper to vary it in any reſpect. In parliament he argued for every part of it learnedly and clearly, and it was his advice that all ſuch as were affected to Popery, might be allowed to ſpeak freely upon that occaſion; which they did, and fiercely too, but with very little weight; ſo that all that was done had not only the outward form and appearance of a legal and conſtitutional ſanction, but really and truly received it, without any interpoſition of force, of influence, or of corruption (59). This great ſtateſman himſelf, in a treatiſe upon the Felicities of the Queen his Miſtreſs's reign, ſets down, as one of the firſt, her ſettlement of religion, of which he

(55) Annal. Eliz. p. 30, 31, 32.

(56) Hiſt. Reformation, vol. ii. p. 377.

(57) Collection of Records, p. 327.

(58) Annals of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 4. in the Appendix.

(59) Memoirs of the Adminiſtration of William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, p. 29, 30.

which, to have diſpatched in the manner he did, would have taken up all another man's time, and actually took up a very large proportion of his, did not, however, hinder him from interpoſing in all the great affairs that related to the ſervice of the Crown and the welfare of the nation. Amongſt theſe he very juſtly reckoned the regulation of the coin, which had been debaſed in the reign of Henry VIII. and had been alſo practiſed upon in that of Edward VI. to ſuch a degree, as to be thought paſt reſtoring; and an attempt being made for that purpoſe which miſcarried, in the reign of Queen Mary, the impoſſibility of doing any good in it, paſſed, at this time, for a thing certain (*c*). But it was Cecil's maxim that whatever was neceſſary muſt be expedient, and therefore he perſuaded the Queen to ſet about it without delay, which ſhe did; and though the deſign was not immediately brought to perfection, yet the ſucceſs that attended this firſt ſtep gave very great hopes, and at laſt his ſcheme took effect entirely; which, to thoſe who are proper judges, will not only appear a great felicity, but one of the moſt important in this reign [*L*]. As he contributed by this ſtep very much to the ſettling of affairs at home, by removing many of the difficulties, which, though they were ſeverely felt, had never been underſtood, or their true cauſe diſcovered, ſo he was very far from neglecting affairs abroad, which were alſo exceſſively embroiled, Spain being already a ſecret, and France a declared, enemy, with the advantage of having Scotland much in her power, and a very plauſible pretence from the Queen of Scotland's marriage to have it wholly; ſo by Cecil's advice the Queen looked cloſely to what was neareſt, and took thoſe under her protection who ſtood up for the Reformed Religion in Scotland; well knowing that ſhe had it in her power to ſupport her friends there with much leſs trouble and expence than the French, and in the mean time ſuffered the buſineſs of a general peace to proceed in the ſlow way of a negociation, in which Spain pretended to have the Queen's concerns at heart, but with little ſincerity (*d*). When the French found that the oppoſition in Scotland was not to be got over by any force that they could ſpare, they began to try another method, and their Ambaſſador at London was directed to propoſe to Queen Elizabeth the yielding up of Calais. The loſs of this town was ſaid to have broken Queen Mary's heart, the reſtitution had been vigorouſly inſiſted upon by Queen Elizabeth, and the Spaniards themſelves, to keep up a ſhew of good intention, for ſome time ſupported her inſtances upon this head; yet now, when ſhe might have had it without any obligation to the Spaniard, ſhe anſwered very ſteadily and wiſely, That ſhe would not deſert her friends for a paltry fiſhing-town (*e*). The French, upon this, finding ſhe would not go their way were obliged to go her's, and to offer a negociation in Scotland for reſtoring the peace of that kingdom. This was very readily accepted; Sir William Cecil and other Commiſſioners were diſpatched into that country, and by concluding the convention of Leith, and the treaty of Edinburgh, raiſed their miſtreſs's reputation, and ſecured the peace of the kingdom on that ſide (*f*). Upon his return he was received with great marks of eſteem by his Sovereign, who, upon the death of her good ſervant and faithful Counſellor Sir Thomas Perry, beſtowed his place of Maſter of the Wards, Jan. 10,

(*c*) Life of Lord Burleigh.

(*d*) Camden. Annal. p. 40.

(*e*) Life of Lord Burleigh.

(*f*) Camden. Annal. p. 66, 67.

he ſpeaks with great modeſty, and moderation, affirming, that the Queen ever declined the title of Head of the Church, though ſhe deſired to be eſteemed, what of right ſhe was, the ſovereign of all her ſubjects, eccleſiaſtical as well as civil. Of his own concern in this buſineſs he is altogether ſilent; but it appears from the moſt authentick papers, that he was the principal manager of it, both in reſpect of matter and manner (60). He was the promoter of all things in the Houſe of Commons; by his direction bills were propoſed in the Houſe of Peers; he thought of Dr. Parker for Archbiſhop of Canterbury; and upon the whole, Strype had reaſon to ſay as he does, 'There was indeed great oppoſition made to the 'formation of religion by many men at court; and 'had it not been for Cecil's diligence, wiſdom, and 'intereſt with the Queen, in all likelihood, it had 'not proceeded with that roundneſs it did.' *This*, ſays he, *I ſet down here as a debt of gratitude, owing from this* Church *to his* memory (61).

(60) Life of Lord Burleigh. Meditation on the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, by Lord Burleigh, MS.

(61) Annals of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 82.

[*L*] *But one of the moſt important in this reign.*] We are told by the author of his life, that it was a common ſaying of this great man, *That a kingdom cannot be rich while it's coin is baſe* (62). He had indeed extraordinary judgment in things of this kind; and even in King Edward's time he had conſidered the matter very maturely; for it was with a view to this that he engaged his learned and worthy friend, Sir Thomas Smith, to write a treatiſe on the value of Roman money; which he accordingly did, and addreſſed it to Sir William Cecil (63). The truth of the matter was, that the coin had been ſcandalouſly debaſed; for the ſhilling, which in the firſt of Henry VIII. contained one hundred and eighteen grains of fine ſilver, was in the latter part of his reign reduced to forty, and in the reign of Edward VI. it was brought down to twenty grains (64). And this was the true cauſe of the ſuppoſed dearneſs of moſt commodities, which though in reality very little raiſed in their value, were however in appearance ſold for four or five times as much money as in former times. But this alteration, like every other meaſure of which he had the direction, was not brought about haſtily, and with violence, but in ſo eaſy, and ſo gentle a manner, that while both the Crown and people bore a ſhare in the burthen of the reformation, yet they eaſed one another ſo much, that the load was hardly felt. By proclamation (65) the value of baſe money was reduced, though not ſo low as it's intrinſick worth. At this rate, which was ſufficient to encourage the ſubject to bring it in, the Queen received it at her mint, and thence iſſued again ſterling ſilver; for during the whole courſe of her Majeſty's reign, gold and ſilver only were coined, and the money of England, from being as bad as any, became very ſoon the faireſt and fineſt in Europe (66). This having opened a paſſage, and made ſuch a thing practicable, the prices of moſt neceſſaries were reduced, that the publick might reap the advantage of ſo wiſe a regulation. There was likewiſe due care taken, that ſoldiers, ſervants, and day-labourers, ſhould be juſtly and regularly paid, and have a ſhort and ſecure remedy againſt any that might attempt to oppreſs them. As to the firſt, it was a common ſaying in the army, during her whole reign, and it was ſurely a ſaying that did honour to her adminiſtration, *viz. The Queen pays* bountifully, *though ſhe rewards* ſparingly (67).

(62) Life of Lord Burleigh.

(63) Life of Sir Thomas Smith, by Strype, and the heads of the treatiſe itſelf, which is now loſt, are to be found in the Appendix.

(64) Mr. Lowndes's Extract from the Mint, in Locke's Diſcourſe upon the Coin, p. 69.

(65) Life of Lord Burleigh.

(66) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 75.

(67) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. i.

1561,

1561, on Sir William Cecil. As there never was a Princeſs more frugal of honours or ſlow in preferments than Queen Elizabeth, ſo the examples of pluralities under her reign were ſo very few, that it is not at all ſurpriſing they were attended with much envy (*g*). Sir William had his ſhare of this while he was Secretary only; but when he was alſo made Maſter of the Wards the clamour grew louder, but without much affecting him, for having enough to do with the Queen's buſineſs and his own, he troubled not himſelf with people's ſpeeches. His new office brought upon him freſh cares and an additional load of buſineſs, which however he went through with patience and diligence, and diſcharged it to the ſatisfaction of all, but thoſe who were reſolved not to be ſatisfied (*b*) [*M*]. It is generally agreed, that Parliaments in this reign were very different from what they have been ſince, and that great points of State were ſeldom ſuffered to come under the conſideration of the Houſe of Commons. There wanted not, however, ſome buſy ſpirits then as well as in ſucceeding times, who flattered themſelves with the hopes of becoming conſiderable, either by pretending to an extraordinary degree of loyalty, or a flaming zeal for their country; and theſe gave the Queen and her Miniſters no ſmall trouble, more eſpecially with regard to the ſucceſſion, a point of which they were very tender, and with very good reaſon; for the Queen being the laſt of her family and unmarried, there wanted not ſome who were deſirous to preſs the change of her condition upon their Miſtreſs, under a colour of love and reſpect; and others again were very ſolicitous to have the ſucceſſion proviſionally ſettled, as a thing equally neceſſary for the Queen's ſecurity, and the tranquillity of her ſubjects (*i*). But Elizabeth was too wiſe to conceive very highly of the fidelity of either of theſe parties, and therefore made it her conſtant ſtudy to quiet both, having very ſubſtantial reaſons againſt declaring in favour of either (*k*). This too was her Miniſter's point, which, though he managed in the Houſe of Commons with great dexterity, and, generally ſpeaking, with good effect, yet he raiſed himſelf thereby many warm enemies amongſt both parties, who perſecuted him with all the bitterneſs and venom imaginable, by defaming him both to his Sovereign and to the people. Sir William Cecil was very ſenſible of this, and yet he was very far from retorting this uſage on his enemies: on the contrary, he was extremely courteous to men of all parties, received whatever informations or complaints were addreſſed to him, and did what he could towards giving every body ſatisfaction, meddling as little as it was poſſible in Court intrigues, and neglecting nothing that fell properly under his care, as a Secretary of State or Privy-Counſellor (*l*) [*N*]. It was very early diſcovered, that, notwithſtanding all his fair pretences, King Philip II. of Spain was very far from being ſincerely well-affected to Queen Elizabeth; nor was that Princeſs appriſed of it earlier by any body than by her Secretary, Cecil, who from time to time

(*g*) Life of Lord Burleigh.

(*b*) See this point fully juſtified in the notes.

(*i*) Camden. Annal. p. 125. Strype, Hollinſhed, Stowe, &c.

(*k*) Camden, ubi ſupra. Oſborne's Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. Strype's Annals.

(*l*) Life of Lord Burleigh.

[*M*] *Who were reſolved not to be ſatisfied.*] His enemies were in hopes that this preferment would have been fatal to him. The poſt of Maſter of the Wards had been always executed by a Lawyer, and becauſe Sir William Cecil profeſſed himſelf none, they were ready to take him at his word, and flattered themſelves they ſhould ſoon find him tripping. Their hopes were much increaſed upon his firſt coming into the court, where it is allowed that he turned all things upſide down; for finding the forms and practice very different from, or rather directly oppoſite to, the rules preſcribed by former maſters, he firſt conſidered them, and finding they were juſt and right, he obliged the practiſers to conform to them (68). They ſtruggled vehemently at the beginning, and talked loudly of the known forms; but Sir William Cecil told them, they muſt ſtick to the known rules, for that theſe would regulate both his conduct and theirs. Whereas by the other method they were parties, practiſers, and judges, all at once, which for his own dignity, the eaſe of the ſuitors, and the credit of the court, he could not allow (69). His method was, to hear patiently all that could be alledged without haſtily declaring his own opinion; but he held the Lawyers to the point, and would not let them digreſs to ſhow their eloquence or their wit. His decrees were ſhort and plain, which he delivered firſt ſlowly, and with much ſolemnity; and then in a clear and regular method, he delivered the reaſons of his decree, from point to point, and would always have the latter entered with the former. He raiſed the Queen's revenue, and reformed many abuſes, but without bearing hard upon the ſubject, or making his court odious to the nobility. Contempts of the court, which before had been regarded as matters of practice, he treated ſeriouſly and ſeverely; for he ſaid, that even thoſe who could not do, were under no neceſſity of declining juſtice; and that, as he did not ſit there to oppreſs, ſo he would not be trifled with, or ſuffer the Queen's authority to be deſpiſed. He kept alſo the ſheriffs, and all the officers of the court, in great awe; and as he was very exact himſelf, ſo he loved and expected punctuality in others (70). He willingly heard the Lawyers argue in any court where he ſat, and would often argue himſelf, with great weight and perſpicuity. Yet his ſkill in the Law ſerved, in his private capacity, to no other purpoſe, than to keep clear of it; for it is ſaid, that in his whole life-time he never ſued or was ſued (71). So exact was his regard to juſtice, and ſo extenſive his patience.

(68) Life of Lord Burleigh.

(69) Remarks on the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, and upon the Character of her principal Miniſters. Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(70) Memoirs of William Cecil Lord Burleigh, p. 35, 36.

(71) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

[*N*] *As a Secretary of State or Privy-Counſellor.*] It might be imagined, that the great reſerve which Sir William Cecil conſtantly kept upon the ſubject of the ſucceſſion, might poſſibly ariſe from his complaiſance, or deference, for the behaviour of the Queen his miſtreſs; but it ſeems more likely, that his advice influenced her behaviour, in reference to this ticklish point. There were no leſs than three claimants publickly mentioned, *viz.* the Queen of Scots, the family of Haſtings, and the family of Suffolk; and the partizans of each of theſe were equally vehement and loud (72). The Queen obſerved a kind of neutrality, but ſtill in ſuch a manner, as ſufficiently intimated ſhe favoured the firſt title, or rather looked upon it as the beſt, notwithſtanding the jealouſies ſhe had of her preſumptive ſucceſſor. This appeared by her confining John Hales, who wrote a book in defence of the Suffolk line (73), and by impriſoning one Thornton, upon the complaint of the Queen of Scots (74), for writing againſt her title. The Secretary kept himſelf clear of theſe buſineſſes, and never gave the leaſt intimation of his own ſentiments, farther than that he wiſhed the queſtion of the ſucceſſion might reſt during the Queen's life, or till ſhe thought proper to determine it in a legal way; for thus much we find delivered in ſome of his diſcourſes, all, or moſt of which, I ſuppoſe, to have been brought to the Queen's ear or eye, as being calculated entirely for her ſervice (75).

(72) See Leiceſter's Commonwealth. Doleman's Treatiſe of the Succeſſion, and other pieces of the like kind.

(73) Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 410.

(74) Camd. Annal. Eliz. p. 128.

(75) A Meditation of the State of England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, by the Lord Treaſurer of England, the Lord Burleigh, MS.

laid before her the diſcoveries that were made of his Catholick Majeſty's practices, and the reaſons ſhe had to apprehend, that he meant to do her ſtill worſe offices than thoſe he had done already. Yet the Secretary conſtantly adviſed the Queen not to break with that Monarch, but to diſſemble her ſenſe of his ill uſage; and at the ſame time propoſed ſending the Lord Vicount Montacute at the head of an embaſſy into Spain, that from time to time ſhe might find new pretences for negociations, rather than be obliged to commit hoſtilities (*m*). This the enemies of Cecil repreſented as the effects of a weak and timorous diſpoſition, detrimental to the Queen's credit abroad, and injurious to the glory of the nation. But in regard to the French, Sir William Cecil purſued quite another conduct; for he had adviſed the Queen to liſten to the propoſals made by the Proteſtants in that kingdom, and to aſſiſt them with ſhips, men, and ammunition, as well as money, which ſhe accordingly did; and this proved the cauſe of new clamours; for thoſe who before held him fearful and puſillanimous, charged him now with raſhneſs and diſregard of the public ſafety; whereas, in fact, he acted very conſiſtently in both buſineſſes (*n*). He thought the power of the King of Spain too great to be diſputed with till that of his Miſtreſs was better eſtabliſhed: but he judged otherwiſe of the ſtate of the French, and was willing that the Engliſh troops ſhould gain experience, and the navy ſtrength, at the expence of a foreign power, that for many years had been practiſing againſt the ſafety of his country (*o*). It is very probable, that the moſt potent of his enemies were well enough appriſed of the reaſons by which he ſupported the advices he gave to the Queen: but, as parties are very ſeldom guided by any principle, when they found themſelves, as they thought, ſtrong enough, they made no ſcruple of attacking him with all the violence imaginable; in order to which, they repreſented the ſtate of public affairs as very dangerous, and in a manner deſperate, and charged him with being the author of all the meaſures by which they became ſo: but the Queen was too wiſe to be deceived by ſuch ſtories, and a Princeſs of too great ſpirit, to give up a Miniſter who had ſerved her faithfully, to reſentments which he had drawn upon himſelf by his fidelity in her ſervice (*p*) [*O*]. One would have imagined, that this would have ſecured Sir William Cecil from any future attacks of the like kind; but it was very far from having this effect; for as it ſhewed the Queen's high eſteem of his perſon and counſels, ſo it raiſed the malice and jealouſy of the Earl of Leiceſter, his principal competitor, to the utmoſt height; and therefore he was a conſtant ſpy upon all his actions, and left no method untried to bring about his diſgrace. Some years after, another opportunity preſented itſelf which Leiceſter determined to make uſe of (*q*). Some Spaniſh ſhips, having great treaſure on board, put into the Engliſh ports to ſecure it from the French, and afterwards landed it, the Queen's officers aſſiſting, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador ſolemnly affirming it was his maſter's money, and that he was ſending it into the Netherlands for the pay of his army. The Secretary, in the mean time, received advice, that not one piece of eight belonged to the King of Spain; but that it was the money of ſome Genoeſe Bankers, who were in the greateſt terror leſt the Duke of Alva ſhould convert the ſame to his Maſter's uſe, in order to carry on ſome great deſign, which the Court of Spain kept as an impenetrable ſecret. Sir William Cecil therefore adviſed the Queen to take the money herſelf and give the Genoeſe ſecurity for it, by which method he ſhewed her, that ſhe would greatly advantage her own affairs, diſtreſs the Spaniards, relieve the Netherlands, and wrong no body (*r*). The Queen took his advice, upon which the Duke of Alva ſeized the effects of the Engliſh in the Netherlands, the Queen made repriſals, and out of them immediately indemnified her own merchants. The Spaniſh Ambaſſador at London kept no meaſures upon this occaſion. He gave Secretary Cecil ill language at the Council-Table, and libelled the Queen, by appealing to the people againſt their Sovereign's adminiſtration (*s*). This produced a great deal of diſturbance, and Leiceſter and his party took care to have it publiſhed every where, that Cecil was the ſole author of this counſel. While things were in this ferment, Leiceſter held a private conſultation with the Lords he had drawn to his intereſt, wherein he propoſed that they ſhould take this occaſion of removing a man, whom they unanimouſly hated. Some of the Lords enquiring How this could be done? Sir Nicholas Throgmorton anſwered, 'Let him be charged with ſome matter or other in Council when the Queen is not pre-'ſent, commit him to the Tower thereupon, and when he is once in priſon we ſhall find

(*m*) Camden's Annal. p. 70.

(*n*) Strype, Hollinſhed, Stow, &c.

(*o*) Life of Lord Burleigh.

(*p*) See this point clearly explained in the notes [*O*] and [*P*].

(*q*) Memoirs of the Life and Adminiſtration of William Cecil Baron Burleigh, p. 47.

(*r*) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia.

(*s*) Camden. Annal. p. 177.

[*O*] *By his fidelity in her ſervice.*] It is not a little uncertain when this firſt attempt was made againſt Sir William Cecil; but in all probability, as it aroſe on the ſcore of the ſuccours and money which the Queen ſent to France, it might be in the year 1562, when that matter was upon the carpet; for at that time there were abundance of ſtories ſpread about to the Secretary's diſadvantage; and this not only without regard to truth, but even with manifeſt contempt of probability; as for inſtance, that he had changed his religion in Queen Mary's time, and laboured to be Secretary, if that Princeſs would have conſented; and that, being diſappointed of his hopes, he correſponded with the Princeſs Elizabeth, and was new modelling the Court entirely to his own mind. Theſe ſtories were circulated by his enemies at home and abroad, to juſtify the attempts that were to be made to drive him out of the Queen's favour: but as ſhe knew better than any body, that what was alledged was directly falſe, that he had never diſſembled his religion, and that the motives to his conduct were very different from thoſe which were ſuggeſted, ſhe readily gueſſed at the true ſources of theſe intrigues, and gave her favourites to underſtand, that ſhe was miſtreſs of her own reſolutions, and would keep, or remove, her Miniſters as ſhe thought proper (76).

(76) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, chap. i.

(t) Life of Lord Burleigh.

'things enow againſt him (t).' It ſo happened, that about this time a flagrant libel being publiſhed againſt the Nobility, Lord Leiceſter cauſed Cecil to be charged before the Council, with either being the author of it, or it's patron; of which he offered no other proof than this, that it had been ſeen on Cecil's table. This the Secretary readily confeſſed, but inſiſted that he looked upon it in the ſame light they did, as a moſt ſcandalous invective; in ſupport of which he produced his own copy with notes on the margin, affirming that he had cauſed a ſtrict enquiry to be made after the author and publiſher of the work (u). All this however would have been but of little uſe to him, if the Queen had not had private notice of their deſign. While therefore the Secretary was defending himſelf, ſhe (little expected, and leſs wiſhed for) entered the Council-Room, and having in few words expreſſed her diſlike of ſuch cabals, preſerved her Miniſter, and ſhewed even Leiceſter himſelf that he could not be overthrown: another ſingular inſtance of the Miniſter's good fortune, and of the Queen's firmneſs (w)[P]. The affair of the Duke of Norfolk's ruin followed, not long after he had been embarked in the faction againſt Cecil; and therefore we find this Miniſter ſometimes charged, though very unjuſtly, with being the author of his misfortunes, a calumny from which he vindicated himſelf with candour, clearneſs, and vivacity (x), as equally abhorring the thoughts of revenge, and hazarding the public ſafety, to facilitate his private advantage. The truth of the matter is, that Cecil had no greater ſhare in the Duke's misfortune, than was neceſſarily impoſed upon him by his office of Secretary, and which conſequently it was not in his power to avoid; to which we may add, that the Duke himſelf was in ſome meaſure acceſſary thereto, by acting under the deluſive influence of his capital enemy as well as Cecil's (y)[Q]. In the mean time that furious rebellion broke out in the North, which in part juſtified the truth of what he ſuggeſted to have been the real deſign of his enemies, when they laid that deep plot for his de-

(u) Memoirs of the Life and Adminiſtration of the Lord Burleigh, p. 48, 49.

(w) Camden. Annal. p. 178.

(x) See the particulars of this in the note.

(y) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 542.

[P] *And of the Queen's firmneſs.*] This ſecond ſcheme, which was carried to a much greater length than the former, or than any of the former, for Camden intimates, that there was more than one deſigned before this againſt Cecil (77), was concerted by the greateſt men in the kingdom, and may be truly conſidered as the ſtrongeſt attack that was ever made upon a Miniſter without bringing him to ruin. The beſt way of repreſenting facts of this nature is, from original writers, who lived in the times when they happened, and of theſe I ſhall produce two: the firſt is a Popiſh writer, who ſets down the matter thus, 'Cecil 'being rejected by Queen Mary got to ſerve the Lady 'Elizabeth, and entered with her when ſhe came to 'the crown, to the change of religion, &c. the Earl 'of Arundel was cozened by him and Bacon, with 'hopes of having the Queen in marriage, &c. Theſe 'proceedings of Cecil and Bacon ſeeming intolerable 'to the antient nobility of the realm, they joined in 'the old Lord Treaſurer's houſe to pull them both from 'her Majeſty by violence, and to hang them at the 'Court gate; but Cecil eſcaped, by abuſing the Duke 'of Norfolk with weeping and fair promiſes, and paid 'him afterwards with cutting off his head, &c (78).' The other account I ſhall mention is from Camden, who, very probably, ſpoke from his own knowledge: he ſays the pretence was, the adviſing the Queen to ſeize the money that was going to the Low-Countries; but that the true reaſon was, that the great men who were concerned in this buſineſs looked upon him as a favourer of the houſe of Suffolk. Theſe great men were the Marquis of Wincheſter, Lord Treaſurer; the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Arundel, Northumberland, Weſtmorland, Pembroke, Leiceſter, and others, and at a ſecret council held by them, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton gave it as his advice, to clap the Secretary into the Tower (79), and when he was once in priſon they ſhould find matter enough againſt him; but the Queen coming in ſuddenly upon them ſpoiled all their projects, and protected her Miniſter from their intended malice. The writer of his life makes this to have ariſen from a ſeditious book that was publiſhed at that time, in which moſt of the Miniſters, and many of the nobility were traduced; and becauſe he had it very early in his cloſet his enemies would have ſuggeſted, that either by his direction, or at leaſt with his privity, it was written; whereas in fact, he procured the book only with an intent to anſwer it: upon this, he ſays, he was called before the Council, with an intention to commit him whatever defence he might make; but that the Secretary being informed of this wrote to the Queen, who thereupon ſent orders that nothing ſhould be done to him without her knowledge, which prevented his being ſent to the Tower (80). As to the book, it is very probable, they knew more of it than he: for it was a libel penned by the Spaniſh Ambaſſador under the feigned name of Amadis Oriana, and contained abundance of ſcandalous reflections upon the Queen herſelf. It is moſt likely, that the Secretary eſcaped this dangerous contrivance, by diſcovering to the Queen what was at the bottom of it, and that was the proclaiming the Queen of Scots heir to the crown, which he well knew was a thing ſhe could not bear (81). The writer of his life ſays, that he had another, and narrower eſcape ſoon after; for a perſon being hired to ſit at the bottom of the ſtairs that led from the Queen's cloſet, and to ſtab him as he came down from thence, he had notice of it barely time enough to ſave himſelf, by going another way (82). Such were the perilous times in which this ſtateſman lived, and ſuch the deſperate politicks of thoſe who were his enemies.

(77) Annal. Eliz. p. 178.

(78) Extract of a Treatiſe written in Latin by John Philopatris.

(79) Camd. Annal. *ubi ſupra.*

(80) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(81) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 178.

(82) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

[Q] *Of his capital enemy as well as Cecil's.*] This Duke of Norfolk, then the only man of that quality in England, was a perſon as much admired for his virtues, and beloved for his amiable qualities, as reſpected for his high birth, and the great influence his rank, and large fortune, gave him (83). He was not, however, without his failings, and certainly he made but an indifferent judgment of men, who truſted Leiceſter and ſuſpected Cecil; which he did to ſuch a degree, that his marriage to the Queen of Scots being ſpoken of in the preſence of the Secretary, the Duke bid him *go prattle that in the Queen's ears*; to which Sir William Cecil mildly anſwered, *That though he was no tale-bearer, yet he ſhould be ready at any time to carry what might render him ſervice, for whom he had as great a regard as for any nobleman in the kingdom* (84). The Duke, who was naturally a worthy and well-natured man, took this kindly, and explained himſelf freely; upon which Sir William Cecil adviſed him to open himſelf to the Queen; and he procured him an opportunity for that purpoſe, which if he had taken, Leiceſter's ſchemes had been overturned, and the Duke had very probably ſaved his own head, and that of the Queen of Scots (85). But he was fatally blinded, and betrayed by Leiceſter. Nor did his once getting out of the Tower, and procuring the Queen's pardon, in which Cecil had a great ſhare, prevent his dipping again into the ſame dangerous practices, which in the end brought him to the ſcaffold in 1572 (86). In ſeveral papers written long after the Duke's death, the Lord Burleigh lamented his fate, and profeſſed the ſincerity of his affection towards him ſo far, as conſiſted with the care of the publick, and his duty to his ſovereign (87).

(83) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 540.

(84) Memoirs of the Adminiſtration of William Lord Burleigh, p. 50.

(85) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 540.

(86) Camden. Annal. p. 255.

(87) Particularly in his Diſcourſe of the Felicities of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, under the title of *A Meditation*, &c.

struction (z); and he returned the Queen his miſtreſs the kindneſſes ſhe had ſhown him in preſerving him from ſo powerful a confederacy, by confounding the devices of his and her enemies, and extinguiſhing the flame of rebellion, though powerfully fomented from abroad, and ſecretly abetted by numbers at home, almoſt as ſoon as it blazed (a); and this, rather by the aſſiſtance afforded by his intelligence, for he was then ſole Secretary, and by the wiſe diſcourſes he penned, for he delighted in ſhowing the nation that they were governed by reaſon, and not by the Queen's will or that of her Miniſters, than by the troops that were employed, which were militia, whoſe cauſe rather than diſcipline was better than that of the rebels. Thus the prudence of Cecil prevailed more than arms, and hindered that defection from becoming general, which the Earl of Weſtmorland's influence in the North made dangerous enough in every particular (b) [R]. After ſo glorious an inſtance, not of his zeal and ability only, but of his ſucceſs in her ſervice, the Queen could not well avoid rewarding him, how ſparing ſoever ſhe might be in conferring honours; and, therefore, in February 1571, ſhe created him Baron of Burleigh, with the univerſal approbation of her ſubjects (c). At this time, as it appeared that he ſtood firm in the Queen's favour, of which none had intereſt enough to diſpoſſeſs him, many who had been formerly either ſecretly or openly his enemies, ſhewed an earneſt deſire of being reconciled, and living for the future upon good terms with him, which, as he was a man of a benevolent diſpoſition, and a great lover of peace, muſt have given him peculiar ſatisfaction (d). Amongſt theſe was Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, of all his adverſaries, the Earl of Leiceſter excepted, the moſt able and the moſt active: but this ſtep is ſaid to have coſt that gentleman dear, for he died not long after ſuddenly, and ſome ſay violently alſo (e). But notwithſtanding this, our great Stateſman was very far from being ſafe; ſince, within a very ſhort time after his being raiſed to the title of Lord Burleigh, another conſpiracy againſt his life was diſcovered by one of the accomplices, which made a very great noiſe, on account of the ſhare that the Spaniſh Ambaſſador had in it, upon whom the two aſſaſſins, Barney and Mather, charged it at their execution (f). For this, and other offences, the ſaid Ambaſſador was ordered to depart the kindom. To comfort the Lord Burleigh under the ſenſe he muſt have of his danger, as well as to reward him for his diligence and fidelity, the Queen, in the month of June 1572, made him Knight of the Garter (g); and in the month of September following, upon the death of the Marquis of Wincheſter, Lord High-Treaſurer, Lord Burleigh was raiſed to that great office (h), which brought with it a new acceſſion of cares, and an additional load of buſineſs; which however he went through with ſo much prudence and patience, as amazed that age, and will hardly be believed in this (i) [S]. If we ſhould particularly take notice of all the great tranſactions in which he had a principal ſhare, this article would ſwell into a Hiſtory; but it is ſufficient for our purpoſe

(z) Biſhop Carleton's thankful Remembrances of God's Mercies, p. 15.

(a) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(b) See an extract of the Life of Pope Pius V. written by Jerom Catena, in Carleton's Remembrances, p. 17.

(c) Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 406. Pat. 14 Eliz. p. 9. Fuller's Holy State, p. 256.

(d) Memoirs of the Adminiſtration of William Lord Burleigh, p. 55.

(e) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 221, 222.

(f) Carleton's Remembrances, p. 33.

(g) Aſhmole's Order of the Garter, p. 715.

(h) Rymer's Fœd. vol. xvi. p. 716. Stowe's Annals, p. 672. Hollinſhed's Chronicle, p. 1864.

(i) See this explained in the note.

[R] *Made dangerous enough in every particular.*] It has been ſaid, and that from inconteſtable authorities, that in the ſuppreſſing of this rebellion Sir William Cecil exerted his abilities to the utmoſt, in three different methods, all of which were extremely well calculated for extinguiſhing this dangerous flame, and for ſecuring the publick peace (88), *viz.* I. By procuring intelligence of the manner in which theſe northern Lords intended to proceed, and of the foreign aids they hoped for, whereby their own meaſures were baffled, and the arrival of foreign troops prevented, as alſo the Queen's forces eaſier raiſed, and better poſted, than they could otherwiſe have been. II. By the publication of honeſt and pathetic writings, addreſſed to the Commons of England, wherein they were ſhewn the folly and danger of ſuch wicked proceedings, the wretched characters thoſe men had on whom they depended, and the miſerable condition they would be in when their attempts ſhould be overthrown, whereby numbers who were inclined to the party were reſtrained within the bounds of their duty, and inclined rather to keep their lives and eſtates in peace, than to hazard both in other folks quarrels. Theſe pieces are yet extant, and ſhew clearly what ſort of writings are beſt ſuited to the minds of the Engliſh nation, as well as what may be expected from an honeſt explanation of meaſures well deſigned. III. The Secretary exerted a ſkill in politicks unknown to any other man or times. He laid hold of the information from various counties of ſtrollers, vagabonds, and idle perſons, and directing a private ſearch on a day certain throughout the kingdom, he ſhut up ſome thouſands of diſorderly people, and thereby preſerved the public peace, and the priſoners themſelves. It was by theſe wiſe, legal, and gentle methods, that he extricated the Queen and the nation, from the terrors of this public calamity, which if it recommended him to his ſovereign's favour, procured alſo the people's applauſe.

(88) Camden, Strype, Stowe, Hollinſhed, Rapin.

[S] *And will hardly be believed in this.*] We will ſtate at once the facts themſelves, and the evidence by which they are ſupported, and this by citing what is ſaid by the writer of his life, who ſpoke only of what he ſaw and knew. This then is his account (89).

(89) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

'The reputation of his juſtice, and of his integrity, 'drew upon him ſuch a multitude of ſuits as was in-'credible, except to us who ſaw it. For beſides all 'buſineſs in Council, or other weighty cauſes, and 'ſuch as were anſwered by word of mouth, there was 'not a day in Term wherein he received not three-'ſcore, fourſcore, or a hundred petitions, which he 'commonly read that night, and gave every man an 'anſwer the next morning as he went to the hall. 'Whence the excellence of his memory was greatly 'admired; for when any of theſe petitioners told him 'their names, or what countrymen they were, he 'preſently entered into the merit of his requeſt, and 'having diſcuſſed it gave him his anſwer. Nor was 'this his practice towards perſons of condition only, 'but he would anſwer the pooreſt ſoul in the world by 'word of mouth: and when at any time he was forced 'to keep his chamber, or his bed, he took order that 'poor ſuitors ſhould ſend in their petitions ſealed. 'Upon every petition he cauſed his anſwer to be writ-'ten on the backſide, and ſubſcribed it with his own 'name. Thus he held on his courſe like himſelf, 'prayed for the poor, honoured by the rich, 'feared by the bad, and loved by the good. To his 'Prince, and country, loyal, and to the ſubjects moſt 'pleaſing. For wondering at his great wiſdom and 'gravity, praiſing his juſtice and integrity, moſt men 'honoured him with the title of Father of the 'Commonwealth.

poſe

poſe to obſerve, that though few Princes ſhewed a greater jealouſy than Queen Elizabeth did of her authority, yet there hardly ever was a Miniſter in this kingdom that had a larger ſhare of power than the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh (*k*). It was by his advice that all foreign affairs were tranſacted, excepting the ſending over the Earl of Leiceſter into Holland, which was the pure effect of that Nobleman's own contrivance (*l*). In all affairs of the Church he was applied to as its ſteady friend and conſtant protector, which was very probably the reaſon, that his competitor Leiceſter ſet himſelf at the head of the Puritans (*m*). As Chancellor of the Univerſity of Cambridge, the Lord Treaſurer had a large province under his peculiar inſpection; and the reſpect which he had for that learned body, ſhewed itſelf by a diligence in promoting their intereſts, compoſing their differences, and preferring their members in ſuch a degree, that upon the peruſal of the addreſſes made to him on this head only, one cannot help admiring, how he could find time to take ſuch conſtant and particular notice of them as he did (*n*). Beſides all this, the buſineſs of the Treaſury was done with the utmoſt ſtrictneſs and punctuality; the diſburſements from thence were made with the greateſt exactneſs, ſo that every body who had any thing to do with the Crown was ſecure of juſtice, as well as obliged to do juſtice (*o*). His Lordſhip heard cauſes alſo in the Exchequer and in the Star-Chamber, aſſiſted conſtantly at the Privy-Council, and in the time of Parliament managed the buſineſs of the Crown in the Houſe of Peers (*p*). The diſcharge of ſuch a variety of duties muſt have been very fatiguing, and yet they were much heightened by other difficulties he had to ſtruggle with. The Popiſh and Spaniſh emiſſaries, but more eſpecially the Jeſuits, were his mortal enemies, and not contented with aſperſing and defaming him at home, publiſhed voluminous libels abroad, of which he had conſtant intelligence, and to which he never failed to give ſober and ſuitable anſwers, and in them defended not only his own cauſe, but the cauſes of other Miniſters, and of his Queen and country alſo (*q*) [*T*]. At Court likewiſe, he was for many years in a ſtate of continual apprehenſion,

(*k*) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, chap. v.

(*l*) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 195.

(*m*) Strype's Annals. Life of Archbiſhop Parker. Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift.

(*n*) See the Letters to, and Anſwer by, the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, in the Appendixes to the ſeveral books cited in the foregoing note.

(*o*) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(*p*) Memoirs of the Adminiſtration of William Lord Burleigh, p. 69.

(*q*) Of theſe there are many publiſhed by Strype and others, but there are many more in MS.

[*T*] *And of his Queen and country alſo.*] There never was a Miniſter, that with ſo much power as Lord Burleigh had, piqued himſelf ſo much upon acting always according to reaſon. We have already mentioned his declaring conſtantly in the Court of Wards, in the Court of Exchequer, and in the Star Chamber, the motives of his decrees; and whenever his public actions were queſtioned, he was no leſs ready to juſtify himſelf in reſpect to them. In general, there came out nothing abroad, there was nothing tranſlated ſent over privately, and diſperſed here at home, to the diſcredit of the Queen's government, or that might contribute to heighten the ſpirit of diſaffection amongſt her ſubjects, but he preſently wrote, or cauſed to be written, an anſwer to it, in which every point was diſtinctly conſidered, and either fully juſtified, or clearly refuted. Of theſe there are many extant in print, ſome known to be his, others not; but there are others which now remain only in manuſcript, though I ſuppoſe that theſe were printed and diſperſed, but being ſmall pieces were very quickly loſt, ſo that nothing but the originals remains. As for inſtance, upon the coming out of a large Latin libel abroad, the Lord Burleigh wrote a ſhort, and clear anſwer to it, which I have now lying before me, and I take it to be the very libel from whence the reader has already ſeen ſome extracts. The title of his Lordſhip's anſwer (90), for though the libel was printed whilſt he was Secretary, yet it did not appear till he was Lord Treaſurer, ran in theſe words: 'Slanders and lies, 'maliciouſly, groſsly, and impudently, vomited out, 'in certain traiterous books and pamphlets, con-'cerning two counſellors, Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Lord 'Keeper of the Great Seal, and Sir *William Cecil*, 'Principal Secretary of State to her Majeſty.' He then ſtates, in few words, the amount of what is aſſerted, under the title of objections; and that the reader may the better conceive the nature of his Lordſhip's deſign, we will mention theſe objections in his own words. I. *That they are of baſe degree, and the firſt gentlemen of their genealogy.* In anſwer to this he remarks, on behalf of Sir William Cecil, that there were very few gentlemen capable of proving a better deſcent than he; for as he obſerves, when King Edward III. was in Scotland, there aroſe a diſpute between Sir John Sitſilt and Sir William Fakenham about their arms, upon which a duel would have enſued, if the King had not forbidden it, and left the deciſion to the Lord Mowbray, and another Lord; who, upon a fair hearing, certified under their hands, that Sir John Sitſilt was lineally deſcended from James Sitſilt, Baron of Beauport, who was ſlain at the ſiege of Wallingford Caſtle, in the reign of King Stephen; that from this John Sitſilt, Sir William Cecil lineally deſcended, not indeed of the elder line, for the grandfather of the ſaid Sir William was the younger brother of Richard Cecil of Alterennes in Hertfordſhire, and fled to Henry VII. in Britanny, when he was only Earl of Richmond, and for his ſervice there was rewarded, by that prince, with certain lands in Lincolnſhire, in fee-farm, which lands are now, by deſcent, in poſſeſſion of Sir William Cecil. This David Cecil, his grandfather, married an heireſs, and ſo did his ſon Richard; which lady, mother of Sir William Cecil, is living, and proofs are in the hands of the family of three hundred years old; not to mention the Welſh books, wherein they are recorded to be of the ſtock of the antient Britons; ſo far is he from being the firſt gentleman of his family. II. *They abaſe the Nobility of this realm.* It is ſaid in anſwer to this, that theſe two counſellors act in conjunction with many of the nobility, from whom, upon all occaſions, they have received the higheſt aſſurances of friendſhip and good-will, which would never have happened had this been true; that neither of theſe counſellors have, or ever ſought to have Lands, Houſes, or Goods, of any nobleman attainted; nor do they enjoy any of the offices by ſuch formerly poſſeſſed. If any of the noblemen, who have brought themſelves to diſaſters, who were formerly their friends, had followed their advice and counſels, they had undoubtedly avoided their ill fate, as ſome have confeſſed; and that thoſe mentioned in the libel, and adviſed to be wary of theſe counſellors, have publickly declared, that they are ready to defend the integrity of the ſaid two counſellors, to the Queen and ſtate, with their tongues and ſwords, againſt whoever ſhall defame them. III. *They two attempt to alter the ſucceſſion of the Crown, and to ſet up the houſe of Suffolk, with whom they are allied, and their children incorporated.* It is aſſerted, in diſproof of this, that both theſe counſellors laboured heartily, and ſincerely, to perſuade her Majeſty to marriage, that the dominions of her royal anceſtors might deſcend to iſſue of her body; and that none were ſo much prejudiced by her Majeſty's rejecting that advice, as theſe two counſellors. That as to the houſe of Suffolk, it is a ſtrange reaſon given for their partiality, that they are allied to it, becauſe no allowance is made for their alliance to the Duke of Norfolk, though the daughter of one of theſe counſellors married the couſin-german of this Duke, and the Duke left his ſon, the Earl of Surry, at the time of his deceaſe, to

(90) Taken from a Copy of this Diſcourſe, a MS.

henſion, having to do with men that ſtuck at nothing to ſerve their purpoſes, who as ſoon as one ſcheme was detected invented another; and when their old inſtruments were either puniſhed, or deſerted their ſervice, always knew where to find out others (*r*). By their intrigues and oppoſition, the Treaſurer found himſelf often in ſuch perilous circumſtances, that he had thoughts of reſigning, and ſeeking in privacy and retirement that peace, which, from experience he learned, was incompatible with power. But the Queen hindered him from this, and was ſo far from liſtening to any propoſals of that ſort when he made them, that ſhe was wont to treat them as the effects of low ſpirits and the ſpleen, upon which ſhe ſometimes wrote him letters (*s*) with great vivacity and freedom [*U*]. But his diſquietudes were confined to his hours of privacy; he never ſuffered them to break in upon the public buſineſs; nor is there a ſingle mark of timidity viſible in the long courſe of his adminiſtration. On the contrary, his counſels were remarkably vigorous, for he maturely weighed things before he came himſelf to any ſettled determination; but when that was once fixed he was againſt delays, and laboured for a briſk and ſpeedy execution (*t*). He was no diſſembler himſelf, and he hated thoſe that were, as appears by the plainneſs with which he wrote his mind to the potent Earl of Leiceſter, when he thought he had evidence of his treating him in an unfriendly manner (*u*). Neither was he deterred from doing whatever he thought became him in his offices, by any conſideration of the conſequences; as is moſt evident from his conduct in the moſt critical ſervice in which he ever engaged, *viz.* the trial, condemnation, and execution of the Queen of Scots. It is certain, that this meaſure was very ſtrongly promoted, if not originally propoſed, by the Lord Treaſurer (*w*), after the diſcovery of that called Babington's Conſpiracy; from a perſuaſion, that the Queen his miſtreſs could never be ſafe in her perſon and government, while her competitor was living. It was from him that Popham, the Queen's Attorney-General, received his inſtructions, as to the method of forming the commiſſion, and of drawing the indictment, as well as every other ſtep that was of particular weight or moment in that whole tranſaction (*x*). He aſſiſted alſo at her trial in quality of one of the Lords Commiſſioners (*y*); and it is plain enough, from what paſſed upon that occaſion, that the Queen of Scots looked upon him as one of the principal inſtruments of her deſtruction (*z*) [*W*]. There was a conſiderable

(*r*) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 201.

(*s*) Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 166.

(*t*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 475.

(*u*) Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 496.

(*w*) Camden's Annals, p. 485.

(*x*) Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 362, 363.

(*y*) State Trials, vol. i. p. 145.

(*z*) Manner of proceeding againſt the Queen of Scots at Fotheringay-Caſtle, &c.

the care of one of theſe counſellors. That in regard to the houſe of Suffolk, neither of them had interfered for the preſervation of the Earl of Hertford, or of the Lady Catherine, who was the immediate heir of that houſe; the former lying in priſon many years, and the latter till ſhe was releaſed by death, the marriage between them diſſolved by ſentence, and the Earl himſelf fined twenty thouſand pounds for his offence; from all which it is very clear, that either theſe counſellors have not that power which in this libel they are ſuggeſted to have, or elſe far from ſhowing their attachment, they have given no great proofs of their good-will to the houſe of Suffolk.

[*U*] *With great vivacity and freedom.*] At ſuch a diſtance of time as this it is almoſt impoſſible to gueſs, what were the particular cauſes that made the Lord Treaſurer, at this time, ſo very uneaſy; and yet, conſidering the vaſt number of hiſtories, annals, memoirs, and political treatiſes, relating to that reign, this ſhould ſeem but an indifferent excuſe. We will therefore uſe our endeavours to give the reader ſome hints of what might probably create in the Lord Treaſurer a deſign of retiring (91). In the firſt place, the Spaniſh and Popiſh faction clamoured againſt him loudly at home and abroad, repreſenting him as the ſole author of their perſecution in England; and the Puritans alſo were very little ſatisfied, becauſe of his great regard for the Biſhops, his preſerving the revenues, and ſupporting the authority of the Church upon all occaſions. In the next place, there was a ſtrong party againſt him in the Queen's council, who made falſe and malicious comments upon every thing he advanced or approved; which party he began now to fear, more eſpecially as the Earl of Leiceſter had ſet himſelf openly at their head; and laſtly, he thought the Queen herſelf did not ſuſtain him in things of very great importance, but on the contrary affected to ſtand neuter, and even to endure a behaviour which he thought injurious to her authority; and beſides all this, we have ſome hints of other uneaſineſſes in the ſpring of 1583; for while he was railed at abroad as the enemy, his miſtreſs ſometimes affected to ſuſpect him of a ſecret friendſhip for, and intelligence with, the Queen of Scots (92); in the ſame manner as before ſhe had hinted at his great affection for the Duke of Norfolk, and yet after that Nobleman was beheaded, placed that to his account, as we ſhall hereafter ſee ſhe did the death of the Queen of Scots; ſo that reflecting on the dangers and difficulties paſt, finding himſelf in preſent trouble, and foreſeeing new perils that were to come, he ſolicited his miſtreſs for leave to reſign in the month of April; upon which ſhe wrote him the following letter, which it appears, by an endorſement in his own hand-writing, he received on the 8th of May (93). It is impoſſible to give any key to the particular expreſſions in it, or why ſhe calls him Spirit, which in the manuſcript is written Sprite; and I cannot help thinking, the Queen uſed it in the ſame ſenſe as we do the word Ghoſt, alluding to the vulgar opinion, that there is no touching or ſtriking a ghoſt; but this I leave to the reader's deciſion, when he has read the letter, which runs thus (94).

(91) Theſe particulars are collected by comparing Camden, Hollinſhed, Stowe, and the private Memoirs and State Papers of that Reign.

(92) Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 383, 384, 385.

(93) *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 166.

(94) Memoirs of the Adminiſtration of Lord Burleigh. See alſo another inſtance of this kind in note [*Z*].

'Sir Spirit,

'I Doubt I do nickname you: For thoſe of your 'kind, they ſay, have no ſenſe; but I have of late 'ſeen an *Ecce ſignum*, that if an aſs kick you, you 'feel it ſoon. I will recant you from being Spirit, if 'ever I perceive that you diſdain not ſuch a feeling. 'Serve God, fear the King, and be a good fellow 'to the reſt. Let never care appear in you for ſuch a 'rumour, but let them well know, that you rather de'ſire the righting of ſuch wrong, by making known 'their error, than you to be ſo ſilly a ſoul as to fore'ſlow that you ought to do, or not freely deliver 'what you think meeteſt, and paſs of no man ſo much 'as not to regard her truſt, who putteth it in you.

'God bleſs you, and long may you laſt *omnino*.'

E. R.

[*W*] *As one of the principal inſtruments of her deſtruction.*] It will be requiſite, in order to render what is ſaid in the text abſolutely perſpicuous, to give here a ſuccinct account of the principal ſteps taken in this myſterious affair. In the firſt place, after the general aſſociation for the defence of Queen Elizabeth's perſon, the ſame was confirmed by an Act of Parliament in the 27th of that Queen's reign, *Anno Domini* 1585, intituled, *An Act for the ſecurity of the Queen's royal*

derable interval between the time of paſſing the ſentence and the putting it in execution, during which, ſeveral applications were made to Queen Elizabeth that the ſentence might take effect; to which her Majeſty, either through prudence, pity, or an affectation of clemency, ſeemed always very averſe; and frequently intimated, that ſome other way ſhould be taken for the ſecurity of her own perſon, than this, of publicly executing a Lady of her own blood, whom ſhe had ſo often honoured with the appellation of ſiſter (*a*). At laſt, however, ſhe, of her own motive, ſent for Daviſon, who was Secretary of State, and directed him to prepare a warrant, which was to be carried to the Chancellor, that the mandate for her execution might paſs the Great Seal (*b*). This was accordingly done, and ſhe ſigned it, and Daviſon thereupon acquainted the Lords of the Privy-Council, of whom the Lord Treaſurer was the chief, and by their direction it was ſent to Fotheringay-Caſtle, where the Queen was actually put to death (*c*), Feb. 8, 1586-7. It is impoſſible to ſay what were the real ſentiments of Queen Elizabeth in reference to this affair; for when ſhe firſt heard it ſhe ſhowed exceſſive concern, broke out into tears, put on mourning, and in her letters to King James, ſolemnly and poſitively denied her giving orders for his mother's execution, or that ſhe had it at all in her intention (*d*); adding, however, that the thing was juſt, and that therefore if ſhe had commanded, ſhe would have avowed it. To give the greater colour of truth to what ſhe affirmed, ſhe directed Secretary Daviſon to be proſecuted, as he was, in the Star-Chamber (*e*); forbad Lord Burleigh's appearing in her preſence; and behaved towards him in other reſpects with ſuch ſeverity, as ſeemed calculated to prove, that ſhe was truly much offended at what he had done; nor was it without great difficulty, and many ſubmiſſions, that he recovered her favour, and this very ſlowly, and as it were with reluctancy (*f*) [*X*]. After

(*a*) Carleton's Remembrances, p. 123.

(*b*) See Daviſon's Apology.

(*c*) Camden. Annal. p. 537.

(*d*) Hiſt. of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 335.

(*e*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 625.

(*f*) Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 374.

royal perſon, and the continuance of the realm in peace. By which Law her Majeſty was enabled, in caſe any perſon pretending title to the Crown after her deceaſe, ſhould compaſs or imagine any thing to the hurt of her Majeſty's perſon; or if any other ſhould compaſs or imagine ſuch a deſign, with the privity of a perſon ſo claiming, to iſſue a commiſſion under her Great Seal, to the Lords of her Privy-Council, and other Lords of Parliament, to the number of twenty-four at leaſt, who, with the aſſiſtance of the Judges, ſhould have power to examine all the offences aforeſaid, and circumſtances thereof, and thereupon to give ſentence, or judgment, as upon good proof to them ſhould appear; and after ſuch ſentence and declaration thereof, publiſhed by proclamation under the Great Seal, all perſons againſt whom ſuch ſentence ſhould be given, were diſabled for ever to have or claim the Crown; and thereupon her Highneſs's ſubjects may lawfully, by virtue of this act, and her Majeſty's direction, purſue to death, by all poſſible means, every ſuch wicked perſons (95). On the 14th of Sept. 1586, Anthony Babington was condemned, and on the 20th of the ſame month executed for a conſpiracy againſt the Queen, to which the Queen of Scots was ſuppoſed to be privy (96). In the month of October following, the Queen granted a commiſſion for the trial of the Queen of Scots, directed to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Sir Thomas Bromley, Knight, Chancellor of England, William Lord Burleigh, Lord Treaſurer, &c (97). In purſuance of that ſtatute, and on the 11th of October the Commiſſioners came to Fotheringay-Caſtle in Northamptonſhire, before whom the Queen was brought, and a long charge exhibited againſt her; at which time the Lord Treaſurer delivered himſelf in very ſtrong terms, and particularly ſaid, *Many things you have propounded time after time concerning your liberty: that they have failed of ſucceſs is along of you or the Scots, and not of the Queen. For the Lords of Scotland actually refuſed to deliver the King as an hoſtage, and when the laſt treaty was held concerning your liberty,* Parry *was ſent privately by* Morgan, *a dependant of your's, to murder the Queen.* At theſe words the Queen of Scots cried out, *Ah! you are my adverſary.* To whom the Lord Treaſurer anſwered, *Yea, I am adverſary to Queen* Elizabeth's *adverſaries.* At the ſame time the Lord Treaſurer mentioned her intention to convey her title to the Spaniard, and then took occaſion to ſhew, that the kingdom of England could not be conveyed (98). The Court was then prorogued to the twenty-fifth of October at the Star-chamber at Weſtminſter, and on that day ſentence was given againſt the Queen of Scots, agreeably to the ſtatute before-mentioned. Upon this, in the enſuing Parliament, applications were made to the Queen both by the Lords and Commons, that the ſentence might be publiſhed and executed, which ſhe declined; but afterwards, in the month of December, it was proclaimed by the Queen's orders as the Act of Parliament directed (99), and in the February following it was executed.

(95) State Trials, vol. i. p. 145.

(96) Carleton's Remembrances, p. 119.

(97) See the commiſſion at large in Camden, and from him in the State Trials.

(98) Camd. Annal. p. 504.

(99) State Trials, vol. i.

[*X*] *And as it were with reluctancy.*] In order to apprehend clearly what ſhare the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh had in this tranſaction, and what reaſon her Majeſty might derive from thence to be offended with him, it will be neceſſary to look upon Secretary Daviſon's Apology, in which there is the beſt and moſt authentic account of this matter any where extant (100).

(100) Ap. Camd. Annal. p. 545.

'The Queen (ſays he) after the departure of the 'French and Scottiſh Ambaſſadors, of her own motion, 'commanded me to deliver her the warrant, for exe- 'cuting the ſentence againſt the Queen of Scots; 'when I had delivered it, ſhe ſigned it readily with 'her own hand; when ſhe had ſo done, ſhe com- 'manded it to be ſealed with the Great Seal of Eng- 'land, and, in a jeſting manner, ſaid, Go tell all this 'to Walſingham, who is now ſick, although I fear he 'will die for ſorrow when he hears it. She adding 'alſo the reaſons of deferring it ſo long, namely, leſt 'ſhe might ſeem to have been violently or maliciouſly 'drawn thereto, whereas, in the mean time, ſhe was 'not ignorant how neceſſary it was. Moreover ſhe 'blamed Powlet and Drury that they had not eaſed 'her of this care, and wiſhed that Walſingham would 'feel their pulſes touching this matter. The next day, 'after it was under the Great Seal, ſhe commanded 'me, by Killigrew, that it ſhould not be done; and 'when I had informed her that it was done already, 'ſhe found fault with ſuch great haſte, telling me, 'that in the judgment of ſome wiſe men another 'courſe might be taken. I anſwered, that that courſe 'was always beſt and ſafeſt which was moſt juſt. 'But fearing leſt ſhe would lay the fault upon me (as 'ſhe had laid the putting of the Duke of Norfolk to 'death upon the Lord Burleigh) I acquainted Hatton 'with the whole matter, proteſting that I would not 'plunge myſelf any deeper in ſo great a buſineſs. He 'preſently imparted it to Lord Burleigh, and the 'Lord Burleigh to the reſt of the Council, who all 'conſented to have the execution haſtened, and every 'one of them vowed to bear an equal ſhare in the 'blame, and ſent Beale away with the warrant and 'letters. The third day after, when, by a dream 'which ſhe told of the Queen of Scots death, I per- 'ceived that ſhe wavered in her reſolution, I aſked 'her, Whether ſhe had changed her mind? ſhe an- 'ſwered, No, but another courſe (ſaid ſhe) might 'have been deviſed; and withal ſhe aſked me, Whe- 'ther I had received any anſwer from Powlet? whoſe 'letter,

ter this ſtorm was blown over, he had the ſame credit and power as ever, and was the perſon to whom almoſt all kind of intelligence was addreſſed, and by whom all matters of importance, of what nature ſoever, were commonly diſpatched; and though his ſtrength began to decline, and his conſtitution was greatly impaired by ſuch a ſeries of continual labours, yet he was to the full as careful and aſſiduous as ever, drawing moſt of the State-papers of importance with his own hand, and giving conſtant attendance both at the Council and in the Star-Chamber (*g*). All theſe high employments and arduous cares, did not, however, hinder him from entering with the utmoſt tenderneſs into the duties of private life; ſo that we find him deeply affected with the death of his mother, which happened March 10, 1587, upon which the Queen ſent to condole with him; but being at the ſame time mindful of her own affairs, adviſed him to ſeek relief from his melancholy, not by ſhutting himſelf up, but by engaging more earneſtly in public buſineſs (*h*). In the ſucceeding troubleſome year, when the Spaniſh invaſion threatened the kingdom with a dangerous war at home, the Lord Treaſurer drew up thoſe ſchemes for the defence of England, that were followed with ſo great ſucceſs; and his eldeſt ſon Thomas, by his own choice, as well as his father's command, ventured his life freely in that fleet, which, under the command of the Lord High Admiral Howard, gloriouſly defeated that, which had been ſo falſely, as well as fooliſhly, ſtiled the Invincible Armada (*i*). It was not long after this, the Lord Treaſurer met with the ſevereſt ſtroke in his family that he had ever yet felt, by the death of his beloved wife, April 4, 1589, after they had lived together in the ſincereſt harmony and affection for three and forty years (*k*). She is allowed to have been one of the moſt extraordinary women of her time, in point of piety, learning, and prudence, of which poſterity has received many, and thoſe too unexceptionable, teſtimonies, of which, in the note, ſome notice ſhall be taken (*l*) [*Y*]. The loſs of her affected the Treaſurer to a great degree, as appears plainly by many of his writings, and made a great alteration in his temper; ſo that, notwithſtanding the death of ſome whom he took to be his adverſaries, by which undoubtedly his authority was augmented, and the promotion of his ſon Robert, who grew daily more and more into the Queen's favour, he became very thoughtful and melancholy, and, about two years after, was very earneſt and ſolicitous for leave to quit his employments, that he might ſpend the remainder of his days in quiet (*m*). But the

(*g*) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(*h*) Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 488.

(*i*) Camden. Annal. p. 582.

(*k*) Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 337.

(*l*) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(*m*) Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 77.

(101) See both Walſingham's and Daviſon's Letter to Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drue Drury, and their Anſwer, in Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle, publiſhed by Thomas Hearne, vol. ii. p. 673.

'letter, when I had ſhewed her (101), wherein he 'flatly refuſed to undertake that which ſtood not with 'honour and juſtice, ſhe, waxing angry, accuſed him 'and others (who had bound themſelves by the aſſo-'ciation) of perjury, and breach of their vow, as thoſe 'that had promiſed great matters for their Prince's 'ſafety, but would perform nothing. Yet there are '(ſaid ſhe) who will do it for my ſake. But I ſhewed 'her how diſhonourable and unjuſt a thing this would 'be; and withal, into how great danger ſhe would 'bring Powlet and Drury by it. For if ſhe approved 'the fact, ſhe would draw upon herſelf both danger 'and diſhonour, not without cenſure of injuſtice; 'and if ſhe diſallowed it, ſhe would utterly undo men 'of great deſert, and their whole poſterity. And 'afterwards ſhe gave me a light check, the ſame day 'that the Queen of Scots was executed, becauſe ſhe 'was not yet put to death.' It ſeems from hence, that the Lord Burleigh was to bear only his ſhare of this offence, the whole load of which however devolved ſolely upon him. So that he was a fortnight reſtrained from Court and from the Queen's preſence, notwithſtanding that in that ſpace he wrote ſeveral letters to the Queen, ſome parts of which have been publiſhed, and ſhow them to be very ſubmiſſive at leaſt, if not ſomething more (102). At laſt, upon his coming to Court, he was very ſtrangely treated, ſo that he thought fit of himſelf to refrain coming to the Council-Table; and, to juſtify his behaviour in that point, he wrote a paper which he ſent to the Vice-Chamberlain, dated March 15, beginning with theſe words (103): 'I am 'ſo wounded in the heart, with the late ſharp and 'piercing ſpeeches of her Majeſty to myſelf, in the 'hearing of my Lord of Leiceſter and Mr. Secretary 'Walſingham, expreſſing therewith her indignation, 'at ſuch time as I was called to her preſence for mat-'ters of the Low-Countries, myſelf giving no occaſion 'by any ſpeech of the matter of the Queen of Scots, 'until her Majeſty did charge me therewith; as ſince 'regarding in great anguiſh of heart the weight of her 'Majeſty's diſpleaſure ſo ſettled and increaſed, as I 'then deeply conceived, and mine own humility not 'being able to abide the continuance of ſuch her diſ-'pleaſure, I am therefore moſt careful how by any 'means poſſible I may ſhun all increaſe of the weight 'thereof; knowing it very true, that was ſaid by the 'moſt wiſe King, *Indignatio Principis Mors eſt*. And 'though my conſcience doth certainly bear witneſs 'with me in the ſight of God, that I never had 'thought, nor did ever any act, with mind to offend 'her Majeſty. But now finding this heavy burthen of 'her Majeſty's diſpleaſure in mine old years, ſo long 'faithfully, painfully, and dangerouſly ſpent only 'for her ſervice, to be lately rather increaſed, ſince 'her Majeſty's princely compaſſion permitted me to 'her preſence, a few days paſt, I have great cauſe to 'fear, that this increaſe groweth more by means of 'ſome ſecret enemies to myſelf, than of any influence 'of her own princely nature.'

(102) Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 370.

(103) Strype's Appendix, p. 145.

[*Y*] *Some notice ſhall be taken.*] This Lady, who was the daughter of Sir Anthony Cook, died in the ſixty-third year of her age, having been the faithful companion of her huſband in all his fortunes, from the firſt riſe of them in the reign of Henry VIII. to the completion under Queen Elizabeth (104). She was wonderfully learned, eſpecially in the Greek tongue, as appears from the teſtimony of the Lord Burleigh himſelf, and of ſeveral other great men, and of which ſhe left clear evidence, in a letter penned by her in that language to the Univerſity of Cambridge, upon her ſending thither a Hebrew Bible, by way of preſent to the Library (105). She had read moſt of the Greek Fathers with great diligence and critical accuracy, and was one of the greateſt patroneſſes of her time, maintaining for many years two ſcholars at St. John's College in Cambridge; and before her death rendered this perpetual, by procuring lands to be bought in the name of the Dean of Weſtminſter, and by him aſſigned to the College. She likewiſe gave the Haberdaſhers company in London, a ſum to enable them to lend to ſix poor men twenty pounds a-piece every two years; and a charity of the like kind of twenty marks, to ſix poor people at Waltham and Cheſhunt in Hertfordſhire. Four times every year ſhe relieved all the poor priſoners in London, and many other acts of benevolence ſhe did, with as great ſecrecy as generoſity; ſo that ſhe ſeems to have well deſerved all the praiſes that have been, by different writers, beſtowed upon her memory (106).

(104) Extract from Lord Burleigh's Latin inſcription intended for his Lady's tomb.

(105) Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 595—597.

(106) Dedication of the Hiſtory of France to one of her daughters, in which is a large character of this Lady.

Queen,

Queen, who ſaw no decay in his abilities, and who willingly granted all the indulgences poſſible to his infirmities, would by no means conſent to that: on the contrary, as ſhe had formerly rallied him out of a deſign of the ſame kind, ſo ſhe had now recourſe again to the like method, and by a paper written with great wit and ſpirit, diverted him abſolutely from this ſerious purpoſe (*n*) [*Z*]. The remaining part of his life was ſpent in the diſcharge of his high and painful office, with all the care and diligence, all the ſtudy and application poſſible: nor do we find that he gave himſelf any relaxations, even in his laſt days, beyond what the weakneſs of his body, and the diſeaſes he laboured under, abſolutely required (*o*). In the year 1592, beſides all the great pains he took in the Treaſury and in the Privy-Council, he was alſo charged with the management of the Queen's concerns in the Houſe of Peers, more eſpecially with a view to obtain ſuch a ſupply from Parliament, as her Majeſty's occaſions at that time neceſſarily required; in furtherance of which we have a copy of the ſpeech he made in the Upper Houſe, in which there is a very large, diſtinct, and curious detail, of the general ſtate of affairs in Europe at that time, and which affords us a much better notion of the ſtate of things at that ſeaſon, than almoſt any of the Hiſtories that are extant (*p*) [*AA*]. In the next year

(*n*) See this paper at large in the note.

(*o*) Life of William Lord Burleigh. Lloyd's Worthies, p. 484, 485. Oſborne's Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth.

(*p*) Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 106.

[*Z*] *From this ſerious purpoſe.*] It would be a very difficult, perhaps an impracticable, taſk, ſhould one endeavour to write a commentary capable of explaining the following ſingular piece, and therefore we ſhall leave it entirely to the contemplation of the reader; obſerving only, that it is a ſtrong piece of irony throughout, in which the Queen ſeems to rally the pains taken by her Miniſter, in the more vigorous part of his life, to adorn and beautify his *villa* for the ſake of recreation, and when older, and wanting that recreation moſt, wiſhed to turn it into a gloomy retreat, where he might wear away his loneſome hours in brooding over his cares (107).

(107) Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 77.

'ELIZABETHA *Anglorum, id eſt, a nitore Angelorum Regina formoſiſſima & feliciſſima:*
'To the diſconſolate and retired Spryte, the Heremite of Tybole, and to al oother diſaffected ſowles, claiming by, from, or under, the ſaid Heremit, ſendeth greeting: Whereas in our high Coourt of Chanceri it is given us to underſtand, that you Sir Heremite, the abandonate of nature's fair works, and ſervaunt to Heaven's woonders, have, for the ſpace of two years and two moonthes, poſſeſſed yoorſelf of fair Tybollet, with her ſweet roſary the ſame tyme, the recreation of our right truſty and right wel beloved Sir William Sitſilt, Knt. leaving to him the old rude repoze, wherein twice five years (at his coſt) yoor contemplate life was releived, which place and fate inevitable hath brought greefs innumerable (for lover greef biddeth no compare) ſuffering yoor ſolitary eye to bring into hiz houſe deſolation and moorning, joyes deſtroyers, and annoye frendes, whereby Paradice is grown wilderneſs, and for green graſs are comen gray hearz, with cruel baniſhment from the frute of long laboure, the poſſeſſion whereof he hath holden many yearz, the want of the mean profit thereof (health and gladneſs) having been greatly to his hindrance, which toocheth us much in the intereſt we have in his faithful ſervicez, beſides the law of his looving neibours and frends infinite, as by the record of their countenaunce moſt plainly may appear.

'Wee, upon adviſed conſideration, have commanded you Heremit to yoor old cave, too good for the forſaken, too bad for oour worthily belooved Coouncillour. And becauz we greatly tender yoour comfort, we have given poour to oour Chauncillour to make oout ſuch and ſo many writs, as to him ſhal be thought good, to abjure deſolations and mourning (the conſumer of ſweetneſs) to the frozen ſeas, and Deſerts of Arabia Petroſa, upon pain of 500 deſpights to their terror and contempt of their torments, if they attempt any part of yoour hoous again: Enjoyning you to the enjoyment of yoour own hoous and delight, without memory of any mortal accident or wretched adverſary.

'And for that you have been ſo good a ſervaunt to common tranquility, we command ſolace to give the ful and pacific poſſeſſion of al and every part thereof: Not departing until oour favour (that ever hath inclined to your meek nature) have aſſured you peace in the poſſeſſion thereof. Wherein we command al 'cauſez within the prerogative of oour high favour to 'give you no interruption. And this under the paine 'aforeſaid they ſhal not omit. *Teſte meipſa apud Tyboles, 10mo. die Maii Regni noſtri* 33°.

On the backſide of this charter is Per Chancellor. Angl.

CHR. HATTON.

[*AA*] *Of the hiſtories that are extant.*] It cannot but afford ſome ſatisfaction to the modern reader, to ſee in what manner the great buſineſs of the State was tranſacted in thoſe times, of the wiſdom of which fame ſpeaks ſo loudly. The ſpeech mentioned in the text was delivered in that Parliament of Queen Elizabeth, which met November the 19th, 1592, and was diſſolved April 10th 1593 (108), and in all probability in the beginning of it. At the entrance of his ſpeech the Lord High-Treaſurer takes notice (109), of the many injuries, and acts of injuſtice, done by the King of Spain, and thoſe acting under him, to the Queen his Sovereign, and her ſubjects; but not to fatigue their lordſhips with too long a detail, he is content to paſs by all particulars preceding the year 1588, and alledges, that what he has to offer from that time is not at all to lead, or to direct their opinions, but purely to obtain the aſſiſtance of their counſels in aid of an old man broken with age, feeble with infirmities, and oppreſſed with a load of buſineſs. He then explains the nature of the King of Spain's deſigns, and of the wars into which he entered, which, he ſays, were not like thoſe of former times, for ſtrong fortreſſes, or for convenient provinces, but for whole kingdoms: That Philip II. had already uſurped Portugal, and all the dominions of that crown, both in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies: That by fomenting a barbarous and bloody rebellion in France, he had at this juncture a great part of that kingdom at his devotion, more eſpecially the provinces of Britanny and Normandy, by which he was become a frontier enemy to all the Weſt of England; and to all the South parts, ſuch as the counties of Suſſex, Hampſhire, and the Iſle of Wight; and by his intereſt in St. Maloes a very dangerous neighbour to the iſlands of Jerſey and Guernſey: That by this means he had a vaſt additional force ariſing from his power in France, of which he meant to make himſelf King, or to make his daughter Queen, and appoint her a huſband to be his vaſſal: That theſe vaſt deſigns alone ought ſufficiently to alarm the Engliſh nation, even if he had not diſcovered any formal intention to invade them: That however this was ſo far from being the caſe, that the chief aim of this ambitious Prince, for the two laſt years, was to prepare every thing neceſſary for ſuch an invaſion; in order to which he had built a great number of ſhips of war, of the ſize and ſtrength of Engliſh ſhips, that they might be the fitter to navigate the narrow ſeas; that he had a ſtrong fleet of gallies on the coaſt of Brittany, which he intended to ſend this ſummer to Newhaven; that for two years paſt he had bought and built many great ſhips in the Eaſt Countries, and that by the corruption of our faint and covetous neighbours in Holland, he had recovered, with ſilver hooks, mariners, ſhips, cordage, and proviſions; that

(108) Index Parliament. tempor. Eliz. Regin. p. 31.

(109) This Speech is amongſt the Cecilian MS. from whence it was printed in Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 107.

year we find him extremely occupied, as well in providing for the ſucceſs of his Miſtreſs's arms abroad, as for preſerving the peace and tranquillity of the nation at home; in reference to which there are many papers of his ſtill preſerved, which, at the ſame time that they ſhow he really occupied the poſt of Prime-Miniſter, and directed whatever was undertaken in almoſt every branch of the adminiſtration, demonſtrate alſo, that he did this with equal diligence and exactneſs, conſidering every head by itſelf, ſetting down under it the ſeveral points to be provided for, and the means by which they might be provided (*q*). To him we find all degrees of people addreſſing themſelves to the very laſt; the Biſhops and Clergy, ſome for encouragement, ſome for protection, and many for preferment; the Puritans and Sectaries, for favourable treatment and compaſſion; many of the fugitives abroad for pardon, in conſideration of the intelligence they gave him of the deſigns of the King of Spain, and of others the Queen's enemies; the Lieutenants of ſeveral counties for inſtructions and advice; the Lord High-Admiral for aſſiſtance and ſupplies; the great Sir Walter Ralegh, in public and private concerns, ſometimes for favour, ſometimes for juſtice; the principal officers in the Cadiz expedition, with accounts of its execution and ſucceſs: in a word, to him was addreſſed whatever regarded the State; and it appears by his indorſements upon ſome papers, and ſhort marginal notes upon others, that nobody addreſſed him in vain, or without notice; ſo that it is not eaſy to conceive, how he could poſſibly find time to go through ſuch a variety of extraordinary buſineſs, beſides what belonged to his poſt at all, much leſs in the cautious and circumſtantial manner he did: for every thing that came before him ſeems to have been conſidered with as much leiſure and attention, as if he had no other thing in view; agreeably to his own favourite and excellent maxim, *That the ſhorteſt way to do many things, was to do only one thing at once* (*r*). The laſt memorable act of his life, was to endeavour the giving a peace to his country, when reaſonable terms might have been obtained from Spain. This was vehemently oppoſed by the Earl of Eſſex, who, as Camden ſays, having been bred to the ſword, and gained ſome reputation by it, was unwilling to ſheathe it. The arguments he made uſe of were, the implacable hatred of the Spaniards to the Engliſh, their being bigotted Papiſts, and a people naturally both obſtinate and ſubtle: in ſpeaking to theſe he delivered himſelf in ſuch terms, that the Treaſurer was moved to ſay, *He ſeemed intent upon nothing but blood and ſlaughter.* At the cloſe of the debate Lord Burleigh pulled out a Prayer-Book, and without ſpeaking pointed to the following words, *Men of blood ſhall not live out half their days* (*s*). This ſhews that our Stateſman preſerved his courage and integrity to the very verge of life; for at this time it was more dangerous to be a friend to peace at home, than to ſhare in the war abroad. As this was his laſt effort in Council, ſo when confined to his bed by his laſt ſickneſs, he ſettled a new treaty between the Queen and the States, whereby the nation was eaſed of an expence of one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds *per annum* (*t*). As to his end it was conformable to his life, eaſy, natural, in the midſt of his family, full of years and of glory. In a word, he died poſſeſſed of the favour of his Prince,

(*q*) Collections from the MS. of Lord Treaſurer Burleigh.

(*r*) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(*s*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 483. Life of William Lord Burleigh. Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 324.

(*t*) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

that all theſe preparations muſt be neceſſarily againſt England; for having already the whole ſea-coaſt of France at his devotion, he could have no need of a naval force to proſecute his deſigns againſt that kingdom. That a farther proof of his intention was, the inexpreſſible diligence he uſed to ſecure to himſelf a party in this kingdom to ſecond his invaſion; and he was ſorry to ſay, this was not without effect. That however, there was yet behind a ſtronger and clearer proof, which was his intrigues in Scotland, into which he had promiſed to ſend twenty-five thouſand men, upon a promiſe of ſome diſcontented Lords to join them with ten thouſand; that of theſe, thirty thouſand were to march into England, and the five thouſand Spaniards were to remain in that kingdom, to aſſiſt the Papiſts in depoſing their King. That this information came from no ordinary hand, and was attended with the moſt extraordinary proofs; that King James himſelf was the diſcoverer; that he had ſeized the meſſenger, intruſted with the bonds of the Earls of Errol, Huntley, and Angus, to the King of Spain, for the performance of their engagements; that theſe Lords were fled into the Weſtern Iſlands in hopes of being ſupported there from Spain; that the King was gone in perſon in purſuit of them; and, that the very day before he marched with what forces he could raiſe, he had cauſed one Fentry, a man of good family, and great eſtate, to be hanged, for the ſhare he had in this conſpiracy. This very long ſpeech he concluded with theſe words, 'Thus far have I obſerved my purpoſe, to ſhew the 'danger; and to give counſel to the remedy, *Hoc opus 'hic labor eſt.* And I would moſt gladly have ſome 'company, of whom I might have ſome light how to 'find out the darkneſs of the queſtion: Wherein when 'time ſhall ſerve I will not be ſilent, but deliver mine 'own opinion, and reform it upon good ground.'

But this was not all our ſtateſman did upon this important occaſion; for having taken ſo much pains to ſet before the houſe of Lords the true ſtate of the nation in this perilous conjuncture, he was no leſs careful that the houſe of Commons ſhould be acquainted therewith; and that all the circumſtances and particulars of the account given there, ſhould perfectly agree with what he had already ſet forth in the upper houſe. It was with this view that he drew up a paper, which is ſtill remaining in his own hand-writing, conſiſting of fourteen ſeparate heads, made up, for the moſt part, of matters of fact, and the ſubſtance of the intelligence which the Queen, the Privy-Council, and himſelf, had received. The meaning and intent of this paper, the reader will eaſily perceive by the title, which runs thus (110), *Inſtructions for the Speaker's ſpeech: Drawn up in ſeveral articles by the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, Feb. 13th, 1592.* To render this note as compleat as it is poſſible, it may be proper to ſhew, what the effects were of all this diligence, and how theſe wiſe and wary methods conduced to the end propoſed by them (111). To this there is nothing more requiſite, than to inform the reader, that the Clergy in 1593 granted to the Queen two ſubſidies, of four ſhillings in the pound, to be paid in two years; and the Temporality three ſubſidies, and ſix fifteenths and tenths; by which ſeaſonable ſupply her Majeſty was enabled to defeat all the deſigns of her enemies, and to defray the expences of a war, both by ſea and land, without having recourſe again to her ſubjects for upwards of four years.

(110) Amongſt the ſame MSS. and printed in the ſame work, p. 124.

(111) Hiſtory of Taxes, p. 257.

the love of the people, the reſpect even of his enemies. He had alſo, what he often ſought to reſign, the greateſt and moſt honourable offices in the kingdom, beſides a large eſtate, and dutiful and excellent children. Thus bleſſed with all that a man could deſire, on the fourth of Auguſt 1598, about four in the morning, in the preſence of twenty children, friends, and ſervants, he yielded up the ghoſt with wonderful ſerenity, being upwards of ſeventy-ſeven years of age (*u*). It would be a very unneceſſary, indeed a very needleſs attempt, ſhould we proceed to ſwell this article with the character of this great perſon, which has been already drawn ſo fully: we will conclude therefore with a very few obſervations, that will enable us to give the reader ſome uſeful and curious particulars in the notes. His exterior form was very anſwerable to the diſpoſition of his mind; and it might be truly ſaid, that no man's temper ſuited better with the eaſe and gracefulneſs of his perſon than his did [*BB*]. In reference to his manner of living, it was ſuitable to the high rank he held, and the cuſtom of the times in which he lived; for though he was a man diſtinguiſhed both for his virtue and learning, as well as by his exemplary probity, yet he did not think that any of theſe, or all taken together, could juſtify a ſingular and reſerved behaviour, or the paſſing through life in a manner altogether inconſiſtent with that, which others had led when in his ſtation. It was from theſe reaſons, and not from vanity or oſtentation, that he kept up an extraordinary degree of ſplendor and magnificence in his houſes, gardens, and every thing belonging to him [*CC*]. Yet he was, in other reſpects, a man of ſtrict œconomy, and ſhowed

(*u*) Camden. Anal. p. 773. Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 334. Stowe, Hollinſhed, &c.

[*BB*] *Than his did.*] We learn from the author of his life, and from other contemporary writers (112), that though he was not remarkably tall, nor eminently handſome, yet his perſon was always agreeable, and became more and more ſo, as he grew in years, age becoming him better than youth. The hair of his head and beard grew perfectly white, and he preſerved almoſt to his dying day a fine and florid complexion. His temper contributed much towards making him generally beloved, for he was always ſerene and chearful; ſo perfect a maſter of his looks and words, that what paſſed in his mind was never diſcoverable from either; patient in hearing, ready in anſwering, yet without any quickneſs, and in a ſtile ſuited to the underſtanding of him to whom he ſpoke. Idleneſs was his averſion; and though from twenty-five years of age, at which he was ſworn a Privy-Counſellor, being then the youngeſt, as at his death the oldeſt in Europe, he laboured under a great weight of public buſineſs; yet when he had any vacant moments he ſpent them not in trifles, or in purſuit of ſenſual pleaſures, but in reading, meditating, or writing. He had a perfect knowledge, not only of foreign countries, but of foreign courts; knew the genius of every Prince in Europe, his counſellors and favourites. At home he kept exact liſts of all the great officers, and particularly of the ſages in the Law. He was acquainted with the courſe of every court of judicature in England, knew it's riſe, juriſdiction, and proper ſphere of action; within which he took care that it ſhould act with vigour, and was no leſs careful that it ſhould not exceed it's bounds. He wrote not only elegant Latin in proſe, but alſo very good verſe in that, and in the Engliſh language. He underſtood Greek as well as moſt men in that age; and was ſo learned in Divinity, that Divines of all perſwaſions were deſirous of ſubmitting to his judgment. His peculiar diverſions were the ſtudy of the ſtate of England, and the pedigrees of it's nobility and gentry: of theſe laſt he drew whole books with his own hand, ſo that he was better verſed in deſcents and families, than moſt of the Heralds; and would often ſurprize perſons of diſtinction at his table, by appearing better acquainted with their manors, parks, woods, &c. than they were themſelves. To this continual application, and to his genius, naturally comprehenſive, was owing that fund of knowledge, which made him never at a loſs in any company, or upon any ſubject. It was alſo owing to this that he ſpoke with ſuch wonderful weight on all public occaſions, generally at the end of the debate, but without repetition of what was ſaid before, ſtating the matter clearly, ſhowing the convenience ſought, the inconveniencies feared; the means of attaining the former, and the methods by which the latter might be avoided, with a ſuccinctneſs and accuracy which, perhaps, hardly ever fell to any other man's ſhare. But what was ſtill more ſurprizing, was the great facility with which he did this; for he required no preparation, no time for his moſt laboured ſpeeches, nor ever turned a book for his moſt learned writings, but thought, and ſpoke, digeſted, and dictated, without any heſitation, with the greateſt perſpicuity of ſentiment, and the utmoſt fulneſs of diction.

(112) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

[*CC*] *And every thing belonging to him.*] He had, during Queen Elizabeth's reign, four places of reſidence; his lodgings at court, his houſe in the Strand, his family ſeat at Burleigh, and his own favourite ſeat at Theobalds (113). At his houſe in London he had fourſcore perſons in family, excluſively of thoſe who attended him at court. His expences there, as we have it from a perſon who lived many years in his family, were thirty pounds a week in his abſence, and between forty and fifty when preſent. At Theobalds he had thirty perſons in family; and beſides a conſtant allowance in charity, he directed ten pounds a week to be laid out in keeping the poor at work in his gardens, &c. The expences of his ſtables were a thouſand marks a year: ſo that as he had a great income, and left a good eſtate to his children, he was not afraid of keeping up alſo a port ſuited to his offices, though it provoked the envy of his enemies, and did, as it will always do, engage many mouths to murmur at him, becauſe they were not fed by him. He carried things ſtill farther: he kept a ſtanding table for gentlemen, and two other tables for perſons of meaner condition, which were always ſerved alike, whether he were in town or out of town. About his perſon he had people of great diſtinction, inſomuch that our author tells us, that while in his ſervice he could reckon up twenty gentlemen retainers, who had each a thouſand pounds a year; and as many among his ordinary ſervants, who were worth from 1000*l.* to 3, 5, 10, and 20,000. Twelve times he entertained the Queen at his houſe for ſeveral weeks together, at the expence of 2 or 3000*l.* each time. Three fine houſes he built, one in London, another at Burleigh, and the third at Theobalds: all of which were leſs remarkable for their largeneſs and magnificence, than for their neatneſs and excellent contrivance. Yet with all this mighty expence, it was the opinion of competent judges, that an avaritious man would have made more of his offices in ſeven years, than he did in forty. At his death he left about 4000*l.* a year in land, 11,000*l.* in money, and in valuable effects about 14,000*l.* I crave leave to add to this note, a few very curious particulars from a private letter of Lord Burleigh's to an intimate friend, written in the month of Auguſt 1585 (114), on account of ſome calumnies, that the perſon to whom this letter was addreſſed acquainted him, flew about, as to his power and fortune. 'They that ſay in a raſh and malicious mockery, that England is become *Regnum Cecilianum*, may pleaſe their own cankered humour with ſuch a device; but if my actions be conſidered, if there be any cauſe given by me of ſuch a nick-name, there may be found out in many other juſter cauſes to attribute

(113) Fuller's Holy State. Winſtanley's Lives. Lloyd's State Worthies. Life of William Lord Burleigh. Memoirs of the Adminiſtration of Lord Burleigh.

(114) From a much more correct MS. than that uſed by Strype.

ſhowed very plainly, from his conſtant practice in private life, that he was very little attached to the pleaſures of ſenſe or ſhow, but was wholly bent upon enjoyments of the mind, and preſerving that peace which is the inſeparable attendant of a clear conſcience, and of a ſoul ſuperior to ordinary gratifications [*DD*]. It was with great reaſon, therefore, that Mr. Camden concluded his character with this obſervation, 'That 'he was one of thoſe few who lived and died with equal glory. Such a man, as while 'others regard with admiration, I, after the antient manner, am rather inclined to 'contemplate with the ſacred applauſe of ſilent veneration.' We have ſo many accounts of the manner in which his funeral was performed, that they have created ſome doubts about where he lies interred. There is no doubt that a very ſolemn funeral was performed for him at Weſtminſter, on the 29th of Auguſt 1598; after which we are told that his body was privately conveyed to Stamford, and placed in the vault under that

'tribute other names than mine. If my buildings 'create diſlike in them, I confeſs my folly in the 'expences, becauſe ſome of my houſes are to come, 'if God ſo pleaſe, to them that ſhall not have land 'to maintain them; I mean my houſe at Theobalds, 'which was begun by me with a mean meaſure, but 'increaſed by occaſion of her Majeſty's often coming; 'whom to pleaſe, I never would omit to ſtrain myſelf 'to more charges than is that of my building. And 'yet not without ſome ſpecial direction of her Ma'jeſty, upon fault found with the ſmall meaſure 'of her chamber, which was in good meaſure for 'me, I was forced to enlarge a room for a larger 'chamber, which need not be envied of any for riches 'in it, more than the ſhew of old oaks, and ſuch 'trees, with painted leaves and fruit. I thank God I 'owe nothing to theſe backbiters, though indeed 'much to many honeſt perſons, whom I mind to pay 'without bribery or villainy. For my houſe in Weſt'minſter, I think it ſo old as it ſhould not ſtir any, 'many having of later times built larger by far, both 'in city and country. And yet the building, altera'tions, and repairs thereof, coſt me the ſale of lands 'worth 100*l.* a year in Staffordſhire, that I had of 'good King Edward. My houſe of Burghley is of 'my mother's inheritance, who liveth, and is the 'owner thereof; and I but a farmer. And for the 'building there, I have ſet my walls upon the old 'foundation. Indeed I have made the rough ſtone 'walls to be of ſquare, and yet one ſide remaineth as 'my father left it me. I truſt my ſon ſhall be able to 'maintain it, conſidering there are in that ſhire a 'dozen larger houſes of men under my degree.' In the poſtſcript to this letter he adds, 'For myſelf, I 'have not made nor obtained any ſuit from her Majeſ'ty theſe ten years. In my whole time I have not, 'for theſe twenty-ſix years, been beneficed from her 'Majeſty, ſo much as I was within four years of King 'Edward. I have ſold as much land in value as ever 'I had of gift of her Majeſty. I am at charges by at'tendance in court, and by keeping of my houſhold, 'eſpecially in Term times, by reſort of ſuitors, at more 'than any counſellor in England. My fee, for the 'Treaſureſhip, is no more than it hath been theſe 'thirty years. Whereas the Chancellor, and others, 'have been doubly augmented within theſe few years. 'And this I do affirm, that my fees of my Treaſure'ſhip do not anſwer to my charge of my ſtable, I 'mean not my table. And in my houſhold I do ſel'dom feed leſs than an hundred perſons. And for 'that purpoſe I buy in London my bread, my drink, 'my achates, my fewel. And in the country I buy 'my grain, my beef, my mutton, and all achates; 'and for my ſtable, I buy my hay for the greateſt 'part; my oats, my ſtraw totally. For my ſervants, 'I keep none to whom I pay not wages, and give li'veries; which I know many do not.'

[*DD*] *And of a ſoul ſuperior to ordinary gratifications.*] In regard to his private life, he was conſidered as the beſt parent of his time: for he had all his children, and their deſcendants, conſtantly at his table; and in their converſation lay the greateſt pleaſure of his life, more eſpecially while his mother lived, who was able to ſee the fifth deſcent from herſelf, there being no degree of relation, or conſanguinity, which at feſtival times were not to be found at Lord Burleigh's table (115). It was there that, laying aſide all thoughts of buſineſs, he was ſo affable, eaſy, and merry, that he ſeemed never to have thought of any, and yet this was the only part of his life which was entirely free therefrom; and his frankneſs and familiarity brought ſuch, and ſo many, perſons of high rank to his houſe, as did him great credit and ſervice. In reſpect to his friends, he was always eaſy, chearful, and kind; and whatever their condition was, he talked to them, as if they had been his equals in every reſpect; yet it is ſaid, that he was held a better enemy than friend; and that this was ſo well known, that ſome oppoſed him from a view of intereſt. It is certain, that thoſe who were moſt intimate with him, had no ſort of influence over him, and did not care to aſk him for any thing; becauſe he did not readily grant, and was little pleaſed with ſuch ſort of ſuits. One reaſon of this was, that moſt of thoſe whom he preferred became his enemies, becauſe he would not gratify them in farther pretenſions. His ſecrets he truſted with none, indulged a general converſation, and would not ſuffer affairs of ſtate to be canvaſſed in mixed company, or when friends were met to divert themſelves. With reſpect to his enemies, he never ſaid any thing harſh of them, farthered on every occaſion their reaſonable requeſts, and was ſo far from ſeeking, that he neglected all opportunities of revenge; always profeſſing, that he never went to bed out of charity with any man; and frequently ſaying, that patience, and a calm bearing of aſperſions and injuries, had wrought him more good than his own abilities. He was far, however, from being an ungrateful man, for without intreaty he would ſerve his friends as far as it was juſt; and for his ſervants, and thoſe about him, he was very careful of their welfare, moſtly at his own expence. He never raiſed his own rents, or diſplaced his tenants; and as the rent was when he bought land, ſo it ſtood; inſomuch, that ſome enjoyed, for twenty pounds a year, during his whole life, what might have been let for two hundred: yet in his public character he was very ſevere; and as he never meddled with the Queen's treaſure himſelf, ſo he would ſee that it was not embezzled by others; for it was his ſaying, that whoever cheated the Crown oppreſſed the people. In the midſt of all his grandeur he was ever eaſy of acceſs, free from pride, and alike complaiſant to all degrees of people: for as he was grave in council, exact in courts of juſtice, familiar towards his friends, outwardly and inwardly fond of his children, ſo when he went into the country he would converſe with all his ſervants as kindly as if he had been their equal; talk to country people in their own ſtile and manner, and would even condeſcend to ſooth little children in their ſports and plays; ſo gentle was his temper, and ſo abundant his good-nature. At Theobalds he had fine gardens, which coſt him a great deal of money, and which were laid out according to his own directions. He had a little mule, upon which he rode up and down the walks; ſometimes he would look on thoſe who were ſhooting with arrows, or playing with bowls; but as for himſelf, he never took any diverſion, taking that word in its uſual ſenſe. He had two or three friends, who were conſtantly at his table, becauſe he liked their company; but in all his life he never had one favourite, or ſuffered any body to get an aſcendant over him. His equipage, his great houſe-keeping, his numerous dependance, were the effects of his ſenſe, and not at all of his paſſions, for he delighted little in any of them; and whenever he had any time to ſpare, he fled, as his expreſſion was, to Theobalds, and buried himſelf in privacy.

(115) Life of William Lord Burleigh. Lloyd's State Worthies. Memoirs of the Adminiſtration of William Lord Burleigh.

magnificent

(x) Stowe's Annals, p. 737. Holland's *Heroologia Anglicana.*

magnificent tomb erected to his memory (x). Yet in the parish-register it is expressly said, that William Lord Burleigh was buried there (y), August 29, 1598; from whence one would imagine, that his body was not conveyed to Westminster at all, but rather sent immediately to Stamford. As in other things he was happier than most great Ministers, so particularly in this, that his descendants have continued, for a long series of years, in the quiet possession of high titles and large estates; and the female branches of this family have intermarried with the noblest houses in this island, which were blessings, that, of all others, this noble and venerable person most esteemed [*EE*]. Besides, his fame

(y) Register of St. Martin's parish in Stamford.

[*EE*] *This noble and venerable person most esteemed.*] We have already shewn, that he had by his first wife, Mary Cheke, daughter of Peter Cheke, Esq; and sister of Sir John Cheke, his eldest son Thomas, a nobleman of great courage, and of unblemished probity, who in the last year of Queen Elizabeth's reign was honoured with the Garter: in the third year of King James he was created Earl of Exeter, which was in those days thought a very extraordinary favour, since it was the first instance, where the title of a county town was given to one family, while the title of the county remained in another, as it then did, in Mountjoy Earl of Devonshire (116). His Lordship married first Dorothy, one of the daughters and coheiresses of John Lord Latimer, by whom he had issue five sons and eight daughters. His second wife was Frances, daughter to the Lord Chandois, by whom he had only one daughter, who died in her infancy. He died February 7th, 162$\frac{1}{2}$, and was buried in St. John's chapel (117), in the collegiate church of St. Peter at Westminster. By his second wife, Mildreda, eldest daughter of Sir Anthony Coke, of Giddy-Hall in Essex, the Lord Burleigh had issue one son and two daughters, *viz.* Robert, who succeeded him gradually in his employments, and of whom at large in the next article. Anne was married to Edward Earl of Oxford, who, when he could not prevail upon his father-in-law to save his friend, the Duke of Norfolk's life, told him in great wrath, *He would do all he could to ruin his daughter*; and he kept his word, for he deserted her bed, spent most of his own great estate, and by a series of ill usage broke her heart (118). Elizabeth, who married William Wentworth, Esq; Both these ladies his lordship out-lived, and by his will provided generously for the children of the former. As for the latter her husband died before her, and by him she had no issue (119). By his will the Lord Burleigh constituted Dr. Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster, his old faithful friend, and Thomas Bellot, his Steward, who had lived long in his family, his executors (120); and left them a very large sum of money to be distributed in charitable uses, which was most punctually and faithfully performed (121). By the care of these two diligent and faithful persons, his college at Stamford was duly settled; and many other things, according to that worthy person's desire, who was yet so far from affecting to appear charitable in his last moments, or to dispose of what he could no longer keep, that he left nothing to be done then which it was before in his power to do; for he raised the commons of the students at St. John's College in Cambridge, a third in his life-time, as I have seen in a letter of his to his son, Sir Robert Cecil; wherein he mentions it as a reason, why the Queen should allow him more freely to intercede for that college. It was also by his procurement, that his kind master, King Edward VI. left also a legacy to that college; but whether it was complied with or not, does not appear. By the fidelity also of his lordship's executors, his real and personal estate was preserved intire and untouched; though a very exact account was taken of it by Queen Elizabeth's order, who, very probably, might have a notion, that being so long in her service he died in her debt. In this respect she had been remarkably exact, or rather severe: she caused the Earl of Leicester's goods to be sold for the money due to her, though he had stood so high in her favour; she is said to have broken Chancellor Hatton's heart, by demanding of him suddenly an old debt; and though at the request of the Lord Treasurer she granted Sir John Perrot's estate, who died under sentence, to his son, yet after that son's death she resumed the forfeiture; though it was upon very good grounds believed, that old Sir John Perrot was her brother. But Lord Burleigh knew her disposition so well, that he took care to guard against it, by keeping the accounts in the Treasury in constant order, never paying any thing without her express warrant, and never touching a penny of public money for his private use, during his whole administration, though it had been the custom of his predecessors to borrow money out of the Treasury, and pay it again. But he was too wise to follow any example of so dangerous a nature; and by this caution, and the great integrity of his executors, who were perfectly acquainted with his management, there was no room left so much as for a suspicion that any of the Queen's money was in his hands; and therefore the inspection into the estates and effects of which he died possessed, the record of which is still extant, turned only to the benefit of his heirs and his family, and to heighten that high reputation which for prudence and probity he had acquired while living; so that in private, as well as in public life, after, as well as before his decease, all researches into his conduct brought nothing to light, but what added to the general esteem for his person, or to that veneration which was borne, and will be ever borne to his memory, so long as regard is paid to unspotted virtue, exalted abilities, and unparalleled application.

(116) Yorke's Union of Honour, p. 144.

(117) Antiquities of St. Peter's, Westminster, vol. i. p. 169.

(118) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 199.

(119) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(120) Memoirs of William Lord Burleigh.

(121) Camden. Annal. p. 775.

*** [The preceding account of Lord Burleigh is so full, as well as so excellently written, that it may be thought not to require, or, indeed, to admit of much enlargement. We shall mention, however, some additional circumstances that have occurred to us, with regard to his personal history, the representations which have been given of his character, and the farther publications of any of his letters.

It appears, from the Earl of Hardwicke's state papers, that, in 1561, Lord Burleigh (then Sir William Cecil) laboured under some disgust, though of what nature it is now impossible to explain. In a letter to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, at that time Ambassador in France, he expresses himself in the following terms: "I might lament my place that I "hold, being, to outward appearance, because of "frequentation with her Majesty, of much credit; "and indeed, of none at all. But my remedy is "only to leave the place; wherein my only grief is, "to see the likelihood of such successors, as I am "sure shall or will destroy all my good purposes. I "may not write, but yet I may lament. What is "my credit to help any body, may appear in myself, "that have been forced to sell off the land which I "had when I came to this place with the queen; one "hundred and fifty pounds of good known land; "and, at this instant, I am with burden of debt "compelled to ask leave of her Majesty to sell away "my office in the Common Pleas, that hath been "the only stay of my living these fifteen years, and "her Majesty doth license me so to do." However the case might be with Sir William Cecil at that particular time, it is notorious, as the Earl of Hardwicke justly observes, that he raised a very considerable fortune out of his long course of service (122.) That Lord Burleigh, notwithstanding the general excellence of his character and administration, had many enemies, and many accusations brought against him, is sufficiently apparent from his article. We find, from Dr. Birch, that, in 1592, our great Statesman was charged with a design of marrying his son to the Lady Arabella (123.) He was accused, likewise, of dealing hardly with a Mr. Edmund Palmer, who, though he had exhausted his substance in obtaining intelligence, could not procure from the Treasurer one penny for his expence and labour (124.) The Queen's

(122) Miscellaneous State Papers, vol. i. p. 170. 178.

(123) Birch's Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 84.

(124) *Ibid.* p. 95.

fame hath not only triumphed over the envy of his contemporaries, and the calumnies that were ſpread by his adverſaries, who were alſo thoſe of this nation, over all Europe, but

Queen's regard to Lord Burleigh, though ſincere and permanent, was occaſionally intermixed with no ſmall degree of petulance and ill humour. He was ſeverely reproached by her, in 1594, on account of the ſtate of affairs in Ireland (125); and, on another occaſion, when he perſiſted, againſt her will, in a deſign of quitting the court for a few days, for the purpoſe of taking phyſic, ſhe called him "a froward old fool (126)." He fell, alſo, under her Majeſty's diſpleaſure, becauſe he diſagreed with her in opinion concerning an affair which related to the Earl of Eſſex. Having ſupported the Earl's claim, in oppoſition to the Queen, her indignation was ſo much excited againſt the Treaſurer, that ſhe treated him as a miſcreant and a coward (127). Lord Burleigh being in the latter part of his life much ſubject to the gout, Sir John Harrington obſerves, in a letter to his Lordſhip, that he did not invite the ſtay of ſuch a gueſt, by rich wines, or ſtrong ſpices (128). It is probable that the frequent return of this diſorder, in conjunction with the weight of buſineſs, and the general infirmities of age, contributed to the peeviſhneſs into which he was ſometimes betrayed. In a converſation which he had with Monſ. de Fouquerolles, an agent from Henry the Fourth, King of France, he loſt himſelf ſo much, as to reflect in the groſſeſt terms upon that Monarch. This was, indeed, an aſtoniſhing act of imprudence, in a man of his years and experience (129); and affords a ſtriking inſtance of the errors and inadvertencies to which the wiſeſt and beſt perſons are liable. When the Lord Treaſurer died, Queen Elizabeth was ſo much affected with the event, that ſhe took it very grievouſly, ſhed tears, and ſeparated herſelf, for a time, from all company (130).

(125) *Ibid.* p. 169.

(126) *Ibid.* p. 448.

(127) Birch, *ubi ſupra*, vol. ii. p. 146, 147.

(128) Nugæ Antiquæ, vol. ii. p. 82.

(129) Birch's Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, vol. ii. p. 328, 329.

(130) *Ibid.* p. 390.

We cannot omit the characters which have been drawn of his Lordſhip by ſome of our recent hiſtorians. Mr. Guthrie hath ſpoken of him in high terms of applauſe. "He poſſeſſed, ſays this writer, "a ſagacity that was maſter of both fortunes; in "the dejected, never without reſources; in the "proſperous, never without caution; and in both "preſerving equanimity. Than him, no man had "ever leſs reaſon to worſhip fortune for his riſe. "His application, without diſcernment, would have "made him wealthy in a low ſphere; his diſcern-"ment, with application, made him great in the "higheſt. Of all men of genius, he was the moſt of "a drudge; of all men of buſineſs, he was the moſt "of a genius. He was too penetrating to be ſunk "by the ſtorms of a court; for he weathered them "by managing his ſails, rather than by altering his "courſe. He was a ſincere proteſtant, but knew "how to preſerve both his intereſt and his conſci-"ence; and he had a yet greater art, that of avoid-"ing to put either of them into hazard. He often "made uſe of diſſimulation, ſeldom of deceit; for "he knew how to conceal, without counterfeiting "truth.—All parties had an opinion of his abilities, "few had any diſtruſt of his virtues (131)." If Mr. Hume's character of our Stateſman be not equally advantageous, it is, notwithſtanding, much in his favour. "Lord Burleigh," ſays this elegant hiſtorian, "died in an advanced age; and by a rare for-"tune, was equally regretted by his ſovereign and "the people. He had riſen gradually, from ſmall "beginnings, by the mere force of merit; and "though his authority was never entirely abſolute, "or uncontrouled with the Queen, he was ſtill, "during a courſe of nearly forty years, regarded as "her Miniſter. None of her other inclinations or "affections could ever overcome her confidence in ſo "uſeful a Counſellor; and as he had had the gene-"roſity or good ſenſe to pay aſſiduous court to her, "during her ſiſter's reign, when it was dangerous to "appear her friend, ſhe thought herſelf bound in "gratitude, when ſhe mounted the throne, to per-"ſevere in her attachments to him. He ſeems not "to have poſſeſſed any ſhining talents of addreſs, "eloquence, or imagination; and was chiefly diſtin-"guiſhed by ſolidity of underſtanding, probity of "manners, and indefatigable application to buſineſs: "Virtues, which, if they do not always enable a "man to riſe to high ſtations, do certainly qualify "him beſt for filling them. Of all the Queen's "Miniſters he was the only one who left a conſide-"rable fortune to his poſterity; a fortune not ac-"quired by rapine or oppreſſion, but gained by the "regular profits of his offices, and preſerved by fru-"gality (132)."

(131) Guthrie's Hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 69.

(132) Hume's Hiſtory of England, vol. v. p. 408, 409. Edition of 1763.

We cannot avoid obſerving, by the way, that Mr. Hume, in another part of his hiſtory, hath miſrepreſented Sir William Cecil's argument, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, concerning the eſtabliſhment of the reformation. He deſcribes him as ſaying, among other things, that the nation had of late been ſo accuſtomed to revolutions in religion, that men had loſt all idea of truth and falſehood in ſuch ſubjects. For the authority of what he hath written, Mr. Hume refers to Burnet and Camden; but no ſuch ſentiment, as that we have ſpecified, is to be found either in Burnet or Camden, or in the original paper from which theſe two hiſtorians have drawn their account of the reaſons that were given for the abolition of popery (133). Indeed, it was impoſſible that any ſentiment of that kind could have been delivered by Sir William Cecil. It would have been equally contrary to his own ideas of things and the ſpirit of the times. There were, no doubt, in that age, as there are in every age, many perſons of worldly or timid diſpoſitions, who would conceal their private opinions, and bend their outward behaviour to the dictates of power; and there might be others, who entertained a high idea of the reverence that was to be paid to the ſupreme authority of the ſtate. But ſtill, there have been few periods with regard to which it could with leſs juſtice have been aſſerted, that men had loſt all idea of truth and falſehood in religious ſubjects. On the contrary, the minds of people were extremely agitated on ſuch ſubjects, and they laid a ſtreſs upon them, of which, at preſent, we have little conception. They thought that their eternal ſalvation or their eternal damnation, depended upon the truth or falſehood of tenets which we now look upon with much indifference. Mr. Hume is doubly blameable; firſt, in aſcribing to Sir William Cecil what there is no evidence of his having ſpoken; and ſecondly, in putting ſentiments into his mouth that were repugnant to his real principles. Such a conduct is a flagrant falſification of hiſtory, and deſerves to be ſeverely cenſured. The writer of the Britiſh Biography hath very properly pointed out and condemned Mr. Hume's behaviour in this reſpect (134).

(133) *Ibid.* p. 5, 6. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reform. vol. ii. p. 377. and Appendix to ditto; and Camden, in Kennett's Compleat Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 370.

(134) Britiſh Biography, vol. iii. p. 197, note.

To return to Lord Burleigh's general character, the Earl of Hardwicke, than whom no one can be a better judge of our eminent Stateſman's real merit, hath expreſſed his high opinion of him in one or two places. Speaking of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, he ſays, that Cecil, "who went by plain ways to direct ends," diſliked his intriguing ſpirit, and dreaded his abilities. Lord Hardwicke farther obſerves, that in the letters which he hath pnbliſhed from Cecil, the reader will have ample proofs of his wiſdom, integrity and moderation (135). But whilſt both our older and later writers ſo generally concur in giving the higheſt character of Lord Burleigh, there is one modern hiſtorian, Dr. Smollet, who hath endeavoured to detract from his fame, and hath ſpoken of him in the following diſparaging terms. "In the midſt of theſe "broils, the Lord Burleigh died in extreme old "age, having preſerved his influence to the laſt "moment of his life, againſt all the intrigues of "Leiceſter, Eſſex, and other perſons who ſhared "the Queen's favour. He was one of thoſe cold, "plodding, illiberal Stateſmen who think honeſty "and plain dealing are incompatible with the art of "Government. He had ordinary parts, was capa-"ble of incredible application, and inculcated upon "Elizabeth the maxim which influenced her whole "conduct; namely, that it was her intereſt to keep "all the ſtates of Chriſtendom embroiled by domeſtic "diſſenſions. He was an excellent Miniſter for the "revenue, which he managed with equal frugality

(135) Miſcellaneous State Papers, vol. i. p. 121. 170.

but lives freſh in the memory of good men, and is recorded with the higheſt ſtrains of praiſe in the moſt authentic of our Hiſtories; ſo that it may ſafely, and without the leaſt exag-

" and addreſs. In his private behaviour he was cloſe, " covetous, ill-bred, and ungracious. He died un- " regretted by the people, and was ſucceeded in " office by the Lord Buckhurſt (136)." There is ſcarcely any part of this character (excepting what is ſaid concerning Lord Burleigh's management of the revenue) which is not liable to animadverſion and cenſure. That he thought honeſty and plain dealing incompatible with the art of Government, is refuted by the whole tenor of his conduct. That his parts were but ordinary, is contradicted by the long courſe of his able and ſucceſsful Adminiſtration, and by his Letters and State Papers. With regard to his embroiling the States of Chriſtendom, it was wiſe in him to encourage the Proteſtants of Scotland, to ſupport the Huguenots in France, and to aſſiſt the Hollanders in their ſtruggles for liberty. That he was cloſe, covetous, ill-bred, and ungracious, is by no means generally true; though, in the latter part of his life, his numerous infirmities ſometimes expoſed him to a peeviſhneſs of diſpoſition. That he died unregretted by the people, is inconſiſtent with the teſtimony of hiſtory. It is not eaſy to collect a greater number of miſrepreſentations and falſehoods in a ſmall compaſs, than what Dr. Smollet has accumulated in one ſhort paſſage. To complete the abſurdity of it, he aſſerts, in another place, that Lord Burleigh " was a Miniſter " of conſummate judgment, extenſive knowledge, " indefatigable, impenetrable, and implicitly at- " tached to the intereſt of his Sovereign." Whether, obſerves the author of the Britiſh Biography, the hiſtorian be entirely conſiſtent with himſelf, particuculary whether a man can with much propriety be ſaid to have but *ordinary parts*, and at the ſame time poſſeſs *conſummate judgment*, we leave to the determination of our readers (137). A farther inſtance may be mentioned of Dr. Smollet's diſregard to hiſtorical truth, where Lord Burleigh is concerned. Having deſcribed the ſtorm that was brewed againſt him, in 1569, he ſays, that Elizabeth eſpouſed the cauſe of Cecil, becauſe he had always flattered her private animoſity againſt the Queen of Scotland (138). But ſurely there were many other very important reaſons for her Majeſty's attachment to ſo able and faithful a ſervant.

(136) Smollet's Complete Hiſtory of England, vol. iv. p. 478. Third edition.

(137) Britiſh Biography, vol. iii. p. 215. note.

(138) Smollet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 366.

As Lord Burleigh took ſo decided a part againſt Mary, Queen of Scots, it is not ſurpriſing that he ſhould not be a favourite character with Dr. Gilbert Stuart, the late ingenious and ſpirited Apologiſt of that unfortunate princeſs. The Doctor ſpeaks of Cecil as capable of exerciſing an unremitting and unſcrupulous aſſiduity in the gratification of the moſt malignant paſſions of his royal Miſtreſs; as treating the Duke of Norfolk with diſſimulation; and as guilty of acrimonious pertinacity, in his accuſations of Queen Mary (139). Whatever may be thought of his treatment of that Queen, and we do not intend to vindicate every part of his conduct in this reſpect, it muſt be allowed, that he acted from a ſincere attachment to Elizabeth, and from a view to what he believed was required by the good of the kingdom, and the ſafety of the Proteſtant religion. Though he was ſo zealous againſt Mary, an occaſion was once taken, from the accidental circumſtance of his having ſeen her at Buxton, to inſinuate that he had entered into deſigns in her favour. The inſinuation came from the Earl of Leiceſter; and ſuch was the effect of this frivolous artifice upon the paſſions of Elizabeth, that it nearly overſet her opinion of the fidelity of Burleigh. It obliged him, at the ſame time, to be more than uſually active againſt the unfortunate Queen of Scotland (140).

(139) Stuart's Hiſtory of Scotland, vol. i. p. 155, 156. vol. ii. p. 33. 341.

(140) *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 152.

Mr. Walpole has given Lord Burleigh a place in his Catalogue of noble Authors; but, at the ſame time, juſtly obſerves, that he is one of thoſe great names, better known in the annals of his country than thoſe in the republic of letters. His Lordſhip's anſwer to a large Latin libel, publiſhed abroad, is particularly taken notice of in the note [*T*]; and it is there aſſerted, that there were many pieces of the like kind written by him, ſome of which were in print, and others in manuſcript. There is likewiſe, in note [*N*], a reference to an unpubliſhed tract of his, entitled, " A Meditation of the State of Eng- " land, during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth." The other writings of Lord Burleigh, mentioned by Mr. Walpole, are as follows: " La Complainte de " l'Ame pechereſſe," in French verſe, extant in the King's library. " Carmina duo Latina in Obitum " Margaretie Nevillæ, Reginæ Catherinæ à Cubi- " culis." " Carmen Latinum in Memoriam Tho. " Challoneri Equitis aurati, præfixum ejuſdem Li- " bro de reſtauratâ Republica." " A Preface to " Queen Catherine Parr's Lamentation of a Sinner." When Sir William Cecil accompanied the Duke of Somerſet on his expedition to Scotland, he furniſhed materials for an account of that war, which was publiſhed by William Patten, under the title of " Dia- " rium Expeditionis Scoticæ." Lond. 1541, 12mo. This is ſuppoſed to be the reaſon why Lord Burleigh is reckoned by Hollinſhed among the Engliſh Hiſtorians. " The firſt paper or memorial of Sir William Cecil, anno primo Eliz." This, which is only a paper of memorandums, hath been printed in Somers's tracts, from a manuſcript in the Cotton library. " A Speech in Parliament, 1592." This is the ſpeech of which an abſtract is given in note [*AA*]. It was firſt publiſhed by Strype, in his Annals, and hath ſince been inſerted in the Parliamentary Hiſtory, vol. iv. p. 356—363. " Lord Burleigh's Precepts, " or Directions for the well-ordering and carriage " of a Man's Life," 1637. " A Meditation on " the Death of his Lady." Mr. Ballard, in his Memoirs of Britiſh Ladies, (p. 129—132, octavo edition) hath printed this Meditation from an original formerly in the poſſeſſion of James Weſt, Eſq; but now belonging to the Earl of Shelburne. Lord Burleigh was ſuppoſed to be the author of a thin pamphlet, in defence of the puniſhments inflicted on the Roman Catholics in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It is called, " The Execution of Juſtice in England, " for Maintenance of public and chriſtian Peace, " againſt certain Stirrers of Sedition, and Adherents " to the Traytors and Enemies of the Realm, with- " out any Perſecution of them for Queſtions of " Religion, as it is falſely reported, &c." Lond. 1583. Second edition. Other political pieces were aſcribed to him, and even the celebrated libel, entitled " Leiceſter's Commonwealth." It was aſſerted, that the hints, at leaſt, were furniſhed by him for that compoſition. But no proof hath been given of this aſſertion, and it was not founded on any degree of probability. His Lordſhip drew up, alſo, a number of pedigrees, ſome of which are preſerved in the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's library at Lambeth. Theſe contain the genealogies of the Kings of England, from William the Conqueror to Edward the Fourth; of Queen Anne Boleyn; and of ſeveral princely houſes in Germany (141).

(141) Walpole's royal and noble Authors, vol. i. p. 122—127.

Out of the large multitude of Lord Burleigh's letters, which are extant in various places, many have found their way to the preſs. Thirty-three are printed in Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, and three in Howard's Collections (142). Many more may be met with in Dr. Forbes's, Haynes's, and Murdin's State Papers. The two laſt publications are ſpecifically taken from the original letters, and other authentic memorials left by Lord Burleigh, and now remaining at Hatfield-Houſe, in the library of the Earl of Saliſbury. Haynes's Collection, which was publiſhed in 1740, extends from the year 1542 to 1570. Murdin's, which appeared in 1759, reaches from 1571 to 1596. Both theſe publications throw great light on the period to which they relate, and have been of eminent ſervice to our recent Hiſtorians. The whole courſe of the proceedings, relative to Mary Queen of Scots, is particularly diſplayed in theſe collections; on which account much uſe hath lately been made of them by Dr. Gilbert Stuart. In the original papers of Mr. Anthony Bacon, are ſeveral

(142) *Ibid.* p. 126.

exaggeration, be affirmed, that his fortune, in all reſpects, is the faireſt reward that can be propoſed, in order to move future Miniſters to follow his example. C.

veral letters of Lord Burleigh, from which ſundry extracts have been given by Dr. Birch, in his Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth (143). There is, alſo, in the Nugæ Antiquæ, a letter of advice, written by his Lordſhip, in 1578, to Mr. Harington, (afterwards Sir John Harington) then a ſtudent at the Univerſity of Cambridge (144). In the Earl of Hardwicke's miſcellaneous State Papers, beſides a number of letters addreſſed to Cecil, there are ſeven of his own writing, relative to important public concerns (145). One of them ſhews, in a ſtriking view, the friendly behaviour of Lord Burleigh to the Earl of Leiceſter, when that Nobleman laboured under the Queen's diſpleaſure, and reflects great honour on the old Treaſurer's memory. It is ſtrange, ſays the Earl of Hardwicke, that Camden paſſes it over in ſilence: but, indeed, adds his Lordſhip, that Hiſtorian's omiſſions are very unpardonable, conſidering the lights he had (146). As to Lord Burleigh's unpubliſhed papers, they are ſtill exceedingly numerous, and are extant in the Britiſh Muſeum, in the libraries of the Earls of Saliſbury, Hardwicke, and Shelburne, and in other places.

(143) Memoirs, &c. vol. i. p. 63—66. 69. 123. 188. vol. ii. p. 74—76. 146—348.

(144) Nugæ Antiquæ, vol. ii. p. 282—286.

(145) Miſcellaneous State Papers, vol. i. p. 170—174. 176—179. 297, 298. 324—329. 334—340.

(146) *Ibid.* p. 329.

Some farther particulars might be added to the account which is given, in note [Y], of Lady Burleigh; but we purpoſe to take notice of Sir Anthony Cooke's four learned daughters together, when we come to that gentleman's article.

We ſhall conclude our note with the ten precepts which Lord Burleigh gave to his ſecond ſon, Robert Cecil. They are well worthy of being inſerted in this place, as they afford a farther diſplay of the High Treaſurer's character, caſt ſome light on the manners of the age, and may ſuggeſt very uſeful cautions to any young Nobleman or Gentleman who may chance to peruſe them.

" Son Robert,

" THE virtuous inclinations of thy matchleſs mother, by whoſe tender & godly care thy infancy was governed; together with thy education under ſo zealous & excellent a tutor; puts me in rather aſſurance than hope, that thou art not ignorant of that *ſummum bonum*, which is only able to make thee happy as well in thy death as life; I mean, the true knowledge & worſhip of thy Creator and Redeemer: without which all other things are vaine & miſerable. So, that thy youth being guided by ſo ſufficient a teacher, I make no doubt but he will furniſh thy life with divine & moral documents. Yet, that I may not caſt off the care beſeeming a parent towards his child; or that thou ſhouldeſt have cauſe to derive thy whole felicity & welfare rather from others than from whence thou receivedſt thy breath & being; I think it fit & agreeable to the affection I beare thee, to help thee with ſuch rules & advertiſements for the ſquaring of thy life, as are rather gained by experience than by much reading. To the end, that entring into this exorbitant age, thou mayeſt be the better prepared to ſhunne thoſe ſcandalous courſes whereunto the world, & the lack of experience, may eaſily draw thee. And, becauſe I will not confound thy memory, I have reduced them into ten precepts; &, next unto Moſes tables, if thou imprint them in thy mind, thou ſhalt reap the benefit, & I the content. And they are theſe following.

" 1. When it ſhall pleaſe God to bring thee to man's eſtate, uſe great providence & circumſpection in chuſing thy wife. For from thence will ſpring all thy future good or evil. And it is an action of life, like unto a ſtratagem of warre; wherein a man can erre but once. If thy eſtate be good, match neere home & at leiſure; if weak, far off & quickly. Enquire diligently of her diſpoſition, & how her parents have been inclined in their youth. Let her not be poore, how generous ſoever. For a man can buy nothing in the market with gentility. Nor chuſe a baſe & uncomely creature altogether for wealth; for it will cauſe contempt in others & loathing in thee. Neither make choice of [a] dwarfe, or [a] fool; for, by the one thou ſhalt beget a race of pigmies; the other will be thy continual diſgrace; and it will yirke thee to hear her talk. For thou ſhalt find it, to thy great grief, that there is nothing more fulſome than a ſhe-foole.

" And, touching the guiding of thy houſe, let thy hoſpitallitie be moderate; &, according to the meanes of thy eſtate, rather plentifull than ſparing, but not coſtly. For I never knewe any man grow poore by keeping an orderly table. But ſome conſume themſelves through ſecret vices, & their hoſpitalitie bears the blame. But baniſh ſwiniſh drunkards out of thine houſe, which is a vice impairing health, conſuming much, & makes no ſhew. I never heard praiſe aſcribed to the drunkard, but [for] the well-bearing [of] his drink; which is a better commendation for a brewers horſe or a dray-man, then for either a gentleman, or [a] ſerving-man. Beware thou ſpend not above three of four parts of thy revennewes; nor above a third part of that in thy houſe. For the other two parts will do no more than defray thy extraordinaries, which alwayes ſurmount the ordinary by much: otherwiſe thou ſhalt live, like a rich beggar, in continual want. And the needy man can never live happily nor contentedly. For every diſaſter makes him ready to mortgage or ſell. And that gentleman, who ſells an acre of land, ſells an ounce of credit. For gentility is nothing elſe but antient riches. So that if the foundation ſhall at any time ſinke, the building muſt need followe—So much for the firſt precept.

" 2. Bring thy children up in learning & obedience, yet without outward auſterity. Praiſe them openly, reprehend them ſecretly. Give them good countenance & convenient maintenance according to thy abilitie; otherwiſe thy life will ſeeme their bondage, & what portion thou ſhalt leave them at thy death, they will thank death for it, & not thee. And I am perſwaded that the fooliſh cockering of ſome parents, & the over-ſtern carriage of others, cauſeth more men & wemmen to take ill courſes, then their own vicious inclinations. Marry thy daughters in time, leſt they marry themſelves. And ſuffer not thy ſonnes to paſs the Alpes. For they ſhall learne nothing there, but pride, blaſphemy, & atheiſm. And if by travell they gett a few broken languages, that ſhall profit them nothing more than to have one meat ſerved in divers diſhes. Neither, by my conſent, ſhalt thou train them up in warres. For he that ſets up his reſt to live by that profeſſion, can hardly be an honeſt man or a good chriſtian. Beſides it is a ſcience no longer in requeſt then uſe. For ſouldiers in peace, are like chimneys in ſummer.

" 3. Live not in the countrey without corn & cattle about thee. For he that putteth his hand to the purſe for every expence of houſehold, is like him that keepeth water in a ſieve, And, what proviſion thou ſhalt want, learn to buy it at the beſt hand. For there is one penny ſaved in four, betwixt buying in thy need, & when the markets & ſeaſons ſerve fitteſt for it. Be not ſerved with kinſmen, or friends, or men intreated to ſtay; for they expect much, & doe little: nor with ſuch as are amorous, for their heads are intoxicated. And keep rather two too few, than one too many. Feed them well, & pay them with the moſt; & then thou mayſt boldly require ſervice at their hands.

" 4. Let thy kindred & allies be welcome to thy houſe & table. Grace them with thy countenance, & farther them in all honeſt actions. For by this means thou ſhalt ſo double the band of nature, as thou ſhalt find them ſo many advocates to plead an apology for thee behind thy back. But ſhake off thoſe glow-wormes, I mean, paraſites & ſycophants, who will feed & fawn upon thee in the ſummer of proſperitie, but, in an adverſe ſtorme, they will ſhelter thee no more then an arbour in winter.

" 5. Beware of ſuretyſhip for thy beſt friends. He that payeth another mans debts, ſeeketh his own decay. But, if thou canſt not otherwiſe chuſe, rather lend thy money thy ſelf upon good bonds, although thou borrow it. So ſhalt thou ſecure thy ſelf,

&

& pleaſure thy friend. Neither borrow money of a neighbour or a friend, but of a ſtranger; where paying for it, thou ſhalt hear no more of it. Otherwiſe thou ſhalt eclipſe thy credit, loſe thy freedom, & yet pay as dear as to another. But in borrowing of money be precious of thy word. For he that hath care of keeping dayes of payment is lord of another mans purſe.

" 6. Undertake no ſuit againſt a poor man with receiving much wrong. For, beſides [that] thou makeſt him thy compeer, it is a baſe conqueſt to triumph where there is ſmall reſiſtance. Neither attempt law againſt any man before thou be fully reſolved that thou haſt right on thy ſide: and then ſpare not for either money or paines. For a cauſe or two ſo followed & obtained, will free thee from ſuits a great part of thy life.

" 7. Be ſure to keep ſome great man thy friend, but trouble him not for trifles. Compliment him often with many, yet ſmall, gifts, & of litcle charge. And if thou haſt cauſe to beſtow any great gratuity, let it be ſomething which may be daily in ſight. Otherwiſe, in this ambitious age, thou ſhalt remaine like a hop without a pole; live in obſcurity, & be made a foot-ball for every inſulting companion to ſpurn at.

" 8. Towards thy ſuperiors, be humble, yet generous. With thine equals, familiar, yet reſpective. Towards thine inferiours ſhew much humanity, & ſome familiarity: as to bow the body; ſtretch forth the hand; & to uncover the head: with ſuch like popular compliments. The firſt prepares thy way to advancement. The ſecond makes thee knowne for a man well bred. The third gains a good report; which, once got, is eaſily kept. For right humanitie takes ſuch deep root in the minds of the multitude, as they are eaſilier gained by unprofitable curteſies then by churliſh benefits. Yet I adviſe thee not to affect, or neglect, popularitie too much. Seeke not to be Eſſex: ſhunne to be Rawleigh.

" 9. Truſt not any man with thy life, credit or eſtate. For it is meer folly for a man to enthrall himſelf to his friend, as though, occaſion being offered, he ſhould not dare to become the enemie.

" 10. Be not ſcurrilous in converſation, nor ſatyricall in thy jeſts. The one will make thee unwelcome to all company; the other pull on quarrels, & get the[e] hatred of thy beſt frends. For ſuſpitious jeſts (when any of them ſavour of truth) leave a bitterneſs in the mindes of thoſe which are touched. And, albeit I have already pointed at this incluſively; yet I think it neceſſary to leave it to thee as a ſpeciall caution. Becauſe I have ſeene many ſo prone to quip & gird, as they would rather leeſe their friend then their jeſt. And if perchance their boiling braine yield a quaint ſcoffe, they will travell to be delivered of it as a woman with child. Theſe nimble fancies are but the froth of wit (147)."

(147) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, vol. i. p. 47—49. Edition of 1779.

It is remarkable, that what Lord Burleigh hath ſaid, in the preceding paper, concerning the danger and evil of foreign travel beyond the Alpes, was verified in his own family. His grandſon, William, the ſecond Earl of Exeter, and his great-grandſon, Lord Roos, were both of them, when at Rome, perverted to the Popiſh religion (148). The ſame zeal for making converts doth not, at preſent, ſubſiſt among the Roman Catholics; but, perhaps, there may ſtill be a danger of acquiring, in certain countries abroad, ſome other principles which are unfavourable to piety, virtue, and true happineſs.] K.

(148) Birch's Life of Prince Henry, p. 213—215.

CECIL, or CECYLL (ROBERT), the firſt Earl of Saliſbury, and one of the ableſt Stateſmen in Europe, in the end of the ſixteenth, and beginning of the ſeventeenth Century, was the ſon of William Lord Burleigh, by his ſecond Lady, Mildred, eldeſt daughter of Sir Anthony Cook (*a*). He was born about the year 1550[*A*], and being of a weakly conſtitution was tenderly brought up by his mother. Afterwards, he was educated by a careful and excellent Tutor, under whom he very much improved in every branch of Learning (*b*). For his farther improvement, he was ſent to St. John's College Cambridge, the fame in which his father the great Lord Burleigh had received his education. He there took, or had conferred upon him, the degree of Maſter of Arts: for he was incorporated in the ſame at Oxford, Auguſt 30, 1605 (*c*). But his greateſt advantage, was, that he was a Courtier from his cradle; and being trained under his excellent father, became a very great proficient in the knowledge of all State-affairs. As he was the inheritor of the Lord Burleigh's wiſdom, ſo by degrees he ſucceeded him in his places and favour at Court. For, living in thoſe times, when Queen Elizabeth had moſt need of the ableſt perſons, and being ſuch an one himſelf, ſhe employed him in affairs and negotiations of the higheſt conſequence (*d*). Having conferred on him the honour of Knighthood, ſhe ſent him aſſiſtant to the Earl of Derby, Embaſſador to the King of France. At his return, ſhe made him, in 1596, ſecond Secretary of State with Sir Francis Walſingham; after whoſe deceaſe he continued Principal, as long as he lived (*e*). Whilſt he continued in that office, he was, as one expreſſes it (*f*), a Craftſmaſter in foreign intelligence, which he had from all parts of the world; holding, at his own charge, a correſpondence with all Embaſſadors, and neighbouring States (*g*): By which means he diſcovered Queen Elizabeth's enemies abroad, and private conſpiracies at home. For this the Queen extremely valued him, and the Papiſts hated him as much[*B*]. He was one of the chief inſtruments in the diſgrace and fall of Robert, Earl of Eſſex, who had all along oppoſed his promotion (*h*). In 1597, he was conſtituted Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaſter (*i*), and was alſo Lord Privy-Seal (*k*). In 1598, he was one of the Commiſſioners (*l*) ſent into France, to negotiate a peace between that Crown and Spain (*m*): and in 1599, ſucceeded his father, the Lord Burleigh, in the office of Maſter of the

(*a*) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 407. and Peck's *Deſiderata Curioſa*, edit. 1732, in Life of William Lord Burleigh, vol. i. B. i. p. 7.

(*b*) See Ten Precepts, which William Lord Burleigh gave to his ſecond ſon Robert Cecil, in Peck's *Deſiderata Curioſa*, edit. 1732, fol. B. i. p. 7.

(*c*) Wood, Faſti, edit. 1721, vol. i. col. 171.

(*d*) Sir Robert Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, edit. 1653, 12*mo*. p. 78, 79. and Aulicus Coquinariæ, edit. 1650, 8*vo*. p. 50.

(*e*) Aulicus Coquinariæ, *ibid.* and Camden's Ann. of Queen Elizabeth, under the year 1596.

(*b*) See Camden's Annals as above, under the years 1596, 1597, &c.

(*f*) Naunton, *ubi ſupra*.

(*g*) Aulicus Coquinariæ, p. 59.

(*i*) *Ibid.* under the year 1597. Memorials of Affairs of State, &c. publiſhed by Edm. Sawyer, Eſq; Lond. 1725, fol. vol. i. p. 41.

(*k*) Deſiderata Curioſa, publiſhed by Fr. Peck, vol. i. Book ii. p. 1. edit. 1732.

(*l*) The others were, Sir Tho. Wilks, and John Herbert, Eſq; Maſter of Requeſts.

(*m*) Camden's Annals, as above, under the year 1598, and Wood, edit. 1721. Faſti, vol. i. col. 106.

[*A*] *He was born about the year* 1550.] We have not been able to diſcover any where the exact time of his birth; but have reaſon to conjecture it was about the year ſpecified here. For his father married Mildred Cook, December 21, 1546: Robert was the ſecond child by her, and therefore born about 1549, or 1550 (1). He was one of the young Nobility, that went on board the Engliſh fleet againſt the Spaniſh Armada (†): and was one of the Repreſentatives in Parliament for the county of Hertford, 34 and 39 Elizabethæ (‖).

(1) Life of William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, as above, p. 7.

(†) See Ar. Collins's Peerage under the title of Earl of Exeter.

(‖) Sir H. Chauncey's Hiſt. of Hertfordſhire, p. 17.

[*B*] *The Papiſts hated him.*] And vented their malice againſt him in ſeveral libels, both printed and manuſcript: reflecting in them very groſsly, upon his birth and honour; and threatning to murder him. He returned an anſwer to ſome of them, both in Engliſh and Latin, intitled, *Adverſus Perduelles*; wherein he declares, That he deſpiſed all their threats, for the ſervice of ſo good a cauſe he was engaged in; namely, that of his Religion and Country (2).

(2) Aulicus Coquin. p. 52; and Memorials of Affairs of State, &c. vol. ii. p. 192. 293.

Wards,

Wards [C]; for which he reſigned a better place, that of Chancellor of the Duchy (n) He ſucceeded him alſo in the high poſt of Prime Miniſter, and from that time the publick affairs ſeem to have been entirely under his direction; which he conducted with a capacity worthy of his Prince and Country, and an integrity ſo firm and conſtant, as more than once expoſed his life to the implacable malice of the Spaniards and Jeſuits, as will preſently appear. During the laſt years of the reign of his glorious Miſtreſs, he ſupported her declining age with that vigour and prudence, as at once enabled her to aſſiſt her allies the States, when they were ingloriouſly abandoned by France, and to baffle a dangerous Rebellion in Ireland, fomented and cheriſhed by a ſtrong aſſiſtance from Spain (o). Though he was a faithful ſervant to his Miſtreſs Queen Elizabeth, yet, like many others, he adored the riſing Sun, and kept a correſpondence with her Succeſſor King James I. (p). At one time, he was very near being diſcovered [D], but by uncommon preſence of mind he avoided the danger (q). His private ſervices to that Monarch, or elſe the intereſt of Sir George Hume (r), ſo effectually recommended him to King James, that he took him into the higheſt degree of favour [E], and continued him in his office of Prime-Miniſter (s). And though, in that reign, the publick affairs were not carried on with the ſame ſpirit as in the laſt, the fault cannot with juſtice be charged on this great Miniſter, but on the King; who, being of a fearful and unenterprizing temper, was reſolved to have peace with all the world, and eſpecially with Spain, at any rate (t). But, notwithſtanding Sir Robert Cecil was far from approving in his heart the meaſures taken for obtaining that inglorious peace, yet he ſo far ingratiated himſelf with his Sovereign, that he was raiſed by him to great honours. For, on the 13th of May 1603, he was created Baron of Eſſenden in Rutlandſhire; on the 20th of Auguſt 1604, Viſcount Cranborne in Dorſetſhire (being the firſt of that degree that ever uſed a Coronet;) and, on the 4th of May 1605, Earl of the city of Saliſbury [F] (u). Auguſt 30, 1605, he was incorporated Maſter of Arts at Oxford, as he ſtood at Cambridge (w). And alſo was Chancellor of the Univerſity of Cambridge (x), and May 20, 1605, inſtalled Knight of the Garter (y). He ſhewed himſelf all along a true ſervant to his Prince, but without neglecting at the ſame time the real Intereſt and Advantage of his Country. As an inſtance of which, he never heartily eſpouſed the Spaniſh Intereſt, though it was the only one countenanced by King James; and ſome of our Courtiers, by encouraging it, got immenſe riches [G]. The court of Spain were ſo ſenſible of his little inclination, or rather extreme averſion, to them [H], that they endeavoured

(n) Memorials of Affairs of State, &c. as above, p. 41.

(o) Memorials, &c. as above. Preface to vol. i.

(p) See Life of King James, by W. Sanderſon, p. 258, edit. 1656, fol.

(q) Life and Reign of King James I. by A. Wilſon, in Complete Hiſt. of England, edit. 1706, vol. ii. p. 662.

(r) Weldon's Court and Character of King James, Lond. 1650, p. 10.

(s) Preface to vol. i. of Memorials, &c. as above.

(t) Memorials, &c. in Preface, as above.

(u) Pat. 1 Jac. p. 14; Pat. 2 Jac. p. 12; and Pat. 3 Jac. p. 12. See alſo Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 407. Rafe Brooke's Catalog. in the *Earls of Saliſbury*.

(w) Wood, Faſti, edit. 1721, vol. i. col. 171.

(x) Dugdale, *ibid.*

(y) Liſt of the Knights of the Garter, in Aſhmole; and Camden's Annals of King James I. under the year 1606.

[C] *He ſucceeded his father——in the office of Maſter of the Wards.*] In which he was ſo reſtrained by new orders, that he was a Ward himſelf; as he expreſſes it (3).

(3) Memorials, &c. as above, p. 41.

[D] *At one time he was very near being diſcovered.*] For, as the Queen was taking the air upon Blackheath, near Greenwich, a Poſt riding by, her Majeſty enquired from whence it came; and being told, 'From Scotland,' ſhe ſtopped her coach to receive the packet. Sir Robert Cecil, who was in the coach with her, fearful leſt ſome of his ſecret conveyances ſhould be diſcovered; having a ready wit, calls for a knife ſuddenly to open it, that delays and puts-off might not beget ſuſpicion. When he came to cut it open, he told the Queen, It looked and ſmelt very ill, coming out of many naſty budgets; ſo that it was proper to open and air it before ſhe ſaw what it contained. Now, the Queen having an extreme averſion to ill-ſcents, that ſudden thought of the Secretary's hindered her from ſmelling out his underhand contrivances (4). After the Queen's deceaſe, it was he who firſt publickly read her will, and proclaimed King James (5).

(4) Wilſon, as above.

(5) *Ibid.*

[E] *His private ſervices,——or elſe the intereſt of Sir George Hume (afterwards Earl of Dunbar) recommended him to King James.*] One author, if he deſerves credit (6), relates the following ſtory. 'Sir 'George Hume being the only man that was the 'guider of the King, and his affairs, all the wiſer 'ſort of Engliſh made their addreſſes unto him; 'amongſt thoſe Sir Robert Cecill, a very wiſe man, 'but much hated in England, by reaſon of the freſh 'bleeding of that univerſally beloved Earle of Eſſex, 'and for that was clouded alſo in the King's favour. 'He came to Yorke, but lay cloſe, unſeene, or ſcarce 'known to be in the city, untill he knew what entertainment he ſhould receive from the King; for he 'was in his owne, and all men's opinions, ſo under 'the hatches, as not ever to appear above-aboard 'againe (nor did any of the counter-faction to Eſſex, 'beſides himſelfe, ever attain to the King's favour); 'but thoſe friends raiſed by his wit, and purſe, did 'ſo co-operate (of which Sir Roger Aſton, that plaine 'man was principal, for which he loſt not his labour) 'that Sir Geo. Hume, and Sir Robert Cecill had 'many ſecret meetings; and did ſo comply, that Sir 'Robert Cecill, to the admiration of all, did appeare, and come out of his chamber like a giant, 'to run his race for honour, and fortune; and who 'in ſuch dearneſs and privacy with the King, as Sir 'Robert Cecill: as if he had been his faithful ſervant many years before.' But Dr. Goodman, author of *Aulicus Coquinariæ* (7), thinks, That Sir Robert Cecill's merit; his perpetual correſpondence by emiſſaries of his own into Scotland; and the great want King James had of his advice and directions, how to render himſelf moſt acceptable to his new ſubjects, were recommendation enough with that Monarch, without any need of Sir George Hume's intereſt or interpoſition.

(6) Weldon, Court and Character of King James, p. 10, 11.

(7) Page 51.

[F] *Earl of the city of Saliſbury.*] He, and his elder brother, Thomas, Earl of Exeter, were both created Earls in one day; but Sir Robert was created firſt, and by that means had the precedence: which, it ſeems, occaſioned for ſome time great uneaſineſs between theſe two noble families.

[G] *Some of our Courtiers, by encouraging it, got immenſe riches.*] We are told (8), 'That there was 'not one Courtier of note, who taſted not of Spain's 'bounty, either in gold or jewels; and among them, 'not any in ſo large a proportion as the Counteſs of 'Suffolk, who ſhared in her Lord's intereſt, being 'then a potent man, and in that intereſt which ſhe 'had, in being miſtreſs to that little great Secretary '(||) (little in body and ſtature, but great in wit and 'policy) the ſole manager of ſtate-affairs.'

(8) Weldon, *ubi ſupra*, p. 27.

(||) The Earl of Saliſbury.

[H] *The Court of Spain were ſenſible of his little inclination, or rather averſion, to them.*] He received intimations of it from Sir Charles Cornwallis, Embaſſador in Spain; who thus writes to him: '——'Great doubt they [the Spaniards] make of your 'Lordſhip's diſpoſition towards them: but, I have 'ſo well reſolved them, as they ſeem to ſhew more 'confidence; yet more they deſire, if by any means they

deavoured to alienate the King his Maſter's favour from him, by means of the Queen (z); and it was moved there in Council, to ſend complaints to England of his malignant humour, or enmity, to the Spaniſh nation: upon which, if he did not alter his conduct, then a ſhorter courſe ſhould be taken with him; that is, they would deſtroy him (a). Afterwards, they came to have great hopes of him, and reſolved to omit no means to gain him over to their ſide (b). But when all the Popiſh deſigns happened to be blaſted by the diſcovery of the Gunpowder-plot; a plot in the diſcovery of which this Lord was very active; ſo enraged thereupon was the body of the Roman Catholicks, that ſome of them formed a combination againſt him (c). That however taking no effect, they attempted to ruin him in the King's favour, by reporting, that he had a penſion of forty thouſand Crowns from the States of the United Provinces, for being their ſpecial favourer, friend, ſupporter, and patron (d). Moreover, they branded him with the appellation of a Puritan [I], a name very odious to King James (e). Finally, they plotted to murder him, by a muſket-ſhot, out of the Savoy, or ſome other houſe near, as he ſhould be going by water to Court (f). But all their wicked machinations proved unſucceſsful [K]. In the Parliament which met at Weſtminſter, November 9, 1605, he got much reputation, love, and honour, for the zeal he then expreſſed for the Proteſtant Religion (g). In the year 1606, he entertained King James, and the King of Denmark who was then in England, four days together, at his ſeat at Theobalds (h). Upon the death of Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorſet, Lord High-Treaſurer of England, in April 1608, he ſucceeded him in that moſt eminent office, on the 4th of May (i): and the choice the King made of him for that place was univerſally applauded; a great reformation being expected from him in the Exchequer (k); which he accordingly effected. And finding it almoſt totally exhauſted, he deviſed theſe ſeveral means to repleniſh it with money, namely, by cauſing the Royal Manors to be ſurveyed, which before were but very imperfectly known: by reviving the cuſtody of Crown lands, by commiſſions of Aſſerts: by taking care to have the King's woods and timber viewed, numbered, marked, and valued: by having an exact ſurvey made of the Copy-hold lands held of the Crown, which he ordered to be printed: by compounding with the Copy-holder of inheritance, and the poſſeſſors of waſtes and Commons originally appertaining to the King: by appointing Commiſſioners, to gather in the fines ariſing from penal laws, and ſuch as accrued from the King's manors; and alſo to ſurvey the eſtates that were extended, or ſeized, for debts to the Crown: by improving the cuſtoms, from eighty-ſix thouſand, to one hundred and twenty thouſand, and afterwards to an hundred and thirty-five thouſand pounds *per annum*; by bargaining, for the New-River water to be conveyed to London, which brought a great yearly revenue: by ſurrendering up his patent of Maſter of the Wards to the King, for his benefit and advantage (l): and likewiſe by Privy-Seals; and by ſelling ſome of the Crown-Lands (m). While he thus ſtudied his Maſter's advantage, he did not, at the ſame time, neglect his own; but got a conſiderable eſtate for himſelf [L], and exchanged his ſeat of Theobalds with the King, for the noble manor of Hatfield

(z) Memorials of Affairs of State, &c. as above, vol. ii. p. 159.

(a) *Ibid.* p. 130.

(b) *Ibid.* p. 159.

(c) *Ibid.* p. 170, 171, 172. 193. 202, 203.

(d) *Ibid.* p. 229. 440.

(e) *Ibid.* p. 464.

(f) *Ibid.* p. 230. 236.

(g) *Ibid.* p. 216. 219.

(h) Edmund Howes's Continuation of Stow's Annales, edit. 1631, p. 885.

(i) Pat. 6 Jacobi, p. 30.

(k) Memorials, &c. as above, vol. ii. p. 399.

(l) Aulicus Coquin. p. 55—61.

(m) Memorials, &c. as above, vol. iii. p. 239. 301. 309.

'they might obtain it. I tell them, that the beſt 'advice is, *Ama & amaberis*: I aſſure them ſuch to 'be your Lordſhip's noble diſpoſition, as where you 'find a ſoundneſs in good will to the King and your 'Country, you need not be ſollicited for your af- 'fection (9) —— And elſewhere —— This State, 'though admiring your worthe, and ſetting the true 'eſteem upon your abilities, yet reſts ſettled in a 'prejudicate opinion of your affection *to them*. For 'myne own parte,——I have travelled to myne ut- 'termoſt to perſuade them the truthe, *viz.* That 'your onely Blancke is the honor and ſafety of your 'King and Country, not paſſion or partial inclina- 'nation (10).'

(9) Memorials, &c. as above, vol. ii. p. 119.

(10) *Ibid.* p. 316. See alſo vol. iii. p. 43.

[I] *They branded him with the appellation of a Puritan.*] But Sir Charles Cornwallis fully reſolved them to the contrary, 'Giving them (to uſe his own words 'to his Lordſhip) to underſtand your noble temper 'and integritye in all your actions:———ending 'with theſe words, That God having bleſſed you 'with ſo great wiſdom, ſoe highe a place in your 'Prince's favours, and ſo happy an eſtate; might 'alſoe, being a meane of a peace to the univerſall 'Church, lay a perpetuall foundation to your Houſe 'and Fame (11).' The anſwer his Lordſhip made, with regard to theſe and the like calumnies, was every way worthy of his noble mind. 'I have learned 'to deſpiſe the malicious ſtinge of evill tongues, 'which hate me for my Religion, and my Coun- 'trye (12).'

(11) *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 464.

(12) *Ibid.* p. 293.

[K] *All their wicked machinations proved unſucceſsful.*] They had not made an end, even in the year 1609. For in June that year, Sir Ch. Cornwallis adviſed his Lordſhip, 'That four Jeſuites lately ſent 'into England, had in charge, for one of their 'eſpecial Commiſſions, to acquaint themſelves with 'ſome neere attendants to my Lords of Canterbury 'and Saliſbury; and whatſoever it ſhould coſt to 'drawe them by poyſon, or other private meanes 'or practice to make an end of thoſe two Lords, as 'the greateſt obſtacles and enemies to the holy Ca- 'tholique Cauſe in England (13).'

(13) *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 43. 48, 49.

[L] *Got a conſiderable eſtate for himſelf.*] We are told (14), that he fleeted off the cream of the King's manors in many counties, not any two lying in any one county; and made choice of moſt in the remoteſt counties: moreover (15), that he had one trick to get the kernel, and leave the Scots but the ſhell, yet caſt all the envy on them. He would make them buy books of Fee-farms, ſome one hundred pounds *per annum*, ſome one hundred marks, and then would compound with them for a thouſand pounds; which they were willing to embrace, becauſe they were ſure to have them paſs without any controul or charge; and one thouſand pounds appeared to them that never ſaw ten pounds before, an inexhauſtible treaſure: then would he fill up this book with ſuch prime land, as ſhould be worth ten or twenty thouſand pounds, which was eaſy for him to do, being Treaſurer. By this means his Lordſhip inriched himſelf infinitely, yet caſt the envy on the Scots, in whoſe names theſe books appeared, and are ſtill upon record to all poſterity; though they had but part of the wax, and the Earl of Saliſbury the honey. The ſame author obſerves farther (16), That the advantage the Lord Treaſurer had, in exchanging Theobalds with the King, was as great, as if he had ſold

(14) Weldon, as above, p. 51.

(15) *Ibid.* p. 60.

(16) *Ib.* p. 51, 52.

(n) Weldon, as above.

field in Hertfordshire (*n*). However, this just commendation is due to him, That he consulted in general the interest of the nation, more than most Prime Ministers, before or since him, have done. For, he always encouraged industry and manufactures: as the home-making of Allum; salt by the Sun; busses for fishing; salt upon salt, by new fires and inventions; copper and copperas of iron and steel; that the subjects at home might be kept on work, and the small treasure of the nation hindred from going abroad. He likewise took great care of improving Ireland; by plantations there, and transplantations of the natives, to advance the customs, and to abate the charges of the garrisons: and introduced an universal course of law and justice, in the most barbarous and remote parts of that nation (*o*). In 1609, he asserted the prerogative of the Crown of England in restraining foreigners from fishing upon our coasts (*p*). The same year, he made a remarkable speech in Parliament, wherein he demanded a yearly revenue of two hundred thousand pounds for his Majesty [*M*]. The House of Commons desiring to know, before they made any answer to that demand, what return the King would make them for the same, were checked for it by the Lord Treasurer, as guilty of want of respect (*q*). This Lord's extreme and indefatigable application to business threw him at length into a consumption of the lungs. After having for some time been in a declining condition, he was attacked, in the beginning of the year 1612, with a tertian ague, which turned to a complication of dropsy and scurvy (*r*). Being advised to go to the Bath, for the recovery of his health, he set out for that place the 27th of April, and continued there till the 21st of May following (*s*). The King visited him before his departure (*t*), and expressed the utmost value for him [*N*]. But the Bath not doing him the service that was expected, he set out again for London on the 21st of May: however he did not live to reach that city; for he died, in Mr. Daniel's house at St. Margaret's in Marleburgh [*O*],

(o) Aulicus Coquin. p. 59, 60.

(p) Memorials, &c. as above, vol. iii. p. 49, 50.

(q) *Ibid.* p. 123. 125.

(r) *Ibid.* p. 332. 338. 363. Aulicus Coq. p. 62.

(s) Memorials, &c. as above, vol. iii. p. 367. Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, vol. i. edit. 1732, B. vi. p. 9, &c.

(t) Aulicus Coquinariæ, p. 62.

sold his Majesty Theobalds for fifty years purchase. And also, that he had reserved to himself and his posterity the being perpetual keepers of the house and parks adjacent. Finally, that, to satisfy his revenge upon some neighbouring gentlemen, that formerly would not sell him some convenient parcels of land bordering on Theobalds, he put the King on enlarging the park, walling and storing it with red deer.

[*M*] *He made a speech in Parliament, wherein he demanded a yearly revenue of* 200,000l. *for his Majesty.*] Amongst other reasons and inducements which he used then, he alledged this; That at the time of his coming into the office of High-Treasurer, he found the King indebted thirteen hundred thousand pounds, whereof part grew in the late Queen's time, for supplying of the wars of Ireland under the Earls of Essex and Devonshire, and the rest since the King's coming to the crown; specifying particularly the manner and occasions of the expence. That since the said time there had been nine hundred thousand pounds of the said debts acquitted, so that there remained yet four hundred thousand pounds to discharge. He shewed moreover, that the ordinary expence of the King amounted to eighty one thousand pounds yearly more than his whole revenue, besides the incidents of extraordinaries; which he said, there is no man but in the supputation of his private accounts did commonly find to amount to the fourth part of his ordinary charges. So that both for the discharging of the remainder of the King's debts, and the due supplying hereafter of his expences (whereof he did not omit to represent the new increase coming upon him by the installation and emancipating of the Prince) his conclusion and demand was, That the House would yield to a yearly and perpetual Grant, and that without necessity of new consents and assemblies, of two hundred thousand pounds for a subvention to his Majesty's charges. And the better to incline and encourage the House to the granting this high and extraordinary demand, he willed every one of them to bring and proffer freely any such griefs as they had, and promised in the King's name, that his Majesty would redress the same, and give them all satisfaction therein, as far as should lie in his power (17).

(17) Memorials, &c. as above, p. 41.

[*N*] *The King visited him before his departure, &c.*] His Majesty visited him twice, soon after the beginning of his illness, and gave charge to the Physicians upon their heads to be careful of him; and commanded all men for four days to forbear speaking to him upon any business (18). Immediately before his departure, his Majesty visited him again at Salisbury-house, and with tears, at parting, protested to the Lords attending, his great loss of the wisest counsellor and best servant, that any Prince in Christendom could parallel (19). And when a report came from Bath, of his being likely to recover, the King sent purposely the Lord Hay to him, with a token, which was, a fair diamond, set, or rather hung, square in a gold ring without a foil, and this message, 'That the favour 'and affection he bore him, was, and should be ever, 'as the form and matter of that Ring, endless, pure, 'and most perfect.' From the Queen he received by the same hand another gracious message, and a token; and at the same time the like remembrance from the Prince delivered by Sir John Hollis: All which were comforts and confirmations of his never otherwise than most faithful and best deserving service (20). And this by the by seems to be a sufficient confutation of the story told by Sir Anthony Weldon (21), That the Duke of Bouillon, who was then in England, about the overture of that unfortunate match between the Palsgrave and the Lady Elizabeth, had so done the Lord Treasurer's errand, and discovered his juggling, that it is most certain, he had been stript of all his great places, if he had lived to return to Court.

(18) Memorials, &c. as above, vol. iii. p. 338.

(19) Aulicus Coquin. p. 62.

(20) Memorials, &c. as above, p. 368.

(21) Court and Character of King James, edit. 1650, 8vo. p. 13.

[*O*] *He died at Mr. Daniel's house at St. Margaret's in Marleburgh.*] Some authors of very slender credit, and much given to detraction, give the following account of his death. That he died of the Herodian disease [vermin]; and, for all his great honours and possessions, and stately houses, found no place but the top of a mole-hill (22), near Marleburgh, to end his miserable life; so that it might be said of him, and truly, he died of a most loathsome disease, without house, without pity, without the favour of that master that had raised him to so high an estate (23). —— The other writer here referred to (24), speaks thus— 'Nor was his death, by prejudice, looked upon as 'Herod's, nor the place it attacked him on, *viz.* 'Sarisbury-plain in his Coach, nor Po his physician 'then present (a mere empirick, and celebrated for 'no skill but in the cure of the ——) small inducement to the reports which followed:——Moreover, 'his body burst the lead it was wrapped in, with so 'much noise and stench as affrighted the by-standers; 'which his calumniators esteemed an effect of God's 'vengeance.' But, besides that these accounts vary in several material circumstances from the text above, which is taken from very authentick writers; it is certain, there is not the least hint of what is asserted by these two scandalous authors, in the relation of this Lord's last moments, minutely given in a letter by his domestic Chaplain Dr. Bowles (25); and by Mr. Fynett, who was one of his constant attendants (26). One author suspects (27), that his Lordship died not without suspicion of poison from Sir Robert Carr.

(22) The ground of this aspersion is, That the day before his death, swooning in the way, he was taken out of his litter, and laid into his coach. Naunton, p. 84.

(23) Weldon, *ubi supra*, p. 13, 14.

(24) Osborne, as above, p. 86, 87.

(25) See Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, vol. i. B. vi. p. 9, &c.

(26) Memorials, &c. as above, vol. iii. p. 367, 368.

(27) First 14 years of King James, edit. 1651, 4to. p. 11.

on Sunday the 24th of May 1612 (*u*). His body being embalmed was brought to Hatfield in Hertfordſhire, where it was magnificently buried (*w*): and a ſumptuous monument was ſome time after erected to his memory [*P*]. By his Lady, Elizabeth, daughter of William Brooke Lord Cobham, he had William, who ſucceeded him in his honours and dignities; and a daughter named Frances, married to Henry Lord Clifford, ſon and heir apparent to Francis, Earl of Cumberland (*x*). As to Robert Earl of Saliſbury's perſon and character; for the firſt he was not much beholding to nature, for he was very much crooked. But he had a good face, which indeed was the beſt part of his outſide. What he wanted in ſhape, was amply made up in prudence, and exquiſite good ſenſe; in which reſpect he was his father's own ſon. For, as one expreſſes it (*y*), upon his little crooked body he carried a head, and a head-piece of a vaſt content. And therein it ſeems nature was ſo diligent to compleat one and the beſt part about him, as that, beſides the perfection of his memory, ſhe took care alſo of his ſenſes, and gave him very quick and ſharp eyes. In his temper, he was of a ſweet diſpoſition, full of mildneſs, courteſy, honeſt mirth, bounty, kindneſs, and gratitude (*z*): but, in what he found to touch the honour and intereſt of his Sovereign, it was his cuſtom to ſpeak roundly and plainly (*a*). In his political capacity, he was the moſt ſufficient and able Counſellor that ever King was ſerved with (*b*): of noble endowments of mind, of a great genius, and perfectly acquainted with the ſtate and intereſt of this nation (*c*): a perſon of great dexterity, ſincerity, and judgment, in the diſpatch of publick affairs (*d*). This is abundantly evident not only from his whole conduct, but alſo from his many Letters to our Embaſſadors abroad [*Q*]; in which he expreſſes himſelf like a perſon of great abilities, and like an honeſt man, and a good Chriſtian. But ſince, as all other officers of State, he hath had a double character, it will therefore be proper to ſee what hath been ſaid to his diſadvantage. He is charged by ſome (*e*), with having done ill offices to this nation, in diſcovering the nature of the people; and ſhowing the King the way, how to enhance his prerogative ſo above the laws, that he might inſlave the nation: which, though it took well then, yet hath been of ſad and dangerous conſequence in after-times. For, firſt, he cauſed a whole cart-load of Parliament-precedents, that ſpake the ſubjects liberty to be burnt (*f*). Next, he raiſed two hundred thouſand pounds for making two hundred Baronets; telling the King, 'He ſhould find his Engliſh ſubjects like aſſes, on whom 'he might lay any burden, and ſhould need neither bit nor bridle, but their aſſes ears.' And when the King ſaid, 'It would diſcontent the generality of the gentry;' he replied, 'Tuſh, Sir, you want the money, that will do you good, the honour will do them very 'little.' And by theſe courſes he raiſed himſelf, friends, and family, to offices, honours, and great poſſeſſions. He is alſo accuſed (*g*), of having ſold great quantities of Crown-timber. But, the perſon who brings this accuſation, does in a great meaſure diſcharge the Lord Treaſurer from it; by obſerving, that millions of oaks were felled and ſold at vile prices, not only during the life of the Earl of Saliſbury, but all the reign of King James. He is likewiſe blamed, for having raiſed money by ſeveral means which were looked upon as oppreſſive. But in reality, the blame of this muſt be laid upon the extravagance, and, in conſequence of that, upon the indigence, of his maſter King James. Whenever he had an opportunity, he endeavoured to curb his Majeſty's extreme profuſeneſs [*R*]. His greateſt blemiſh, was, the being a promoter of the unfortunate Sir Walter Raleigh's fall (*b*). And, before that, his ſharp proceedings againſt the Earl of Eſſex, and his incloſures of Hatfield-chace, had created ſuch a hatred to him in the generality, that the black cloud of detraction fell upon all he ſaid or did: to which the misfortunes accompanying him from his birth did not add a little. Upon all theſe accounts he hath been reviled and libelled. But, how many ſoever his faults were, he is univerſally allowed, even by his enemies, to have been of an incomparable prudence: and is highly extolled

(*u*) *Ibid.* and Memorials, &c. and Peck's *Deſiderata Curioſa*, &c. as above.

(*w*) Aulicus Coquinariæ, p. 63. Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 408.

(*x*) Dugdale, *ibid.*

(*y*) Naunton, Fragmenta Regalia, &c. p. 78, 80.

(*z*) From the Lord Treaſurer Dorſet's Character of him, in Collins's Peerage, 8vo. 1734, vol. ii. P. i. p. 79.

(*a*) Memorials, &c. as above, vol. ii. p. 440.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 74.

(*c*) Rapin's Hiſt. of Engl. edit. 8vo. 1729, vol. ix. p. 239, 310.

(*d*) Collins's Peerage, *ubi ſupra*, p. 78.

(*e*) Weldon, as above, p. 11, 12.

(*f*) Dr. Goodman obſerves, That no man can be ſo ſottiſh as to believe this, who knows how ſtrictly the Records are kept by ſworn officers. Aulicus Coquin. p. 53.

(*g*) Traditional Memoryes, &c. as above, by F. Osborne, p. 92.

(*b*) Arth. Wilſon's Life and Reign of King James, in Complete Hiſt. vol. ii. edit. 1706, p. 663.

[*P*] *A monument was ſome time after erected to his memory.*] It is in a Chapel, built by this Lord, on the North-ſide of the Chancel. The monument, is, a table of black marble, with his Lordſhip's effigies in white marble, lying upon it with his ſtaff. This is ſupported by the four cardinal virtues, in virgin-habits, on their knees, carved in white marble, each with her proper emblem. Underneath is another table of black marble, upon which lies the ſkeleton of the Earl curiouſly carved (28).

(28) Hiſtory of Hertfordſhire, by N. Salmon, fol. Lond. 1718, p. 213.

[*Q*] *His many letters to our Embaſſadors abroad.*] There are great numbers of them in the three volumes of *Memorials of State*, publiſhed by Edmund Sawyer, Eſq; in three volumes, fol. Lond. 1725. There is alſo one letter of his to his father, printed in the *Cabala*, or Myſteries of State, &c. Lond. 1663, fol. pag. 133.

(29) Wilſon ſays, it was only 5000*l.* Life of King James, in Complete Hiſtory. edit. 1706, vol. ii. p. 688.

[*R*] *He endeavoured to curb his Majeſty's extreme profuſeneſs.*] Particularly once, the King having given a peremptory warrant to Sir Robert Carr, afterwards Earl of Somerſet, for twenty thouſand pounds (29), the Lord Treaſurer (who, in his exquiſite prudence, found that not only the Exchequer, but the Indies themſelves would want fluency to feed ſo immenſe a prodigality, and not without reaſon apprehending, that the King was ignorant of the value of the gift he had made to his favourite) cauſed the ſum above-mentioned, all in ſilver, to be laid upon the ground (30), in a room through which his Majeſty was to paſs, being invited to dinner at Saliſbury-houſe. The King amazed at the quantity, and probably having never ſeen the like before, aſked the Treaſurer, 'Whoſe 'money it was?' He replied, 'Your Majeſty's, be-'fore you gave it away.' Whereupon the King fell into a paſſion, and proteſted he was abuſed, never intending ſuch a gift: and caſting himſelf upon the heap, ſcrabled out the quantity of two or three hundred pounds, and ſwore Carr ſhould have no more. However it being the King's minion, Cecil durſt not provoke him farther, than by permitting him only to have the half of that ſum (31).

(30) According to R. Coke, the money was laid upon four tables, in a gallery thro' which the King was to paſs, 5000*l.* upon each table; and the King ſuffered Carr to have but 5000*l.* of it. *Detection*, &c. edit. 1719, vol. i. p. 65, 66.

(31) Fr. Oſborne, as above, p. 84, 85.

for

for other excellencies by his friends [S]. Coming ſo near ſuch an unadviſed ſcatterer as King James, he might have enriched his family better than he did, but that he looked upon low things with contempt, leaving much to the gleaning of his ſervants. What was ſaid

[S] *And is highly extolled for other excellencies by his friends.*] Sir Charles Cornwallis writes to his Lordſhip from Spain in the following words. —— 'Well may your Lordſhip's hearte be comforted in 'this, That the infallible teſtymonies you have given 'of your love to truthe and temper, your watchfull 'eye over the Maſter you ſerve, and your inceſſant 'cares and travails for the ſafety of your countrye, 'cannot but breed you favour with God, love and 'reſpect with the King, and make you deare to as 'many of your countrye as have eyther eyes or judg-'ment to diſcerne your true and rare deſervings (32).' And in another place (33), —— 'That my Lord of 'Saliſburye was ſo compleate and perfect a ſervante 'and lover of his King and countrye, as there were 'no meanes uppon earth to draw him to enclyne to 'any the leaſt poynte that ſhould not ſoundly agree 'with their honnor and ſecurity.' M.

(32) Memorials, &c. as above, vol. ii. p. 316.

(33) *Ibid.* p. 319.

*** ["This man," ſays Mr. Walpole, ſpeaking of the Earl of Saliſbury, "who had the fortune or "misfortune to pleaſe both Queen Elizabeth and "James the Firſt; who, like the Son of the Duke of "Lerma, had the uncommon fate of ſucceeding (34) "his own father as Prime Miniſter, and who, unlike "that ſon of Lerma, did not, though treacherous to "every body elſe, ſupplant his own father, this man "is ſufficiently known. His public ſtory may be "found in all our hiſtories, his particular in the Bi-"ographia; and if any body's curioſity is ſtill unſa-"tisfied about him, they may ſee a tedious account "of his laſt ſickneſs in Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa "(35)." The public ſtory of Sir Robert Cecil muſt, indeed, be left to general hiſtory; but, without having recourſe to Peck, ſome additional perſonal circumſtances may be collected concerning him, which, perhaps, will not be found totally unworthy of notice. It is remarkable, with regard to ſo eminent a man, and who flouriſhed in a period ſo well known, that there ſhould be any conſiderable difficulty in aſcertaining the time of his birth. It is ſaid, in the article above, that he was born in 1550; and, in note [A], reaſons are given to ſhew that this event muſt have taken place either in that year or in the year preceding. Such, too, is the account generally adopted by our Biographical writers. But in the laſt edition of Collins's Peerage, Sir Robert Cecil is ſaid to have been born on the firſt of June 1563 (36). Upon what authority this aſſertion is made, doth not appear; and the difference of thirteen years in the two accounts is very extraordinary. The relation, however, of the editor of Collins is much confirmed by a converſation we have inſerted from Birch's Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, in note [LLL] of Lord Bacon's Article. In that converſation, which paſſed between the Earl of Eſſex and Sir Robert Cecil on the ſubject of Bacon's promotion, Sir Robert objected to his couſin Francis's being appointed Attorney General, becauſe there was no precedent of ſo raw a youth's having been promoted to an office of ſuch great moment. Upon this the Earl, fired with indignation, reproached Sir Robert, *that being himſelf younger than Francis Bacon*, of leſs learning, and of no greater experience, he was endeavouring to obtain a place of far higher importance (37.) This narration, we ſee, perfectly agrees with the account given of Sir Robert Cecil's birth by the laſt Editor of Collins's Peerage. For, according to that account, Sir Robert muſt have been more than two years younger than Bacon, who was born on the 22d of January, 1560-61. It is not probable, that the Earl was ignorant of the fact which he aſſerted; neither is it denied by Sir Robert Cecil. He admits the charge, but endeavours to parry it off by arguments of another kind. We may conſider it, therefore, as a decided point, that his birth was many years later than hath commonly been imagined.

(34) After a ſhort interval.

(35) Catalogue of royal and noble Authors, vol. i. p. 167, 168.

(36) Collins's Peerage, vol. iii. p. 144. Edition of 1779.

(37) Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 153.

Several farther circumſtances relative to Sir Robert Cecil, might be extracted from Birch's Memoirs; but moſt of them are too minute to merit particular attention, and ſome of them, which regard his conduct to the two Bacons, Anthony and Francis, are noticed under their proper articles. We cannot paſs over in ſilence a Letter of Sir Robert's to the Earl of Eſſex, accompanied with a prayer which the Queen had made for her private uſe, in 1596, when the expedition was going to be undertaken againſt Cadiz. In this letter, his adulation ſo far gets the better of his theology, that he aſſerts the ſupplications of Princes to be more acceptable to the ſupreme Being, and to have a greater influence with him, than thoſe of other men. It is as follows:

"My very good Lord,

"I Send you herein a worthy encouragement for "you that go forth, with an exceeding comfort "for us that remain: for there is nothing that ſo "much pleaſeth the ears of the Almighty as prayers; "no prayer ſo fruitful as that, which proceedeth "from thoſe, who do neareſt in nature *and pow-"er* approach him; none ſo near approach his "place and eſſence, as a celeſtial mind *in a princely "body*. And as his divine Majeſty hath an eye more "ſingular to actions of Princes, *ſo doubtleſs hath he "an ear more gracious to their prayers*. Put forth "therefore, my Lord, with comfort and confidence, "having your ſails filled with *her heavenly breath* "for your forewind. You have left alone in *her* "ſufficient wiſdom at home for the ſecurity of the "ſtate, and godlineſs, which is great riches, both "perfectly united in her royal breaſt. That, which "was meant a ſweet ſacrifice for one, I have pre-"ſumed (not of truſt) to participate with two. It "came to my hands accidentally. I dare ſcarce "juſtify the ſight, much leſs the copy. Conſider "herein my condition, and, if I may reap ſilence "for my adventure, I will ever be found

"your Lordſhip's humble to do you ſervice (38)." (38) Birch, *ubi ſupra*, vol. ii. p. 18.

The diſlike which there was, in general, between the Earl of Eſſex and Sir Robert Cecil, is ſufficiently known from all our hiſtories. The Earl, in a letter to Mr. Anthony Bacon, written on the 18th of September 1596, ſays, "this day I was more braved "by your little couſin than ever I was by any man "in my life (39)." Sir Walter Raleigh endeavoured to mediate a peace between them (40), and probably with ſome ſucceſs; for we afterwards find ſeveral teſtimonies of their being upon good terms with each other (41). So great was the ſeeming kindneſs between them, that before Sir Robert Cecil's departure for France, when he went Embaſſador there, in the beginning of the year 1598, he had procured the Queen to ſign a Privy Seal for the Earl of Eſſex, for ſeven thouſand pounds, to be paid to him out of cochineal, as her Majeſty's free gift to his Lordſhip (42). It is even aſſerted, that Sir Robert performed friendly and honeſt offices for the Earl, after that Nobleman's return from Ireland, and that he was concerned at their having no better an effect (43). How far our Stateſman was ſincere in his profeſſions, we pretend not to determine. According to Mr. Walpole, he was treacherous to every body but his father; and the famous Antonio Perez uſed to ſtile him, "Robert the Devil (44)."

(39) *Ibid.* p. 131.

(40) *Ibid.* p. 282.

(41) *Ibid.* p. 341. 350. 372. 380.

(42) *Ibid.*

(43) *Ibid.* p. 438. 442. 456.

(44) *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 352. vol. ii. p. 227.

There is now no longer any doubt of Cecil's having correſponded with the King of Scotland, during the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign. This correſpondence, which hath been preſerved in the Advocate's library at Edinburgh, and among the Archives of the family of Marr, now in Lord Hardwicke's poſſeſſion, was publiſhed at large in 1766, by Sir David Dalrymple. From theſe deſpatches it is evident, how deeply Sir Robert Cecil was engaged with the Scottiſh Monarch; and what a firm foundation he laid for having his offices and his power continued to him, upon James's acceſſion to the Throne of England. The correſpondence was carried on through the hands of the Lord Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton.

ſaid of Gregory the Great in another caſe, was not improperly applicable to him, 'That 'he was the firſt ill Treaſurer, and the laſt good, ſince Queen Elizabeth's days;' he not ſtanding charged with any groſſer bribery or corruption, than what lay incluſive under the ceremony of new-years-gifts, or his own, or ſervants, ſharing with ſuch as by importunity, rather

The Earl of Saliſbury's character was not ſo great and reſpectable as that of his father, Lord Burleigh; nor hath it been honoured, by our hiſtorians, with equal praiſes. His capacity and talents were, perhaps, not much inferior; but the ſame eſtimation hath not been formed of his integrity. "Among the "loſſes," ſays Mrs. Macaulay, "which James ſuſtained this year (1612), the Earl of Saliſbury's "death was not the leaſt conſiderable. This Miniſter was a careful ſervant, and, if the intereſt of "the Crown is to be conſidered in contradiſtinction "to that of the people, a faithful one. His abilities "as a Stateſman were not deſpicable; his qualities "as a Courtier were fawning and pernicious; but "they are too common in that ſtation to be worthy "any farther remark (45)." Mr. Granger's account of his Lordſhip, though not equally ſevere, reflects more honour on the qualities of his head than of his heart. "He diſcharged," obſerves that Biographer, "his high offices with great abilities; and was, indeed, in induſtry and capacity ſcarcely inferior to "his father; but more artful, more inſinuating, and "far more inſincere. King James uſed to call him "his 'Little Beagle,' alluding to the many diſcoveries he made, of which he ſent him intelligence "(46)." The Author of the Britiſh Biography pays the ſame compliments to the abilities of the Earl of Saliſbury, and adds, that he had extraordinary political talents; that he was well acquainted with the ſtate and intereſts of this nation; that he was the ableſt Miniſter King James ever had; and that he was thoroughly verſed in all the arts and intrigues of a court (47). But the moſt elaborate character that hath been drawn of the Earl, by any of our modern hiſtorians, is that with which the public has been favoured by Dr. Birch; and which, as being the reſult of particular knowledge and inveſtigation, we ſhall infert at large. "The Earl of Dorſet, in a letter to Sir "Thomas Edmonds, ſpeaks with ſome ſeverity of "memory. *When great men die*, ſays he, *ſuch is either "their deſert, or the malice of people, or both together, "as commonly they are ill ſpoken of; and ſo is one, that "died but lately; more, I think, than ever any one was, "and in more ſeveral kinds: and his death hath wiped "away the memory of others miſdeeds, and, as it were, "extinguiſhed their faults, his being, if not greater, yet "freſher in every man's mouth and memory.* But it "will be but juſtice to the character of ſo eminent a "perſon as the Earl of Saliſbury, to conſider him, as "he now appears to us from fuller and more impartial lights, than the ignorance or envy of his own "time would admit of; and which may be oppoſed "to the general invectives and unſupported libels of "Weldon and Wilſon, the ſcandalous chroniclers of "the laſt age.

"He was evidently a man of quicker parts, and "a more ſpirited writer and ſpeaker, than his father, "to whoſe experience he was at the ſame time obliged "for his education and introduction into public buſineſs, in the management of which he was accounted, and perhaps juſtly, more ſubtle, and leſs open. "And this opinion of his biaſs to artifice and diſſimulation was greatly owing to the ſingular addreſs, "which he ſhewed in penetrating into the ſecrets "and reſerved powers of the foreign Miniſters with "whom he treated; and in evading, with uncommon "dexterity, ſuch points, as they preſſed, when it "was not convenient to give them too explicit an "anſwer.

"His correſpondence with King James, during "the life of Queen Elizabeth, was ſo cloſely and "artfully managed, that he eſcaped a diſcovery, "which would have ruined his intereſt with his "Royal Miſtreſs, though he afterwards juſtified that "correſpondence from a regard to her ſervice. 'For 'what, ſays he, could more quiet the expectation of 'a ſucceſſor, ſo many ways invited to jealouſy, than 'when he ſaw her Miniſtry, that were moſt inward 'with her, wholly bent to accommodate the preſent 'actions of State for his future ſafety, when God 'ſhould ſee his time!' "He was properly a ſole "Miniſter, though not under the denomination of a "favourite, his Maſter having a much greater awe "of than love for him; and he drew all buſineſs, "both foreign and domeſtic, into his own hands, "and ſuffered no Miniſters to be employed abroad, "but who were his dependents, and with whom he "kept a moſt conſtant and exact correſpondence: "but the men, whom he preferred to ſuch employments, juſtified his choice, and did credit to the "uſe he made of his power. He appears to have "been invariably attached to the true intereſt of his "country, being above corruption from, or dependence upon, any foreign Courts; which renders it "not at all ſurpriſing, that he ſhould be abuſed by "them all in their turns; as his attention to all the "motions of the Popiſh faction made him equally "odious to them. He fully underſtood the Engliſh "conſtitution, and the juſt limits of the prerogative; "and prevented the fatal conſequences, which might "have ariſen from the frequent diſputes between "King James I. and his Parliaments. In ſhort, he "was as good a Miniſter, as that Prince would ſuffer "him to be, and as was conſiſtent with his own ſecurity in a factious and corrupt Court; and he was "even negligent of his perſonal ſafety, whenever "the intereſt of the public was at ſtake. His poſt of "Lord Treaſurer, at a time when the Exchequer "was exhauſted by the King's boundleſs profuſion, "was attended with infinite trouble to him, in concerting ſchemes for raiſing the ſupplies; and the "manner in which he was obliged to raiſe them, "with the great fortune which he accumulated to "himſelf, in a meaſure beyond perhaps the viſible "profits of his places, expoſed him to much detraction and popular clamour, which followed him to "his grave; though experience ſhewed, that the nation ſuſtained an important loſs by his death; ſince "he was the only Miniſter of State of real abilities, "during the whole courſe of that Reign. He has "been thought too ſevere and vindictive in the "treatment of his rivals and enemies: but the part "which he acted towards the Earl of Eſſex, ſeems "intirely the reſult of his duty to his Miſtreſs and "the Nation. It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that "his behaviour towards the great, but unfortunate "Sir Walter Ralegh is an imputation upon him, "which ſtill remains to be cleared up; and it probably may be done from the ample memorials of "his adminiſtration in the Hatfield Library, which, "with thoſe of his illuſtrious father, are a treaſure, "which the public has reaſon to regret ſhould be "longer confined there (*)."

We learn from Dr. Birch, that Henry, Prince of Wales, had conceived ſome diſlike againſt our Stateſman; which, however, Cecil took great pains to remove; uſing all his addreſs to obtain the favour and confidence of that young Prince (48).

Mr. Gutch hath lately publiſhed, in his "Collectanea Curioſa," an apology for the Earl of Saliſbury, written ſoon after his deceaſe, by Sir Walter Cope, and addreſſed to King James. The expreſs deſign of it is to vindicate the memory of the Lord Treaſurer from the reproaches which had been caſt upon it; and Sir Walter aſſerts, that, for wiſdom and integrity, he exceeded the moſt, or all, that went before him. "He was," adds the apologiſt, "by nature mild, "courteous, and affable: and if, tired with affairs, "or impatient of idle motions, or impertinent anſwers, he had been moved to make a ſour reply, "he was in this like his father, ever proud of opportunity to give unto the meaneſt due ſatisfaction. "In his wiſdom, he was able to diſtinguiſh between "truth and falſehood: his eyes could pierce through "the miſts and veils of the darkeſt cauſes; quick "of conceipt, eaſy of delivery, ſo full of providence, "and

(45) Hiſt. of England, vol. i. p. 74, 75. 8vo edition.

(46) Biographical Hiſt. of England, vol. i. p. 321. Second edition.

(47) Vol. iv. p. 90, 91.

(*) Birch's Hiſtorical View of the Negotiations between the Courts of England, France, and Bruſſels, from the year 1592 to 1617, p. 347—349.

(48) Life of Henry, Prince of Wales, p. 76. 109. 126—138.

rather than merit, had obtained Debentures out of the Exchequer (*i*). In a word, by the confeſſion of all parties, he had great parts, was very wiſe, full of honour and bounty, a great lover and rewarder of virtue, and able parts in others, ſo as they did not aſpire too high

(*i*) Fr. Oſborne, as above, p. 90, 91.

" and induſtry, as he never ſuffered occaſion to turn " her back. He was plentiful in alms, charity, and " good works; full of honour, and honeſt to his " friends, and no malicious perſecutor of his ene- " mies. He loved juſtice as his life, and the laws " as his inheritance. He loved equity, as the true " umpreſs between them both, as moderatrix of " extremes. The heart of man was never more free " from baſeneſs, or bribes: he hated the bribe, and " the taker. He was one of thoſe of whom King " David ſpeaketh *Qui munera ſuper innocentem non* " *accepit*. So clear his hands were from thoſe baſe " corruptions, that I ſuppoſed rumor and report " would have been afraid once to have raiſed ſuch " ſlanders on him." Sir Walter Cope proceeds to examine the Earl of Saliſbury's conduct, in his three great offices of Lord Treaſurer, Secretary of State, and Maſter of the Court of Wards. As Lord Treaſurer, he is ſhewn to have been a very uſeful ſervant to his Majeſty, in his management with reſpect to lands, (meaning the royal manors) cuſtody lands, woods, copyholders for lives, copyholders of inheritance, waſtes and commons, caſual fines, extended lands, alum, baronets, water-works from London, and induſtry and manufactures. His character, as Secretary of State, is thus deſcribed. " What in- " telligence he had from all parts of the world, what " correſpondence he kept with all Embaſſadors and " foreign States, and at how eaſy a rate he main- " tained the current of all your letters and affairs, " if your Majeſty were truly informed, you ſhould " find in this title eſtabliſhed a great providence. " And in this his place, unto how great reputation " he had raiſed your ſervices, and how confident all " parts grew out of the long experience of his juſt " conſideration; the *United Provinces* eſpecially, " (whoſe friendſhip moſt concerneth your Majeſty) " your own Embaſſadors, and your Miniſters abroad " can beſt deliver. Beſides, what by his Treaſurer's " and Secretary's place he did in Ireland, in the " plantation of the country, and tranſplantation of " the people; what in advancing your cuſtoms, and " abating the charges, and the garriſons; and how " induſtrious he was to ſettle an univerſal courſe of " law and juſtice in the moſt barbarous and remote " places of that moſt unfortunate kingdom, they " that know the country can beſt witneſs." Sir Robert Cecil's apologiſt, having briefly ſtated his tranſactions as Maſter of the Court of Wards, mentions, and endeavours to refute ten objections which had been made to his character and conduct. Theſe objections are, his ingroſſing of offices, his having been the author of all the miſeries of the nation, the ſale of mills and chantries, the ſale of leaſes, the ſale of timber trees, the ſale of the royal lands, his pilling the people to ſupport the waſteful expences of the ſtate, his maintaining his private factions by conſumption of the public treaſure, his impoſing upon the ſubjects, and his falſehood in friendſhip. With regard to the laſt circumſtance, that the Earl of Saliſbury often made his friends fair promiſes, and underhand laid rubs in the way of their preferment, we ſhall inſert Sir Walter Cope's anſwer, as a ſpecimen of his reaſoning. " The ſecret paſſage " of things I knew not. Suſpicion ever lieth at the " gate of great actions. And they which received " the greateſt favours from him, are (as I hear) the " moſt ready to make report of him. The courts of " Kings are many times the markets of words and " ceremonies; and they that live therein muſt ſome- " times 'Verba dare.' Beſides, great counſellors " have their private and their public ends; and their " private affections do oftentimes yield to their pub- " lic judgments, and make them remoral in their " friends ſuits. And therefore noble natures will " rather be thankful for good turns received, than " ungrateful that they enjoy not all their own hearts " deſire." From this paſſage it is apparent, that Sir Walter Cope was not an apologiſt of the firſt order. His anſwers to objections, though not unworthy of attention, are, in other inſtances, not ſo compleat as might have been expected; and, in ſeveral caſes, the amount of the vindication of the Earl of Saliſbury is comprized in what is expreſsly aſſerted towards the cloſe of the paper, that he loſt the love of the people only for the King's ſake, and for his Majeſty's ſervice (49).

(49) Gutch's Collectanea Curioſa, vol. i. p. 119—132.

We cannot paſs over a ſpeech of the Earl, in his laſt illneſs, to Sir Walter Cope. " Eaſe and plea- " ſure," ſaid the dying Stateſman, " quake to hear " of death; but my life, full of cares and miſeries, " deſireth to be diſſolved (50)." It might be imagined, that if theſe words were read by an aſpiring candidate for power, they would be ſufficient to repreſs his inordinate ambition. But they would probably be attended with no ſuch effect; and, perhaps, it is wiſely ordered, in the ſcheme of providence, that it ſhould be ſo; ſince the buſineſs of the world might be impeded, if men permitted themſelves to reflect too cloſely upon the difficulties and diſtreſſes which are often the concomitants of exalted ſtations.

(50) *Ibid.* p. 133.

Sir Walter Raleigh allowed Sir Robert Cecil to be an *excellent ſpeaker*, but ſaid that he was *no good penman*. But Dr. Birch obſerves, that the truth of the laſt aſſertion is confuted by his letters (51). As to Cecil's talents for ſpeaking, ſeveral ſpecimens of his abilities in this reſpect may be ſeen in the Parliamentary Hiſtory. The ſpeeches there recorded ſeem, however, to be many of them given in a very imperfect manner. Sir Robert appears to have taken an active part in every ſubject of debate that occurred, in the Houſe of Commons, during the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign; and he particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the affair of the monopolies. Like a true courtier, he defended the cauſe and prerogative of his royal Miſtreſs as long as he could; but, at length, he was obliged to yield up the point; and when, referring to the patents, he ſaid, " Would " that they had never been granted; I hope there " ſhall never be more;" all the Houſe cried, Amen! (52). Some few inſtances are, likewiſe, mentioned in the Parliamentary Hiſtory, in which the Earl of Saliſbury diſplayed his eloquence in the Houſe of Peers; but the ſpeeches themſelves are not given at large (53).

(51) Hiſtorical View, p. 100.

(52) For Robert Cecil's Speeches in the Houſe of Commons, ſee Parliamentary Hiſtory, vol. iv. p. 377, 378. 381, 382. 390, 391. 417. 432—434. 437. 440. 444, 445, 446, 447. 464—468. 469—474. 475, 476, 477.

Since the appearance of the firſt edition of the Biographia Britannica, many additional letters of Sir Robert Cecil, or extracts from them, have been laid before the public. For theſe we are principally indebted to the diligent inveſtigation of the ingenious and learned Dr. Birch. That gentleman, in his Hiſtorical View, hath publiſhed Cecil's deſpatches relative to his embaſſy in France, and they throw far more light on the treaty of Vervins, than hath been done by Camden, or any of our general Hiſtorians (54). The ſame gentleman, in his Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, hath given, from the original papers of Mr. Anthony Bacon, a number of Cecil's letters, written on different occaſions (55). One of them we have already inſerted. Thirteen more may be ſeen in Dr. Birch's Life of Prince Henry (56). In the Nugæ Antiquæ, there is a letter from Sir Robert Cecil to Sir John Harrington, written in 1603, part of which deſerves to be tranſcribed, as it expreſſes, in a ſtriking manner, the infelicity of a Courtier's life, and the dangers to which his virtue is expoſed. " Good Knight, reſt content, and give heed to one " that hath ſorrowed in the bright luſtre of a court, " and gone heavily even on the beſt ſeeming fair " ground. 'Tis a great taſk to prove one's honeſty, " and yet not ſpoil one's fortune. You have taſted " a little hereof in our bleſſed Queen's time, who " was more than a man, and, in troth, ſometimes " leſs than a woman. I wiſh I waited now in your " preſence chamber, with eaſe at my food, and reſt " in my bed. I am puſhed from the ſhore of com- " fort, and know not where the winds and waves of " a court will bear me. I know it bringeth little " comfort

(53) *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 89. 218. 222. 225. 227. 231.

(54) Hiſtorical View, p. 100—102. 105—139. 141—156. For other letters of Sir Robert Cecil, or extracts from them, ſee p. 183. 187. 231, 232. 242—246. 252. 262, 263. 291, 292.

(55) Memoirs, &c. vol. i. p. 124. 165, 166. 171. 185, 186. 189. vol. ii. p. 18. 68, 69. 73. 80. 102, 103. 149. 337, 338. 350. 353, 354. 374—379. 468, 469.

(56) P. 126—138. 240—242.

high in places, or look too narrowly into his actions (*k*). Beſides his book againſt the Papiſts, and his letters and diſpatches, already mentioned; he was author of ſeveral ſpeeches in Parliament (*l*), and of ſome notes on Dr. John Dee's Diſcourſe about the reformation of the Calendar (*m*).

(*k*) Weldon, as above, p. 14.

(*l*) Memorials, &c. as above, vol. iii. p. 159. 194.

(*m*) Strype's Annals, vol. ii. edit. 1725, p. 355.

" comfort on earth; and he is, I reckon, no wiſe " man that looketh this way to heaven (57)." In Murdin's Collection, there is only one letter of Sir Robert Cecil's. It was the deſign of that editor to have included, in his volume, the State Papers of the Earl of Saliſbury; but he found himſelf not able to do it without injury to the memory of Lord Burleigh, whoſe papers were too numerous and too important to be reduced into narrower limits (58). The manuſcripts, relative to Sir Robert Cecil, preſerved in the library at Hatfield Houſe, would probably throw farther light on his hiſtory; and a judicious and ſelect publication of them, could not fail of being entertaining and uſeful. Several of his letters are in the Britiſh Muſeum; and there can be no doubt, but that many of them ſtill ſubſiſt in other collections.] K.

(57) Nugæ Antiquæ, vol. ii. p. 263, 264.

(58) Murdin's Collection, p. 588, 589. *Ibid.* Preface, p. vii.

*** [CENTLIVRE (SUSANNAH), an ingenious dramatic writer, was daughter of Mr. Freeman, a gentleman of Holbeach in Lincolnſhire (*a*), and was born about the year 1667 (*b*). Her father had been poſſeſſed of an eſtate of no inconſiderable value; but being a diſſenter, and having diſcovered a zealous attachment to the cauſe of the parliament, it is ſaid that he was ſo much perſecuted about the time of the reſtoration, that he was laid under a neceſſity of flying into Ireland, and his eſtate was confiſcated. Our Poeteſs's mother was daughter of Mr. Markham, a gentleman of fortune at Lynn Regis in Norfolk, who is repreſented as having encountered ſimilar misfortunes with thoſe of Mr. Freeman, in conſequence of his political principles, which were the ſame with thoſe of that gentleman, and he alſo was obliged to take refuge in Ireland (*c*). The ſubject of this article is aſſerted to have been born in Lincolnſhire (*d*); but ſome have conjectured that ſhe was born in Ireland, which may, not improbably, have been the caſe, if her birth was ſo late as 1667. The Editor, however, of Sir James Ware's works, doth not lay claim to her as an Iriſh writer. She had the unhappineſs to loſe her father before ſhe was three years old, and her mother before ſhe had completed her twelfth year. At an early period ſhe diſcovered a propenſity to poetry, and is ſaid to have written a ſong before ſhe was ſeven years old (*e*).

(*a*) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, vol. iv. p. 58.

(*b*) Liſt of Dramatic Authors, and their Works, annexed to Cibber's Apology for his own Life, vol. ii. p. 265. edit. 12mo. 1756.

(*c*) Biographia Dramatica, vol. i. p. 65. edit. 8vo. 1782.

(*d*) Liſt of Dramatic Authors, and their Works, *ut ſupra*

(*e*) Jacob's Lives of the Engliſh Dramatic Poets, vol. i. p. 32.

Being harſhly treated by thoſe to whoſe care ſhe was committed after the death of her mother, ſhe reſolved, whilſt very young, to quit the country, and to go up to London to ſeek her fortune. The circumſtances of her life at this period are involved in much obſcurity, and the particulars which are related ſeem ſomewhat romantic. It is ſaid that ſhe attempted her journey to the capital alone, and on foot, and on her way thither was met by Anthony Hammond, Eſq; father of the Author of the Love Elegies, in imitation of Tibullus. This gentleman, who was then a member of the Univerſity of Cambridge, was ſtruck with her youth and beauty, and offered to take her under his protection. Her diſtreſs and inexperience inducing her to comply with his propoſal, ſhe accompanied him to Cambridge, where, having equipped her in boy's clothes, he introduced her to his intimates at College, as a relation who was come down to ſee the Univerſity, and to paſs ſome time with him. Under this diſguiſe an amorous intercourſe was carried on between them for ſome months; but at length, being probably apprehenſive that the affair would become known in the Univerſity, he perſuaded her to go to London. He provided her, however, with a conſiderable ſum of money, and recommended her by letter to a lady in town with whom he was acquainted. He aſſured her at the ſame time, that he would ſpeedily follow her, and renew their amorous connection. This promiſe appears not to have been performed: but notwithſtanding her unfavourable introduction into life, ſhe was married in her ſixteenth year to a nephew of Sir Stephen Fox (*f*). That gentleman did not live more than a twelvemonth after their marriage; but her wit and perſonal attractions ſoon procured her another huſband, whoſe name was Carrol, who was an officer in the army, but who was killed in a duel about a year and a half after their marriage, when ſhe became a ſecond time a widow. She is repreſented as having a ſincere attachment to Mr. Carrol, and conſequently as having felt his loſs as a ſevere affliction.

(*f*) Biographia Dramatica, *ut ſupra*.

It was at this period of her life that ſhe commenced dramatic Author; to which ſhe was probably in ſome degree induced by the narrowneſs of her circumſtances. Some of her earlier pieces were publiſhed under the name of Carrol. Her firſt attempt was in tragedy, in a play called, " The Perjured Huſband," which was performed at Drury-lane Theatre in 1700, and publiſhed in 4to, the ſame year (*g*). In 1703, ſhe produced " The Beau's Duel, or a Soldier for the Ladies, a Comedy;" and " Love's Contri- " vances," which is chiefly a tranſlation from Moliere; and the following year another Comedy, intitled, " The Stolen Heireſs, or The Salamanca Doctor Outwitted." In 1705, her Comedy of " The Gameſter" was acted at Lincoln's-Inn Fields, which met with conſiderable ſucceſs, and has ſince been revived at Drury-lane. The plot of this piece was chiefly borrowed from a French Comedy, called *Le Diſſipateur*. The Prologue was written by Mr. Rowe (*b*).

(*g*) Biographia Dramatica, vol. ii. p. 277.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 131.

Her attachment to the Theatre was ſo great, that ſhe not only diſtinguiſhed herſelf as a writer for it, but alſo became a performer on it; though ſhe probably did not attain to

any great merit as an actreſs, as ſhe ſeems never to have played at the Theatres of the Metropolis. But in 1706, we are told, ſhe performed the part of Alexander the Great, in Lee's Rival Queens, at Windſor, where the Court then was; and, in this heroic character, ſhe made ſo powerful an impreſſion upon the heart of Mr. Joſeph Centlivre, Yeoman of the Mouth, or Principal Cook to Queen Anne, that he ſoon after married her, and with him ſhe lived happily till her death(*i*).

(*i*) *Ib.* vol. i. p. 66.

The ſame year in which ſhe entered into the matrimonial ſtate with Mr. Centlivre, ſhe produced the Comedies of the "Baſſet-Table," and "Love at a Venture." The latter was acted by the Duke of Grafton's Servants, at the New Theatre at Bath (*k*). In 1708, her moſt celebrated performance, "The Buſy Body," was acted at Drury-lane Theatre. It met at firſt with ſo unfavourable a reception from the players, that for a time they even refuſed to act in it, and were not prevailed upon to comply till towards the cloſe of the ſeaſon; and even then Mr. Wilks ſhewed ſo much contempt for the part of Sir George Airy, as to throw it down on the ſtage, at the rehearſal, with a declaration, "that no audience would endure ſuch ſtuff (*l*)." But the piece was received with the greateſt applauſe [*A*] by the audience, and ſtill keeps poſſeſſion of the ſtage. In 1711, ſhe brought on at Drury-lane Theatre, "Marplot, or the ſecond part of the Buſy Body." This play, though much inferior to the former, met with a favourable reception; and the Duke of Portland, to whom it was dedicated, made Mrs. Centlivre a preſent of forty guineas (*m*). Her Comedy of "A Bold Stroke for a Wife," was performed at Lincoln's-Inn Fields in 1717. She was aſſiſted in this play by Mr. Mottley, who wrote a ſcene or two entirely. It was extremely well received, and is ſtill frequently performed; though Mr. Wilks had alſo entertained ſo unfavourable an opinion of this Comedy, that he is reported to have ſaid concerning it, that "not only Mrs. Centlivre's play would "be damned, but ſhe herſelf would be damned for writing it (*n*)." Beſides thoſe which have been already mentioned, ſhe alſo produced ſeveral other Dramatic pieces, which will be mentioned in the notes [*B*].

(*k*) *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 196.

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 39.

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 220.

(*n*) *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 67.

Mrs. Centlivre enjoyed, for many years, the intimacy and eſteem of ſome of the moſt eminent wits of the time, particularly Sir Richard Steele, Mr. Rowe, Dr. Sewell, and Mr. Farquahar. Euſtace Budgell was alſo of the number of her acquaintance (*o*). But ſhe had the misfortune to incur the diſpleaſure of Mr. Pope, who introduced her into the Dunciad [*C*]. She died in Spring-garden, Charing-croſs, on the firſt of December, 1723,

(*o*) *Id. ibid.*

[*A*] *The piece was received with the greateſt applauſe.*] It is obſerved by the writer of the *Biographia Dramatica*, that, to do juſtice to the Author of the *Buſy Body*, 'it muſt be confeſſed, that although 'the language of it is very indifferent, and the plot 'mingled with ſome improbabilities, yet the amuſing 'ſprightlineſs of buſineſs, and the natural impertinence in the character of Marplot, make conſiderable amends for the above-mentioned deficiencies, 'and render it even to this hour an entertaining and 'ſtanding performance.' The ſame writer adds, that 'the dumb ſcene of Sir George with Miranda, 'and the hiſtory of the garden-gate, are both borrowed from Ben Jonſon's Comedy of "The "Devil's an Aſs (1)."

(1) Vol. ii. p. 39.

[*B*] *She alſo produced ſeveral other dramatic pieces, &c.*] Theſe were the following: I. *The Platonic Lady*, a Comedy, acted at the Theatre in the Haymarket, and printed in 4to, in 1707. The prologue was written by Farquhar.

II. *The Man's bewitched*, or, *The Devil to do about her*, a Comedy, acted at the Haymarket, and printed in 4to, in 1710.

III. *The Wonder, a Woman keeps a Secret*, a Comedy, acted at Drury-lane in 1714. The author of the *Biographia Dramatica* ſays, that 'this Comedy 'had very good ſucceſs at firſt, is ſtill frequently 'acted, and is indeed one of the beſt of Mrs. Centlivre's plays. The plot is intricate and ingenious, 'yet clear and diſtinct both in its conduct and cataſtrophe; the language is in general more correct 'than ſhe generally renders it; and the characters, 'particularly thoſe of the jealous Don Felix, and 'Colonel Briton's Highland ſervant Gibby, are juſtly 'drawn, and very well finiſhed.' It is obſerved by the ſame writer, 'that Mr. Garrick threw a new 'luſtre on this Comedy, by reviving it with ſome 'judicious alterations, and by his inimitable performance of Don Felix.'

IV. *Bickerſtaff's Burying, or Work for the Upholders.* This is a Farce of three long ſcenes, which was acted at the Haymarket. It was printed in 4to, in 1717, and dedicated to "the magnificent Company of "Upholders."

V. *The Perplexed Lovers*, a Comedy, acted at Drury-lane, and printed in 4to, in 1712.

VI. *Gotham Election*, a Farce of one long act. This was never performed, but was printed, in 12mo, in 1715, and dedicated to Mr. Secretary Craggs, who returned the compliment by ſending Mrs. Centlivre twenty guineas.

VII. *A Wife well managed*, a Farce, acted at Drury-lane, and printed in 12mo, in 1715.

VIII. *The cruel Gift, or the Royal Reſentment*, a Tragedy, acted at Drury-lane, and printed in 12mo, in 1717.

IX. *The Artifice*, a Comedy, acted at Drury-lane, and printed in 8vo, in 1721 (2).

(2) Biographia Dramatica, *ut ſupra.*

It has been obſerved of Mrs. Centlivre, that 'as a 'writer, it is no very eaſy thing to eſtimate her rank. 'It muſt be allowed, that her plays do not abound 'with wit, and that the language of them is ſometimes even poor, enervate, incorrect, and puerile; 'but then her plots are buſy, and well conducted, 'and her characters in general natural and well 'marked. But as plot and character are undoubtedly 'the body and ſoul of Comedy; and language and 'wit, at beſt, but the clothing and external ornaments, it is certainly leſs excuſeable to ſhew a deficiency in the former, than in the latter (3).' The ſame writer afterwards gives it as his opinion, that 'if we do not allow her to be the very firſt of our 'female writers, ſhe has but one above her, and may 'juſtly be placed next to her predeceſſor in dramatic 'glory, the great Mrs. Behn (4).'

(3) *Id. ibid.*

(4) *Id. ibid.*

[*C*] *Mr. Pope introduced her into the Dunciad.*] In the ſecond book are the following lines:

'What dulneſs dropt among her ſons impreſt,
'Like motion from one circle to the reſt:
'So from the mid-moſt the nutation ſpreads
'Round and more round, o'er all the ſea of heads.
'At laſt Centlivre felt her voice to fail,
'Motteux himſelf unfiniſhed left his tale (5).'

(5) L. 407—411.

(p) *Id. ibid.*

1723, and was buried at St. Martin's in the Fields (*p*). She poſſeſſed a conſiderable ſhare of beauty, was of a friendly and benevolent diſpoſition, and in converſation was ſprightly and entertaining. Her literary acquiſitions appear to have been merely the reſult of her own application; but ſhe is ſuppoſed to have underſtood the French, Dutch, and Spaniſh languages, and to have had ſome knowledge of the Latin (*q*). An extenſive acquaintance with men and manners is exhibited in her Dramatic writings; but they are ſometimes juſtly cenſurable for their licentiouſneſs. In 1761, her Dramatic works were collected together, and printed in three volumes, 12mo. She was alſo the Author of "ſeveral copies of verſes on divers ſubjects and occaſions, and many ingenious letters, "entitled, Letters of Wit, Politics, and Morality," which were collected and publiſhed by Mr. Boyer (*r*).] T.

(q) *Id. ibid.*

(r) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, vol. iv. p. 58.

In the third book were alſo the following lines:

'Lo next two ſlip-ſhod muſes traipſe along,
'In lofty madneſs meditating ſong,
'With treſſes ſtaring from poetic dreams,
'And never waſh'd, but in Caſtalia's ſtreams,
'Haywood, Centlivre, glories of their race.'

But theſe lines are altered and tranſpoſed in the latter editions, and Mrs. Centlivre's name omitted. The reaſon of her being attacked by Mr. Pope appears to be ſtated in the notes to the Dunciad, where it is ſaid, that ſhe wrote "a ballad againſt Mr. Pope's "Homer before he began it."]

CHALONER (Sir THOMAS) a gallant Soldier, an able Stateſman, and a very learned Writer in the XVIth century. He was deſcended from a good family in Wales, and born at London about the year 1515 (*a*). His quick parts diſcovered themſelves even in his infancy; ſo that his family, to promote that paſſionate deſire of knowledge for which he was ſo early diſtinguiſhed, ſent him to the Univerſity of Cambridge, where he remained ſome years, and obtained great credit, as well by the pregnancy of his wit as his conſtant and diligent application, but more eſpecially by his happy turn for Latin Poetry, in which he exceeded moſt of his contemporaries (*b*). Upon his removing from College he came up to Court, and being taken notice of there for his extraordinary abilities and excellent behaviour, which recommended him to the eſteem of the beſt, and the friendſhip of the greateſt men about it, he was ſoon ſent abroad into Germany with Sir Henry Knevet, as the cuſtom was in the reign of Henry VIII. when young men of great hopes were frequently employed in the ſervice of Embaſſadors, that they might at once improve and poliſh themſelves by travel, and gain ſome experience in buſineſs (*c*). He was ſo well received at the Court of the Emperor Charles V. and ſo highly pleaſed with the noble and generous ſpirit of that great Monarch, that he attended him in his journies, and alſo in his wars, particularly in that fatal expedition againſt Algiers, which coſt the lives of ſo many brave men, and was very near cutting ſhort the thread of Mr. Chaloner's; for in that great tempeſt by which the Emperor's fleet was ſhattered on the coaſt of Barbary in 1541, the veſſel, on board of which he was, ſuffered ſhipwreck, and Mr. Chaloner having quite wearied and exhauſted himſelf by ſwimming, and that too in the dark, at length beat his head againſt a cable, of which laying hold with his teeth, he was providentially drawn up into the ſhip to which it belonged, though with the loſs of ſome of them (*d*). He returned ſoon after into England, and as a reward of his learning and ſervices, was promoted to the office of Firſt Clerk of the Council, in which poſt he ſerved during the remainder of that reign (*e*). In the beginning of the next he came into great favour with the Duke of Somerſet, whom he attended into Scotland, and was in the battle of Muſſleburgh, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo remarkably in the preſence of the Duke, that he conferred upon him the honour of knighthood 28 Sept. 1547, and after his return to Court, the Ducheſs of Somerſet preſented him with a rich jewel (*f*). The firſt cloud that darkened his patron's fortune, proved fatal to Sir Thomas Chaloner's pretenſions; for being a man of a warm and open temper, and conceiving the obligation he was under to the Duke as a tie that hindered his making court to his adverſary, a ſtop was put to his preferment, and a vigilant eye kept upon his actions. But his loyalty to his Prince, and his exact diſcharge of his duty, ſecured him from any farther danger, ſo that he had leiſure to apply himſelf to his ſtudies, and to cultivate his acquaintance with the worthieſt men of that Court, particulary Sir John Cheke, Sir Anthony Coke, Sir Thomas Smith, and more eſpecially Sir William Cecil, with whom he always lived in the ſtricteſt intimacy (*g*). Under the reign of Queen Mary he paſſed his time, though ſafely, yet very unpleaſantly; for being a zealous Proteſtant, he could not practiſe any part of that complaiſance which procured ſome of his friends an eaſier life. He intereſted himſelf extreamly in the affair of Sir John Cheke, and did him all the ſervice he was able, both before and after his confinement. This had like to have brought Sir Thomas himſelf into trouble, if the civilities he had ſhewn in King Edward's reign, when they were in a ſtate of humiliation, to ſome of thoſe who had the greateſt power under Queen Mary, had not moved them, from a principle of gratitude, to protect him. Indeed, it appears from his writings, that as he was very honeſt in his own friendſhips, ſo he was particularly happy in them; and as he was never wanting to his friends when he had power, he never felt the want of them when he had

(a) Bale, de Script. Britan. p. 108.

(b) See this matter explained in note [*A*].

(c) Strype's Memorials. Lloyd's Worthies. Herbert's Hiſt. of the Reign of Henry VIII.

(d) Camden. Annal. p. 121.

(e) Bale, Script. Britan. p. 108.

(f) Lloyd's Worthies, p. 564.

(g) As appears from ſeveral letters and papers amongſt the Cecilian MS.

it not, and, which he esteemed the greatest blessing of his life, he lived to return those kindnesses to some who had been useful to him in that dangerous season (*b*) [*A*]. Upon the demise of Queen Mary and the accession of Elizabeth, he appeared at Court with his former lustre; and it must afford us a very high opinion of his character as well as his capacity, that he was the first Embassador named by that wise Princess, and that also to the first Prince in Europe, Ferdinand I. Emperor of Germany (*i*). In this negotiation, which was of equal importance and delicacy, he acquitted himself with great reputation, and not only did all that was expected from him but much more, which his Mistress very gratefully acknowledged (*k*) [*B*]. After his return from this embassy, he was very soon thought

(*b*) Remarks upon the Reign of Queen Mary, p. 95.

(*i*) Camden. Annal. p. 21.

(*k*) Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 75.

[*A*] *Who had been useful to him in that dangerous season.*] It is a very great pity, that more care has not been taken to preserve the personal and literary history of this truly great man; the rather, because such diligence seemed to be in a peculiar manner due to his memory, on account of that constant respect he shewed for the characters of others, whether distinguished by their extraordinary merit towards the public, or recommended by the more immediate connection of private friendship (1); so that a certain writer, in his short character of him, had reason to say, that 'a true friend was the best picture of this 'gentleman's mind, since his love knew no bounds, 'could not be diverted by any danger, or divorced 'even by death itself.' Of this he gave variety of instances, by the tribute he paid to the fame of those he either esteemed or loved, that were far enough from being happy in their fortunes. But because we have not much room to spare, and therefore cannot dwell upon a variety of instances, we will content ourselves with the mention only of one, as being of all others the most proper for our purpose. He wrote then a long and beautiful poem upon the tragical death of that most excellent person, the Lady Jane Gray, in which are contained a multitude of curious and instructive passages; so that it is very hard to say, whether it is more valuable for the matter or manner of its composition. But surely it is a noble testimony of the virtue and honesty, and at the same time of the tenderness of its author's disposition (2). He opens it with a most admirable description of the elegant form of this fair victim to the ambition of others; and having painted, in the brightest colours, the beauties of her person, he celebrates her great learning and wisdom, which, considering she was scarcely eighteen when she died, nothing but the unimpeached sincerity of the author could induce us to credit. He observes, that besides her mother-tongue, she was not superficially, but perfectly well skilled in seven languages, *viz.* Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, Arabick, Italian, and French. She wrote a very fine hand, and with incomparable facility upon all subjects, possessing the philosophy of Plato perfectly, and having a happy tincture of the eloquence of Demosthenes. Her natural abilities were very great, and they were heightened by an application so assiduous, that, her sex and quality considered, we may safely say was unequalled. She played admirably on several instruments of music, and, if we may add to such accomplishments one that may seem trivial, she was excellent at her needle. Yet, with all these rare endowments, all these high and extraordinary qualities, she was of a mild, an humble, and a modest spirit, and never discovered any thing of the height and grandeur of her mind; but in the last act of her life, a fearless and noble, though at the same time a pious and a Christian-like, contempt of death. Our author very justly observes, that, considering all that had the colour of crime in her conduct was cast upon her by others, it gave no great idea of the Queen's justice, that sparing some who were deeply guilty, she suffered the full weight of punishment to fall upon this Innocent. To this, in a high strain of poetic justice, he attributes the shortness and the uneasiness of Queen Mary's reign, her long and languishing sickness, her disturbed government, and her distraction of mind, occasioned chiefly by shedding this poor Lady's blood. He likewise takes in the chief authors of this dire counsel, and shows, that notwithstanding their seeming escape in this world, they were nevertheless severely and justly punished, few of them surviving long, and most of them undergoing more painful deaths than they had inflicted upon her; one sinking under the pressure of a dropsy, another brought to his end by the excruciating torments of the stone, a third by the slow progress of an incurable consumption, and others by diseases equally cruelly in their kind, and fatal in their events. A great part of this admirable Latin poem has been re-published as an Appendix to the History of that reign under which this unfortunate Lady suffered; and it is really a great pity that it has not been translated, for the information as well as satisfaction of the English reader, very few things of the kind deserving it so well (3).

(1) This is meant of the large Collections of Elogies, Epigrams, and Epitaphs, in Latin Verse, written by our author in honour of the worthiest persons of his time.

(2) In lib. suo cui tit. est *De illustrium quorundam Encomiis & Epitaphis nonnullis*, &c. Lond. 1579, p. 296.

(3) Strype's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 93. and the Poem, at least the best part of it, in the Appendix, No. IX.

[*B*] *Which his Mistress very gratefully acknowledged.*] It was very natural, as well as necessary, at the beginning of a new reign, and especially in the circumstances the Queen was in at the entrance of her's, to think of preserving a good correspondence with all the Princes of Europe, but more especially with the Emperor, for various reasons. She therefore charged Sir Thomas Chaloner with a letter to him, the substance (4) of which was to the following effect: 'That her sister was dead, and that through the 'goodness of God, and in virtue of her own hereditary right, and the people's consent, she was now 'invested in the succession, and that she desired nothing more than the preservation and improvement 'of that antient friendship, which had been so long 'kept up between the Crown of England and the 'House of Austria.' The great service that he did in this embassy, was to divide the views of the Emperor and King Philip, by hinting the possibility of a marriage between the Archduke of Austria and Queen Elizabeth, which at that juncture was a very great and important service; since there was nothing the Queen wanted so much as to gain time, and to prevent the Popish powers from associating against her before she was well fixed upon the throne, or the kingdom thoroughly settled. How dexterously he managed this, and how well he secured the confidence of the Emperor and his Ministers, will best appear from the following passage, in an author who took what he wrote from the papers of the great Lord Burleigh (5). 'George van Helfenstein, Baron of 'Gundelfingen, was in England with the Queen, 'soon after her first coming to the Crown, in quality 'of Agent or Embassador from the Emperor. Then 'there happened communication between him and 'Sir Thomas Chaloner about the Queen's marriage, 'which Chaloner and all good men then had their 'thoughts much bent upon. They talked together 'of the Emperor's son, the Arch-duke of Austria. 'And now Van Helfenstein being departed, and at 'Brussels, wrote, Mar. 21, 1558, to Chaloner, and 'sent him the picture of that Duke, which he might 'shew as he should think most convenient. This 'representation of him shewed him to be a most 'comely person, but his mind and inward abilities 'exceeded his person,' as the noble German told Chaloner in his letter: 'that if the most virtuous and 'gallant endowments of his soul were known, as well 'to him as they were to himself and others, he would 'soon acknowledge, they did by many degrees surpass the beauty of his body. But that picture receiving some damage by the waggon in which it 'was brought, he promised to send Chaloner another of the Duke's whole body, and of his brother 'also; wishing that he might have a sight of them 'both alive, without the help of paint and colour. 'He told him, all the report at Brussels was, that 'the King of Spain was to marry the Queen, although, as he subjoined, men of great authority, 'when

(4) Camden. Annal. p. 21.

(5) Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 95, 96.

thought of for another, which was that of Spain; and though it is certain the Queen could not give a ſtronger proof than this of her confidence in his abilities, yet he was very far from thinking that it was any mark of her kindneſs, more eſpecially conſidering the terms upon which ſhe then ſtood with King Philip, and the uſage his predeceſſor, Chamberlain, had met with at that Court (*l*). But he knew the Queen would be obeyed, and therefore undertook the buſineſs with the beſt grace he could, and embarked for Spain in 1561. On his firſt arrival he met with ſuch a piece of rudeneſs, as made him weary of the country before he was well in it. This was the ſearching of all his trunks and cabinets, of which he complained loudly: for having been treated at the Court of the Emperor with the utmoſt reſpect, he could not bear ſuch an act of inſolence, which he thought equally injurious to himſelf as a gentleman, and to his character as a publick Miniſter (*m*). His complaints, however, were fruitleſs; for at that time there is great probability that his Catholick Majeſty was not over deſirous of having an Engliſh Miniſter, and more eſpecially one of Sir Thomas's diſpoſition, at his Court, and therefore gave him no ſatisfaction. Upon this Sir Thomas Chaloner wrote home, ſet out the affront that he had received in the ſtrongeſt terms poſſible, and was very earneſt to be re-called: but the Queen his Miſtreſs contented herſelf with letting him know, that it was the duty of every perſon who bore a publick character, to bear with patience what happened to them, provided no perſonal indignity was offered to the Prince from whom they came (*n*). Yet for all this, the ſearching Sir Thomas Chaloner's trunks, was, many years afterwards, put into that publick Charge which the Queen exhibited againſt his Catholick Majeſty, of injuries done to her before ſhe intermeddled with the affairs of the Low Countries (*o*). But notwithſtanding this, he kept up his ſpirit, and ſhewed the Spaniſh Miniſters, and even that haughty Monarch himſelf, that the Queen could not have entruſted her affairs in better hands than his. There were ſome perſons of very good families in England, who, for the ſake of their religion, and no doubt out of regard to the intereſt to which they had devoted themſelves, deſired to have leave from Queen Elizabeth to reſide in the Low-Countries or elſewhere, and King Philip and his Miniſters made it a point to ſupport their ſuit. Upon this, when a Conference was held with Sir Thomas Chaloner, he anſwered very roundly, that the thing in itſelf was of very little importance, ſince it was no great matter where the perſons who made this requeſt ſpent the remainder of their days; but that conſidering the rank and condition of the Princes intereſted in this buſineſs, it was neither fit for the one to aſk, nor for the other to grant (*p*). It appeared that he ſpoke the ſenſe of his Court, for Queen Elizabeth would never be brought to hearken to the propoſal. In other reſpects however he was very grateful and agreeable to the principal perſons of the Spaniſh Court, who could not help admiring his talents as a Miniſter, his bravery as a Soldier, with which in former times they were well acquainted, his general learning and admirable ſkill in Latin poetry, of which he gave them many proofs in ſeveral elegant performances, written during his ſtay in their country (*q*). It was here, at a time when, as himſelf ſays in the Preface, he ſpent *the* winter *in a* ſtove, *and the* ſummer *in a* barn, that he compoſed his great work of *The Right Ordering of the* ENGLISH REPUBLICK, and thus endeavoured to ſooth his cares, and diſpel his melancholy, by his converſations with the muſes. But though theſe might in ſome meaſure alleviate his chagrin, yet they were far enough from expelling it; ſo that by degrees it broke his conſtitution, and he fell into a very grievous fit of ſickneſs, which brought him ſo low that his Phyſicians deſpaired of his life (*r*). In this condition he addreſſed his Sovereign in an elegy after the manner of Ovid, ſetting forth his earneſt deſire to quit Spain and

(*l*) Camden. Annal. p. 85.

(*m*) A ſhort Account of the Injuries done her Majeſty by the King of Spain. MS. amongſt the Collections of Lord Burleigh.

(*n*) Camden. Annal. p. 85.

(*o*) As appears from ſeveral papers amongſt the MSS. of Lord Burleigh.

(*p*) Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 131. Lloyd's Worthies.

(*q*) Miſcellanea Chaloneri, p. 334. 342. 348.

(*r*) Strype's Annals, *ubi ſupra.*

'when he was in England, ſeemed to miſdoubt it. 'But he prayed Chaloner, out of their great friend-'ſhip, to give ſome account of that whole matter. 'For that indeed was the very reaſon, why the Em-'peror, who intended to offer to the Queen either 'of his ſons, did forbear at preſent to do it, becauſe 'he would not any ways diſoblige one ſo nearly re-'lated. But if the King's ſuit ſucceeded not, he 'then requeſted his friend, the ſaid Sir Thomas 'Chaloner, to give him, with all ſecrecy, an account 'of it, and then would the Emperor put in ſtrongly 'for one of his ſons; and ſo he did afterwards.' But this was not all. Sir Thomas Chaloner ſo well underſtood the Queen's mind, the advantages that might be gained by managing and keeping up this treaty, of which there was not the leaſt ſhadow of ſucceſs or reality, for the Queen diſliked the perſon of this German Prince as much as ſhe ſlighted his pretenſions, that when he had made as much of it as was poſſible in one ſhape, he very artfully ſhifted the ſcene, and made no leſs of it in another. We will give this part of the ſtory in the words of the learned Camden, who had his information from the ſame ſource as Mr. Strype; that is, from the memoirs and papers of the Lord Treaſurer: 'The King of Spain having caſt off all 'pretenſions to Elizabeth, and being upon his mar-'riage with the French King's daughter, was not, 'however, a little perplexed about England, which 'he had no mind to ſee united to the Crown of 'France. And the better to retain the honour of ſo 'conſiderable a kingdom in his own family, he per-'ſwaded the Emperor Ferdinand, his uncle, to offer 'one of his ſons in marriage to Queen Elizabeth; 'which he did, by letters full of reſpect, and preſſed 'the affair very cloſely by Gaſpar Preinor, Free-'Baron in Stibing; and the King of Spain himſelf 'offers her Majeſty his beſt and heartieſt offices to 'bring it about, whilſt ſhe, in return, has both her 'ſhips and ports at his ſervice, to facilitate his in-'tended voyage into Spain; and pays him other 'ſervices and compliments, by the hands of Sir 'Thomas Chaloner.' This introduced our Stateſman to an acquaintance with the Spaniſh Miniſtry; and his having ſucceeded ſo happily in negotiating with both branches of the Houſe of Auſtria, upon ſo tender a point, looked like a demonſtration, that nothing could be too hard for him, aud brought upon him his Spaniſh journey.

return to his native country, before care and ſickneſs forced him upon a longer journey (s). The Queen granted his petition, and having named Dr. Man his ſucceſſor in his negotiation, at length gave him leave to return home from an embaſſy, in which he had ſo long ſacrificed his private quiet to the publick conveniency (t) [C]. He accordingly returned to London in the latter end of the year 1564, and publiſhed the firſt five books of his large work before-mentioned, which he dedicated to his good friend Sir William Cecil; but the remaining five books were not publiſhed, as I apprehend, in his life-time; which I gather from what Camden has left us concerning this worthy perſon, who particularly mentions this great work, and ſpeaks of it as containing five books and no more (u). He reſided in a fair large houſe of his own building in Clerkenwell-Cloſe, over-againſt the decayed nunnery; and a very induſtrious perſon has preſerved from oblivion an elegant fancy of his, which was penciled on the frontiſpiece of his dwelling (w) [D]. Whether it was the diſeaſe he contracted in Spain that hung about him, or that after living ſo long in a warm country, his body was leſs able to endure the inclemency of our moiſter air, ſo it was, that on the ſeventh day of October 1565, he yielded to nature (x), to the regret of the beſt and greateſt men of his time. His body was ſoon after buried in the cathedral church of St. Paul with great funeral ſolemnity, Sir William Cecil, then Principal Secretary of State, aſſiſting (y) thereat as chief mourner, who alſo honoured his memory with a very fine copy of Latin verſes, in which he obſerves, that the moſt lively imagination, the moſt ſolid judgment, the quickeſt parts, and the moſt unblemiſhed probity, which are commonly the lot of different men, and when ſo diſperſed frequently create great characters, were, which very rarely happens, all united in Sir Thomas Chaloner, juſtly therefore reputed one of the greateſt men of his time (z). But this was not all, he encouraged Mr. William Malim, formerly Fellow of King's College in Cambridge, and then Maſter of St. Paul's ſchool (a), to collect and publiſh a correct edition of our author's poetical Works; which he accordingly did, and addreſ-

(s) Miſcellanea Chaloner. p. 291.

(t) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 566.

(u) Camden. Annal. p. 121.

(w) Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 430.

(x) Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. i. col. 149.

(y) Camden. Annal. p. 121.

(z) See this copy of verſes, prefixed to Sir Thomas Chaloner's book.

(a) From a MS. note in Sir Thomas Chaloner's book, written by Biſhop Carleton.

[C] *To the publick conveniency.*] It is very certain, that a man could hardly paſs his days leſs at eaſe than Sir Thomas Chaloner did, while he continued in Spain. He had been in that country many years before, and diſliked it, ſo that he went thither with the utmoſt regret (6). The inſult offered to him on his firſt arrival, gave him great diſpleaſure, which was far from being removed by the Queen's giving him to underſtand, that there he was to ſtay. He very well knew, that the Biſhop of Aquila, the Spaniſh Embaſſador at London, was daily drawing upon himſelf deſerved ill uſage for his intrigues with the Papiſts and Malecontents; and he found by experience, that much of the ill-treatment this eccleſiaſtick ſuffered was revenged upon him (7). When the Queen ſent forces over to aſſiſt the Proteſtants in France, Sir Thomas Chaloner was ordered to give that matter the beſt face it could receive at the Court of Spain; which he did. But King Philip anſwered him plainly, that if the Queen, his miſtreſs, meant no more than to keep Havre-de-Grace till Calais was reſtored, he was content; but that, if under colour of oppoſing the Guiſes, and providing for her own ſafety, ſhe meant to begin a religious war, and to become the head of a Proteſtant league, he ſhould find himſelf obliged to defend the old religion, and to take part with the monarch of France (8). But all this time, the great and important buſineſs of the trade between England and the Low-Countries remained ſuſpended; nor could any method that hitherto had been contrived, engage the governors of the Low-Countries to recall the prohibition of Engliſh commodities, though ſeveral attempts had been made for that purpoſe, by particular applications to thoſe who had authority there. But Sir Thomas Chaloner perceiving that his Catholick Majeſty's favourite, the famous Roderick Gomez, was at the head of a faction directly oppoſite to that of the Duke of Alva, he very artfully procured ſome of the correſpondents of the latter in Spain, to repreſent to him, that the enmity expreſſed by Gomez towards the Engliſh, did not at all ariſe, as he gave out, from their being hereticks, and having views different from thoſe of his maſter, but from an apprehenſion, that if the intercourſe between England and the Low-Countries were revived, it would produce a briſk circulation of money throughout all the cities in thoſe provinces, and thereby facilitate his motions, which he deſired to retard. The Duke of Alva having conſidered this, ſoon ſaw, or thought he ſaw, ſufficient evidence to prove it; and thereupon changed the whole of his conduct, diſcourſing often of the old friendſhip ſubſiſting between the houſe of Burgundy and the Kings of England, affecting a particular regard for the nation, and at length opening a free trade proviſionally, till contrary orders ſhould be received from Spain (9). Theſe, and other things of a like nature and importance, employed the thoughts, and exerciſed the induſtry, of our able and indefatigable Miniſter, while he remained in Spain; and therefore it is an idle and ridiculous ſuggeſtion of a certain writer, that he made it his buſineſs to amuſe King Philip with the hopes of marrying Queen Elizabeth (10), which, as we have ſhewn, was a thing given up on both ſides, and impracticable, before he was ſent to Spain. But when men write from fancy, and without reſpect to authorities, they eaſily fall into ſuch miſtakes as theſe.

(6) This appears by his pathetick Poem addreſſed to Queen Elizabeth, to obtain leave for his return.

(7) Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 395.

(8) Camden. Annal. p. 97.

(9) This appears from the Burleighan MSS. compared with the Hiſtorians of thoſe times. Camden. Annal. p. 107.

(10) Lloyd's Worthies, p. 565.

[D] *On the frontiſpiece of his dwelling.*] The priory of Clerkenwell belonged to Nuns, who, from their habit, were called Black Nuns, and was founded by one Jordan Briſet: it was a very fair and handſome houſe, and had revenues to the amount of nearly three hundred pounds a year at the time of the diſſolution (11). I cannot find that Sir Thomas Chaloner had any grant, either of the lands belonging to this nunnery, or to the adjacent hoſpital, of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem; and, therefore, I preſume, he had a leaſe from the Cavendiſh family, who were in poſſeſſion of the ſcite of the diſſolved nunnery, upon which he erected this new houſe, directly oppoſite to the ruins of the old building, to which the inſcription he placed thereon manifeſtly referred. His lines were theſe:

(11) Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 430.

Caſta fides ſupereſt, velatæ tecta ſorores
Iſta relegatæ, deſeruere licet:
Nam venerandus Hymen, hic vota jugalia ſervat;
Veſtalemque focem mente fovere ſtudet.

In Engliſh thus:

Their houſe no more, the veil-clad virgins grace,
Yet faith unſpotted, ſtill maintains her place:
For ſacred Hymen's rites, like honours claim;
And his bright torch illumes the veſtal flame.

To him alſo is aſcribed the following line, under a ſun-dial, at the entrance into the nunnery.

Non aliter pereo ſpecies quam futilis umbræ.

The fleeting ſhade deſcribes its day and mine,
For life and light by the ſame ſteps decline.

ſed it in an epiſtle from St. Paul's ſchool, dated 1 Auguſt 1579, to that noble perſon now become Lord Burleigh, Lord High-Treaſurer of England, &c. But of this and his other works, the reader will receive ſome farther account in the notes [*E*]. Sir Thomas Chaloner married Ethelreda, daughter of Edward Frodſham of Elton in the County Palatine of Cheſter, Eſq; (*b*) by whom he had iſſue his only ſon Thomas, of whom briefly in the next article. This Lady, not long after Sir Thomas's deceaſe, married Sir * * * Brockett, notwithſtanding which the Lord Burleigh continued his kindneſs to her, out of reſpect to that friendſhip which he had for her firſt huſband (*c*). We cannot conclude this ſhort Life of ſo worthy a man better, than by adding his epitaph, written by one of the beſt Latin Poets of that age, Dr. Walter Haddon, Maſter of Requeſts to Queen Elizabeth (*d*).

(*b*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. i. col. 398.

(*c*) As appears from Mr. Tho. Chaloner's Epiſtle Dedicatory, prefixed to his father's book.

(*d*) Miſcellanea Chaloner, p. 379

Natura Thomas Chalonerus, & arte valebat,
Utilis & patriæ vir fuit illæ ſuæ.
Publica cum magna ſuſcepit munera laude,
Laude pari libros ſcripſerat ille domi.
Sic patriæ vixit magno, dum vixit, honore,
Sic patriæ magno concidit ille malo.

In Engliſh thus:

Nature and art in CHALONER combin'd,
And for his country form'd the Patriot's mind.

[*E*] *Some farther account in the notes.*] He began very early to employ his pen for the ſervice of the publick; and indeed there is ſcarcely an author who has written in our language, to whom we may juſtly aſcribe a larger degree of this noble diſpoſition, than to Sir Thomas Chaloner; who from firſt to laſt employed his abilities, either in ſerving his country, or in celebrating the praiſes of thoſe who had ſerved it, that this might prove an encouragement to others. All that can now be diſcovered of his writings are theſe, *viz.*

I. *A little Dictionary for Children.* This is mentioned by the induſtrious *Bale* (12), and ſeems to have been the firſt thing our author publiſhed. In his preface to it he ſhows the utility of ſuch a work, and from thence infers, that no learned man need be aſhamed of undertaking it, becauſe employing learning for the promoting of learning, is diſcharging the duty of a man of letters; and whatever is a man's duty muſt be honourable.

(12) De Scriptor. p. 108.

II. *The Office of Servants.* Tranſlated from the Latin of Gilbert Cognatus, London, 1543, 8vo. This book he dedicated to his honourable patron Sir Henry Knevet (13), whom he attended in his Embaſſy to the Emperor Charles V. and whoſe death he afterwards celebrated, which is preſerved amongſt the reſt of his poems of the ſame nature (14).

(13) Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. i. col. 149.

(14) Miſcellanea, p. 377.

III. Moriæ Encomium, *i. e. The Praiſe of Folly.* Tranſlated from Eraſmus, and printed at London, 1549, in 4to (15). It is not impoſſible that he may have been the author alſo of ſome other tranſlations, or little treatiſes rela ing to morals; but of theſe we find no account, nor at this diſtance of time has tradition tranſmitted to us the titles of any of his pieces.

(15) He was a diſciple and friend to its famous author.

IV. In laudem Henrici octavi, Regis Angliæ, præſtantiſſimi, carmen panegyricum, i. e. *In praiſe of* Henry VIII. *the moſt worthy King of England, a Panegyrick.* This poem was addreſſed to Queen Elizabeth, in the beginning of her reign (16), but was not publiſhed till many years after the author's deceaſe, by the care of the ſame worthy perſon who was the editor of the reſt of his poetical works.

(16) It ſtands between the large Poem, *de Repub. Anglor. inſtauranda*, and his *Miſcellanea*.

V. De Rep. Anglorum inſtauranda, libri decem, i. e. *Of the reforming or reſtoring the Engliſh Republick, in ten books,* Lond. 1579, 4to. This edition is moſt correctly and elegantly printed by Thomas Vautroller. There is prefixed to it the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh's poem on the work and its author, with other commendatory verſes. We are told by the editor, that he was encouraged to the undertaking by the Lord Burleigh, who was very deſirous that this noble work, of his deceaſed friend, might appear in a manner ſuitable to its worth, and to the high reſpect he bore his memory. We have already told the reader, when and how it was compoſed; but it may not be amiſs to add, Sir Thomas Chaloner's account in his own words; by which it appears, that it was begun on Chriſtmas-day 1562, and finiſhed the 21ſt of July 1564, which he remembered, in the firſt leaf of the manuſcript, in the following terms.

'Deo auſpice, Thomas Chalonerus, Londinenſis, 'Equeſtris ordinis vir, ſereniſſimæ Angliæ, &c. Re-'ginæ Elizabethæ, ad potentiſſimum Hiſpaniarum 'Regem Philippum legatus, animi recreandi, cum 'otio abundaret, cauſa, libros hoſce decem de Repub. 'Anglorum inſtauranda incepit 25 die Decembris, 'Anno Domini 1562, perfecit verò 21 die Julii '1564, quum horis tantùm ſucceſſivis, idque ferè an-'te lucanis, ad componenda carmina ſe conferret. 'Atque hunc archetypum manu propria conſcripſit.'

VI. *De illuſtrium quorundam encomiis miſcellanea cum epigrammatis ac epitaphiis nonnullis.* This collection of panegyricks, epigrams, and epitaphs, is printed with the book before-mentioned, and contains many teſtimonies of his loyalty and friendſhip, as well as of his great genius and extenſive learning. We have already mentioned ſeveral of the pieces that are inſerted in this collection, and ſhall only take notice here, amongſt others, that he has celebrated the memory of his friend, Sir John Cheeke, of his old patrons Sir Thomas Parrye, and Lord Paget; of Dr. Thomas Phayer, a learned Phyſician, and ſome foreigners. Thus we have endeavoured to recover, as far as it was in our power, the memory of ſo great a man from oblivion, who, in the judgment of his contemporaries, joined to the quickeſt wit, and the moſt ſolid learning, the politeſt manners, and the moſt inflexible probity. As to religion, he was a zealous Proteſtant; which, as he never diſſembled in the days of Queen Mary, ſo in the dawn of Queen Elizabeth's government, he very earneſtly preſſed the publick owning of the Reformation, as a thing ſafeſt, as well as moſt honourable for the State (17); and the ſame principles he conſtantly and warmly recommended in all his writings. C.

(17) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 535.

*** [In Haynes's collection of State-Papers, we find a joint letter from Dr. Wotton and Mr. Chaloner to Sir William Cecil, written from Monſtruel, in April, 1553; and two letters from Sir Thomas Chaloner, when Embaſſador in Spain, to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Embaſſador in France, dated in May, 1562. The firſt of theſe letters contains an account of the motions of the Imperial and Spaniſh troops; and the two others relate to the deſigns and conduct of the Spaniards, with regard to the ſupport of the party of Guiſe, in the civil conteſts of France. After a careful peruſal of the letters, we do not meet with any thing curious enough to juſtify our enlarging the article with extracts from them (18).] K.

(18) Hayne's Collection of State Papers, p. 147, 148. 382, 383. 384—386.

With

With praiſe deſerv'd his publick poſts he fill'd;
And equal fame his learned labours yield.
While yet he liv'd, he liv'd his country's pride,
And firſt his country injur'd when he dy'd.

CHALONER (Sir THOMAS) the younger, the ſon of the former by his wife Ethelreda, daughter of Mr. Frodſham of Elton in Cheſhire (*a*). He was born ſome time in the year 1559 (*b*), and being very young at the time of his father's deceaſe, and his mother ſoon after marrying a ſecond huſband, he owed his education chiefly to the care and protection of the Lord-Treaſurer Burleigh, by whom he was firſt put under the care of Dr. Malim Maſter of St. Paul's ſchool, and afterwards removed to Magdalen College in Oxford, where he cloſely purſued his ſtudies at ſuch times as his father's poetical works were publiſhed; and as a proof of his veneration for his father's friend, and gratitude for the many kindneſſes himſelf had received, he prefixed a dedication to this work to his patron the Lord Burleigh (*c*). He left the College before he took any degree, but not before he had acquired a great reputation for parts and learning. He had, like his father, a great talent for poetry, which he wrote with much facility both in Engliſh and in Latin, and it is ſaid that he had a particular inclination for Paſtoral (*d*). But it does not appear that he publiſhed any thing of this, or indeed of any kind before he left England, which, from a compariſon of circumſtances, ſeems to have been about the year 1580. He viſited ſeveral parts of Europe, but made the longeſt ſtay in Italy, where he addicted himſelf to the converſation of the graveſt and wiſeſt men in that country; and being naturally of a very ſerious temper, agreed with them ſo well, that they very readily imparted to him their moſt important diſcoveries in Natural Philoſophy, for which he had always a great affection, ſtudied it with much diligence, and, by the quickneſs of his apprehenſion, wonderful penetration, and great ſolidity of judgment, gained a very deep inſight into the operations of nature (*e*), which he continually augmented by a variety of experiments. At his return home, which was ſome time before 1584, he appeared very much at Court, and was eſteemed and careſſed by the greateſt men there, as well on account of his great learning as his polite behaviour. About this time he married his firſt wife, who was the daughter of his father's old friend Sir William Fleetwood, Recorder of London, by whom he had ſeveral children (*f*). In the year 1591 he had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him, as well in regard to his own perſonal merit as the great ſervices of his father (*g*); and ſome years after, the firſt alum mines that were ever known to be in this kingdom, were diſcovered, by his great ſagacity, not far from Giſborough in Yorkſhire, where he had a very fair eſtate. It was with infinite difficulty and trouble, attended with a very large expence, that theſe mines were ſo wrought as to become valuable, and then, by ſome extraordinary ſtretch of Law, he was deprived of them. Of all theſe circumſtances, ſo far as we have been able to inform ourſelves, the reader will have an account in the notes (*b*) [*A*]. In the latter end

(*a*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. i. col. 398.

(*b*) This date I have met with in ſome MS. notes upon Wood, but cannot tell whether it may be fafely relied on, though it ſeems to agree very well with the events of his life.

(*c*) This Dedication is dated 1 Aug. 1579.

(*d*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. i. col. 398.

(*e*) Camden. Brit. in Brigant.

(*f*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. i. col. 398.

(*g*) Liſt of Knights made in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

(*b*) Childrey's Britannia Baconica, p. 162.

[*A*] *Will have an account in the notes.*] We propoſe to give the reader here a ſuccinct account of this gentleman's great abilities as a naturaliſt, his happy diſcovery of the art of making alum from the ſtone, and the conſequences of that diſcovery, of which hitherto there is no connected relation any where to be met with. It is very certain, that in his travels he addicted himſelf very much to philoſophical enquiries, and that with the nobleſt view of rendering them beneficial to mankind; of which he gave a ſpecimen in a ſmall work of his, the only one, I believe, he ever publiſhed, bearing the following title:

The virtue of Nitre, *wherein is declared the ſundry cures by the ſame effected.* Lond. 1584. 4°. In which he diſcourſes largely of the nature, production, and uſes of nitre; and diſcovers a very ſingular acquaintance with minerals, and their component parts, from whence he deduces all their natural properties, and ſhows, how they may be applied medicinally by the aſſiſtance of the Chymiſts.

This diſcovers the temper and diſpoſition of our author's mind, always attentive, always meditating, and always contriving, to carry that knowledge he acquired by attention and meditation into practice. Amongſt the other places he had viſited in Italy, he ſpent ſome time at Puzzoli, or, as ſome write it, Puteoli (1), where he ſaw after what manner they made alum, and to how great an account it turned. On the Solfatara, near that place, they collect a kind of ſaltiſh flour, or duſt, that covers the ſurface in the ſummer time: this, when thus collected, they throw into large veſſels full of water, which are ſet in the earth, and being placed over certain ſubterraneous ſpiracles, the water being evaporated by the heat, the alum is left behind. How well he obſerved the nature of the ſoil, and its effects upon the vegetables produced in the neighbourhood, will beſt appear from the learned Camden's account of the diſcovery (2), made by him in England, which we ſhall give in that great man's own words, in as much as they afford at the ſame time the cleareſt relation, and carry with them the moſt inconteſtable authority.

(1) Miſſon's Voyage and Travels, vol. i. p. 433.

(2) Camden's Britannia, p. 766.

'Four miles from the mouth of the Tees ſtands 'Giſborough, upon a riſing ground, at preſent a ſmall 'town. While it was in it's prime it was very much 'graced by a beautiful and rich monaſtery, built about 'the year 1119 by Robert de Brus, lord of the town. 'It has been the common burial-place for all the nobi-'lity of theſe parts, and has produced Walter de He-'mingford, no unlearned Hiſtorian. The place is 'really fine, and may, for pleaſantneſs, a curious va-'riety, and the natural advantages of it, compare 'with Puteoli in Italy; and then for a healthful and 'agreeable ſituation, it certainly far ſurpaſſes it. The 'coldneſs of the air, which the ſea occaſions, is quali-'fied and broken by the hills between [illegible] ſoil is 'fruitful, and produces graſs and fine f[illegible]reat 'part of the year; it richly abounds wi[illegible]f 'metal and alum earth of ſeveral colours, (but ſpeci-'ally with thoſe of ochre and murray) from which 'they now begin to extract the beſt ſort of alum and 'copperas in great plenty. This was firſt diſcovered 'a few years ſince by the admirable ſagacity of that 'learned Naturaliſt Sir Thomas Chaloner, Knight (to 'whoſe

end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, Sir Thomas Chaloner made a journey into Scotland, whether out of curiosity, with a view to preferment, or by the direction of Sir Robert Cecil, afterwards Earl of Salisbury, who was his great friend, is not now to be discovered: but this is very certain, that he soon grew into such credit with King James, that the most considerable persons in England addressed themselves to him for his favour and recommendation. Amongst the rest, Sir Francis Bacon, afterwards Chancellor, wrote him a very warm letter, which is still extant, which he sent him by his friend Mr. Matthews, who was also charged with another to the King; a copy of which was sent to Sir Thomas Chaloner, and Mr. Matthews was directed to deliver him the original, if he would undertake to present it (*i*). He accompanied the King in his journey to England, and by his extensive learning, pleasant conversation, and admirable address, fixed himself so effectually in that Monarch's good graces, that, as one of the highest marks he could give him of his kindness and confidence, he thought fit to intrust him with the care of Prince Henry's education, August 17, 1603 (*k*) [*B*]. He enjoyed this honour, under several denominations, during the life-time of that excellent Prince, whom he attended in 1605 to Oxford, and upon that occasion was honoured with the degree of Master of Arts, as many other persons of distinction were (*l*). I cannot find that he had any grants of lands, or gifts in money, from the Crown, in consideration of his services, though Sir Adam Newton, who was Preceptor to Prince Henry, appears, from a list

(*i*) Bacon's Works, vol. iv. p. 557. Collection of Letters by Sir Tobie Matthews, p. 16.

(*k*) Pat. 1 Jac. I. p. 23. m. 10.

(*l*) Wood's Fasti, Oxon. p. 173.

' whose tuition his present Majesty has committed the
' delight and glory of Britain, his son Prince Henry)
' by observing, that the leaves of trees were of a more
' weakly sort of green here than in other places; that
' the oaks shot forth their roots very broad, but not
' deep, and that these had much strength but little sap
' in them; that the soil was a white clay speckled
' with several colours, namely, white, yellowish, and
' blue; that it never froze, and, that in a pretty clear
' night it shin'd and sparkled like glass upon the road
' side. Next Ounesbery Topping, a steep mountain,
' and all over green, riseth so high, that it appears at
' a great distance, and it is the land-mark that directs
' sailors, and a prognostick to the neighbours here-
' abouts; for when it's top begins to be darkened
' with clouds, rain generally follows. Near the top of
' it a fountain issues from a great stone, very good for
' sore eyes; and from hence the vallies round it, the
' grassy hills, green meadows, rich pastures, fruitful
' corn fields, fishy rivers, and the creeky mouth of the
' Tees, low and open shores, yet free from inunda-
' tion, and the sea with the ships in it, render the pro-
' spect very delicate.'

The time when this discovery was made is not fixed in this account; but from a comparison of circumstances it appears to have been about 1600, or perhaps a little earlier (3). But the invention and the perfection of this art were at some distance, and very considerable sums of money were spent before the project was brought to bear; which, probably, was owing to the difference of climates, and that different manner of working, which this rendered necessary. But at length, by the bringing over privately Lambert Russell, a Walloon, and two other workmen, employed in this business at Rochelle in France, the matter was compleated, but very little to the profit of the proprietors, since upon this it was adjudged to be a mine royal, and so came into the hands of the Crown (4). It was then granted to Sir Paul Pindar, under the following rent, *viz.* twelve thousand five hundred pounds a year to the King, one thousand six hundred and forty pounds a year to the Earl of Mulgrave, and six hundred pounds a year to Sir William Pennyman. But notwithstanding these high rents, and that no less than eight hundred persons were employed in the manufacture at a time, the farm of the alum mines produced a vast profit to Sir Paul Pindar, who kept up the commodity at the rate of twenty-six pounds a ton (5). The Long-Parliament voted this a monopoly, and restored the alum works to their original proprietors. About the time of the Restoration we find there were five works carried on, *viz.* one at Sands-End, another at Ash-Holme, both belonging to the Earl of Mulgrave; a third at Slapy-Wash, then belonging to the Darcies, formerly to the Pennymans; the fourth at Dunsly, which was Mr. Fairfax's; the last at Whitby, belonging to Sir Hugh Cholmley. By thus opening different works, and that emulation that it naturally occasioned, the commodity sunk in value, for the proprietors under sold one another, till the price of alum was brought down to thirteen pounds a ton (6). In the end, the last of these works, by the conveniency of it's situation, triumphed over the rest, so that the original mines at Gisborough fell into disuse; but the present consumption of alum is at least as great, if not greater, than ever (7). It is considered as a drug, and from it's astringent quality is much used in physick, and enters into the composition of various medicines. But the great vent of it arises from it's prodigious utility in fixing colours, and in preparing stuffs for dying, which makes it a valuable commodity to Clothiers, Glovers, Dyers, and many other artificers (8). The Roman alum is looked upon as rather better than ours, but ours much exceeds other alums, and more especially that of Sweden, which of late years great pains has been taken to improve; and some persons (9), as I have been informed, were not many years ago sent over hither on purpose to look into the management of our alum works, and if possible to steal the secret.

(2) It was certainly in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, but it was not inserted in the Britannia till the last edition.

(4) Hist. of the Reign of Charles I. p. 339.

(5) Fuller's Worthies in Yorkshire, p. 186.

(6) Case of the Alum Works in Yorkshire.

(7) Ray's Collection of English Words not generally used, p. 144, 145.

(8) Dictionaire de Commerce.

(9) They were recommended by the Archbishop of Upsal to a Clergyman, from whose mouth I had it.

[*B*] *Of Prince Henry's education, August 17th, 1603.*] In most of our historians Sir Thomas Chaloner is generally called Prince Henry's tutor, but that is a very improper appellation, for one who was absolutely intrusted with the care of that young Prince's education, and of his household; so that he was rather his governor, though it does not appear that he ever had this title. But that he was by no means his tutor, is evident from Mr. Newton's holding that office for several years, who was afterwards Dean of Durham, though a layman, and created a Baronet (10); and then John Wilkinson, Master of Arts (11), and others, though Sir Thomas Chaloner remained in his charge all the while; and it was out of respect to him, that when Prince Henry was matriculated at Oxford, he chose to enter as a Member of Magdalen-College. To put this matter out of dispute, we shall give the reader a clause out of the patent, by which Sir Thomas held his office (12), which will fully explain it's nature.

(10) Baronetage of England, vol. v. p. 271.

(11) Wood's Fasti, Oxon. vol. i. col. 127.

(12) Rymer's Fœd. vol. xvi. p. 545.

' For the good proof we have long had of your sin-
' gular affection to our person, and for the trust we
' repose in you, as well in regard of your zeal to reli-
' gion, as also for your discretion, we have made
' choice of you to have the principal charge and custo-
' dy, as well of the person of our said son, as also the
' oversight of all his household and family attending
' him, who being to us so dear a jewel as he is, the
' charge is likewise of great weight and care to you.
' Wherefore we have thought good to accompany so
' great a burthen with sufficient authority to you, for
' the execution and discharge thereof, and do there-
' fore direct these our letters patents to you, under our
' Great Seal of England, whereby we do give you
' power and authority for the better execution of this
' charge committed to you, to command, rule, and
' direct, as well all persons, which shall be of ordinary
' attendance about our son the Prince, in his house, in
' all things that may concern the safety of his person,
' or the observation of good rule in his house, as also
' all Justices of Peace, Mayors, Bailiffs, Headboroughs,
' Constables, &c.'

that

that I have ſeen, to have received at ſeveral times the ſum of four thouſand pounds by way of free gift (*m*). Sir Thomas Chaloner had likewiſe very great intereſt with Queen Anne, and appears to have been employed by her in her private affairs, and in the ſettlement of that ſmall eſtate which ſhe enjoyed (*n*). What relation he had to the Court after the death of his gracious Maſter Prince Henry, does no where appear; but it is not at all likely that he was laid aſide (*o*). He married ſome years before his death his ſecond wife Judith, daughter to Mr. William Blount of London, and by this lady alſo he had children, to whom, if my author does not miſlead me (*p*), he left a conſiderable eſtate, which he had at Steeple-Claydon in the county of Buckingham. All we know of him farther is, that he died on the 17th of November 1615, and was buried in the pariſh-church of Chiſwick in the county of Middleſex. His eldeſt ſon William Chaloner, Eſq; was, by letters patents dated July 20, in the 18th of King James I. *A. D.* 1620, created a Baronet, by the title of William Chaloner of Giſborough in the county of York, Eſq; (*q*) which title I find was extinct in 1681 (*r*). Yet the poſterity of ſome of the younger brothers of this Baronet are ſtill remaining in that county, and are poſſeſſed of the family eſtate at Giſborough (*s*), as the reader will be informed in the notes [*C*]. It was judged neceſſary to give as full and diſtinct an account of this worthy perſon as poſſible, becauſe few or none, either of our Hiſtorians or Biographers, Anthony Wood (*t*) excepted, have taken any notice of him, though he was ſo conſiderable a benefactor to this nation, by diſcovering the alum mines, which have produced vaſt ſums of money, and ſtill continue to be wrought with very great profit, though, as I am informed, this family have long ſince loſt the benefit of them (*u*). We ſhall have a better notion of this matter, I mean the advantage which this nation has gained by making and vending alum, if we reflect, that in the firſt place it is a commodity of great uſe in various manufactures; ſo that we muſt have had it from abroad whatever it coſt, and therefore all that is conſumed at home, is ſo much clear gains to this nation as the value of it amounts to. On the other hand, the quality of our alum putting it in our power to ſet a very high price upon it, this was alſo very beneficial to the nation, inaſmuch as every ounce of it exported, added ſo much as it was worth to the general balance of our trade; whence it ap-

(*m*) Abſtract of King James's Revenue, p. 18, 19. 26.

(*n*) Letters and Memorials of State, collected out of the papers belonging to the Sidney Family, vol. ii. p. 307.

(*o*) Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 87.

(*p*) Ath. Oxon. vol. i. col. 398.

(*q*) Engliſh Baronetage, vol. v. p. 271.

(*r*) Dugdale's Catalogue of Baronets, as they ſtood July 4, 1681, p. 89.

(*s*) From the information of a Reverend Clergyman in that county.

(*t*) Ath. Oxon. vol. i. col. 398.

(*u*) From private information.

[*C*] *Will be informed in the notes.*] We have already ſpoken in the text of Sir Thomas Chaloner's eldeſt ſon, Sir William Chaloner of Giſborough, in the county of York, and therefore here we are to ſpeak of his younger children only. His ſecond ſon Edward was educated in the ſame College where his father had been formerly bred at Oxford, and entering into holy orders became Doctor in Divinity, Principal of St. Alban's Hall, Chaplain to King Charles the Firſt, and one of the moſt eminent preachers of his time, though he died at the age of thirty-four, being carried off by the plague that then raged at Oxford, July 26th, 1625 (13).

(13) Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 281.

Thomas Chaloner was younger brother to Edward, but whether the next to him we cannot determine. He was alſo ſent to Oxford, and ſpent ſome time there at Exeter College, after which he went abroad, and having travelled through France and Italy, returned home a very well-accompliſhed gentleman, being much diſtinguiſhed for the vivacity of his wit, and his extenſive knowledge in all kind of polite literature: but having contracted a diſlike to the royal family, on the ſcore of the alum mines, of which his father had been deprived, he ſtruck in with the malecontents, and being elected member for Aldborough in the county of York, became an active member of the Long-Parliament (14). He ſat as one of the King's judges, and was elected one of the members of the Council of State. Upon a proſpect of the King's return he printed a paper, entitled, *A Speech, containing a Plea for Monarchy* (15), in which he hinted at ſome limitations and reſtrictions. He ſoon after thought fit to retire to Holland, in which he acted prudently, for he was excepted (16) out of the Act of Oblivion, and very ſoon after died at Middleburg in Zealand.

(14) Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 264.

(15) Printed in 4to. at London, 1659.

(16) Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 43.

James Chaloner, younger brother to Thomas, was a Commoner of Brazen-Noſe College in Oxford, and afterwards ſtudied in the Inns of Court. He was a man of great learning, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf as an Antiquary, as alſo by writing the Hiſtory of the Iſle of Man, a manuſcript copy of which was in the valuable Muſæum of Mr. Thoreſby, of Leeds, but it has been alſo printed (17). He was likewiſe a member of the Long-Parliament, deep in the tranſactions of thoſe times, and one of the King's Judges; for which, at the Reſtoration, he was excepted from the benefit of his eſtate, but his life ſpared; and this diſtinction ſeems to have been owing to his not having ſigned the warrant for the King's death, which his brother Thomas did (18). He married Urſula, daughter of Sir William Fairfax, of Seeton, in the county of York, and dying in the year 1661, was ſucceeded in his eſtate by his only ſon Edmund (19).

(17) Thoreſby's Antiq. of Leeds, p. 525.

(18) State Trials, vol. i. p. 1042.

(19) Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 252.

C.

*** [Dr. Birch, in his Life of Henry Prince of Wales, hath given a ſhort account of Sir Thomas Chaloner, which differs in no material reſpect from the article above. In the ſame work, are two letters written by Sir Thomas, one to Sir Robert Cotton, and the other to the Prince, both of which ſhew him to have been a man of ſagacity and reflection (20). We may obſerve, by the way, that Dr. Birch doth not ſcruple to call him Prince Henry's governor: ſuch he really was, and he appears to have diſcharged his truſt with equal wiſdom and fidelity. Among other things, he was anxious that the eſtabliſhment of his royal Pupil's houſhold ſhould be kept within a moderate degree of ſplendour and expence (21). In the manuſcript papers of Anthony Bacon, Eſq; preſerved in the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's library at Lambeth, tranſcripts and extracts from which, by Dr. Birch, are now lodged in the Britiſh Muſeum, there are ſome letters of Sir Thomas Chaloner's to Mr. Bacon and the Earl of Eſſex. All of them, one excepted, were written from Italy, and chiefly from Florence, when Sir Thomas was upon his travels. Theſe letters are taken notice of by Dr. Birch, in his Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth; and we learn from them, that Mr. Anthony Bacon recommended Sir Thomas Chaloner to the Earl of Eſſex's favour, who at firſt doubted of his attachment, but ſeems afterwards to have received him into his confidence (22). Among the heraldic manuſcripts of the Britiſh Muſeum, is one with the following title. "The true and perfect Genealogy of the ancient Families of Middletons, of Middleton, in the County of Salop, Gwynenock, and Lord of Cherle, within the County of Denbigh, gathered out of many ancient Evidences and Records, by the Induſtry and Travell of Thomas Chaloner, late of the City of Cheſter, Gent. and Student in the Law of Arms (23)." Who this Thomas Chaloner was, we are not able, with any degree of exactneſs, to determine.]

(20) Life of Henry Prince of Wales, p. 32—34. 203—207.

(21) *Ibid.* p. 97.

(22) Ayſcough's Catalogue, p. 153. 157, 158, 159. Birch's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 150. 182. 226. 236. 269, 270. 304.

(23) Ayſcough's Catalogue, p. 284.

K.

pears, that we both ſaved and got by this diſcovery. But then, thirdly, the reader will be told in the notes, how great a number of perſons have been at one time employed in theſe works (*w*), which will enable us to form ſome ſort of eſtimate, of the many families that in ſo long a tract of time have been maintained, and ſome of them enriched, by the ſame means. Taking therefore all things together, it muſt appear highly juſt to celebrate the memory of every man who is thus uſeful to his country; and it would have been no diſgrace to our Hiſtorians, if, in this reſpect, they had followed the example of honeſt John Stowe, and his Continuator Edward Howes, who have very carefully collected, and very faithfully ſet down, many inſtances of the like nature (*x*); and have alſo given a very particular account of this diſcovery, though it does not altogether agree with what is met with in other authors; for it ſeems to make King James an encourager of this work, and mentions his prohibiting the importation of alum from abroad, that it might turn to better account in the hands of Sir Thomas Chaloner and his aſſociates (*y*).

(*w*) Fuller's Worthies, in Yorkſhire.

(*x*) Stowe's Annals, p. 1038.

(*y*) *Ibid.* p. 895, 896.

CHAMBER or CHAMBRE (JOHN) a learned Phyſician in the XVIth century, noted chiefly for being one of the founders of the College of Phyſicians, London (*a*), was educated in Merton-College in Oxford, of which he was Fellow (*b*). He took his degree of Maſter of Arts about the year 1502; after which travelling into Italy, he ſtudied Phyſick at Padua, and there took the degree of Doctor in that Faculty. After his return, he became Phyſician to King Henry VIII; and, with Thomas Linacre, Fernandes de Victoria, Nicolas Halſewell, John Fraunces, and Robert Yaxley, Doctors of Phyſick, founded the College of Phyſicians [*A*]. Being in Holy Orders, he became, in 1510, Canon of Windſor, and in 1524 Archdeacon of Bedford, and was likewiſe Prebendary of Comb and Harnham in the cathedral church of Sarum (*c*). In 1525 he was elected Warden of Merton-college (*d*); and, about the ſame time, was made Dean of the Royal Chapel and College adjoining to Weſtminſter-Hall, dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St. Stephen (*e*). He built to it a very curious cloyſter (*f*), and gave the Canons of that Chapel ſome lands, which he ſaw, upon the diſſolution of the monaſteries, taken into the King's hands. Afterwards he was made Treaſurer of Wells cathedral, beneficed in Somerſetſhire and Yorkſhire, and probably had other dignities and preferments (*g*). October 29, 1531, he was incorporated Doctor of Phyſick at Oxford (*h*). In May 1543 he reſigned his Treaſurerſhip of Wells; and his Wardenſhip of Merton-college in 1545. He died in 1549 (*i*). He never publiſhed any thing.

(*a*) Wood, Faſt. edit. 1721, vol. i. col. 50. Stowe's Survey of London, with Strype's Additions, edit. 1720, vol. i. p. 132, of Book i.

(*b*) Wood, *ibid.*

(*c*) Wood, *ibid.*

(*d*) *Idem*, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 86. He ſays elſewhere, that it was in 1526. Faſti, *ubi ſupra.*

(*e*) Now the Houſe of Commons.

(*f*) The Charge of which amounted to eleven thouſand marks. Stowe's Survey of London, &c. with Strype's Additions, edit. 1720, Book vi. p. 54, vol. ii.

(*g*) Wood, Ath. *ubi ſupra.*

(*h*) Wood, Faſti, *ubi ſupra.*

(*i*) Wood, Ath. *ubi ſupra.*

[*A*] *Founded the College of Phyſicians.*] Henry the VIIIth's charter, for the foundation of this College, bears date at Weſtminſter, September 23, 1518, and is ſaid to have been obtained at the requeſt of Dr. John Chamber, Thomas Linacre, Fernandez de Victoria, his Phyſicians; and of Nicolas Halſewell, John Fraunces, and Robert Yaxley, of the ſame faculty: but eſpecially through the interceſſion and intereſt of Cardinal Wolſey. The firſt College of this Society was in Knights Riders-ſtreet, being the gift of Dr. Linacre. Afterwards they removed to Amen-corner, where they bought an houſe and ground: but the houſe being burnt down in 1666, the Fellows purchaſed, with their own money, a large piece of ground in Warwick-lane, upon which they erected the preſent College. The number of Fellows at firſt was but thirty. King Charles II. at their requeſt, augmented the number to forty. And King James II. in their new charter, was pleaſed to increaſe the number to eighty, and not to exceed. To the College belong, at preſent, a Preſident, four Cenſors, and twelve Electors (1). M.

(1) Stowe's Survey of London, with Strype's Additions, Lond. 1720, vol. i. B. i. p. 130, 131.

CHAMBERLAYNE (EDWARD) author of *The Preſent State of England*, was deſcended from an eminent and ancient family [*A*] and born at Odington in Glouceſterſhire, on the 13th of December 1616 (*a*). He had his firſt education at Glouceſter (*b*): and in Michaelmas-term 1634 became a Commoner of St. Edmund-Hall in Oxford (*c*). On the 20th of April 1638, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*d*); and that of Maſter in 1641, and was appointed Rhetorick Reader of the Univerſity for part of that and the year following (*e*). During the Civil Wars, he travelled into France, Spain, Italy, Hungary, Bohemia, Germany, the Low-Countries, Denmark, and Sweden (*f*). In 1658 he married Suſannah, only daughter of Richard Clifford, Eſq; deſcended from the ancient and noble family of the Cliffords, Lords of Frampton in the county of Glouceſter (*g*). After the reſtoration of King Charles II. he became Fellow of the Royal Society; and in 1669 Secretary to Charles Earl of Carliſle, when he was ſent to Stockholm, to carry the Order of the Garter to the King of Sweden. In January 1670, he had the degree of Doctor of the Civil Law conferred on him at Cambridge; and on the 22d of June 1672, was incorporated in the ſame at Oxford (*h*). About the year 1679 he was appointed Tutor to Henry Duke of Grafton, one of the natural ſons of King Charles II. Afterwards, he became Inſtructor in the Engliſh tongue to Prince

(*a*) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 355; and Athenæ Oxon. edit. 1721, vol. ii. col. 1130.

(*b*) From his epitaph, which ſee below.

(*c*) Athenæ, as above.

(*d*) *Idem*, Faſti, vol. i. col. 275.

(*e*) Athenæ, as above.

(*f*) From his epitaph.

(*g*) From her epitaph.

(*h*) Wood, Ath. as above; and Faſti, vol. ii. col. 189.

[*A*] *Deſcended from an eminent and ancient family.*] His father, Thomas Chamberlayne, Eſq; was ſon of Sir Thomas Chamberlayne, Knt. ſome time Embaſſador in Flanders, where he married a Lady of the houſe of Naſſau. The family derive their deſcent from the Counts, or at leaſt Barons, of Tanquerville, in Normandy. And John Count of Tankerville being made Chamberlain to the King of England above four hundred years ago, his deſcendants thence took the ſurname of *Chamberlayne*. They branched out into the ſeveral houſes of Sherborne-caſtle, in Oxfordſhire, lately extinct, and of Preſtbury, Maugerbury, and Odington, in Glouceſterſhire; from the latter of which, Edward, whom we are ſpeaking of, was deſcended (1).

(1) Wood, Ath. as above; and The Preſent State of England, by J. Chamberlayne, Eſq; P. i. B. iii. ch. iii. under the title *Surnames*.

George

George of Denmark (*i*). In the latter part of his life he lived at Chelſey near London; where he died in the year 1703. He was buried in a vault in the church-yard of that pariſh, where a monument was ſoon after erected to his memory [*B*]. He was a learned and ingenious man, and wrote ſeveral uſeful books [*C*]. His wife, mentioned above, died ſoon after him, on the 17th of December 1703, and was buried in the ſame vault with him (*k*). By her he had nine children.

(*i*) Wood, Ath. *ubi ſupra.*

(*k*) From her epitaph.

[*B*] *A monument was ſoon after erected to his memory.*] On which the inſcription is as follows:

Poſteritati Sacrum.

More majorum, extra urbis pomoeriâ, juxta viam publicam, in Tumulo editiore, heic prope inhumari voluit Edwardus Chamberlayne, Anglus, Chriſticola, L. D. Ex antiqua Comitis Tanquervillæ proſapiâ Normanicâ oriundus, Odingtoniæ natus, 1616. *Gloceſtriæ Grammaticâ, Oxonii Juriſprudentiâ, Londini Humanitate imbutus fuit. Per Galliam, Hiſpaniam, Italiam, Hungariam, Bohemiam, utramque Germaniam, Daniam, & Sueciam migravit. Suſannam Clifford equeſtri familiâ prognatam in matrimonium duxit* 1658. *Novem liberos genuit, ſex libros compoſuit: Tandem* 1703 *in terram oblivionis demigravit. Benefaciendi Univerſis, etiam & Poſteris, adeo ſtudioſus fuit, ut ſecum condi juſſerat* (*) *libros aliquot ſuos cera abſolutos, ſeræ forſan poſteritati aliquando profuturos. Abi Viator fac ſimile. Deus te ſervet incolumem. Hoc Monumentum, non impune temerandum, in honoris juxta ac moeroris teſtamentum* (†), *poni curavit Gualterus Harris, M. D. Amicus amico.* What is hiſtorical in this epitaph is included in the text, and for that reaſon we have not thought neceſſary to tranſlate it. Only we ſhall take notice of one remarkable particular mentioned therein; namely, 'That he [Dr. Chamberlayne] was ſo 'very deſirous of doing good to all, and even to poſ-'terity, that he ordered ſome books of his own 'compoſition, covered over with wax, to be buried 'with him, which may poſſibly be of uſe to future 'ages (2).

(*) So 'tis in our copy inſtead of *juſſerit.*

(†) Forſan, *teſtimonium.*

(2) *Monumenta Anglicana*, by J. le Neve, from 1700 to 1715, 8vo. p. 65.

[*C*] *And wrote ſeveral uſeful books.*] Namely, theſe; I. 'The preſent War parallel'd; or, a brief Relation 'of the five Years Civil Wars of Henry III. King of 'England, with the Event and Iſſue of that unnatural War, and by what Courſe the Kingdom was 'then ſettled again; extracted out of the moſt authentick Hiſtorians and Records,' in five ſheets 4*to.* Lond. 1647. It was reprinted in the year 1660, under this title, 'The late War parallel'd; or, a 'brief Relation, &c. 8*vo.* II. England's Wants; 'or, ſeveral Propoſals probably beneficial for England, offered to the Conſideration of both Houſes of 'Parliament.' Lond. 1667, 4*to.* III. 'The converted Preſbyterian, or the Church of England juſtified in ſome Practices, &c.' Lond. 1668. IV. '*Angliæ Notitia*; or, the preſent State of England, 'with divers Reflections upon the ancient State 'thereof.' Lond. 1668, 8*vo.* The ſecond part was publiſhed at London, 1671, &c. 8*vo.* And both together were ſeveral times reprinted during the author's life, with additions and amendments. It was tranſlated into Latin by Thomas Wood (3), and into French by ſome other hand. The author's ſon, John Chamberlayne, Eſq; continued it, and made very large additions and improvements thereto; ſo that it is the beſt book of the kind extant. The 36th edition was publiſhed many years ſince. One Guy Miege publiſhed another in imitation of it; but it is a very indifferent and faulty performance. V. 'An 'Academy or College, wherein young Ladies and 'Gentlewomen may, at a very moderate Expence, be 'educated in the true Proteſtant Religion, and in all 'virtuous Qualities that may adorn that Sex, &c.' Lond. 1671, 4*to.* two ſheets. VI. 'A Dialogue be-'tween an Engliſhman and a Dutchman, concerning 'the laſt Dutch War.' Lond. 1672, 4*to.* He alſo wrote ſome other things, to which he did not ſet his name. And tranſlated out of Italian, Spaniſh, and Portugueze, into Engliſh, 1. 'The Riſe and Fall 'of Count Olivares, the Favourite of Spain. 2. 'The unparallel'd Impoſture of Mich. de Molina, 'executed at Madrid, *an.* 1641. 3. The Right and 'Title of the preſent King of Portugal, Don John 'the Fourth.' Theſe three tranſlations were printed at London, 1653, 4*to* (4). M.

(3) See Wood, Athen. vol. ii. col. 995.

(4) Wood, Ath. as above, col. 1129.

CHAMBERLAYNE (JOHN) ſon of the former, was a learned and worthy perſon. He was admitted into Trinity-college in Oxford in 1685: but it doth not appear that he took any degree (*a*). He tranſlated I. from French and Spaniſh, 'The manner of 'making Tea, Coffee, and Chocolate.' London. 1685, 8*vo.* II. From Italian into Engliſh, 'A Treaſure of Health,' Lond. 1686, 8*vo*, written by Caſtor Durant de Gualdo, Phyſician and citizen of Rome (*b*). III. 'The Arguments of the Books and 'Chapters of the Old and New Teſtament, with practical Obſervations. Written originally in French, by the Reverend Mr. Oſtervald, Profeſſor of Divinity, and one of 'the Miniſters of the Church at Neutfchatel in Swiſſerland: And by him preſented to 'the Society for promoting Chriſtian Knowledge.' 3 Vols. 8*vo*, Lond. 1716, &c. Mr. Chamberlayne was a Member of that Society. IV. The Lives of the French Philoſophers [or Members of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris] tranſlated from the French of M. de Fontenelle. Republiſhed ſince, in 1721, under the title of Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences in Paris, epitomized, with the Lives of the late Members of that Society, 8*vo.* V. 'The Religious [or Chriſtian] Philoſopher: or, the right uſe 'of Contemplating the Works of the Creator, &c.' tranſlated from the original Dutch of Dr. Nieuwentyt, in 3 Vols. 8*vo*, adorned with cuts, Lond. 1718, &c. reprinted ſeveral times ſince in 8*vo*, and once in 4*to.* VI. 'The Hiſtory of the Reformation in and 'about the Low-Countries, tranſlated from the Low Dutch of Gerrard Brandt, in four 'Vols. fol. Lond. 1721, &c. VII. The Lord's Prayer in 100 Languages, 8*vo.* VIII. 'Diſſertations Hiſtorical, Critical, Theological, and Moral, on the moſt memorable 'Events of the Old and New Teſtaments: wherein the Spirit of the Sacred Writings 'is ſhewn, their Authority confirmed, and the Sentiments of the Primitive Fathers, as 'well as the modern Criticks, with regard to the difficult paſſages therein, conſidered 'and compared. Vol. I. Compriſing the Events related in the Books of Moſes. To 'which are added Chronological Tables, fixing the Date of each Event, and connecting 'the ſeveral Diſſertations together.' Fol. 1723. He likewiſe was Fellow of the Royal Society, and communicated three pieces, which are inſerted in *The Philoſophical Tranſactions.* One, concerning the Effects of Thunder and Lightning at Sampford-Courtney in

(*a*) See Wood Faſti, vol. ii. and Catalogue of Graduates.

(*b*) Wood, Ath. as above.

in Devonshire, Octob. 7, 1711 (c). The second, is an account of the sunk-islands in the Humber, recovered from the sea (d). And the third, contains remarks on the Plague at Copenhagen in 1711 (e). It was said of him that he understood sixteen languages; but it is certain, that he was master of the Greek, Latin, French, High and Low Dutch, Portugueze, and Italian. Though he was well qualified for employment, he had none, but that of Gentleman-Usher to George Prince of Denmark. After a useful and well-spent life he died in the year 1724. He was a very pious and good man, and earnest in promoting the advancement of religion, and the interest of true Christianity: for which purpose, he kept a large correspondence abroad. M.

(c) No. 336, p. 528; and in Mr. Henry Jones's Abridgment, vol. iv. P. ii. p. 131.

(d) No. 361, p. 1114; and Abridgment, as above, p. 251.

(e) No. 337, p. 279; and Abridgment, as above, vol. v. P. i. p. 380.

*** [CHAMBERS (Ephraim), Fellow of the Royal Society, and Author of the Scientific Dictionary which goes under his name, so well deserves, on that account, an honourable place in this work, that we are concerned at not having it in our power to give a more particular relation of his Life. He was born at Kendal, in the county of Westmoreland. His parents, who were Quakers, bred him up in the principles of their profession; to which, however, he shewed no attachment when he came into the world. His education, we suppose, was no other than that common one which is intended to qualify a youth for trade and commerce. When he became of a proper age, he was put apprentice to Mr. Senex the Globe-Maker, a business which is connected with Literature, and especially with Astronomy and Geography. It was during Mr. Chambers's residence with this skilful mechanic, that he contracted that taste for science and learning which accompanied him through life, and directed all his pursuits (a). It was even at this time that he formed the design of his grand work, the Cyclopædia; and some of the first articles of it were written behind the counter (b). Having conceived the idea of so great an undertaking, he justly concluded that the execution of it would not consist with the avocations of trade; and, therefore, he quitted Mr. Senex, and took Chambers at Gray's-Inn, where he chiefly resided during the rest of his days. The first edition of the Cyclopædia, which was the result of many years intense application, appeared in 1728, in two volumes, folio. It was published by subscription, the price being four guineas, and the list of subscribers was very respectable. The dedication, which was to the King, is dated on the fifteenth of October, 1727 (c). The reputation that Mr. Chambers acquired, by his execution of this undertaking, procured him the honour of being elected into the Royal Society, on the sixth of November, 1729. In less than ten years time, a second edition became necessary; which accordingly was printed, with corrections and additions, in 1738. It having been intended, at first, to give a new work, instead of a new edition, Mr. Chambers had prepared a considerable part of the copy with that view, and more than twenty sheets were actually printed off. The purpose of the proprietors, according to this plan, was to have published a volume in the winter of 1737, and to have proceeded annually in supplying an additional volume, till the whole was compleated. But from this design they were diverted, by the alarm they took at an act then agitated in parliament, in which a clause was contained, obliging the publishers of all improved editions of books to print the improvements separately. The bill, which carried in it the appearance of equity, but which, perhaps, might have created greater obstructions to the cause of literature than a transient view of it could suggest, passed the House of Commons, but was rejected in the House of Lords. In an advertisement, prefixed to the second edition of the Cyclopædia, Mr. Chambers endeavoured to obviate the complaints of such readers as might have been led to expect (from a paper of his published some time before) a new work, instead of a new edition (d). Whilst this edition was in agitation, Mr. Bowyer, the learned printer, had conceived some extensive ideas of improving the Dictionary; but the plan, whatever it was, doth not appear to have been reduced to practice. Mr. Clarke of Chichester, writing to his friend Bowyer upon the occasion, said, "your project of improving and correcting *Chambers* is a very good one; but alas! "who can execute it? You should have as many undertakers, as professions; nay, "perhaps, as many antiquaries, as there are different branches of ancient learning." Mr. Bowyer had, also, a dispute with Mr. Chambers concerning the title of the work. We shall give the former gentleman's account of it in his own words. "While the "second edition of Chambers's Cyclopædia, the pride of Booksellers, and the honour "of the English nation, was in the press, I went to the Author, and begged leave "to add a single syllable to his magnificent work; and that for *Cyclopædia*, he would "write *Encyclopædia*. To talk to the writer of a Dictionary, is like talking to the "writer of a Magazine: every thing adds to his parcel; and, instead of contributing "one syllable, I was the occasion of a considerable paragraph. I told him, that the "addition of the preposition *En* made the meaning of the word more precise; that "*Cyclopædia* might denote the instruction OF a circle, as *Cyropædia* is the instruction of "*Cyrus*; but that, if he wrote *Encyclopædia*, it determined it, to be from the dative of "*Cyclus*, instruction IN a circle. I urged, secondly, that Vossius had observed, in his "book "De Vitiis Sermonis," that *Cyclopædia* was used by some authors, but *Ency-*

(a) Nichols's Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer, p. 557, 558.

(b) From information of Mr. Longman.

(c) Nichols, *ubi supra*.

(d) *Ibid.*

(e) *Ibid.*

" *clopædia* by the beſt. This deſerved ſome regard, and he paid it the beſt he could;
" he made an article of his title to juſtify it (*e*)." Though we may concur in opinion with Mr. Bowyer, it is but reaſonable to hear what Mr. Chambers, in his dictionary, under the word, Cyclopedia, hath alledged in his own defence. " CYCLOPÆDIA, from " κυκλος and παιδία, *Inſtruction*, the circle or compaſs of Arts and Sciences; more ordi-
" narily called *Encyclopædia*. The word *Cyclopædia* is not of claſſical authority, though
" frequent enough among modern writers to have got into ſeveral of our dictionaries.
" Some have cenſured us for calling the preſent work by this name; not conſidering,
" that names and titles of books, engines, inſtruments, &c. are in a great meaſure ar-
" bitrary; and that authors make no ſcruple even of coining new words on ſuch occa-
" ſions, when there are no old ones to their mind. Thus it is Dr. Hook calls his
" fine book of Microſcopical Obſervations, Micrographia; Wolfius his Book on the
" Air, Aerometria; Drake his Book of Anatomy, Anthropologia, &c. all of them words
" of modern, if not of their own fabric: and on no better authority ſtand the names of
" half our later inventions, as Microſcope, Teleſcope, Barometer, Thermometer,
" Micrometer, &c. But it is ſuggeſted, the word *Cyclopædia* is ambiguous, and may
" denote the *Science* of a *Circle*, as well as the *Circle* of *Sciences:* We anſwer, that as
" cuſtom, the only ſovereign rule of language, has determined the word to the latter-
" ſenſe, it is no more chargeable with ambiguity than a thouſand other words of re-
" ceived uſe; no more, for inſtance, than Micrometer, which might either denote a
" little meaſure, or a meaſure of little things." So favourable was the public reception of the ſecond edition of Chambers's Dictionary, that a third was called for in the very next year, 1739; a fourth two years afterwards, in 1741; and a fifth in 1746 (*f*). This rapid ſale of ſo large and expenſive a work, is not eaſily to be paralleled in the hiſtory of Literature: and muſt be conſidered, not only as a ſtriking teſtimony of the general eſtimation in which it is held, but, likewiſe, as a ſtrong proof of its real utility and merit.

(*e*) Nichols, *ubi ſupra*, p. 148, 149.

(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 558.

Although the Cyclopædia was the grand buſineſs of Mr. Chambers's Life, and may be regarded as almoſt the ſole foundation of his fame, his attention was not wholly confined to this undertaking. He was concerned in a periodical publication, entitled " The Literary Magazine," which was begun in 1735. In this work he wrote a variety of articles, and particularly, a review of Morgan's Moral Philoſopher. He was engaged, likewiſe, in conjunction with Mr. John Martyn, Fellow of the Royal Society, and Profeſſor of Botany at Cambridge, in preparing for the preſs a tranſlation and abridgment of the " Philoſophical Hiſtory and Memoirs of the Royal Academy of " Sciences at Paris; or an Abridgment of all the Papers relating to natural Philoſophy " which have been publiſhed by the members of that illuſtrious ſociety." This undertaking, when compleated, was comprized in five volumes octavo, which did not appear till the year 1742, ſome time after our author's deceaſe, when they were publiſhed in the joint names of Mr. Martyn and Mr. Chambers (*g*). Mr. Martyn, in a ſubſequent publication, hath paſſed a ſevere cenſure upon the ſhare which his fellow-labourer had in the abridgment of the Pariſian papers (*h*). The only work beſides, that we find aſcribed to Mr. Chambers, is a tranſlation of the " Jeſuit's Perſpective," from the French; which was printed in quarto, and hath gone through ſeveral editions (*i*). How indefatigable he was in his literary and ſcientific collections, is manifeſt from a circumſtance which uſed to be related by Mr. Airey, who was ſo well known to many perſons by the vivacity of his temper and converſation, and his bold avowal of the principles of infidelity. This gentleman, in the very early part of his life, was five years (from 1728 to 1733) amanuenſis to Mr. Chambers; and, during that time, copied nearly twenty folio volumes, ſo large as to comprehend materials, if they had been publiſhed, for printing thirty volumes in the ſame ſize. Mr. Chambers, however, acknowledged, that if they were printed, they would neither be ſold nor read (*k*). His cloſe and unremitting attention to his ſtudies at length impaired his health, and obliged him occaſionally to take a lodging at Cannonbury-Houſe near Iſlington. This not having greatly contributed to his recovery, he made an excurſion to the South of France, but did not reap that benefit from it, which he had himſelf hoped, and his friends wiſhed (*l*). Returning to England, he died at Cannonbury-Houſe, and was buried at Weſtminſter; where the following inſcription, written by himſelf, is placed on the North ſide of the Cloyſters of the Abbey:

(*g*) *Ibid.*

(*h*) *Ibid.*

(*i*) New and general Biograph. Dict. vol. iii. p. 152.

(*k*) Nichols's Biograph. Anecdotes, *ubi ſupra.*

(*l*) From Mr. Longman's Information.

Multis pervulgatus,
Paucis notus;
Qui vitam, inter lucem & umbram,
Nec eruditus, nec idiota,
Literis deditus, tranſegit; ſed ut homo
Qui humani nihil à ſe alienum putat.
Vita ſimul, & laboribus functus,
Hic requieſcere voluit,
Ephraim Chambers, R. S. S.
Obiit xv. Maii, M.DCC.XL (*m*)."

(*m*) Nichols, *ubi ſupra.* Popham's Elogia Sepulchralia, p. 48.

" Heard of by many,
Known to few;
Who being neither very celebrated nor yet obſcure,
Neither very learned nor yet ignorant,
Paſſed a life devoted to ſtudy;
And paſſed it as a man
Who was not inattentive
To any of the offices of humanity:
Having ended his days and his labours together,
Here wiſhed to repoſe,
EPHRAIM CHAMBERS, F. R. S.
He died on the xvth of May,
M.DCC.XL."

The intellectual character of Mr. Chambers was ſagacity and attention. His application was indefatigable, his temper chearful, but ſomewhat haſty and impetuous; and in his religious ſentiments he was no ſlave to the opinions commonly received. His mode of life was reſerved; for he kept little company, and had not many acquaintance. He deſerved, by his literary labours, much more than he acquired; the compenſations of bookſellers to authors being at that time far inferior to what, in certain inſtances, they have lately riſen. This deficiency he ſupplied by œconomy; and in pecuniary matters he was remarkably exact. In his laſt will, made not long before his death, but which was never proved, he declared that he owed no debts, excepting to his taylor for a rocquelaure (*n*).

(*n*) Nichols, *ubi ſupra*.

Such are the few particulars that we have been able to collect, with regard to the perſonal hiſtory of Mr. Chambers. But this article, incomplete as it is, would be ſtill more imperfect, if we did not add ſome farther circumſtances concerning the fate of the Cyclopædia, and the effects which it hath produced. We have already mentioned that it came to a fifth edition in the year 1746. After this, whilſt a ſixth edition was in agitation, the proprietors thought that the work might admit of a ſupplement, in two additional folio volumes. This buſineſs was conſigned to the late George Lewis Scott, Eſq; who, in many reſpects, was very equal to the undertaking. He was prevented, however, from doing any great matter in it, by being appointed ſub-preceptor to his preſent Majeſty, when Prince of Wales. The little that was executed by Mr. Scott was well performed, but it amounted only to a ſmall number of ſheets. As he was hindered from proſecuting the deſign, he committed the chief management of it to Dr. John Hill, ſo well known by his voluminous and haſty publications. Dr. Hill diſcharged the taſk aſſigned him with his uſual rapidity. In fact, he principally contented himſelf with tranſcribing largely, from his own botanical writings. The ſupplement, therefore, which was publiſhed in the joint names of Mr. Scott and Dr. Hill, though containing a number of valuable articles, was far from being uniformly conſpicuous for its exact judgment and due ſelection. Thus the matter reſted for ſome years, when it occurred to the bookſellers, that it might be advantageous to themſelves, and uſeful to the public, to combine the Supplement, when properly corrected and abridged, into one alphabet with the original work, and to introduce ſuch farther improvements and additions as the increaſe of knowledge in general, and of philoſophical knowledge in particular, had lately afforded. The deſign was judicious and laudable; but the proprietors were not happy in the choice of the gentleman to whom the completion of it was entruſted. This was Mr. Ruffhead, an able man in certain reſpects, and a man of undoubted application, but ſurely not the propereſt perſon for conducting a ſcientific dictionary. The whole, too, or, at leaſt, the moſt which he appears to have done, was his employing a literary aſſiſtant in tranſcribing, into an interleaved Cyclopædia, and inſerting in their due places, all thoſe parts of the Supplement which he intended to adopt. There was reaſon to fear that the work, under Mr. Ruffhead's conduct, would have been executed in too haſty and imperfect a manner, when he was cut off by death. Upon this event, the bookſellers had another gentleman recommended to them, of whom, without depretiating his general ingenuity, ability, and learning, it is no reflection to ſay, that he was not maſter of that accurate and extenſive philoſophical ſcience which is peculiarly neceſſary to ſuch an undertaking. Finding himſelf, therefore, embarraſſed in it, he gave up the deſign; and the proprietors, at length, committed it to Dr. Rees. This was a happy circumſtance both for themſelves and for the public at large. It would have been difficult to have found a ſingle perſon, that would have been more equal to the completing of the Cyclopædia than Dr. Rees; who, to a capacious mind, a large compaſs of general knowledge, and an unremitting application, unites that intimate acquaintance with all the branches of mathematics and philoſophy, without which the other qualifications would be ineffectual. The ſucceſs of the work thus improved, and digeſted into one alphabet, and which is intended to be comprized in four volumes folio, hath exceeded the moſt ſanguine expectations. This laſt and beſt

edition of the Cyclopædia began to be publiſhed in weekly numbers in 1778, and at the time of writing this article, the third volume was finiſhed. The ſale is at the rate of four or five thouſand numbers in a week, and the demand is continually increaſing. The names, therefore, of Chambers and Rees will be handed down with great reputation to poſterity, the firſt as the original author, and the ſecond as the completer of ſo grand an undertaking.

The Cyclopædia is not abſolutely the firſt ſcientific dictionary which hath appeared in this country. It was preceded by Harris's Lexicon Technicum, the third edition of which was publiſhed in 1735. It has great merit in the mathematical articles, and Chambers was under obligations to it in this reſpect. Harris's deſign, however, was not ſo comprehenſive as that of Mr. Chambers; ſo that the latter gentleman may, perhaps, be conſidered as the firſt perſon who had the ability to form the plan, and attempt the execution, of a complete circle of the Arts and Sciences.

As the Cyclopædia is ſo popular a work, and has been ſo rapid and extenſive in its ſale, it is not ſurprizing that it hath given riſe to various publications of a ſimilar nature. The moſt conſiderable of theſe, in our own country, are "De Coetlogon's Hiſtory of "Arts and Sciences," in two volumes, folio, 1745; "Barrow's new and univerſal "Dictionary of Arts and Sciences," in two volumes, folio, 1751; "The Complete "Dictionary of Arts and Sciences," by Temple Croker and others, in three volumes, folio, 1763; and the "Encyclopædia Britannica," in three volumes, quarto; printed at Edinburgh, in 1773. Works of the ſame kind have, likewiſe, appeared on a ſmaller ſcale; and particularly, "A new and complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences," in four large volumes, octavo, in 1763. As to certain publications by the moſt contemptible bookſellers and compilers, it will not be expected that we ſhould condeſcend to mention them in this place. What is the particular merit of the ſeveral ſcientific dictionaries we have enumerated, it is not in our power to ſay. It will ſcarcely be ſuppoſed that the writer of this article has entered into ſo nice and critical an examination of them, as to be able to appretiate with accuracy their reſpective excellencies and defects. One thing may ſafely be aſſerted, which is, that, whatever be their value, they have in no degree contributed to hinder the ſucceſs, or obſcure the glory of the Cyclopædia.

But it is abroad that the ſpirit of forming univerſal dictionaries of art and ſcience, derived from the example of Chambers, hath been carried the fartheſt, and conducted on the wideſt plan. The Encyclopédie of Paris is a prodigious undertaking, and reflects great honour on the country which gave it birth. The moſt able men in France have been engaged in it, and it hath extended to twenty-one folio volumes, not including the volumes containing the plates only. The third edition, in thirty-ſix volumes, quarto, excluſively of three volumes of plates, was publiſhed at Geneva, in 1778 and 1779, under the following title: "Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire Raiſonné des Sciences, des Arts, "& des Métiers. Par une Société de Gens de Lettres. Mis en ordre & publié par "M. Diderot; & quant à la partiè Mathematique, par M. D'Alembert." Though it would not be eaſy to give the due and full praiſes to this noble work, it may, at the ſame time, be obſerved, that it is not every where executed in an equal manner. Whilſt many of the articles are admirable, others are but indifferent; and the fault of a conſiderable number of them is, that they are too diffuſe. A ſcientific dictionary ought not, in our opinion, to be a collection of treatiſes; and, therefore, we cannot help preferring a conciſer plan than what hath been adopted by the French writers, provided that in ſuch a plan nothing very material be omitted. As we have thus ventured to ſuggeſt that there are ſome imperfections in the "Encyclopédie," juſtice and candour require us to inſert the cenſures which the editors of that work have paſſed upon Chambers; and the rather, as their very cenſures are mixed with high encomiums. In their "Diſcours Prelimi-"naire," they expreſs themſelves in the following manner: 'Chambers's Dictionary of 'Arts and Sciences, of which ſo great a number of rapid editions have been publiſhed 'at London, which has been lately tranſlated into Italian, and which we acknowledge 'to have merited, both in England, and in other countries, the honours that it hath 'received, would, perhaps, never have been produced at all, if, before it appeared in 'Engliſh, we had not had in our tongue thoſe works, from which Chambers has drawn, 'without meaſure, and without ſelection, the greateſt part of the articles of which his 'dictionary is compoſed. This being the caſe, what muſt Frenchmen think of a mere 'tranſlation of that work? It muſt excite the indignation of the learned, and give juſt 'offence to the public, to whom, under a new and pompous title, nothing is preſented 'but riches of which they have a long time been in poſſeſſion.

'But we will not refuſe to this author the juſtice that is his due. He well knew the 'merit of the encyclopedic order, or of the chain by which we may deſcend, without 'interruption, from the firſt principles of a ſcience, or of an art, to its moſt remote conſequences; and of aſcending, from its moſt remote conſequences, to its firſt principles; of paſſing imperceptibly from one art or ſcience to another; and how to make, 'without wandering, if the expreſſion may be admitted, the tour of the literary world. 'We agree with him, that the plan and the deſign of his dictionary are excellent, and

'that

'that if it were executed to a certain degree of perfection, it would alone contribute 'more to the progreſs of true ſcience, than one half of the books that are known. 'But notwithſtanding the obligations that we have to this author, and the conſiderable 'benefit that we have received from his labours, we cannot avoid ſeeing that there re- 'mains much to be added. Indeed, is it poſſible to conceive, that all which relates to 'the ſciences and to the arts can be comprized in two volumes in folio? The very '*nomenclature* of them would furniſh matter enough for one volume, if it were complete. 'How many articles then muſt there be either omitted, or defective in his work?

'Theſe are not mere conjectures. The whole tranſlation of Chambers has paſſed under 'our review; and we have found a prodigious multitude of things wanting in the ſci- 'ences, and in the liberal arts; a word where pages were requiſite; and every thing to 'ſupply in the mechanic arts. Chambers had read books; but he had ſeen little of 'artiſts; and there are many things which are to be learned only in work-ſhops. Beſides, 'it is not the ſame with omiſſions here as in another work. An article omitted in a 'common dictionary renders it only imperfect. In an Encyclopedie, it breaks the 'chain, injures the form of it, and is prejudicial to its main deſign: and this is a ſpecies 'of defect which all the art of Ephraim Chambers has not been able to diſguiſe or to 'conceal (*o*)."

(*o*) Diſcours Preliminaire, p. lxiii, lxiv.

There is, we apprehend, no ſmall degree of national vanity in what is aſſerted above, that the greateſt part of the Cyclopædia is compoſed from French authors, and that there is nothing preſented in it but riches of which that country had a long time been in poſſeſſion. When Mr. Chambers engaged in his grand undertaking, he would, without doubt, look around him for all the aid he could find, whether foreign or domeſtic, and he was peculiarly indebted to Wolfius; but that he was not as much obliged to the excellent writers of his own native land, as he was to thoſe of France, will, by Engliſhmen at leaſt, be little queſtioned. As to the imperfections which are pointed out in the Cyclopædia, they are, in a great meaſure, removed by the ſubſequent improvements; and the work is no longer to be conſidered as the production of a ſingle perſon. However, that any ſcientific dictionary, comprized in four volumes, ſhould come up to the full ſtandard of human wiſhes, and of the human imagination, is not to be expected.

Since the firſt appearance of the Paris Encyclopédie, another, containing an Abridgment of the former in ſome reſpects, and a correction and improvement of it in others, was begun at Yverdon in 1770, and finiſhed in 1775, comprehending forty-two volumes, quarto, beſides the volumes of plates. A ſupplement to this work, in ſix volumes, quarto, was printed at the ſame place, in 1776. There are, likewiſe, very great amendments in the Geneva edition of the Encyclopédie, mentioned above. So ardent are the French in matters of this kind, that a new plan hath lately been formed by the literati of that country. It is propoſed to digeſt and methodize the Encyclopédie into twenty-ſeven regular claſſical dictionaries; and this is to be done by men of the firſt reputation in every branch of learning, and with conſiderable alterations and additions. There will be two editions of this work, one in quarto, and the other in octavo; but the plates, the number of which will be ſomewhat reduced, will be given only in quarto. For the whole ſubſcript on, which is to be paid by inſtallments, and will amount to twenty-eight, or, at moſt, to thirty guineas, there will be delivered thirty-five volumes in quarto, or double the number in octavo, together with fourteen quarto volumes of plates. A ſhort ſketch of what is propoſed to be done, and of the authors engaged in the deſign, ſhall be inſerted below [*A*], from the "New Review" of our ingenious and learned friend Mr. Maty.

Though

[*A*] *A ſhort ſketch, &c. ſhall be inſerted below.*] "1. *Mathematics* and *Aſtronomy*, 2 vols. 4to. or 4 vols. 8vo. by l'Abbé Roſſi and Mr. de Lalande, both of the Academy of Sciences.

"The elementary parts of the firſt almoſt entirely new, and many new articles in the higher mathematics by Mr. d'Alembert and the Marquis Condorcet.

"2. *Phyſics*, properly ſo called. Mr. de Monge, A. S. 1 vol. 4to.

"The articles, Fire, Flame, Heat, Cold, Elaſtic Fluids, Thermometer, &c. Water, Ice, Congelation, Ebullition, Evaporation, Smoke, Fire Engine, Watery Meteors, Rain, Fog, Snow, &c. entirely new, many other improvements, and a preliminary hiſtory of the ſcience, with a notitia of the order in which the ſeveral articles are to be read.

"3. *Phyſick, Medicine.* Mr. Vicq d'Azyr, A. S. Secretary to the Medical Society, and others; 2 or 3 vols. 4to.

"Great additions and alterations, particularly in the articles relative to the diſeaſes of priſons and camps; thoſe incidental to particular profeſſions; and, in particular ſeaſons of the year, the maladies of animals, and of vitiated corn; all which will be treated by perſons who have made theſe branches their particular ſtudy.

"4. *Anatomy* and *Phiſiology*, common and comparative, and animal chemiſtry, compriſing likewiſe the œconomy of vegetables. Vicq d'Azyr, 1 vol. 4to.

"All the articles on comparative anatomy, on that of plants, on the ſtructure of vegetables and animal chemiſtry, entirely new. Several of them by Mr. d'Aubenton.

"5. *Surgery.* Mr. Louis, Sec. to the Acad. of Surgery, 1 vol. 4to.

"The whole entirely new, elementary, preciſe, and ſolid, with an introductory diſcourſe on the ſtudy of the art, and the order in which the articles are to be read.

"6. *Chemiſtry, Metallurgy*, and *Pharmacy.* Mr. Morveau, of many Academies, Chemiſtry. Duhamel, Inſpector General of Mines, the Metallurgy; and Maret, Sec. Acad. Dijon, Pharmacy. 2 vols. 4to.

"Great variety of new articles, particularly on the principles of Chemiſtry, which will be attempted to be aſcertained and brought to a ſcience from Bergman and others; with a direction of reading, and an introductory diſcourſe.

"7. *Agri-*

Though we entertain a high opinion of the general utility and importance of ſcientific dictionaries, we are far from thinking that they ought to be reſted in as the only reſources of knowledge. Of this there is ſome danger, when they are rendered ſo large as to cauſe them to be regarded as containing complete bodies of every department of ſcience. Thoſe perſons, however, would be much to blame who ſhould entirely repoſe in them as ſuch. A divine, for inſtance, would act ſtrangely, who, in the newly projected Encyclopédie, ſhould look no farther for information in theology, than to the volume which is to be given by the Abbe Bergier; or the moraliſt who ſhould remain entirely ſatisfied with what is to be offered on metaphyſics, logic, and ethics, by Monſ. Gueneau de Montbeillard. The ſame remark may be made concerning the other ſubjects propoſed to be diſcuſſed. Profeſſional men, at leaſt, muſt go much farther than any dictionaries, however large, however excellent, can poſſibly conduct them. Profeſſional men, and thoſe who deſire to be perfect maſters of any particular ſcience, muſt

" 7. *Agriculture*, properly ſo called, by l'Abbé Teſſier, M. D. of the Medical Society; *Gardening* by Mr. Thouin, chief gardener at the Royal Botanic garden; and the *Sylva* by Mr. Fougeroux de Bondaroy, A. S.

" Very ſuperficially done in the old Encyclopædia. The whole, therefore, to be almoſt entirely new, with an introductory diſſertation on each branch, and a tree of our knowledge on the ſubject.

" 8. *Natural Hiſtory of Animals*. An introduction to the three kingdoms, and a natural hiſtory of man by Mr. Daubenton. The remainder to be divided into ſix parts. The Quadrupeds and Cetaceous Animals from Mr. Buffon's Natural Hiſtory, with alterations and additions. The Birds by Mr. Mauduit of the Acad. Med. Oviparous Quadrupeds and Serpents, Mr. Daubenton. Fiſhes by the ſame. Inſects by Mr. Montbeillard of the Acad. of Dijon; and Worms by Mr. Daubenton, 3 vols. 4to.

" The ſyſtem, with regard to the birds, to be Mr. Buffon's, the Nomenclature Buffon's, the Synonyms from Briſſon, Edwards, Belon, and Cateſby only, the matter of this and the other articles entirely new, and very varied and extenſive.

" 9. *Botany*. Chev. de la Marck, Acad. Sec. 2 vols. 4to.

" A great deal new, as half the vegetables are not to be found in the old Encyclopoedia, and an introductory diſcourſe on the riſe, progreſs, and preſent ſtate of the ſcience.

" 10. *Minerals*. Mr. Daubenton.

" An introductory diſcourſe, and an account of the order in which the articles are to be read, with numerous other technical improvements, and a moſt extenſive ſylva of articles.

" 11. Natural Hiſtory of the Earth by Mr. Deſmareſt, Acad. Sci. and Inſpector of the Royal Manufactures in Chanpaine; 5 or 6 vols. 4to.

" According to the plan laid down under the word Geographie-Phyſique in the old Encyclopoedia, with a very extenſive introductory diſcourſe.

" 12. *Geography*. Modern, Mr. Robert, Geographer to the King, and Mr. Morvilliers. Ancient, by Mr. Mentelle, late profeſſor at the Ecole Militaire, &c. &c. Maps and Charts, Mr. Bonne, Ingenieur-Hydrographe of the Marine, 2 vols. 4to.

" Almoſt entirely new; the old one, ſeveral parts excepted, being extremely deficient. The Atlas, of about 50 or 60 maps, quarto, to make part of the ſubſcription, or not, as gentlemen ſhall chooſe.

" 13. Antiquities, Inſcriptions, Chronology, the art of aſcertaining dates, Numiſmatica, or the ſcience of Medals, Mr. Cour de Gebelin, 1 vol. 4to.

" Almoſt entirely new, as ſeveral of theſe articles are not mentioned in the old book.

" 14. *Hiſtory*. Mr. Gaillard, of the French and Inſc. Acad. 2 vols. 4to.

" Had no buſineſs in the plan; but as it has once been introduced, ſhall be a dictionary both of things and perſons, the titles as well ſelected as attention can make them.

" 15. *Theology*. L'Abbé Bergier, Confeſſor to Monſieur and Can. Notre-Dame.

" In great meaſure new of courſe. A plan or proſpectus of the Nomenclature, according to the order of ideas.

" 16. *Ancient and Modern Philoſophy*, by Mr. Naigeon, 2 vols 4to.

" Mr. Diderot's articles to be left with all their virgin beauties, but very great improvements promiſed with regard to all the reſt.

" 17. *Metaphyſics, Logic, and Ethics*. Mr. Gueneau de Montbeillard, 1 vol. 4to.

" Some additions, but more parings.

" 18. *Grammar and Belles-Lettres*. By a ſociety of men of letters, at the head of whom are Meſſrs. Marmontel and Beauzeé, of the French Academy.

" A great deal of new, and great improvements from Marmontel and Voltaire.

" 19. *Juriſprudence*. Compiled by L'Abbé Remi, Counſellor at Law, from the works of a Society, 3 vols. 4to.

" Much new matter, an order of reading, and a catalogue of the beſt books and beſt editions.

" 20. *Finances*. Mr. Digeon, Director of the Royal Farms, 1 vol. 4to.

" Almoſt entirely new, treating the object with regard to every part of Europe, and ſome articles *apparently* written by a perſon who has had peculiar opportunities of being well informed.

" 21. *Political Oeconomy*. L'Abbé Baudeau, 1 vol. 4to.

" Entirely new, as it made no part of the original plan.

" 22. *Naval Dictionary*. Mr. Vial de Clair-Bois, Ingenieur-Conſtructeur de la Marine, and of the Royal Naval Academy; and Mr. Blondeau, Profeſſor of Mathematics and Hydrography at the Maritime Academy, of the Royal Academy, &c. &c.

" Almoſt entirely new.

" 23. *Military Dictionary*. The ordnance part by Mr. Pommereuil, Captain of Artillery; the reſt by Major Keralio, of the Academy of Inſcriptions, 2 vols. 4to.

" Will probably be moſt capitally done, as it is to be little more but extracts from the beſt approved writers, extraordinary well put together, with a liſt of the beſt words, and a notitia of the order in which the articles are to be read.

" 25. *The fine Arts, Painting, Sculpture, Engraving, Architecture, Muſic and Dancing*. By L'Abbé Arnaud, of the French and Inſc. Mr. Suard, of the French Acad. with the aſſiſtance of Mr. Watelet and others.

" Muſic excepted, the worſt part of the old book. All the old writers to be conſulted, and conſiderable aſſiſtance from different profeſſors to be expected.

" 26. *Arts Mechanical, and Trades*. By a Society, 4 vols. 4to.

" Above 300 admirably deſcribed by Mr. Diderot in the old book, but too much ſubdiviſion; no proper analogy between the text and the plates, and ſome omiſſions of a graver kind. Theſe to be remedied by Mr. Roland de la Platriere, Inſpector General of the Manufactures in Picardy, who has promiſed a great number of new articles, compiled from his own obſervation; and Mr. Peryer, who is to give the theory of fire-engines, &c. &c.

" 27. *Univerſal Index*, 1 vol. 4to. Will contain a *moſt accurate* hiſtory of the accidents and fortunes of the Encyclopedia, from its firſt conception, with all the Prolegomena, and a copious Index, both of the articles and the capital words in them. This will be the firſt volume publiſhed (1)."

(1) Maty's new Review for May, p. 327—331.

ſtudy the object of their purſuit in detail, and not in a compendium. If, then, it be aſked, what is the uſe of ſuch works as the Cyclopædia, it may be anſwered, in the firſt place, that they communicate a general knowledge of things to large multitudes who would otherwiſe be wholly deſtitute of it, and are books ready to be conſulted on every occaſion of enquiry; ſecondly, that they convey information to the moſt learned, in matters which are remote from their peculiar inveſtigation; and thirdly, that they are of advantage to ſcientific perſons, even in their proper walk, by refreſhing their memories with judicious ſummaries of what they already know, and by pointing out to them ſubjects of future conſideration. In ſhort, they are uſeful to vaſt numbers of men, in various ſituations of life, and in a thouſand different ways which it would not be eaſy to ſpecify. We cannot, therefore, but rejoice in having been born in a period that is ſenſible of their importance, and in which they have been carried to ſo great a degree of perfection.] K.

*** [CHANDLER (SAMUEL), a diſſenting miniſter of great learning and eminence, was born at Hungerford, in Berkſhire, in the year 1693 (*a*). His father, Mr. Henry Chandler [*A*], was then paſtor of a congregation of Proteſtant diſſenters at that place. He early diſcovered a genius for literature, which was carefully cultivated; and being placed under proper maſters, he made a very uncommon progreſs in claſſical learning, and eſpecially in the Greek tongue (*b*). As it was intended by his friends to bring him up for the miniſtry, he was ſent to an academy at Bridgewater, under the care of the Rev. Mr. Moore: but he was ſoon removed from thence to Glouceſter, that he might become a pupil to Mr. Samuel Jones, a diſſenting miniſter of great erudition and abilities, who had opened an academy in that city. This academy was ſoon transferred to Tewkſbury, at which place Mr. Jones preſided over it for many years with very high and deſerved reputation. Such was the attention of that gentleman to the morals of his pupils, and to their progreſs in literature, and ſuch the ſkill and diſcernment with which he directed their ſtudies, that it was a ſingular advantage to be placed under ſo able and accompliſhed a tutor. Mr. Chandler made the proper uſe of ſo happy a ſituation; applying himſelf to his ſtudies with great aſſiduity, and particularly to critical, biblical, and oriental learning. Among the pupils of Mr. Jones were Mr. Joſeph Butler, afterwards biſhop of Durham, and Thomas Secker, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury. With theſe eminent perſons he contracted a friendſhip that continued to the end of their lives, notwithſtanding the different views by which their conduct was afterwards directed, and the different ſituations in which they were placed.

(*a*) Dr. Amory's Preface to Dr. Chandler's Sermons, p. vii.

(*b*) Amory, *ubi ſupra*.

Mr. Chandler, having finiſhed his academical ſtudies, began to preach about July, 1714; and being ſoon diſtinguiſhed by his talents in the pulpit, he was choſen, in 1716, miniſter of the Preſbyterian congregation at Peckham, near London, in which ſtation he continued ſome years (*c*). Here he entered into the matrimonial ſtate, and began to have an increaſing family, when, by the fatal South-ſea ſcheme of 1720, he unfortunately loſt the whole fortune which he had received with his wife. His circumſtances being thereby embarraſſed, and his income as a miniſter being inadequate to his expences, he engaged in the trade of a bookſeller, and kept a ſhop in the Poultry, London, for about two or three years, ſtill continuing to diſcharge the duties of the paſtoral office. It may not be improper to obſerve, that in the earlier part of his life, Mr. Chandler was ſubject to frequent and dangerous fevers; one of which confined him more than three months, and threatened by its effects to diſable him for public ſervice. He was, therefore, adviſed to confine himſelf to a vegetable diet, which he accordingly did, and adhered to it for twelve years. This produced ſo happy an alteration in his conſtitution, that though he afterwards returned to the uſual way of living, he enjoyed an uncommon ſhare of ſpirits and vigour till ſeventy (*d*).

(*c*) Amory, *ubi ſupra*.

(*d*) Amory, *ubi ſupra*, p. 10.

While Mr. Chandler was miniſter of the congregation at Peckham, ſome gentlemen, of the ſeveral denominations of Diſſenters in the city, came to a reſolution to ſet up and ſupport a weekly evening lecture at the Old Jewry, for the winter half year. The ſubjects to be treated in this lecture were the evidences of natural and revealed religion, and anſwers to the principal objections againſt them. Two of the moſt eminent young miniſters among the Diſſenters were appointed for the execution of this deſign, of which Mr. Chandler was one, and Mr. afterwards Dr. Lardner, who is ſo juſtly celebrated for his learned writings, was another (*e*). But after ſome time this lecture was dropped, and another of the ſame kind ſet up, to be preached by one perſon only;

(*e*) Amory, *ubi ſupra*.

[*A*] *His father, Mr. Henry Chandler.*] Dr. Amory obſerves, that 'Mr. Henry Chandler was a diſſenting 'miniſter of conſiderable worth and abilities, who 'ſpent the greater part of his miniſterial life at Bath, 'where he maintained an honourable name.' The ſame writer remarks, that 'Dr. Chandler was de-'ſcended from anceſtors heartily engaged in the cauſe 'of non-conformity, and ſufferers for the liberty of 'conſcience. His grandfather Chandler, a tradeſ-'man at Taunton in Somerſet, was much injured in 'his fortune by the perſecutions under Charles II. 'but bore chearfully *the ſpoiling of his goods*, that he 'might preſerve his peace of mind, and his title to 'the *better and more enduring ſubſtance in Heaven* 'inviolate (1).'

(1) Preface to Dr. Chandler's Sermons, p. vii.

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only; it being judged that it might be thereby conducted with more consistency of reasoning, and uniformity of design: and Mr. Chandler was appointed for this service(*f*). In the course of this lecture, he preached some sermons on the confirmation which miracles gave to the divine mission of Christ, and the truth of his religion; and vindicated the argument against the objections of Collins, in his "Discourse of the Grounds "and Reasons of the Christian Religion." These sermons, by the advice of a friend, he enlarged and threw into the form of a continued treatise, and published, in 8vo, in 1725, under the following title: "A Vindication of the Christian Religion, in two parts: "I. A Discourse of the Nature and Use of Miracles. II. An Answer to a late Book, "entitled, *A Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion* [*B*]." Having presented a copy of this book to Archbishop Wake, his Grace expressed his sense of the value of the favour in the following letter, which is too honourable a testimony to Mr. Chandler's merit to be omitted. It appears, from the letter, that the Archbishop did not then know that the author was any other than a Bookseller.

(*f*) *Id. ibid.*

"SIR,

"Though I have been hindered by business, and company extraordinary, the last week, from finishing your good book, yet I am come so near the end of it, that I may venture to pass my judgment upon it, that it is a very good one, and such as I hope will be of service to the end for which you designed it.

"I think you have set the notion of a Miracle upon a clear and sure foundation; and by the true distinction of our blessed Saviour, in considering him as a Prophet sent from God, and as the Messiah promised to the Jews, have effectually proved him, by his doctrine and miracles, to be the one, and by his accomplishment of the prophecies of the Old Testament, to be the other.

"I cannot but own myself to be surprized, to see so much good learning and just reasoning in a person of your profession; and do think it pity you should not rather spend your time in writing books, than in selling them. But I am glad, since your circumstances oblige you to the latter, yet you do not wholly omit the former. As we are all, who call ourselves Christians, obliged to you for this performance, in defence of our holy religion, so I must, in particular, return you my thanks for the benefit I have received by it; and own to you that I have, as to myself, been not only usefully entertained, but edified by it. I hope you will receive your reward from God for it. It is the hearty wish of,

Sir, your obliged friend,

Lambeth-House, Feb. 14, 1725.

WILLIAM CANT."

Besides gaining the Archbishop's approbation, Mr. Chandler's performance considerably advanced his reputation in general, and contributed to his receiving an invitation, about the year 1726, to settle as a Minister with the congregation in the Old Jewry, which was one of the most respectable in London. Here he continued, first as assistant, and afterwards as pastor, for the space of forty years, and discharged the duties of the ministerial

[*B*] *A vindication of the Christian religion*, &c.] Dr. Leland observes, that in this work our author 'clearly vindicates the miracles of our Saviour, and 'shews, that, as they were circumstanced, they were 'convincing proofs of his divine mission (2).' But though Mr. Chandler refuted the arguments of Collins against Christianity, he was not unwilling to do justice to his merit, and therefore candidly said, in the preface to his own book, '*The preface to the Discourse 'of the Grounds and Reasons* is, in my judgment, an 'excellent defence of the liberty of every one's judging for himself, and of proposing his opinions to 'others, and of defending them with the best reasons 'he can, which every one hath a right to, as a man 'and a Christian (3).' Our author also zealously opposed any interference of the civil magistrate in the defence of Christianity: 'Though the magistrate's 'sword,' says he, 'may very fitly be employed to 'prevent libertinism, or the breach of the public 'peace by men's vices, yet the progress of infidelity 'must be controuled another way, viz. by convincing men's consciences of the truth of Christianity, 'and fairly answering their objections against it. 'Tis not surprizing, that men, who take their religion upon trust, and who therefore can know but 'little of the intrinsic worth of Christianity, or of 'that strong evidence that there is to support it, 'should be in pain for it, when they find it attacked 'by any new objections, or old ones placed in a somewhat different view from what they were before; 'or that they should call out aloud to the magistrate 'to prevent the making them, because they know 'not how otherwise to answer them. But that men 'of learning and great abilities, whose proper office 'it is to defend Christianity, by giving the reasons 'for their faith, and who seem to have both ability 'and leisure thus to stand up in the behalf of it, 'should make their appeal to the civil power, and 'become humble suitors to the magistrate to controul 'the spirit of infidelity, is strangely surprizing. It 'looks as if they suspected the strength of Christianity; otherwise, one would think they would not 'invite such strange and foreign aids to their assistance, when they could have more friendly ones 'nearer at home, that would much more effectually 'support and protect it; or at least, as though they 'had some other interest to maintain than the cause 'of common Christianity; though at the same time 'they would willingly be thought to have nothing 'else in view, but the service and honour of it. If 'the scheme of our modern Deists be founded in 'truth, I cannot help wishing it all good success; 'and it would be a crime in the civil magistrate, by 'any methods of violence, to prevent the progress 'of it: but if, as I believe, Christianity is the cause 'of God, it will prevail by its own native excellence, and of consequence needs not the assistance of 'the civil power (4).' A second edition of this work was published in 1728.

(2) View of the Deistical Writers, vol. i. p. 95. edit. 1766.

(3) Preface to the Vindication of the Christian Religion, p. ix.

(4) Pref. p. xii, xiii, xiv.

niſterial office with great aſſiduity and ability, being much eſteemed and regarded by his own congregation, and acquiring a diſtinguiſhed reputation both as a preacher and a writer.

In 1727, Mr. Chandler publiſhed "Reflections on the Conduct of the modern Deiſts, in their late Writings againſt Chriſtianity: occaſioned chiefly by two Books, entitled, A Diſcourſe of the Grounds and Reaſons, &c. and the Scheme of literal Prophecy conſidered: with a Preface, containing ſome Remarks on Dr. Rogers's Preface to his eight Sermons." In this performance he expoſed the unfair methods that were employed by the enemies of Chriſtianity in their attack of it, and the diſingenuity of their reaſoning; and in his preface, he combated ſome ſentiments which had been advanced by Dr. Rogers, Canon Reſidentiary of Wells, and Chaplain to the Prince of Wales, to the prejudice of free inquiry, and the right of private judgment [*C*]. The following year he publiſhed, "A Vindication of the Antiquity and Authority of Daniel's Prophecies, and their Application to Jeſus Chriſt; in Anſwer to the Objections of the Author of the Scheme of literal Prophecy conſidered [*D*]."

Mr. Chandler had a ſtrong conviction of the pernicious nature, and dangerous tendency, of the Romiſh religion, and was deſirous of expoſing the perſecuting ſpirit by which that church has been ſo much characterized: and it was with this view that he publiſhed, in 1731, in two volumes, 4to, a tranſlation of "The Hiſtory of the Inquiſition, by Philip à Limborch:" to which he prefixed, "A large Introduction, concerning the Riſe and Progreſs of Perſecution, and the real and pretended Cauſes of it [*E*]." This piece was written with great learning and acuteneſs, but was attacked

[*C*] *To the prejudice of free inquiry, and the right of private judgment.*] Mr. Chandler, who conſidered what had been advanced by Dr. Rogers, 'in favour 'of church power and authority, as ſtrongly favouring of the ſpirit of perſecution, could not refrain 'from examining the Doctor's ſcheme, which was to 'blend religion and politics together, or to make 'religion not a *perſonal* but a *ſtate* matter. Accordingly he has offered ſome very ſpirited and judicious remarks on this ſubject, with a deſign to 'ſhew, that religion, as it implies a belief of certain principles, and a peculiar method of worſhipping God, ſaid to be contained in revelation, is a 'purely perſonal matter; and that every man ought 'to be perſuaded, in his own mind, of the nature of 'its proofs, and doctrines, and principles, and to 'diſſent from the public eſtabliſhment, if he finds 'it erroneous in any, or every, article of its belief; 'ſince no man is to be ſaved or damned hereafter, 'for the faith or practice of his ſuperiors in church 'or ſtate, and becauſe neither nature nor revelation 'hath given them, nor can give them, a right or 'power to judge or believe for others (6).'

(6) Britiſh Biography, vol. x. p. 163.

[*D*] *In anſwer to the objections of the author of the ſcheme of Literal Prophecy conſidered.*] 'Among other 'prophecies of the Old Teſtament, which the author 'of the *Literal Scheme* would not allow to have any 'literal reference to the Meſſiah, he reckoned thoſe 'of Daniel; and to make out this the more clearly, 'he began with endeavouring to prove, that they 'are no prophecies at all; that the book of Daniel 'was not written by the famous Daniel mentioned by 'Ezekiel; and that it contains a manifeſt reference 'to, or rather, an hiſtory of, things done ſeveral 'hundred years after that Daniel's time. This attempt to depreciate the authority and antiquity of 'a book, which our author eſteemed a noble teſtimony to the truth of Chriſtianity, induced him to 'try whether the *Literal Schematiſt*'s criticiſms were 'juſt, and his arguments concluſive; with which 'view he enters into a particular examination of the 'Eleven Objections, wherein Mr. Collins had comprized what he had to urge againſt the book; and, 'upon the whole, he concludes, that theſe objections are of no weight, and therefore do not deſerve any regard from the thinking and impartial 'part of mankind. He then produces ſome diſtinct 'arguments to prove the proper antiquity of Daniel's book; and having ſo far eſtabliſhed its authority, he proceeds to the conſideration of the 'ſeveral prophecies contained in it, in order to obviate the exceptions of Mr. Collins againſt the 'Chriſtian interpretation of them, and at the ſame 'time to ſhew, that the explications which this 'writer would ſubſtitute in their ſtead, are founded on 'palpable miſtakes, and conſequently falſe; all which 'he has executed with great learning and acuteneſs (7).'

(7) Britiſh Biography, *ubi ſupra*, p. 164.

[*E*] *Introduction concerning the riſe and progreſs of Perſecution*, &c.] In this introduction Mr. Chandler ſays, 'I will not deny, but that the appointing perſons, whoſe peculiar office it ſhould be to miniſter 'in the external ſervices of public and ſocial worſhip, 'is, when under proper regulations, of advantage 'to the decency and order of divine ſervice. But 'then I think it of the moſt pernicious conſequence 'to the liberties of mankind, and abſolutely inconſiſtent with the true proſperity of a nation, as 'well as with the intereſt and ſucceſs of rational religion, to ſuffer ſuch miniſters to become the directors-general of the conſciences and faith of 'others, or publickly to aſſume, and exerciſe ſuch a 'power, as ſhall oblige others to ſubmit to their determinations, without being convinced of their 'being wiſe and reaſonable, and never to diſpute 'their ſpiritual decrees. The very claim of ſuch a 'power is the higheſt inſolence, and an affront to the 'common ſenſe and reaſon of mankind; and wherever it is uſurped and allowed, the moſt abject 'ſlavery both of ſoul and body is almoſt the unavoidable conſequence. For by ſuch a ſubmiſſion to 'ſpiritual power, the mind and conſcience is actually 'enſlaved; and by being thus rendered paſſive to 'the prieſt, men are naturally prepared for a ſervile 'ſubjection to the prince, and for becoming ſlaves 'to the moſt arbitrary and tyrannical government. 'And I believe it hath been generally found true by 'experience, that the ſame perſons who have aſſerted their own power over others, in matters of 'religion and conſcience, have alſo aſſerted the abſolute power of the civil magiſtrate, and been the 'avowed patrons of thoſe admirable doctrines of 'paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance for the ſubject (8).'

(8) Introd. p. [illegible]

At the cloſe of this piece our author obſerves, that the uſe of the view which he had given of the riſe and progreſs of perſecution, was, 'to teach men to 'adhere cloſe to the doctrines and words of Chriſt 'and his Apoſtles, to argue for the doctrines of the 'goſpel with meekneſs and charity, to introduce no 'new terms of ſalvation and Chriſtian communion, 'not to trouble the Chriſtian church with metaphyſical ſubtilties and abſtruſe queſtions, that miniſter 'to quarrelling and ſtrife, not to pronounce cenſures, judgments, and anathemas, upon ſuch as 'may differ from us in ſpeculative truths, not to exclude men from the rights of civil ſociety, nor lay 'them under any negative or poſitive diſcouragements for conſcience ſake, or for their different 'uſages and rites in the externals of Chriſtian worſhip; 'but to remove thoſe which are already laid, and 'which are as much a ſcandal to the authors and 'continuers of them, as they are a burthen to thoſe 'who labour under them (9).

(9) *Ibid.* p. 135

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by Dr. Berriman, in a pamphlet, entitled, *Brief Remarks on Mr. Chandler's Introduction to the Hiſtory of the Inquiſition.* Our author publiſhed, in the form of a letter, an anſwer to theſe *Remarks*, in which he defended himſelf with great ſpirit. This engaged Dr. Berriman to write *A Review of his Remarks*; to which Mr. Chandler replied, in "A "ſecond Letter to William Berriman, D. D. &c. in which his *Review of his Remarks* "*on the Introduction to the Hiſtory of the Inquiſition* is conſidered, and the Characters of "St. Athanaſius, and Martyr Laud, are farther ſtated and ſupported." This publication was ſoon followed by another, entitled, "A Vindication of a Paſſage of the Right "Reverend the Lord Biſhop of London, in his ſecond Paſtoral Letter, againſt the "Miſrepreſentations of William Berriman, D. D. in a Letter to his Lordſhip:" and here the controverſy ended. As our author had the firmeſt perſuaſion, that there was nothing in the principles of Proteſtant Diſſenters which rendered them unfit to hold offices in the ſtate, or in corporations, and that it was a manifeſt injuſtice to deprive them of the common rights of citizens, he likewiſe publiſhed, in 1732, in 8vo, "The "Diſpute better adjuſted about the proper Time of applying for a repeal of the Corporation and Teſt Acts, by ſhewing that ſome Time is proper; in a Letter to the "Author of the Diſpute adjuſted, viz. the Right Rev. Dr. Edmund Gibſon, Lord "Biſhop of London (*g*)."

(*g*) Dr. Flexman's Catalogue of Dr. Chandler's Works, added to the account of his life prefixed to his ſermons.

Among other learned and uſeful deſigns which Mr. Chandler had formed, he began a Commentary on the Prophets; and in 1735, he publiſhed, in 4to, "A Paraphraſe "and critical Commentary on the Prophecy of Joel;" which he dedicated to the Right Honourable Arthur Onſlow, Eſq; Speaker of the Houſe of Commons. He afterwards proceeded a great way in the prophecy of Iſaiah; but before he had completed it, he met with the MS. Lexicon and Lectures of the famous Arabic profeſſor Schultens, who much recommends explaining the difficult words and phraſes of the Hebrew language, by comparing them with the Arabic. With this light before him, Mr. Chandler determined to ſtudy the Hebrew anew, and to drop his commentary till he ſhould thus have ſatisfied himſelf, that he had attained the genuine ſenſe of the Sacred Writings (*h*). But this ſuſpenſion of his deſign prevented the completion of it; for engagements of a different kind intervened, and he never finiſhed any other commentary on the prophets. He continued, however, to publiſh a variety of learned works, and diſplayed a very laudable zeal in ſupport of religious liberty, and of the truth of divine revelation.

(*h*) Amory, *ubi ſupra*, p. 11.

In 1736, he publiſhed, in 8vo, "The Hiſtory of Perſecution [*F*], in four parts; "viz. I. Amongſt the Heathens. II. Under the Chriſtian Emperors. III. Under the "Papacy and Inquiſition. IV. Amongſt Proteſtants. With a Preface, containing "Remarks on Dr. Rogers's Vindication of the Civil Eſtabliſhment of Religion." In 1741, appeared, in 8vo, "A Vindication of the Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament; in "Anſwer to the Miſrepreſentations and Calumnies of Thomas Morgan, M. D. and "Moral Philoſopher [*G*]." He likewiſe publiſhed, in oppoſition to the ſame writer, in 1742, "A Defence of the Prime Miniſtry and Character of Joſeph (*i*)."

(*i*) Amory, *ut ſupra*.

In 1744, Mr. Chandler publiſhed, in 8vo, "The Witneſſes of the Reſurrection of "Jeſus Chriſt re-examined, and their Teſtimony proved entirely conſiſtent." This was a very important controverſy, which was at that time much agitated; and Dr. Leland, who ſtyles our author's piece upon the ſubject "a valuable treatiſe," obſerves, that, in his laſt chapter, "he hath ſummed up the evidence for the reſurrection of Jeſus "with great clearneſs and judgment (*k*)." In 1748, he publiſhed, in 8vo, "The Caſe "of Subſcription to explanatory Articles of Faith, as a Qualification for Admiſſion "into the Chriſtian Miniſtry, calmly and impartially reviewed; in anſwer to, 1. A "late Pamphlet, intitled, The Church of England vindicated, in requiring Subſcription from the Clergy to the Thirty-nine Articles. 2. The Rev. Mr. John White's "Appendix to his third Letter to a diſſenting Gentleman. To which is added, The "Speech of the Rev. John Alphonſo Turretine, previous to the Abolition of all Subſcription at Geneva, tranſlated from a Manuſcript in the French (*l*)." His writings having procured him a high reputation for learning and abilities, he might eaſily have obtained a Doctor's degree in Divinity, and offers of that kind were made him; but for ſome time he declined the acceptance of a diploma, and, as he once ſaid, in the pleaſantneſs of converſation, becauſe ſo many blockheads had been made doctors. However, upon making a viſit to Scotland, in company with his friend, the Earl of Finlater and Seafield, he, with great propriety, accepted of this honour, which was

(*k*) View of the Deiſtical Writers, vol. i. p. 187.

(*l*) Flexman's Catalogue, *ut ſupra*.

[*F*] *The Hiſtory of Perſecution.*] In this work he has inſerted the whole of his Introduction to the Hiſtory of the Inquiſition, with additions and improvements. In the courſe of this publication he endeavoured to prove, that the things for which Chriſtians have perſecuted one another, have generally been of ſmall importance; that pride, ambition, and covetouſneſs, have been the grand ſources of perſecution; that the decrees of councils and ſynods are of no authority in matters of faith; that impoſing ſubſcriptions to human creeds is unreaſonable and pernicious; and that the Chriſtian religion abſolutely condemns perſecution for conſcience-ſake.

[*G*] *A Vindication of the Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament*, &c.] Dr. Leland obſerves, that in this work of our author he has clearly proved, that Morgan 'hath been guilty of manifeſt falſhoods, and of the 'moſt groſs perverſions of the ſcripture hiſtory, even 'in thoſe very inſtances in which he aſſureth his 'reader, he hath kept cloſe to the accounts given by 'the Hebrew hiſtorians (10).'

(10) View of the Deiſtical Writers, vol. i. p. 149, edit. 1766.

conferred upon him without ſolicitation, and with every mark of reſpect, by the two Univerſities of Edinburgh and Glaſgow. He had, likewiſe, the honour of being afterwards elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the Society of Antiquaries.

On the death of King George the Second, in 1760, Dr. Chandler publiſhed a ſermon on that event, in which he compared that Prince to King David. This gave riſe to a pamphlet, which was printed in the year 1761, entitled, *The Hiſtory of the Man after God's own Heart*; wherein the author ventured to exhibit King David as an example of perfidy, luſt, and cruelty, fit only to be ranked with a Nero, or a Caligula; and complained of the inſult that had been offered to the memory of the late Britiſh Monarch, by Dr. Chandler's parallel between him and the King of Iſrael. This attack occaſioned Dr. Chandler to publiſh, in the following year, "A Review of the Hiſtory of the Man "after God's own Heart; in which the Falſehoods and Miſrepreſentations of the Hiſ-"torian are expoſed and corrected." In this performance our author, though he could not defend the character of the Jewiſh Prince from all the accuſations that were brought againſt him, yet ſufficiently cleared him from many of them. His learning and ſagacity alſo appeared to great advantage in this piece; and his ſkill in the Hebrew language, and his extenſive acquaintance with biblical learning, enabled him to correct a variety of miſtakes into which his opponent had fallen, from his taking many things as he found them in our common Engliſh tranſlation, without paying any regard to criticiſms, various readings of particular paſſages, or the opinions of expoſitors and commentators (*m*). It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that in this controverſy Dr. Chandler expreſſed himſelf with too much warmth and aſperity, which was indeed not unuſual with him in his polemical writings. But this being a ſubject on which he was determined to enter into a full inveſtigation, he prepared for the preſs a more elaborate work, which was afterwards publiſhed in two volumes, 8vo, under the following title: "A Critical Hiſtory of the Life of David: in which the principal Events are ranged "in Order of Time: the chief Objections of Mr. Bayle, and others, againſt the Cha-"racter of this Prince, and the Scripture Account of him, and the Occurrences of "his Reign, are examined and refuted; and the Pſalms which refer to him explained." As this was the laſt, it was, likewiſe, one of the beſt of Dr. Chandler's productions. We may ſafely aſſert, that, in point of judgment, it is far ſuperior to Dr. Delany's Life of King David, and that it is every way equal to it with reſpect to literature. The explanations of the Pſalms, which relate to the Jewiſh Monarch, are admirable; and the commentary, in particular, on the ſixty-eighth Pſalm, is a maſter-piece of criticiſm. The greateſt part of this work was printed off at the time of our author's death, which happened on the 8th of May, 1766, in his ſeventy-third year (*n*). During the laſt year of his life, he was viſited with frequent returns of a very painful diſorder, which he endured with great reſignation and Chriſtian fortitude. He repeatedly declared, "That "to ſecure the divine felicity promiſed by Chriſt, was the principal and almoſt the "only thing that made life deſirable: that to attain this he would gladly die, ſubmit-"ting himſelf entirely to God, as to the time and manner of death, whoſe will was "moſt righteous and good; and being perſuaded, *that all was well, which ended* well "for eternity (*o*)." He was interred in the burying-ground at Bunhill-fields, on the 16th of the month; and his funeral was very honourably attended by Miniſters, and other gentlemen. He expreſsly deſired, by his laſt will, that no delineation of his character might be given in his funeral ſermon, which was preached by Dr. Amory [*H*]. He had ſeveral children; two ſons and a daughter who died before him, and three daughters who ſurvived him, two of whom are yet living, and both married; one of them to the Rev. Dr. Harwood.

(*m*) Britiſh Biography, *ubi ſupra*, p. 175.

(*n*) Funeral Sermon, by Dr. Amory.

(*o*) *Ibid.* p. 24.

Dr. Chandler was a man of very extenſive learning, and eminent abilities; his apprehenſion was quick, and his judgment penetrating; he had a warm and vigorous imagination; he was a very inſtructive and animated preacher; and his talents in the pulpit, and as a writer, procured him very great and general eſteem, not only among the Diſſenters, but among large numbers of the eſtabliſhed Church. He was well known, and much reſpected, by many perſons of the higheſt rank, and was offered conſiderable preferment in the Church [*I*]; but he ſteadily rejected every propoſition of that kind. He was principally inſtrumental in the eſtabliſhment of the fund for relieving the wi-

(13) Pref. p.

[*H*] *His funeral ſermon, which was preached by Dr. Amory.*] In this ſermon, Dr. Amory, after obſerving, that he was reſtrained from delineating Dr. Chandler's character, by his deſire expreſſed in his laſt will, ſays, 'He had indeed himſelf made this unneceſſary; as 'his maſterly and animated defences of the great 'doctrines of natural and revealed religion, had 'abundantly manifeſted the uncommon greatneſs and 'ſtrength of his genius, the large extent and rich 'variety of his learning, and the ſolid grounds on 'which his faith was founded: together with his 'hearty attachment to the cauſe of rational piety 'and Chriſtian liberty, and his abilities for defending them. And after he had miniſtered for forty 'years in this place, with ſo great reputation, it 'might appear ſuperfluous to inform any preſent, 'how full of exalted ſentiments of the Deity, how 'judicious and how ſpirited his public prayers were, 'and how inſtructive and animating his diſcourſes (11).'

(11) Funeral Sermon, p. 22, 23.

[*I*] *Was offered conſiderable preferment in the church.*] Dr. Amory ſays, that 'the high reputation which he 'had gained, by his defences of the Chriſtian religion, procured him from ſome of the governors of 'the eſtabliſhed church, the offers of conſiderable 'preferment, which he nobly declined. He valued 'more than theſe the liberty and integrity of his conſcience; and ſcorned for any worldly conſiderations 'to profeſs as divine truths, doctrines which he did 'not really believe, and to practiſe in religion what 'he did not inwardly approve (12).'

(12) Funeral Sermon, p. 23, 24.

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dows and orphans of poor Proteſtant Diſſenting Miniſters: the plan of it was firſt formed by him; and it was by his intereſt and application to his friends, that many of the ſubſcriptions for its ſupport were procured (*p*).

(*p*) Pref. to his Sermons, p. 11.

In 1768, four volumes of our author's ſermons were publiſhed by Dr. Amory, according to his own directions in his laſt will; to which was prefixed a neat engraving of him, from an excellent portrait by Mr. Chamberlin. He alſo expreſſed a deſire to have ſome of his principal pieces re-printed in four volumes, octavo: propoſals were accordingly publiſhed for that purpoſe, but did not meet with ſufficient encouragement. But in 1777, another work of our author was publiſhed, in one volume, 4to, under the following title: "A Paraphraſe and Notes on the Epiſtles of St. Paul to the Galatians "and Epheſians, with doctrinal and practical Obſervations: together with a critical "and practical Commentary on the two Epiſtles of St. Paul to the Theſſalonians [*K*]." Dr. Chandler alſo left, in his interleaved Bible, a large number of critical notes, chiefly in Latin, which are now the property of Dr. Kippis, Mr. Farmer, Dr. Price, and Dr. Savage, and which have been intended to be publiſhed; but the deſign has not yet been executed. Of ſundry other pieces of our author, which were publiſhed in his life-time, and which have not yet been mentioned, an account will be found below [*L*].]

T.

[*K*] *A Paraphraſe and Notes on the Epiſtles of St. Paul to the Galatians and Epheſians*, &c.] This work was publiſhed from the author's own manuſcript, which was evidently intended for the preſs, by the Rev. Mr. Nathaniel White, who ſucceeded him as paſtor of the congregation of Proteſtant diſſenters in the Old Jewry. That gentleman obſerves, in the preface to this work, that 'there ſeems to have been 'ſomething in Dr. Chandler's genius and ſtrength of 'mind, as well as in the unremitted courſe of his 'ſtudies, which eminently fitted him to comment 'upon the writings of St. Paul, and to follow that 'deep and accurate reaſoner, through his continued 'chain of argument, ſo as to preſerve the whole diſtinct and clear; though from the peculiar vigour 'of the Apoſtle's imagination, the fervour of his 'affection, the compaſs of his thought, and the uncommon fulneſs of his matter, his epiſtles are 'remarkable for ſudden digreſſions, long parentheſes, 'remote connections, and unexpected returns to 'ſubjects already diſcuſſed. Theſe, added to many 'other circumſtances common to ancient writings, 'muſt neceſſarily occaſion a conſiderable degree of 'obſcurity and difficulty, which it is the buſineſs of 'the ſacred expoſitor as much as poſſible to remove. 'In this view, the diſtinguiſhing excellence of Dr. 'Chandler's paraphraſe ſeems to be, that the author 'adheres moſt cloſely and conſtantly to the ſpirit of 'the original, keeps the full idea of the inſpired 'writer, and only that, as far as he could apprehend 'it, before him, and never ſteps aſide to pick up any 'hints, however ornamental, which are not directly 'conveyed, or ſtrongly implied by the apoſtle: ſo 'that, not merely in the text, but in the paraphraſe, 'we find ourſelves reading St. Paul himſelf, though 'in a language more accommodated to our own 'conception, and with an illuſtration which true 'learning, deep attention to the ſubject, and uncommon critical ſagacity enabled him to afford us.' —— 'The notes will abundantly recommend the 'work to the ſtudious and judicious enquirer, who 'will find no difficulties artfully evaded, or ſlightly 'and ſuperficially touched; no unneceſſary parade of 'reading, though many ſtriking proofs of the moſt 'extenſive and liberal erudition (13).'

(13) Pref. p. iv, v.

[*L*] *Sundry other pieces of our author*, &c.] Theſe were the following:

A Letter to the Rev. Mr. John Guyſe, occaſioned by his two ſermons on Acts ix. 20. in which the ſcripture notion of preaching Chriſt is ſtated and defended; and Mr. Guyſe's charges againſt his brethren, are conſidered and proved groundleſs, 1729, 8vo.

A ſecond Letter to the Rev. Mr. John Guyſe, in which Mr. Guyſe's latitude and reſtrictive ways of preaching Chriſt are proved to be entirely the ſame; the notion of preaching Chriſt is farther cleared and defended; the charge alledged againſt him of defaming his brethren is maintained and ſupported; and his ſolemn arts in controverſy are conſidered and expoſed. 1730, 8vo.

A Letter to the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor; occaſioned by his Lordſhip's nomination of five perſons, diſqualified by act of parliament, as fit and proper perſons to ſerve the office of Sheriffs, in which the nature and deſign of the corporation act is impartially conſidered and ſtated, 1738, 8vo.

An account of the conferences held in Nicholas-lane, Feb. 13, 1734, between two Romiſh prieſts and ſome Proteſtant divines; with ſome remarks on a pamphlet, intitled, The Conferences, &c. truly ſtated, 1735, 8vo.

Caſſiodorii Senatoris Complexiones in Epiſtolas, Acta Apoſtolorum, & Apocalpſin e vetuſtiſſimis Canonicorum Veronenſium Membranis nuper erutæ. Editio altera ad Florentinam fideliter expreſſæ, opera & cura Samuelis Chandleri, 1722, 12mo.

A ſhort and plain Catechiſm, being an explanation of the Creed, Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer, by way of queſtion and anſwer, 12mo, 1742.

Great Britain's Memorial againſt the Pretender and Popery; to which is annexed, the method of dragooning the French Proteſtants after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, 1745, 12mo. This piece was thought ſo ſeaſonable at the time of the rebellion, that it paſſed through ten editions.

A Sermon preached for the benefit of the Charity-ſchool, Gravel-lane, Southwark, Jan. 1, 1728: to which is added, an Anſwer to Mandeville's Eſſay on Charity-ſchools.

Knowledge and Practice neceſſary to Happineſs, a Sermon preached at the Old Jewry, 1728, 8vo.

The Notes of the Church conſidered, a Sermon, 1735.

A ſecond Treatiſe on the Notes of the Church, being the ſubſtance of two Sermons, 1735.

Benevolence and Integrity eſſentials of Chriſtianity, a Sermon preached to the Society for relieving the widows and orphans of Proteſtant diſſenting-miniſters, 1736, 4to. He alſo publiſhed another Sermon preached to the ſame ſociety in 1748: To which was annexed, a paraphraſe and critical commentary on the 8th and 9th chapters of the Second Epiſtle to the Corinthians.

A Sermon preached to the Societies for reformation of manners, 1738, 8vo.

A Sermon on occaſion of the death of the Rev. Dr. Thomas Hadfield, 1741, 8vo.

The danger and duty of good men, under the preſent unnatural invaſion, a Sermon preached at the Old Jewry, in 1745.

A Sermon on the occaſion of the death of the Rev. Mr. George Smyth, 1746.

A Sermon on the day appointed for a general thankſgiving for the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion, 1746.

The Incurableneſs of Superſtition, the ſubſtance of two diſcourſes preached on the firſt of Auguſt, 1749.

The Scripture account of the cauſe and intention of Earthquakes, a Sermon preached at the Old Jewry, March 11, 1749, on occaſion of the ſhocks of an Earthquake, on Feb. 8, and March 8, 1750, 8vo.

A Sermon on occaſion of the death of the Rev. Mr. Moſes Lowman, 1752.

A Sermon preached to the Society for promoting religious knowledge among the poor, in 1752; and a Faſt Sermon in 1559.

A Ser-

A Sermon preached at Lewin's Mead, Briſtol, at the ordination of the Rev. Mr. Thomas Wright, 1759.

Two diſcourſes on the Inſtitution of the Sabbath, 1761.

Two Sermons on the Nature and Neceſſity of redeeming the Time, 1763.

A Charge at the Ordination of the Rev. Mr. Edward Harwood of Briſtol, and the Rev. Mr. Benj. Davis of Marlborough, delivered in the Old Jewry, 1765.

Funeral Oration at the Interment of the Rev. Dr. Iſaac Watts, 1749.

Dr. Chandler alſo wrote about fifty papers in the weekly publication, entitled the Old Whig, or Conſiſtent Proteſtant; and alſo the account of his ſiſter, Mrs. Mary Chandler, which is inſerted in "The "Lives of the Poets," which were publiſhed under the name of Theophilus Cibber (14).]

(14) Flexman's Catalogue, *ut ſupra.*

We ſhall here add ſome particulars relative to Mrs. MARY CHANDLER, ſiſter to Dr. Chandler. She was born at Malmſbury, in Wiltſhire, in 1687, and was carefully trained up in the principles of religion and virtue. As her father's circumſtances rendered it neceſſary that ſhe ſhould apply herſelf to ſome buſineſs, ſhe was brought up to the trade of a Milliner. But as ſhe had a propenſity to literature, ſhe employed her leiſure hours in peruſing the beſt modern writers, and as many as ſhe could of the antient ones, eſpecially the Poets, as far as the beſt tranſlations could aſſiſt her. Amongſt theſe Horace was her particular favourite, and ſhe greatly regretted that ſhe could not read him in the original. She was ſomewhat deformed in her perſon, in conſequence of an accident in her childhood. This unfavourable circumſtance ſhe occaſionally made a ſubject of her own pleaſantry, and uſed to ſay, "That as her perſon would not re- "commend her, ſhe muſt endeavour to cultivate her "mind, to make herſelf agreeable." This ſhe did with the greateſt care, being an admirable œconomiſt of her time: and it is ſaid, that ſhe had ſo many excellent qualities in her, that though her firſt appearance could create no prejudice in her favour, yet it was impoſſible to know her without valuing and eſteeming her. She thought the diſadvantages of her ſhape were ſuch, as gave her no reaſonable proſpect of being happy in the married ſtate, and therefore choſe to remain ſingle. She had, however, an honourable offer from a worthy country gentleman, of conſiderable fortune, who, attracted merely by the goodneſs of her character, took a journey of an hundred miles to viſit her at Bath, where ſhe kept a Milliner's ſhop, and where he paid her his addreſſes. But ſhe declined his offers, and is ſaid to have convinced him, that ſuch a match could neither be for his happineſs, nor her own. She publiſhed ſeveral poems, but that which ſhe wrote upon *Bath* was the beſt received. It paſſed through ſeveral editions. She intended to have written a large poem upon the being and attributes of God, and did execute ſome parts of it, but did not live to finiſh it. It was irkſome to her to be ſo much confined to her buſineſs, and the buſtle of Bath was ſometimes diſagreeable to her. She often languiſhed for more leiſure and ſolitude: but the dictates of prudence, and a deſire to be uſeful to her relations, whom ſhe regarded with the warmeſt affection, brought her to ſubmit to the fatigues of her buſineſs for thirty-five years. She did, however, ſometimes enjoy occaſional retirements to the country ſeats of ſome of her moſt reſpectable acquaintance; and was then extremely delighted with the pleaſures of ſolitude, and the contemplation of the works of nature. She was honoured with the eſteem and regard of the Counteſs of Hertford, afterwards Dutcheſs of Somerſet, who ſeveral times viſited her. Mr. Pope alſo viſited her at Bath, and complimented her for her poem on that place. The celebrated Mrs. Rowe was one of her particular friends. She had the misfortune of a very valetudinary conſtitution, which was ſuppoſed to be, in ſome meaſure, owing to the irregularity of her form. By the advice of Dr. Cheyne, ſhe entered into the vegetable diet, and adhered to it even to an extreme. She died on the 11th of September, 1745, in the fifty-eighth year of her age, after about two days illneſs (15). Dr. Chandler had a brother, Mr. John Chandler, who was long an eminent Apothecary in the City of London, and died lately. He was the author of a pamphlet on Colds and Catarrhs, which was well received.] T.

(15) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, vol. v. p. 345—354.

*** [CHAPMAN (GEORGE), a Dramatic Poet, and Tranſlator of Homer, was born in the year 1557 (*a*). It is not known where he was born, though it is conjectured to have been in Kent; nor have we any account at what ſchool he was educated. But it appears, that having been well grounded in grammar-learning, he was ſent to the Univerſity, when he was about ſeventeen years of age (*b*). He ſpent about two years at Trinity-College, Oxford (*c*), where he paid little attention to logic or philoſophy, but was eminently diſtinguiſhed for his knowledge in the Greek and Roman claſſics. About the year 1576, he quitted the Univerſity, and repaired to the metropolis, where he commenced a friendſhip with Shakſpeare, Spenſer, Samuel Daniel, Chriſtopher Marlow, and other celebrated wits. In 1595, he publiſhed, in 4to, a poem, entitled, "Ovid's Banquet of Sauce, a Coronet for his Miſtreſs Philoſophy, and his amorous "Zodiac:" to which he added, a tranſlation of a poem into Engliſh, called "The "amorous Contention of Phillis and Flora," which was written in Latin by a Friar in the year 1400 (*d*). The following year he publiſhed, in 4to, "The Shield of "Achilles," from Homer: and ſoon after, in the ſame year, a tranſlation of ſeven books of the Iliad, in quarto (*e*). In 1600, fifteen books were printed in a thin folio (*f*). At length appeared, without date, an entire tranſlation of the Iliad, in folio [*A*], under the

(*a*) Wood's Athenæ, Oxon. vol. i. col. 592. edit. 1721.

(*b*) Biographia Dramatica, vol. i. p. 68.

(*c*) Warton's Hiſt. of Engliſh Poetry, vol. iii.

(*d*) Athenæ Oxon. *ut ſupra.*

(*e*) Warton's Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, vol. iii. p. 441.

(*f*) *Id. ibid.*

[*A*] *An entire tranſlation of the Iliad, in folio.*] Mr. Warton informs us, that before the publication of Chapman's tranſlation, ten books of the Iliad 'were tranſlated from a metrical French verſion into 'Engliſh, by A. H. or Arthur Hall, Eſq; of Grantham, and a Member of Parliament, and printed at 'London by Ralph Newberie, in 1581. This tranſ'lation has no other merit than that of being the 'firſt appearance of a part of the Iliad in an Engliſh 'dreſs (1).'

(1) Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, vol. iii. p. 440.

Chapman's complete tranſlation of the Iliad 'is 'dedicated in Engliſh heroics to Prince Henry. 'This circumſtance proves, that the book was printed 'at leaſt after the year 1603, in which James the 'Firſt acceded to the throne. Then follows an ana'gram on the name of his gracious Mecenas Prince 'Henry, and a ſonnet to the *ſole Empreſſe of Beautie* 'Queen Anne. In a metrical addreſs to the reader, 'he remarks, but with little truth, that the Engliſh 'language, abounding in conſonant monoſyllables, 'is eminently adapted to rythmical poetry. The 'doctrine that an allegorical ſenſe was hid under the 'narratives of epic poetry had not yet ceaſed; and 'he here promiſes a poem on the myſteries he had 'newly diſcovered in Homer. In the preface, he 'declares, that the laſt twelve books were tranſlated 'in fifteen weeks: yet with the advice of his learned 'and valued friends, maſter Robert Hews, and maſter 'Harriots. It is certain, that the whole perform'ance betrays the negligence of haſte. He pays his 'acknowledgments to his "moſt ancient, learned, "and right noble friend, maſter Richard Stapilton, "the firſt moſt deſertful mover in the frame of our "Homer." He endeavours to obviate a popular 'objection,

the following title: 'The Iliads of Homer, Prince of Poets. Never before in any 'Language truly tranſlated. With a Comment upon ſome of his chief Places: Done 'according to the Greek by George Chapman. At London, printed by Nathaniel 'Butter.'

In 1598, he produced a Comedy, entitled, "The Blind Beggar of Alexandria, "moſt pleaſantly diſcourſing his various Humours in diſguiſed Shapes, full of Conceit

'objection, perhaps not totally groundleſs, that he 'conſulted the proſe Latin verſion more than the 'Greek original. He ſays, ſenſibly enough, 'it is "the part of every knowing and judicious interpre-"ter, not to follow the number and order of words, "but the material things themſelves, and ſentences "to weigh diligently; and to clothe and adorn them "with words, and ſuch a ſtyle and form of oration, "as are moſt apt for the language into which they "are converted.' The danger lies, in too laviſh an 'application of this ſort of cloathing, that it may 'not diſguiſe what it ſhould only adorn. I do not 'ſay that this is Chapman's fault: but he has by no 'means repreſented the dignity or the ſimplicity of (2) *Ibid.* p. 442. 'Homer (2).'

The ſame ingenious critic proceeds to obſerve, that Chapman 'is ſometimes paraphraſtic and redundant, 'but more frequently retrenches or impoveriſhes 'what he could not feel and expreſs. In the mean 'time, he labours with the inconvenience of an auk-'ward, inharmonious, and unheroic meaſure, im-'poſed by cuſtom, but diſguſtful to modern ears. 'Yet he is not always without ſtrength or ſpirit. 'He has enriched our language with many com-'pound epithets, ſo much in the manner of Homer, 'ſuch as the *ſilver-footed* Thetis, the *ſilver-thorned* 'Juno, the *triple-feathered* helme, the *high-walled* 'Thebes, the *fair-haired* boy, the *ſilver-flowing* 'floods, the *hugely-peopled* towns, the Grecians *navy-'bound*, the *ſtrong-winged* lance, and many more 'which might be collected.

'Dryden reports, that Waller never could read 'Chapman's Homer without a degree of tranſport. 'Pope is of opinion, that Chapman covers his de-'fects 'by a daring fiery ſpirit, that animates his "tranſlation, which is ſomething like what one "might imagine Homer himſelf to have written before "he arrived to years of diſcretion.' But his fire is 'too frequently darkened by that ſort of fuſtian (3) *Id. ibid.* 'which now diſfigured the face of our tragedy (3).'

Mr. Warton adds, 'My copy once belonged to 'Pope; in which he has noted many of Chapman's 'abſolute interpolations, extending ſometimes to the 'length of a paragraph of twelve lines. A diligent 'obſerver will eaſily diſcern, that Pope was no care-'leſs reader of his rude predeceſſor. Pope com-'plains, that Chapman took advantage of an un-'meaſureable length of line. But in reality, Pope's 'lines are longer than Chapman's. If Chapman af-'fected the reputation of rendering line for line, the 'ſpecious expedient of chuſing a protracted meaſure 'which concatenated two lines together, undoubt-'edly favoured his uſual propenſity to periphraſis.

'Chapman's commentary is only incidental, con-'tains but a ſmall degree of critical excurſion, and 'is for the moſt part a pedantic compilation from 'Spondanus. He has the boldneſs ſeverely to cen-'ſure Scaliger's impertinence. It is remarkable, 'that he has taken no illuſtrations from Euſtathius, 'except through the citations of other commenta-'tors. But of Euſtathius there was no Latin in-(4) *Id. ibid.* 'terpretation (4).'

The tranſlation of the Iliad is cloſed with ſixteen ſonnets by Chapman, addreſſed to the chief nobi-(5) *Id. ibid.* lity (5).

The following lines contain Chapman's tranſlation of Hector's reply to Ajax, and of the combat be-tween them:

"The helm-grac'd Hector anſwer'd him, Re-
nowned Telamon,
Prince of the ſoldiers came from Greece, aſſay not me
like one,
Young and immartial, with great words, as to an
Amazon dame.
I have the habit of all fights, and know the bloody
frame
Of every ſlaughter: I well know, the ready right hand
charge;
I know the left, and every ſway, of my ſecureful
targe;
I triumph in the crueltie of fixed combat fight,
And manage horſe to all deſigns; I think then with
good right,
I may be confident as far, as this my challenge goes,
Without being taxed with a vaunt, borne out with
empty ſhews.
But, being a ſoldier ſo renown'd, I will not work on
thee,
With leaſt advantage of that ſkill I know doth
ſtrengthen me;
And ſo with privity of ſleight, win that for which I
ſtrive:
But at thy beſt, even open ſtrength, if my endeavours
thrive.
Thus ſent he his long javelin forth; it ſtruck his
foe's huge ſhield,
Near to the upper ſkirt of braſs, which was the eighth
it held.
Six folds th' untamed dart ſtruck through, and in the
ſeventh tough hide
The point was check'd: then Ajax threw; his angry
lance did glide
Quite through his bright orbicular targe, his curiaſs,
ſhirt of mail,
And did his manly ſtomach's mouth, with dangerous
taint aſſaile:
But in the bowing of himſelf, black death too ſhort
did ſtrike;
Then both to pluck their javelins forth, encountered
lion-like,
Whoſe bloody violence is increas'd, by that raw food
they eat;
Or boars, whoſe ſtrength, wild nouriſhment, doth
make ſo wondrous great.
Again Priamides did wound, in midſt, his ſhield of
braſs,
Yet pierc'd not thro' the upper plate, the head re-
flected was.
But Ajax, following his lance, ſmote thro' his target
quite,
And ſtay'd bold Hector ruſhing in; the lance held way
outright,
And hurt his neck; out guſh'd the blood; yet Hector
ceas'd not ſo,
But in his ſtrong hand took a flint, as he did back-
wards go,
Black, ſharp, and big, laid in the field: the ſeven-
fold targe it ſmit
Full on the boſs; and round about, the braſs did ring
with it.
But Ajax a far greater ſtone, lift up, and (wreathing
round,
With all his body laid to it) he ſent it forth to wound,
And gave unmeaſur'd force to it; the round ſtone
broke within
His tundlet target; his lov'd knees, to languiſh did
begin;
And he lean'd, ſtretch'd out on his ſhield; but Phœ-
bus rais'd him ſtrait.
Then had they laid on wounds with ſwords, in uſe of
cloſer fight,
Unleſs the heralds, (meſſengers, of gods and god-like
men)
The one of Troy, the other Greece, had held be-
twixt them then
Imperial ſcepters: when the one, Idæus grave and
wiſe,
Said to them, now no more, my ſons: the ſovereign
of the ſkies
Doth love you both; both ſoldiers are, all witneſs with
good right:
But now night lays her mace on earth; tis good t' obey
the night (6)."

(6) Chapman's Iliad, p. 100, 101.

" and Pleaſure." It was printed in 4to, but without being divided either into acts or ſcenes, and dedicated to the Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral (*g*). The following year, he publiſhed another Comedy in 4to, called " Humorous Day's Mirth," which was acted by the Earl of Nottingham's ſervants (*h*). He is ſaid to have been much countenanced and encouraged by Sir Thomas Walſingham, who, as Wood informs us, had a ſon of the ſame name, " whom Chapman loved from his birth (*i*). Henry, Prince of Wales, and Carr, Earl of Somerſet, alſo patronized him; but the former dying, and the latter being diſgraced, Chapman's hopes of preferment by their means, were fruſtrated. His intereſt at Court was likewiſe probably leſſened by the umbrage taken by King James at ſome reflections caſt on the Scotch nation, in a Comedy called *Eaſtward Hoe* [*B*], which was written by Chapman, in conjunction with Ben Jonſon and John Marſton. He is ſuppoſed, however, to have had ſome place at Court, either under King James, or his Queen Anne (*k*).

(*g*) Biographia Dramatica, and Cibber's Lives of the Poets, vol. i. p. 232.

(*h*) Jacob's Lives of the Engliſh Dramatic Poets, vol. ii. p. 37.

(*i*) Athen. Oxon. *ut ſupra*.

(*k*) *Id. ibid.*

In 1605, he publiſhed a Comedy, in 4to, called " All Fools," the plot of which is founded on Terence's *Heautontimorumenos*, and which was performed at Black Friars. Jacob ſays, that " it was accounted an excellent play in thoſe days, and was acted be- " fore King James (*l*)." The following year he produced two other Comedies; one called " The Gentleman Uſher," and the other " Monſieur D'Olive." They were both printed in quarto: it is uncertain whether the firſt was ever performed; but the latter was often acted with ſucceſs at Black Friars (*m*). In 1607, he publiſhed, in 4to, " Buſſy d'Amboiſe, a Tragedy [*C*]." This play was often exhibited at St. Paul's, in the reign of James I. and, after the Reſtoration, was revived with ſucceſs at the Theatre-Royal. The plot of it is taken from the French hiſtorians, in the reign of Henry III. of France (*n*). The ſame year, he publiſhed, in 4to, " Cæſar and Pompey, a Roman " Tragedy, declaring their wars, out of whoſe events is evicted this propoſition, *Only* " *a juſt* Man is a Free-man." This was acted at Black Friars, and was afterwards reprinted. The following year he produced, " The Conſpiracy and Tragedy of Charles, " Duke of Biron, Marſhal of France:" which was printed in 4to, and performed at Black Friars, in two parts. The ſtory may be found in the French hiſtorians of the reign of Henry IV. In 1611, he publiſhed, in 4to, " May-day," which is ſtyled " a witty Comedy," and which was acted at Black Friars (*o*). The following year, he publiſhed another Comedy, called " The Widow's Tears, which was acted both at Black and White Friars. It has been obſerved, that " ſome parts of this play are very fine, " and the incidents affecting and intereſting (*p*):" but the cataſtrophe is thought exceptionable. The plot of Lyſander and Cynthia, is taken from the ſtory of the Epheſian Matron, related in Petronius.

(*l*) Lives of the Engliſh Dramatic Poets, vol. ii. p. 35.

(*m*) *Id. ibid.*

(*n*) Biographia Dramatica, vol. ii. p. 39.

(*o*) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, vol. i. p. 234.

(*p*) Biog. Dram. vol. ii. p. 403.

About this time he publiſhed, an " Epicede, or Funeral Song on Prince Henry (*q*):" and when the Societies of Lincoln's-Inn and the Middle-Temple, in 1613, had reſolved to exhibit a ſplendid Maſque at Whitehall, in honour of the nuptials of the Palſgrave and the Princeſs Elizabeth, Chapman was employed for the poetry, and Inigo Jones for the machinery (*r*). The ſame year he publiſhed, in 4to, a Tragedy, entitled, " Buſſy d'Amboiſe his Revenge." Jacob informs us, that this play was not acted with ſo much " applauſe, as moſt of the other dramatic works of this Poet (*s*)." In 1714, he publiſhed, in 4to, " *Andromeda* liberata; or, The Nuptials of Perſeus and " Andromeda." This was dedicated, in a poetical epiſtle, to Robert, Earl of Somerſet, and Frances, his Counteſs (*t*). The ſame year he printed his verſion of the *Odyſſey*, which he alſo dedicated to the Earl of Somerſet. This was ſoon followed by the *Batrachomuomachy*, and the *Hymns*, and Epigrams (*u*). In 1616, he publiſhed, in 12mo, a tranſlation of *Muſæus*, with a dedication to Inigo Jones, in which he is addreſſed as the moſt ſkilful and ingenious Architect that England had yet ſeen (*w*). Mr. Warton remarks, that " there was an intimate friendſhip between our author, and this " celebrated reſtorer of Grecian palaces (*x*)." Chapman alſo publiſhed a paraphraſtic tranſlation, in verſe, of Petrarch's " ſeven Penitential Pſalms," with " a Hymn to

(*q*) Wood, *ubi ſupra*.

(*r*) Warton, *ut ſupra*.

(*s*) Lives of the Engliſh Dramatic Poets, vol. ii. p. 36.

(*t*) Wood, *ubi ſupra*.

(*u*) Warton, *ubi ſupra*, p. 445.

(*w*) *Ibid.* p. 448.

(*x*) Hiſt. of Engliſh Poetry, *ut ſupra*.

[*B*] *In a Comedy called Eaſtward Hoe.*] This piece was acted by the children of her Majeſty's Revels at Black Friars, and was printed in 4to, in 1605. The reflections in this Comedy on the Scots gave ſo much offence to King James, that Chapman, Jonſon, and Marſton were committed to priſon, and were ſaid to be in danger of being pilloried. They found means, however, to procure a pardon. It was from this play that Hogarth took the plan of his ſet of prints, called " The induſtrious and idle 'Prentices." The Comedy was revived ſome years ago, for the entertainment and inſtruction of the city youth, on Lord Mayor's night, inſtead of the London Cuckolds. It was alſo altered and fitted for repreſentation by Mrs. Lennox, and acted at Drury-lane, and printed in 8vo, in 1773, under the title of " Old City Man- " ners (7)." An alteration was alſo made by Tate, under the title of *Cuckold's Haven*, but not ſo good as the original (8).

(7) Biographia Dramatica, vol. ii. p. 98. 261.

(8) *Id. ibid.*

[*C*] *Buſſy d'Amboiſe, a Tragedy.*] This is the play of which Mr. Dryden ſpeaks, when, in his preface to the Spaniſh Friar, he reſolves to burn one annually to the memory of Ben Jonſon. Mr. Warton ſays, 'It is not clear, whether Dryden's reſolu- 'tion to burn annually one copy of Chapman's beſt 'Tragedy, Buſſy d'Amboiſe, to the memory of 'Jonſon, was a cenſure or a compliment. He ſays, 'however, that this play pleaſed only in the repre- 'ſentation, like a ſtar which glitters only while it 'ſhoots. The manes of Jonſon perhaps required 'ſome reconciliatory rites: for Jonſon being deli- 'vered from Shakſpeare, began unexpectedly to be 'diſturbed at the riſing reputation of a new theatric 'rival (9).'

(9) Hiſt. of Engliſh Poetry, *ubi ſupra*, p. 448.

(y) *Id. ibid.* "Chriſt upon the Croſs (*y*)," and ſome other pieces, which will be mentioned in the notes [*D*].

He died in the year 1634 [*E*], at the age of ſeventy-ſeven (*z*), and was buried on the ſouth-ſide of St. Giles's Church in the Fields. His friend Inigo Jones planned and erected a monument to his memory, in the ſtyle of the new architecture, which was unfortunately deſtroyed with the old Church (*a*). He appears to have been much reſpected in his own time: and, indeed, the man who communicated Homer to his countrymen, even in ſuch language as that of Chapman, might juſtly be conſidered as their benefactor; and in eſtimating the merit of his verſion, a candid allowance ought to be made for the age in which he lived, and the then unimproved ſtate of our language. As a dramatic writer, he had conſiderable reputation among his contemporaries, and was juſtly eſteemed for the excellence of his moral character. Wood ſays, that "he was a perſon of moſt reverend aſpect, religious and temperate, *qualities* (b) Athen. Oxon. *ut ſupra.* "*rarely meeting in a Poet* (*b*)." He is celebrated by Drayton in the following lines:

(z) Wood, *ut ſupra.*

(a) Warton, *ut ſupra.*

'Others again there lived in my days
'That have of us deſerved no leſs praiſe
'For their TRANSLATIONS, than the daintieſt wit
'That on Parnaſſus thinks he high'ſt doth ſit,
'And for a chair may 'mongſt the Muſes call
'As the moſt curious maker of them all:
'As reverend Chapman, who hath brought to us
'Muſæus, Homer, and Heſiodus,
'Out of the Greek: and by his ſkill hath rear'd
'Them to that height, and to our tongue endear'd,
'That were thoſe Poets at this day alive
'To ſee their books thus with us to ſurvive,
'They'd think, having neglected them ſo long,
'They had been written in the Engliſh tongue (*c*).'] T.

(c) Warton, *ut ſupra.*

[*D*] *Some other pieces*, &c.] Theſe were the following:

The Tragedy of Alphonſus, Emperor of Germany. This was performed at Black Friars with great applauſe (10).

(10) Jacob's Lives of the Engliſh Dramatic Poets, vol. ii. p. 37.

Revenge for Honour, a Tragedy (11).

(11) Wood, *ut ſupra.*

A Comedy is alſo attributed to him, entitled, "Two Wiſe Men, and all the reſt Fools: or, a co-"mical Moral, cenſuring the Follies of the Age;" printed at London, in 4to, in 1619. This play is extended to ſeven acts; but Chapman's name is not to it. Wood ſays, it was doubted whether he was the author of it; and there ſeems no ſufficient authority for aſcribing it to him.

Chapman is ſuppoſed to have tranſlated Heſiod; and Mr. Warton informs us, that it appears from the regiſters of the Stationers Company, that "Heſiod's "Georgicks, tranſlated by George Chapman, were "licenſed to Miles Patrick, May 14, 1618 (12)." But he doubts whether the book was ever printed. Drayton ſpeaks of Chapman as a tranſlator of Heſiod.

(12) Hiſt. of Engliſh Poetry, *ut ſupra.*

[*E*] *He died in the year* 1634.] It is ſaid, by the writer of Chapman's article in the *Biographia Dramatica*, "What became of him during the troubles, "which he lived to ſee, but not to be witneſs to "their entire termination, I know not." But this obſervation is grounded on a manifeſt miſtake reſpecting the year of his death, which is erroneouſly ſtated to have been in 1654.

Part of the inſcription on Chapman's monument, which is preſerved by Wood, is as follows: "Georgius "Chapmannus, poeta Homericus, philoſophus verus "(etſi Chriſtianus poeta) pluſquam celebris," &c.]

CHAPPEL (WILLIAM), Biſhop of Cork, Cloyne, and Roſs, in the kingdom of Ireland, a moſt learned, pious, and eloquent Prelate in the laſt century. He was deſcended, as himſelf tells us, from parents that were but in narrow circumſtances, born at Lexington in Nottinghamſhire, December 10, 1582, and was very near dying of the ſmall-pox when in the ſecond year of his age (*a*). He was afterwards ſent to Mansfield, in the ſame county, to a grammar-ſchool, where he was very early taken notice of for his ſingular gravity, the meekneſs of his temper, and his cloſe application to his ſtudies (*b*). This induced his family, though their circumſtances were but indifferent, to ſend him to the Univerſity of Cambridge, where he was entered of Chriſt's-College at the age of ſeventeen (*c*). His modeſty, diligence, and capacity, gained him a great intereſt in his College, ſo that after having taken two degrees, he was, in the year 1607, at a time when he did not well know what courſe to ſteer, elected Fellow, as we learn from himſelf, in a ſtile equally humble and elegant (*d*), which was perhaps peculiar to our author [*A*]. When he had acquired this preferment, he ſeems to have been fully ſatisfied,

(a) Vita Guliel-mi Chappel Epiſ-copi Corcagienſis & Roſſenſis à ſeipſo conſcripta.

(b) Taken from ſome manuſcript notes on the Life of Biſhop Chappel.

(c) Fuller's Worthies, in Nottinghamſhire, p. 317. Vita Gulielmi Chappel, &c.

(d) Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge. Vita Gulielmi Chappel, &c.

[*A*] *Which was perhaps peculiar to our author.*] The life of Biſhop Chappel, written by himſelf in Latin, and, as it plainly appears, as an exerciſe of penitence, thankſgiving, and devotion, has been now twice printed; firſt, from a manuſcript in the hands of Sir Philip Sydenham, Bart. by the induſtrious Mr. Hearne (1), and a ſecond time by the reverend Mr. Peck, from a manuſcript which is ſtill preſerved in Trinity-Hall, Cambridge (2). In this life he has ſet down the principal ſteps of his fortunes and misfortunes, with ſhort and ſignificant reflections and meditations: as for inſtance, in reference to his going to the Univerſity, his ſtudying there, and his being elected fellow of his college, he writes thus (3):

(1) Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii Collectanea, vol. v. p. 261.

(2) Deſiderata Curioſa, lib. xi. p. 1.

(3) Vita Gulielmi Chappel.

Septendecim annos natus eo Cantabrigiam,
Pembrokiam parens, avunculus domum
Chriſti elegit, Chriſtoque duce figo hîc pedem.

Chriſtus

ſatisfied, and applied himſelf with great diligence to the education of youth, for which he was particularly fitted, by uniting in his diſpoſition two very different qualities, ſweetneſs of temper and ſeverity of manners; ſo that it is allowed there was no tutor in the Univerſity in thoſe days, that either bred more, or more famous pupils than he did (*e*). He was alſo very remarkable for his great abilities as a diſputant, which gained him much reputation, and in reſpect to which there happened a ſingular accident, of which the reader cannot but be well pleaſed to have an account (*f*) [*B*]. In this ſituation of life he would, in all probability, have paſſed his time in eaſe and quiet (*g*), if he had not been attacked by the malicious calumnies of ſome, who envied him the great reputation in which he ſtood with the moſt conſiderable perſons in the Univerſity; and this had ſuch an effect upon his ſpirit, that it broke and afflicted him exceedingly (*b*). When things were in this ſituation, he received an unexpected offer from Dr. Laud, then Biſhop of London, of the deanery of Caſhel in Ireland, which was become void by the promotion of Dean Jones to the biſhoprick of Killaloe (*i*). It ſeems, this promotion was not altogether agreeable to Mr. Chappel: he had no inclination to go to Ireland, and was not at all ambitious of dignity in the Church. However, after conſulting his relations, he determined to accept the offer, went over to Ireland accordingly, and was inſtalled Dean of Caſhel, by virtue of the King's mandate, Auguſt 20, 1633 (*k*). He had not been long in Ireland, before his kind patron, who ſent him thither, found out a new and more ſuitable employment for him; for Dr. Robert Uſher, who was Provoſt of Trinity-College at Dublin, being promoted to the See of Kildare, Dr. Laud, now become Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Chancellor of the Univerſity of Dublin, was deſirous of putting it under the care of Dean Chappel, which, however, he would willingly have declined (*l*). In order to this he returned to England in May 1634, and laboured as much as man could do, to be excuſed from undertaking this new charge, the burthen of which he apprehended too heavy for his ſhoulders, but it was in vain: a reſolution had been taken to give a new form to the Univerſity, and he was looked upon as the propereſt perſon to ſettle the eſtabliſhment that was propoſed (*m*). Upon this he went down to Cambridge, and reſigned his fellowſhip, which to him, as himſelf expreſſes it, was the ſweeteſt of earthly preferments, after he had held it for twenty-ſeven years (*n*). He alſo viſited his native country, and took his laſt leave of his antient and pious mother. In the month of Auguſt he returned to Ireland, and was elected Provoſt of Dublin, and had the care of it committed to him, though he was not ſworn into that office until June 5, 1637 (*o*), the reaſon of which the reader will be told in the notes [*C*]. He applied himſelf to his new charge with that zeal and diligence,

(*e*) Fuller's Worthies, in Nottinghamſhire, p. 317.

(*b*) Vita Gulielmi Chappel.

(*f*) Dr. Borlace's Reduction of Ireland, p. 154.

(*g*) Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 607.

(*i*) Sir James Ware's Works, vol. i. p. 556.

(*k*) Vita Gulielmi Chappel.

(*l*) Sir James Ware's Works, vol. i. p. 566.

(*m*) Strafford's Letters, vol. i. p. 329.

(*n*) Vita Gulielmi Chappel.

(*o*) Dr. Borlace's Reduction of Ireland, p. 154.

Chriſtus tuetur, & ſcholarem me facit.
Binos gradus ſuſpicio. Verum quid agerem
Incertus hæſi: monet abire tenuitas
Parentum; at idem Chriſtus hîc ſpem mihi facit
Sodalitii, & anno ſequenti perfecit.
Mihi fauſta Julii dies penultima
Aperuit anguſtum hunc locum pauperculo;
Non clave munerum aut potentum litteris,
Sed (gratia Chriſti) ſtatutorum viâ.
Ætatis annus hic erat vigeſimus
Et quintus, annuſque Domini Jeſu mei
Poſt mille ſextieſque centum ſeptimus.
Ex illo, iis quæ ad utramque vitam ſunt opus
Circumfluo, qua officia, qua beneficia.

[*B*] *To have an account.*] In the ſpring of the year 1624 King James viſited the Univerſity of Cambridge, lodged in Trinity-College, and was entertained with a Philoſophical Act, and other academical performances (4). At theſe exerciſes Dr. Roberts of Trinity-College was reſpondent at St. Mary's, and Mr. Chappel puſhed him ſo hard, that feeling himſelf unable to ſuſtain the controverſy he fainted. Upon this King James, who valued himſelf much upon his capacity in ſuch matters, undertook to maintain the theſes, but with no better fortune than the Doctor; for Chappel was ſo much too hard for him at theſe logical weapons, that his Majeſty openly profeſſed he was glad that a man of ſuch great talents was ſo good a ſubject. Many years after this Sir William St. Leger riding to Cork with the Popiſh titular Dean of that city, it fell out that Mr. Chappel, then Dean of Caſhel, and Provoſt of Dublin, accidentally overtook them, upon which Sir William, who was then Preſident of Munſter, propoſed, that the two Deans ſhould diſpute, which, though Mr. Chappel was not forward to accept, yet he did not any ways decline. But the Popiſh Dean, with equal dexterity and addreſs, extricated himſelf from this dilemma, by ſaying, *Excuſe me, Sir, I don't care to diſpute with a man who is wont to kill his reſpondent* (5).

(4) Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 164.

(5) Borlace's Reduction of Ireland, p. 154.

[*C*] *Will be told in the notes.*] There were at this time conſiderable heats among the clergy in Ireland, many of them being inclined to thoſe that were then ſtiled Puritan opinions, which the Lord Deputy Wentworth, and his great friend Laud, wiſhed to ſee rooted out, as appears very plainly from their letters (6). Amongſt other methods taken for this purpoſe, one that was judged very neceſſary was, the introduction of a new charter into Trinity-College; and the hiſtory of this matter we will give in the words of a very intelligent and very impartial author (7). 'By the firſt 'charter, granted to the Univerſity in March 1591, 'the election of a Provoſt was placed in the Fellows, 'and ſo continued, until the vacancy made by the 'promotion of Dr. Uſher, as aforeſaid. Archbiſhop 'Laud, who was then Chancellor of the Univerſity, 'thought proper to introduce a new ſet of ſtatutes, 'which veſted the nomination of the Provoſt in the 'Crown. This project took ſome time in ripening; 'for the concurrence of the Fellows to this change was 'neceſſary, and they were induced to conſent to a ſurrender of their old charter, upon making them tenants for life in their offices under the new ſtatutes, 'whereas before they held their fellowſhips but for ſeven years, from the time they commenced maſter of 'arts; and ſo to gain eſtates for life in a ſmall ſhare of 'the government to themſelves, and their ſucceſſors, 'they parted with a more abſolute authority, which 'was temporary, and ſubmitted to a more unlimited 'power in their ſuperior. For theſe new ſtatutes 'were not ſo indulgent to the Fellows, and placed a 'more ſovereign authority in the Provoſts, than they 'were entruſted with by the old charter, from whence 'hath flowed the negative voice of the Provoſts in the 'election of Fellows, and other very ample powers.

(6) Strafford's Letters, vol. i. p. 329.

(7) Sir James Ware's Works, vol. i. p. 566, 567.

'While

ligence, for which he was always diſtinguiſhed in every office that he filled: he was perfectly learned in Caſuiſtical Divinity, had a clear underſtanding, ſound judgment, and was univerſally applauded for his diſcretion. His temper for government was ſuitable to his knowledge, in which he was highly eminent, as appeared in the mildneſs and regularity of his adminiſtration, and in the moſt perfect obedience of the ſcholars to the rules and ſtatutes of the houſe (*p*). That he might mix ſomething of the pleaſant with the profitable, and that young minds might not be oppreſſed with the unrelaxed ſeverity of their ſtudies, he inſtituted, amongſt the juniors, a Roman Commonwealth, which continued during the Chriſtmas-vacation, and in which they had their Dictators, Conſuls, and Cenſors, and other officers of the Roman State, in great ſplendour (*q*). While he was thus worthily and uſefully employed, his patrons, the Lord Wentworth and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, upon the promotion of Dr. Richard Boyle to the archbiſhoprick of Tuam, advanced Dean Chappel to the biſhopricks of Cork, Cloyne, and Roſs, and he was accordingly conſecrated November 11, 1638, in St. Patrick's at Dublin, though he had done all he could to decline this preferment (*r*). The King commanded, that he ſhould ſtill continue in his Provoſtſhip, which for ſome time he did, and at laſt reſigned it July 20, 1640; before which time he was very earneſt in endeavouring to obtain a ſmall biſhoprick in England, that he might return to his native country, and die in peace (*s*). His endeavours, however, were fruitleſs, and he was left in Ireland to feel all the fury of that ſtorm which he had long foreſeen. He was attacked in the Houſe of Commons with great bitterneſs and reſentment, by thoſe who were not ſo much enemies to him, as to the great men by whom he was preferred (*t*). This obliged him to come to Dublin from Cork, and he was compelled to put in ſureties for his appearance. In the month of June 1641, articles of impeachment were exhibited againſt him to the Houſe of Peers, conſiſting of fourteen, though the ſubſtance of them was reduced to two; the firſt perjury, on a ſuppoſed breach of his oath as Provoſt; the ſecond malice towards the Iriſh, founded on the diſcontinuing, during the time he was Provoſt, of an Iriſh lecture (*u*). Theſe articles were preſſed by a very ſevere ſpeech made by one Mr. Robert Biſſe, a famous Lawyer of thoſe times; to which the Biſhop made a reply, which however did not give ſatisfaction. The Lord Primate Uſher, and Dr. Anthony Martin, Biſhop of Meath, were the fierceſt of his adverſaries, and the proſecution againſt him was driven on with unexampled violence. The true cauſe of all this fury, was the vigour and activity he had ſhewn, in enforcing uniformity and ſtrict Church diſcipline in the College, in oppoſition to the ſchiſm and fanaticiſm of thoſe times (*w*). He was, in his whole conduct, one of the eveneſt and moſt conſtant men that ever lived; and yet, ſuch was the temper of the age in which he flouriſhed, that he lay under a continual load of calumny. At Cambridge he was thought a Puritan, from the ſtrictneſs of his morals; in Ireland they repreſented him as a Papiſt, from the fervency of his devotion, and his great exactneſs with reſpect to the ceremonies of the Church (*x*). While he laboured under ſo many and ſo great troubles, he was expoſed to ſtill greater, by the breaking out of the moſt execrable Rebellion in the latter end of that year. He was under a kind of confinement at Dublin, on account of the impeachment which was ſtill depending; but at length, after much application, and with no ſmall difficulty, he was allowed to embark for England, that from thence he might return to Cork, which from Dublin, as things then ſtood, he could not ſafely do (*y*). He embarked accordingly on the 26th of December, 1641, and the next day landed at Milford-haven, after a double eſcape, as himſelf phraſes it, from the Iriſh wolves, and from the Iriſh ſeas (*z*). He went from Milford-haven to Pembroke, and from Pembroke to Tenby, a little miſerable place, where, being detained for ſome time by the inclemency of the weather, an ill-natured fellow gave an information againſt him to the Mayor, who committed him to gaol upon the 25th of January, for coming over from Ireland without licence (*a*). In this ſad condition he continued ſeven weeks, till Sir Hugh Owen, who was a Member of Parliament, coming to his ſeat in that neighbourhood, cauſed him to be ſet at liberty, upon his giving bond in a thouſand pounds for his appearance; and on the ſixteenth of March he was diſcharged, and ſet out for Briſtol (*b*); where, upon his arrival, he had another unwelcome piece of news, which was, that the ſhip, on board of which were a great part of his effects, embarked by a friend of his at Cork for England, was loſt near Minehead, and therein, amongſt other things, periſhed his choice collection of books (*c*). What ſmall matters could be ſaved were ſent to Cheſter, from whence, though they had fallen into bad hands,

(*p*) Sir James Ware's Works, p. 567.

(*q*) *Idem. ibid.*

(*r*) Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 607. Strafford's Letters, vol. ii. p. 249.

(*s*) Vita Gulielmi Chappel.

(*t*) Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 607.

(*u*) Vita Gulielmi Chappel.

(*w*) Sir James Ware's Works, p. 567.

(*x*) Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 607.

(*y*) Vit. Gulielmi Chappel. Fuller's Worthies in Nottinghamſhire, p. 317.

(*z*) Vita Gulielmi Chappel.

(*a*) Sir James Ware's Works, vol. i. p. 567.

(*b*) Vita Gulielmi Chappel.

(*c*) Ware's Works, vol. i. p. 567.

'While this project was moulding, and bringing to 'perfection, it was thought neceſſary to keep the 'place unfilled, that the ſcheme might be at once car-'ried into execution by the King's nomination, and in 'the mean time Dean Chappel was placed over the 'college, although without the title of Provoſt.' A certain author, who does not ſeem to be at all partial in favour of our Dean, after giving a ſuccinct relation of his becoming Provoſt of Trinity-College, and his behaviour in that office, concludes his account thus (8). 'Yet certainly the exerciſes of the Univerſity were 'never ſtricter looked to, or diſcipline (if it were not 'too ceremonious) better obſerved than in his time; 'only the lecture for teaching Iriſh (whether through 'indulgence merely or enjoined by ſtatute, I am un-'certain) was, after his admiſſion, wholly waved.'

(8) Borlace's Reduction of Ireland, p. 154.

he ſafely received them, by the kind interpoſition and great diligence uſed by his friends. After ſuch a ſeries of misfortunes, as ſerved only to endear to him his religion and his country, he withdrew to his native ſoil, and ſpun out there the remainder of his life in a contemplative and pious, but withal not idle, retirement (*d*). He reſigned his ſoul to his Creator at Derby, where he had ſome time reſided, upon Whit-Sunday 1649 (*e*). In the laſt ſeven years of his life he had ſtruggled with many and great difficulties; and for ſome time, probably at the beginning of that period, he derived his ſubſiſtence from the charitable contributions of others. At the time of his deceaſe, however, he was either in poſſeſſion of ſome fortune, or had a reaſonable expectation that it might be recovered, ſince he directed by his will, that his eſtate, ſuch as it was, ſhould be divided between his family and the poor; for as he lived ſo he died, a good man and a good Chriſtian (*f*). As for his works, and more eſpecially as to the notion that has prevailed with ſome people, of his being the concealed author of that excellent treatiſe *The Whole Duty of Man*, we ſhall give the reader all the lights we are able in the notes (*g*) [*D*]. Some years after his deceaſe, a monument was erected to his memory, in the pariſh church of Bilſtorp, in Nottinghamſhire, where he was buried by the pious care

(*d*) See the concluding verſes of his life cited in note [*D*].

(*e*) Borlace's Reduction of Ireland, p. 154.

(*f*) Sir James Ware's Works, vol. i. p. 568. Lloyd's Memoirs of the Loyal Sufferers, p. 607. Fuller's Worthies in Nottinghamſhire, p. 317.

(*g*) See Mr. Beaupre Bell's Letter cited in note [*D*].

[*D*] *We are able in the notes.*] There is no reaſon to wonder, that a perſon of Biſhop Chappel's pious and primitive diſpoſition, ſhould, however well qualified in reſpect to parts and learning, decline the publication of his works in his life-time, more eſpecially when we conſider the misfortunes he had run through, and the ill uſage he had met with from different parts. Accordingly we find, that in his whole life he publiſhed but one book, and that in Latin, about a year before his death; and perhaps he was induced to this, from his having formerly communicated it to his intimate friends, or poſſibly to his pupils, ſo that it would have been impoſſible for him to have concealed his being the author of it, had he been ever ſo deſirous of doing it. The title of this work was,

I. *Methodus Concionandi*; London, 1648. 8°. that is, *The method of preaching*. Which, for its uſefulneſs, was alſo tranſlated into Engliſh. Our author, it ſeems, was not at all of Alſtedius's opinion, who judged, that the concealing the method uſed in preaching beſt ſecured the hearer's attention. Biſhop Chappel founded his theory on his practice, and being convinced by experience, that the way he uſed had the greateſt effect upon a general audience, he, for that reaſon, recommended it to others. It was his manner to raiſe doctrinal propoſitions from the words of his text, which he powerfully confirmed and enforced. And when a point of controverſy ſtarted, he did not endeavour to ſhew his eloquence on both ſides of the queſtion, but his abilities in eſtabliſhing the truth, beyond all oppoſition or doubt.——A certain author ſpeaks of this prelate and his book in the following terms (9). 'Biſhop Chappel was a man of a very ſtrict method, 'being an excellent man; famous for his many and 'eminent pupils, more for the eminent preachers 'made ſo by his admirable method, for the theory 'and praxis upon 2 Tim. iii. 16. for the practice of 'preaching. So good a diſputant, as to be able to 'maintain any thing, but ſo honeſt a man that he 'was willing to maintain only, as he would call 'them, ſober truths. Harraſſed between the rebellions in Ireland and England, where it was imputed 'to Biſhop Laud as a crime, that he preferred Biſhop 'Chappel; and to him, that he was preferred by him, 'being thought a Puritan before his preferment, and 'a Papiſt afterwards, though he was the ſame godly 'and orthodox man always.'

(9) Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 607.

II. *The uſe of Holy Scripture*. Lond. 1653. 8°. printed after his deceaſe.

III. *The true method of Preaching*. Lond. 1656. This is no other than the Engliſh tranſlation of his firſt mentioned work.

There are ſome variations in the two copies that have been publiſhed, of the manuſcript he left behind him of his own life in Latin. The Rev. Mr. Peck adds, by way of note, upon his edition, the following extract of a Letter from Mr. Beaupre Bell (10). 'Tis 'certain, *The whole Duty of Man* was written by one 'who ſuffered by the troubles in Ireland, and ſome 'lines in this piece give great grounds to conjecture 'that Biſhop Chappel was the author, 3 March 1734.' It would have been more ſatisfactory, if this gentleman had been pleaſed to point out the paſſages in the book he mentions, and thoſe in the life of Biſhop Chappel, which induced him to be of that opinion; but, as he has not, it may be the more excuſable to add a very few remarks upon this ſubject.

(10) Peck' Deſiderata Curioſa, vol. ii. l. xi. p. 7.

At the cloſe of Mr. Peck's edition of Biſhop Chappel's Latin life there are two lines, which are wanting in the edition publiſhed by Mr. Hearne, and which are a direct proof, that this pious Prelate paſſed the laſt ſeven years of his life in reviſing his writings. The lines are theſe (11):

(11) *Ibid.* p. 8.

Reviſo, quæ ante ſcripſeram. Et ſeptennium
Attexo, quod tunc fluxerat, prioribus.

The *Whole Duty of Man* was publiſhed in 1657, or rather, I think, in 1658; but it appears plainly from Dr. Hammond's letter to Mr. Garthwaite the bookſeller, prefixed to it, that it had been ready for the preſs ſome time before; and from various paſſages in the book, as well as from the prayer at the end of it, it is very plain that it was written before the death of King Charles the Firſt. So that in this reſpect it might very well be written by Biſhop Chappel. There is another circumſtance, much more favourable than this, to the opinion of his being the author of it; and that is the method of the book, which is perfectly agreeable to our Prelate's manner of writing. I may alſo add the fervency of the ejaculations, more eſpecially in the prayers for *the Church*, and for *the peace of the Church*, which are very ſuitable to the ſtrong and lively ſtrokes in his little work upon his own life. That if he had been the author of that, and other works, he might have deſired to conceal it, very clearly appears from the inſcription on his monument, drawn up by Archbiſhop Sterne (12).

(12) See that inſcription in note [*E*].

On the other hand, as a work of his was actually publiſhed with his name after his death, and his method of preaching tranſlated and ſent abroad in Engliſh the very year before the Whole Duty of Man was publiſhed, it is not eaſy to ſee the reaſon, why, if he had written the Whole Duty of Man, it ſhould have been ſuppreſſed in the title page, becauſe it would have added credit to the work, and done him no hurt. Some people have attributed *the Whole Duty of Man* to Mr. Abraham Woodhead (13), and others to Mr. Obadiah Walker (14), both of whom became Papiſts; but moſt apparent it is, that book was written by a true and ſincere member of the Church of England, and one who held that to be the Catholick Church. It has been very poſitively ſaid, that Lady Packington (15) was the author; and that the manuſcript of it in her own hand-writing, is in the poſſeſſion of the family, which, one may preſume, is the authority relied on to juſtify the placing this as an indubitable fact in a monumental inſcription to her memory. It is indeed very remarkable, that Dr. Hammond, in his letter to Mr. Garthwaite, has not a ſingle pronoun that determines the word author either to the maſculine or feminine gender; but then, it ſeems, that either he did not, or would not, ſeem to know, who was the author; though, if it was the Lady Packington, he could hardly be ignorant of it, in as much as he lived long, and at laſt died at her houſe.

(13) Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 617.

(14) *Ibid.* col. 936.

(15) Engliſh Baronetage, vol. i. p. 398. 402.

of

of Dr. Richard Sterne, Archbiſhop of York; and becauſe there is ſomething very ſingular, and very well deſerving the reader's notice, in the inſcription upon that monument, we judged it neceſſary to inſert it at the bottom of the page (*h*) [*E*]. It is hoped, that the pains taken here to do juſtice to ſo learned, ſo pious, and ſo worthy a Prelate, whoſe virtues and whoſe ſufferings were alike extraordinary, will give peculiar ſatisfaction to the publick: for to write the lives of men highly eminent, and whoſe great and good actions have been juſtly celebrated, is a taſk rather pleaſant than hard; but to collect the ſcattered remembrances of ſuch as wiſhed to live concealed, and were content to be great and good in ſecret, is a labour equally difficult and laudable; as it can have no other intention than that of doing them juſtice, and contributing to the information of the world, in matters that might otherwiſe be for ever overſpread with oblivion; into which it has been obſerved, that the weightieſt things moſt eaſily ſink, while the lighteſt, for that very reaſon, ſwim upon the ſurface, and eſcape the deluge.

(*h*) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, vol. i. l. xi. p. 8.

[*E*] *At the bottom of the page.*] It is no ſmall honour to the memory of this good man, that ſo excellent a Prelate as Biſhop Sterne, ſhowed ſo great affection for his remains; and it gives us alſo an opportunity of ſeeing his character drawn at large by the pen, or at leaſt by the direction, of ſo great a perſon, and ſo true a judge of mankind. After mentioning thoſe particulars of his life, which have been more fully inſiſted upon in this article, he proceeds thus: 'The excellent graces which (if any other did) 'he received in a plentiful meaſure from God, he 'adminiſtered, with a ſingular fidelity and ſucceſs, 'to his glory, and to the publick emolument of the 'Church. He was a ſtrenuous aſſertor of juſtice, 'wiſdom, and divine grace. By his love to God, 'and charity to men, as well friends as enemies, ac'cording to the law and example of Chriſt, he be'came to us both an example and law; he gave up 'his temporal goods, partly for Chriſt, partly to 'Chriſt; as to be hid from the world was always his 'greateſt deſire, ſo he never was able to compaſs it, 'nor can he now. In his ſixty-ſeventh year he 'calmly ſurrendered his ſoul to his Saviour on Whit'ſunday 1649, and is here depoſited, near his ve'nerable mother, expecting our Lord Chriſt, whom 'he enjoys. He had a younger brother (while he 'lived) named John Chappel, who was alſo a very 'eminent divine, and born for the pulpit. But he 'went to heaven before him, and his remains are bu'ried in the church of Mansfield Woodhouſe.' *Chariſmata, quæ (ſi quis alius) plurima atque eximia à Domino acceperat, ſingulari tum fide tum felicitate, ad ejus gloriam publicumque eccleſiæ commodum adminiſtravit. Sapientiæ, juſtitiæ, gratiæ divinæ, ſtrenuus aſſertor. Charitate in Deum ac hominem, amicos atque inimicos, ad Chriſti legem, & exemplum factus nobis exemplum & lex. Bona temporalia, partim pro Chriſto, partim Chriſto reliquit, &c.* C.

*** [The two lines quoted, in note [*D*], from Biſhop Chappel's Latin life of himſelf, not only prove that he reviſed what he had before written, but that he added to it an account of ſeven years more.

On a tranſient view of the matter, it has a tendency to create ſome prejudice in the mind againſt our Prelate, that his warmeſt enemies in the Houſe of Peers, ſhould be the Lord Primate Uſher, and Dr. Anthony Martin, Biſhop of Meath. The excellent character of Archbiſhop Uſher is univerſally acknowledged, as well as his eminent learning; and Dr. Martin, who appears to have been a moſt reſpectable man in private life, was, at the ſame time, a very zealous Church-man (16). Perhaps the diſlike theſe two good men had to the proceedings of Laud, in the affair of the Univerſity of Dublin, had exaſperated their minds againſt Dr. Chappel, (who was the friend of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and indeed his agent) beyond all reaſon and juſtice. This muſt certainly have been the caſe, if we are to credit Dr. Leland's indignant account of the affair. The Houſe of Commons, ſays this Hiſtorian, "proceeded "to ſtrike at the very vitals of the religious eſta"bliſhment, by harraſſing the Univerſity. The re"gulations eſtabliſhed in this ſeminary by Arch"biſhop Laud, excluded Non-conformiſts of every "kind from its advantages and preferments. The "Houſe examined them with ſeverity, diſcovered "dangers never experienced, and ſuggeſted objec"tions which time had abundantly confuted. So "earneſt were the prevailing factions to condemn the "late ſtatutes, that the committee of the Commons "appointed to inſpect the College, accepted the "groſſeſt miſinformations, and diſgraced their re"port by palpable falſehoods. From a clauſe in "one ſtatute not rightly underſtood, they were per"ſuaded that every Member of the College was "prevented from divulging the grievances or miſ"government of the ſociety to any but the gover"nors, under pain of expulſion. They exclaimed "againſt the ſuppoſed prohibition as an infamous "contrivance to conceal and ſuppreſs the truth: "and it was voted null and void. They accuſed the "late Provoſt, by this time advanced to the Biſhop"ricks of Cork and Roſs, of clandeſtinely accepting "the new body of ſtatutes, with the concurrence of "two members only of the body; a fact evidently "falſe, and eaſy to be diſproved: his government, "his procuring the new charter, his acceptance of "the new regulations, were voted ſubverſive of the "antient foundation, and a grievous diſappoint"ment to natives of the kingdom, before this "charter was inſpected, or theſe regulations weighed. "They proceeded to a frivolous impeachment of the "Biſhop in the Houſe of Lords, and ſoon found it "impoſſible to be ſupported. In the plenitude of "their power they forbad any elections to be held, "or any leaſes executed, in the College, until the "Houſe of Commons ſhould give farther orders "therein; and to complete the triumph over royal "prerogative, the committee was empowered to in"ſpect the old and new ſtatutes, and to make ſuch "a compilation of laws from both, as they ſhould "judge neceſſary for the government of the College. "In the next ſeſſion, which was to complete this "ſcheme of reformation, public diſorders became "too violent to admit of any attention to the govern"ment of a College (17)."] K.

(16) Harris's edition of Sir James Ware's Works, vol. i. p. 157, 158.

(17) Leland's Hiſtory of Ireland, vol. iii. p. 78, 79.

CHARLETON (WALTER), a very learned Phyſician, and copious writer, from the middle of the laſt to the beginning of the preſent century, was deſcended from a very antient and worthy family of that name in the weſt of England, and the ſon of the Reverend Walter Charleton, M. A. ſome time Vicar of Ilminſter, and afterwards Rector of Shepton Mallet, in the county of Somerſet (*a*). He was born at Shepton Mallet, in the parſonage-houſe of his father, February 2, 1619 (*b*), and received the firſt rudiments of learning, not in a country grammar-ſchool, but by the care and induſtry of his parent, who was a man of extenſive capacity, though but indifferently furniſhed with the goods of fortune. He made it his buſineſs, however, to qualify his ſon Walter for the Univerſity; and when he found him fit for it, which was about the age of ſixteen, he ſent

(*a*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 1112.

(*b*) MS. notes relating to the Life of Dr. Charleton.

sent him to Oxford, where he was entered of Magdalen-Hall (c), in Lent term 1635. It was no small happiness for him, that he became the pupil of the famous Dr. John Wilkins, afterwards Bishop of Chester, under whom he made a great progress in Logick and Philosophy, very far superior to any thing that could be expected from one of his years (d). His parts were very brisk and lively, but he was rather more conspicuous on the score of his application, and of his extensive capacity, which enabled him to form very just notions of the connection that subsists between the Sciences, and encouraged him to aim at making himself an universal scholar (e). As his circumstances would not allow him to pursue Science at large, but on the contrary obliged him to think of some particular profession, which might be useful to him in his subsistence, as well as contribute to his reputation in passing through life, he addicted himself very early to Physick (f), and in a short time made as great a progress therein as he had done in his former studies. The breaking out of the Civil War, as it brought the Royal Presence to Oxford, was, in that respect, favourable to Mr. Charleton, who had in himself so much real merit, and knew so well how to display it, that by the favour of the King he had the degree of Doctor of Physick conferred upon him in February 1642 (g), and was soon after made one of the Physicians in Ordinary to his Majesty; at which time he was looked upon as a very extraordinary genius, and, as such, became very early the object of that envy and resentment, of which he could never get the better as long as he lived (h) [A]. Upon the declension of the royal cause, he came up to London, was admitted of the College of Physicians, came into considerable practice, and lived in much esteem with the ablest and most learned men of the profession; such as the celebrated Sir Francis Prujean; the learned and penetrating Sir George Ent; the glory of that college, and the honour of this nation, Dr. William Harvey, and others, by whom he was much assisted, and towards whom he behaved with the utmost gratitude and respect (i). In the space of ten years before the Restoration, he wrote and published several very ingenious and learned treatises, as well on physical as other subjects, by which he gained great reputation, and very deservedly, considering the times in which they were written; and that many of those discoveries were then in their infancy, which have been since prosecuted with the most happy effect. By these books his

(c) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. l. ii. p. 377.

(d) Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 1112.

(e) MS. notes relating to the Life of Dr. Charleton.

(f) Taken from his own writings, and particularly his Dedication of *The Darkness of Atheism dispelled by the Light of Nature*, to Sir Francis Prujean.

(g) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. l. ii. p. 377.

(h) MS. notes of the Life of Dr. Charleton.

(i) This is collected from his Dedications to those excellent persons.

[A] *As long as he lived.*] If we consider the state of learning at this time, in the University of Oxford, and what a number of men of more than ordinary capacities there were in every faculty, one must be sufficiently convinced that the gentleman, who is the subject of the present article, must have distinguished himself in a very surprizing manner, to obtain the honour of a Doctor's degree in Physick at the age of twenty-two (1), as is very justly observed in his commendation by Anthony Wood; who affirms, that he received this honour, as well by the favour of the King, as from the grace of the University of Oxford; adding, that he was, beyond all doubt, a very learned man, and one, who made a shining figure in his profession. *Vir proculdubio doctus, & in sua facultate clarus* (2). He thought fit afterwards to alter this character a little, and to represent poor Dr. Charleton as a man exceedingly learned in his own opinion (3). But, as is observed in the text, this spirit of envy began to shew itself early against Dr. Charleton; so that after the decease of his royal Master he would have found his admission into the College of Physicians a thing of very great difficulty, if he had not been supported by some of the principal members of that learned body, more especially Dr. Prujean, who was then President; and who, with as great a reputation as most, raised a greater estate than any Physician of his own time. To this worthy man he not only stood indebted for this favour, but for many others, which we learn from himself; such as defending his character, when attacked by such as disliked his civil and religious principles, for the Doctor professed himself a Royalist and a Churchman, when there was neither King nor Church; which, no doubt, increased the number, and at the same time added to the boldness of such as envied, and would willingly have run down his abilities. The same kind person revised, corrected, and improved his writings; and this Dr. Charleton openly as well as gratefully acknowledges, which, by the way, is no great sign of his entertaining so high an opinion of his own learning. Besides all this, he likewise owed his life to Dr. Prujean, who recovered him from an epidemic dysentery, by which he was brought to death's door in the year 1650, which he acknowledged in this epigram (4).

(1) MS. Memoirs relating to the Life of Dr. Charleton.

(2) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. l. ii. p. 377.

(3) Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 1112.

(4) In the Epistle Dedicatory prefixed to The Darkness of Atheism dispelled by the Light of Nature.

Auxiliis Prujan, anima hæc moribunda revixit;
Ut vigil infusâ Pallade, flamma solet.

Snatched from the Grave *by* Prujan's *help I* live,
As wasting lamps *by* oil *supply'd* revive.

We may, from hence, collect the reasons why this gentleman stood exposed to so many assaults; and yet while his health, vigour, and friends lasted, he got the better of them all. He came into the world early, and with vast expectations; this naturally excited envy. He was for many years of a declining party, which opened the mouths of the malicious. He was very fond of Chemistry, and a friend to the new discoveries in Physick, which of course exposed him to the resentment of those who laboured to decry and explode both. It must, however, be allowed, that he had his failings, and, indeed, who has them not? He was a bold and lively writer, and supported his sentiments with a flow of spirit, and of language, that had a great air of confidence; and in his English writings especially, his stile was a little crabbed, too much loaded with hard words, and now and then interspersed with new terms of his own devising. From all this we find him very kindly defended by Dr. Clement Barksdale, in a copy of verses prefixed to one of Dr. Charleton's books, from which, though none of the best, I will venture to quote a few lines (5).

(5) These are also prefixed to the book last cited.

'Tis fit that censure wait on all that's done;
'Wits are made great by emulation.
Some places are obscure. *The book's not good,*
By every vulgar head is understood.
What you don't understand, read o'er again;
Compare, confer, and meditate. 'Tis plain.
Th' English is Latin. *Know, that the English tongue*
Hath from each language consummation:
And he that will our learnedst writers scan,
Must be both Latinist and Grecian.
The stile's too high. *Fear not the critick's rod:*
'High phrase is born of your high thoughts of God.
Forward, dear brother: 'Gifts *for use are lent:*
'To do most good brings in the most content.
Your physick has done miracles: But sure,
Th' atheist convert *is thy* noblest cure.

name

name became known abroad as well as at home; and though they are now leſs regarded than perhaps they deſerve, yet they were then received with almoſt univerſal approbation (*k*) [*B*]. He became, as a certain writer tells us, Phyſician in Ordinary to King Charles II. while in exile (*l*); and, as it was very reaſonable, retained that honour after the King's return; and, upon the founding of the Royal Society, became one of the firſt Members (*m*) of that moſt learned and illuſtrious body. Amongſt others, his kind patrons and intimate friends, was that worthy Royaliſt, and generous Nobleman, William Cavendiſh, Duke of Newcaſtle, whoſe Life Dr. Charleton tranſlated into Latin in a very clear and elegant ſtyle (*n*). He was alſo well acquainted with, and a ſincere friend to, the famous Philoſopher of Malmſbury, Thomas Hobbes (*o*), which, together with his avowed reſpect for the Epicurean Philoſophy, drew ſome ſuſpicions upon him in regard to his religion, notwithſtanding the pains he had taken to diſtinguiſh between the religious and philoſophical opinions of that famous Greek, in his own writings againſt infidelity. Yet how much ſoever he might ſuffer by theſe calumnies in the opinions of ſome, this made no impreſſion upon his ſpirit; but he continued with the ſame vigour and diligence to proſecute his ſtudies, and to oblige the Republick of Letters with new productions, which were generally well received, and ſome of them have

(*k*) Morhoff's Polyhiſt. II. 1, 5, 5.

(*l*) Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 1112.

(*m*) See the Liſt of Members at the end of Biſhop Sprat's Hiſt. of the Royal Society.

(*n*) Publiſhed at London, in fol. 1668.

(*o*) Vita Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 186.

[*B*] *With almoſt univerſal approbation.*] In this note we ſhall give an account of the works publiſhed by our author before the Reſtoration, ſome of which it is very poſſible were written at the requeſt of Booksellers, more eſpecially the tranſlations; and the reſt, by the perſuaſion of his friends, for particular purpoſes, of ſeveral of which we ſhall be able to give ſome account.

I. *A* Ternary *of* Paradoxes. (1.) *Of the* magnetic cure *of* wounds. (2.) Nativity *of* Tartar *in* wine; *and*, (3.) *The* image *of* God *in* man. Lond. 1650, 4°. Written in Latin by John Baptiſt Van Helmont.

II. The *Errors* of *Phyſicians* concerning *Defluxions*, called *Deliramenta Catarrhi*. Lond. 1650. 4°. Written by Van Helmont, and printed with a ternary of paradoxes.

III. *Spiritus* Gorgonicus *vi ſua ſaxipara exutus, ſive de cauſis, ſignis, & ſanatione lithiaſeos, diatriba.* Ludg. Bat. 1650, in 8°. that is, 'The Gorgonic ſpirit deprived of its ſtone-producing power, or a diſcourſe of the cauſes, ſymptoms, and cure of the ſtone.' This book is generally known by the ſhorter title of *Diatriba de Lithiaſi*; or, 'a Diſcourſe upon the Stone.' There are in this book of our author's, and indeed in almoſt every piece he wrote, many ſingular, curious, and judicious obſervations; and as ſuch they have been tranſcribed, though ſometimes without the leaſt mention of this gentleman's name, by other writers of conſiderable figure, both at home and abroad; which was a fault never committed by Dr. Charleton, who was very careful in beſtowing on every man his due praiſes, and by conſtantly owning to whom he was obliged, drew upon himſelf the unkind and unjuſt cenſure of compiling his books from thoſe of other men. But it would have ſaved abundance of controverſy amongſt the members of the republick of letters, if great authors had never ſuffered themſelves to be miſled by this falſe ſhame, of being thought compilers, which Dr. Charleton very juſtly deſpiſed.

IV. *The Darkneſs of* Atheiſm *diſpelled by the* Light *of* Nature. *A Phyſico-Theological Treatiſe, written by* Walter Charleton, *Doctor in Phyſick, and Phyſician to the late King.* Lond. 1652, 4°. To this work there is prefixed a dedication in Latin to Dr. Francis Prujean, dated the 1ſt of Auguſt 1651, though in the printed copies it is, by miſtake, 1641. There is as much learning, and reading, in this book, as, perhaps, in any of its ſize in our language; and thoſe parts of it that ſeem to fall moſt within the compaſs of a Phyſician's knowledge, are treated with the utmoſt ſkill and exactneſs, more eſpecially that famous queſtion, whether the term of man's life be mutable or fixed. Upon this occaſion, he tells us a very remarkable ſtory of a godly Phyſician in the Parliament's army, who being a rigid Fataliſt, gave out his preſcriptions by lot, and ſo left his patients to take their chance, though he took his fees (6); which is a proof, that abſurd opinions in Divinity may have dreadful effects on men's practice.

(6) Darkneſs of Atheiſm diſpelled by the Light of Nature, p. 251.

V. *The Epheſian and Cimmerian Matrons, two remarkable Examples of the Power of Love and Wit.* Lond. 1653; and again in 1658, 8°.

VI. Phyſiologia Epicuro-Gaſſendo-Charltoniana; *or, A Fabrick of natural Science erected upon the moſt antient hypotheſis of Atoms.* Lond. 1654, fol.

VII. *Epicurus his Morals.* Lond. 1655, 4°. This work of his is divided into thirty-one chapters, and in theſe he fully treats all the principles of the Epicurean Philoſophy, digeſted under their proper heads; tending to prove, that, conſidering the ſtate of the heathen world, the morals of Epicurus were as good as any, as in a former work he had ſhewn, that his philoſophick opinions were the beſt of any, or at leaſt capable of being explained in ſuch a manner, as that they might become ſo in the hands of a modern Philoſopher (7). To this book there is prefixed a ſuccinct apology for Epicurus, which I make no ſcruple of aſſerting to be the moſt ſenſible, as well as the moſt learned and curious, that is any where extant, and very far exceeding ſome that have been written in other languages; and while this is forgotten, are in the preſent poſſeſſion of the world's applauſe.

(7) It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that this work was tranſlated into ſeveral modern languages.

VIII. *The Immortality of the human Soul demonſtrated by Reaſons natural.* Lond. 1657, 4°.

IX. 'Oeconomia Animalis novis in Medicina hypotheſibus ſuperſtructa & mechanicè explicata. Autore Gualtero Charleton, M. D. & Caroli Magnæ Britanniæ Regis olim Medico.' Lond. 1659, 12mo. Id. Amſtelodami, 1659, in 12mo. Id. Lugd. Bat. 1678, in 12mo. Id. Hagæ Comit. 1681, in 12mo. that is, *The* Animal Oeconomy *according to the new Diſcoveries in Phyſick, as alſo mechanically explained.* It appears clearly, by an epiſtle addreſſed to Dr. Ent, and prefixed to this book, that it was written at leaſt ſix, if not ſeven years before it was publiſhed; for that epiſtle is dated June 12th, 1653, and the author ſpeaks as if he had written the book nearly a year before. The deſign of that epiſtle is to acquaint the reader, that this learned perſon, who was juſtly eſteemed one of the ableſt Phyſicians of his age, had peruſed and approved it. It is dedicated to Thomas Viſcount Falconbridge, the author's great patron, and ſeems to have been written at his requeſt. The Dedication is dated March 25th, 1659, that is, according to the Engliſh computation, and ſuppoſing that to be the firſt day of the year. The title of this book ſufficiently ſhews the deſign of it; and whoever conſiders the diſtribution of the chapters will very eaſily conceive, that it was from it a modern writer of the firſt rank amongſt our neighbours, took his plan of a work of the ſame kind, and publiſhed very nearly under the ſame title. To the laſt edition of our author's work in Holland, is joined Dr. William Cole's Diſſertation upon Animal Secretion.

X. *The Natural Hiſtory of Nutrition, Life, and voluntary Motion; containing all the new Diſcoveries of Anatomiſts*, &c. Lond. 1658, 4to.

XI. Excercitationes Phyſico-Anatomicæ de Oeconomia Animali. Lond. 1659, 8°. That is, *Phyſico-Anatomical Diſſertations upon the Animal Oeconomy.* Printed afterwards ſeveral times beyond the ſeas. I

(p) See this fully justified in note [C].

been often re-printed (p) [C]. He had the misfortune to draw upon himself a new load of envy, by venturing to differ in opinion from the celebrated Inigo Jones, who, for the satisfaction of his royal Master, had written a discourse upon Stonehenge, in which he attributed that celebrated pile to the Romans, and asserted it to be no other, than a temple dedicated by them to the god *CŒLUS*, or *CŒLUM* (q); which opinion of his Dr. Charleton could not confide in, but thought rather that this antiquity belonged to later and more barbarous times. Upon this, it is said, that he transmitted Jones's book, which was not published till after its author's death, to Olaus Wormius, or caused it to be transmitted to that learned Danish Antiquary, who thereupon wrote him several letters, tending to fortify him in his own sentiment, by proving that this work ought rather to be attributed to his countrymen the Danes (r). With the assistance of these materials, Dr. Charleton undertook to set this matter in a clear light; and in a treatise written expressly upon that subject, offered many strong arguments to shew, that this could not be a Roman temple, and several plausible reasons why it ought rather to be considered as a Danish monument (s). This book of his, though in itself very learned, and enriched with a great variety of curious observations, was but indifferently received by the many; and though approved, was but coldly defended by the few; which, however, does not at all lessen its merit with posterity [D]. To this book there

(q) The most noble Antiquity of Britain, vulgarly called Stonehenge, on Salisbury Plain, restored. Lond. 1655, fol.

(r) Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 1113.

(s) See this farther explained in the note [D].

[C] *Have been often reprinted.*] About the time of the Restoration, in order to dispose the people, not only to a quiet submission, and acquiescence under the Royal Authority, but also to excite a spirit of loyalty, and sincere affection for that monarch (8), he undertook, from the knowledge he had of him in his youth, and the near access he had at this time to his person, to send abroad a picture of him, drawn by his pen, which he accordingly did under the following title.

(8) Kennet's Chronicle, p. 674.

XII. *A Character of his most sacred Majesty* Charles the Second, *King of* Great-Britain, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith*, &c. *Written by* Dr. Charleton, *Physician in Ordinary to his Majesty*. Lond. 1660, in one sheet in quarto, printed again in 1662.

XIII. 'Exercitations Pathologicæ, in quibus morborum pene omnium natura, generatio, & causæ, 'ex novis Anatomicorum inventis sedulo inquiruntur.' Lond. 1660, printed there again in 1661, 4to. that is, *Pathological Dissertations, in which the nature, generation, and causes of almost all diseases are most diligently set forth.* This book has been also very deservedly commended and admired, as an excellent introduction to the study of Physick. The reader will easily discern the relation that our author's works have to each other; and how, after having first explained the philosophy of atoms, in a sober and solid manner, so as to render it fit to give his reader a clear notion of the mechanical superstructures he meant to raise upon it, he proceeded next to the animal œconomy, and having considered the human body as a curious and wonderful machine, suited to various purposes, by a vast variety of contrivances, which, by the help of the new discoveries, he explained in the best manner possible at that time, goes on from thence to the view of this curious machine, when disturbed, and out of order, shows how, and whence, those disorders arise, the signs with which they are attended, by which they may be known, and, when known, by what methods they may be removed. After rendering these services to Physick, he stopped a little, and turned his thoughts, as the reader will see in the next note, to other subjects, which he handled with equal learning and ingenuity.

[D] *Lessen its merit with posterity.*] As the whole of this work of our author is very curious and learned, and as it will afford us an opportunity of giving a succinct account of the several opinions that have been maintained, and the principal treatises that have been written, in relation to Stone-Henge, the most famous antiquity in our country, it will be first of all requisite to give the title of our author's work at large, which runs thus:

XIV. Chorea Gigantum: *Or, The most famous Antiquity of* Great Britain, STONE-HENGE, *standing on* Salisbury Plain, *restored to the* Danes. *By* Walter Charleton, M. D. *and Physician in ordinary to his Majesty*. Lond. 1663. 4to.

This book was dedicated to his Royal Master, and in the Dedication there is contained a very memorable piece of History. 'I have had the honour to hear, 'from that oracle of truth and wisdom, your Majesty's 'own mouth, you were pleased to visit that monument, and for many hours together entertain your-'self with the delightful view thereof; when, after 'the defeat of your loyal army at Worcester, Almighty God, in infinite mercy to your three kingdoms, 'miraculously delivered you out of the bloody jaws of 'those monsters of sin and cruelty.' In respect to the different opinions that have been advanced as to this famous monument, we are first to consider the *matter* of which it is composed, and next, the *manner* in which it was erected. As to the former it is agreed, that there are three rows of great stones, some of which are twenty-eight feet high, and seven broad, that stand almost in the form of a crown; and over some of them other stones are laid, with tenons and mortises. But then it is enquired, whether these stones be natural or factitious? Dr. Childrey holds the first (9), as also, that they actually grew in this place; and he thinks the argument brought to prove the contrary, from the want of stones, either little or big, in that neighbourhood, makes rather for his opinion, because nature could not provide herself of lapidifick matter otherwise, than by robbing the adjacent parts to compose these huge stones. He thinks it also no small confirmation of this notion, that upon the Downs about Marlborough, not above twenty miles from Stone-Henge, there are found abundance of such great stones, commonly called by the country people the Grey Weathers; and at Aubery, in an orchard, there are half a dozen, or half a score stones little inferior in size to those of Stone-Henge, some standing upright, and some lying flat on the ground, and the country thereabouts affording scarcely a stone beside. On the other hand, Mr. Camden (10), and many other sensible people, have thought them artificial, composed of stone-dust, or sand, held together by some petrifying juice. They were led to this opinion by observing, that in this country there are no such stones, indeed hardly any stones; and next, that the size of these stones renders it very improbable that they were brought thither by land-carriage; to which they add, that Pliny (11), and other authors, very positively mention such factitious stones as an invention common in their days, which, to them, puts the thing out of doubt. But, however, later experience has fully decided this question in favour of the former notion, for that these very stones are natural, and no composition, is a point now out of dispute. The sentiments of learned men in relation to the work itself, are still very much divided; but to bring them within the compass of a note, we may range them under seven heads. (I.) A certain author would persuade us, that Stone-Henge ought to be ascribed to the Phœnicians (12). But, however, that has not much prevailed; and till we have better arguments than any he has produced, very few will think it part of true history, that the Phœnicians performed any great exploits in this island. (II.) The celebrated Inigo Jones (13) would have this a Roman work, and, as we have said in the text, a temple to the

(9) Britannia Baconica, p. 48, 49.

(10) Camden's Britan. col. 95, 96, 97.

(11) Hist. Naturalis, lib. xxxvii.

(12) Sammes's Britannia Antiqua Illustrata, p. 335.

(13) In his posthumous Treatise upon that subject, mentioned in the text.

there was an angry anſwer written by Mr. Jones's (*t*) ſon-in-law, who was the editor alſo of that work which had occaſioned the diſpute. In ſhort, there was a great clamour raiſed againſt it, and many liberties were taken with Dr. Charleton's character, upon account of this performance; and this, notwithſtanding Sir William Dugdale, and ſome other of the moſt eminent Antiquaries in the kingdom, owned themſelves to be of our author's opinion (*u*). However, all the noiſe and envy of his enemies could not hinder him from riſing to the higheſt honours of his profeſſion, or from being celebrated, even in his life-time, as one of its greateſt ornaments, to which his Anatomical Prelections in the College Theatre, in the ſpring of the year 1683 (*w*), did not a little contribute, as well as his full and ſatisfactory Defence of the immortal Hervey's claim to the diſcovery of the circulation of the blood, againſt the pretence that was ſet up in favour of Father Paul (*x*), which our author clearly confuted. This certainly ought to be remembered in honour to his memory; not only as it is a very ſtrong proof of his great capacity and extenſive learning, and as it was in ſome meaſure a vindication of the honour of this nation, but alſo as a generous teſtimony of his eſteem and gratitude to his deceaſed friend, qualities not over common in modern times, and for which therefore it would be barbarous to deny him that applauſe he ſo juſtly merits. It was from theſe motives, that in 1689 (*y*), he was choſen Preſident of the College of Phyſicians, in which office he continued to the year 1691. A little after this, his circumſtances becoming narrow, he found himſelf under the neceſſity of ſeeking a retreat in the Iſland of Jerſey, where he reſided at the time that Anthony Wood took ſome very extraordinary liberties with his character, repreſenting it in a light very different from

(*t*) A Vindication of Stonehenge reſtored. London, 1665, fol.

(*u*) Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 1113.

(*w*) Goodall's Hiſtorical Accounts of the College's proceedings againſt Empiricks in the Epiſtle Dedicatory to Dr. Whiſtler.

(*x*) See the article HERVEY (WILLIAM).

(*y*) Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 1113.

the god *Cœlum*; but therein his imagination and learning got the better of his judgment, and even of his ſenſes; for he deſcribes Stone-Henge not as it is, but as it ſhould be, to make it conſiſtent with what he has delivered: he makes a regular hexagon of what is rather an octagon, or, to ſpeak with ſtill greater propriety, a polygon, altogether irregular. But for all this, his book is highly valuable, and the number of fine things there are in it, very fully atone for any miſtakes that it may contain. (III.) Our author, in his treatiſe upon this ſubject, will have it to be a Daniſh monument (14), and he grounds his opinion chiefly on the miſtake, which he ſuppoſes to have been made in relation to its ancient name; for he aſſerts, that inſtead of the *Giants Dance*, which is the name it bears in our ancient writers, it ought to have been ſtiled, the *Aſſembly of the Chiefs*, or *Nobles*; and in ſupport of this, he ſays a great deal that is very well worth reading; nor the leſs ſo, for the informations he received from the learned Olaus Wormius. Yet after all, he was as much deceived in his opinions, as the writer whom he oppoſed; for, beyond a queſtion, the Danes could not be the founders of this monument, ſince we find it mentioned by Nennius (15), a writer who flouriſhed two hundred years before the Danes came into England. (IV.) It has been aſſerted in general terms, that this was a temple of the Druids, erected long before the Romans came into Britain; and in defence of this Mr. John Aubrey, a very knowing Antiquary, and one particularly well acquainted with all the ancient monuments in Wiltſhire, has written an expreſs treatiſe (16), which has had its weight with the moſt ſtudious perſons in this kind of learning, who have inclined to think him, if not exactly right, yet much nearer the truth than any of the reſt. (V.) Another author, whoſe name at preſent is, and in all probability will continue, a ſecret, has advanced a notion more ſingular and extraordinary than any of theſe (17). He ſays, that this was a temple erected to the honour of Anaraith, the goddeſs of victory; and that in this place the illuſtrious Steynings, a famous giant, having defeated Diviaticus and his Belgæ, ſacrificed the captives and ſpoils to the idol before-mentioned, upon her altar here. It is not, however, very probable, notwithſtanding the pains this gentleman has taken, that this ſtory of his will ever grow into any great credit. (VI.) The moſt ingenious Edward Bolton, Eſq; who was a very learned Antiquary, as well as an excellent Hiſtorian, gives us a hint that it was a monument raiſed to the memory of Queen Boadicea (18), his great heroine, by her ſubjects the Britons. But though the conjecture is certainly not amiſs, yet perhaps, the proof might be found very difficult. (VII.) The laſt and moſt common notion is, that it was the burial-place of Arthur Pendragon, Conſtantine, Ambroſius, and other Britiſh Princes; or, that it was a monument erected by Ambroſius in memory of a multitude of Britons here baſely ſlain by the Saxons (19); and in ſupport of this it is alledged, that in very ancient manuſcripts, and thoſe of the beſt authority, this famous monument is called Stan-Hengiſt, for which different reaſons are aſſigned. We will conclude this long, tho' we hope not tedious, note, with a ſhort quotation from a copy of commendatory verſes prefixed to this work of our author by John Dryden, Eſq; (20), not barely on account of the beauty of the verſes, and the harmony of his numbers, or their containing the praiſe of our author and his writings, but for the ſake of the hiſtory contained in them, and his fine deſcription of the paſt, and at that time preſent ſtate of learning in England.

(14) Chorea Gigantum, &c.

(15) Hiſt. Britonum, cap. xlii.

(16) Monumenta Britannica, MS.

(17) Diſſertations upon Stonehenge, MS. formerly belonging to the Rev. Mr. Paſchal, Rector of Chedſey, near Bridgwater, and of which there are various copies in the hands of curious perſons.

(18) In his Nero Cæſar, at the concluſion.

(19) Agreeable to what is delivered by Geoffry of Monmouth, in his Britiſh Hiſtory, &c.

(20) Original Poems and Tranſlations, by John Dryden, Eſq; vol. ii. p. 207.

Among th' aſſerters of free reaſon's claim,
Our nation's not the leaſt in worth or fame.
The world to *Bacon* does not only owe
Its *preſent* knowledge, but its future too.
Gilbert ſhall live, 'till loadſtones ceaſe to draw,
Or *Britiſh* fleets the boundleſs ocean awe.
And noble *Boyle*, not leſs in nature ſeen,
Than his great *brother* read in *ſtates* and *men*.
The *circling* ſtreams once thought but pools of blood
(Whether life's fuel, or the body's food)
From dark oblivion *Harvey*'s name ſhall ſave;
While *Ent* keeps all the honour that he gave.
Nor are *you*, learned friend, the leaſt renown'd;
Whoſe *fame*, not circumſcrib'd with *Engliſh* ground,
Flies like the nimble journies of the light;
And is, like that, unſpent too in its flight.
Whatever *truths* have been, by *art*, or *chance*,
Redeem'd from *error*, or from *ignorance*,
Thin in their *authors* (like rich veins of ore)
Your works unite and ſtill diſcover more.
Such is the healing virtue of your pen,
To perfect cures on *books*, as well as *men*.
Nor is this work the leaſt: You well may *give*
To *men* new vigour, who make *ſtones* to live.
Through you, the *Danes*, (their ſhort dominion loſt)
A longer conqueſt than the *Saxons* boaſt.
STONE-HENGE, once thought a *Temple*, you have found
A *Throne* where Kings, our earthly gods, were crown'd;
Where by their wond'ring ſubjects they were ſeen,
Joy'd with their ſtature, and their princely mien.
Our *Sovereign* here above the reſt might ſtand,
And here be choſe again to rule the land.
These ruins ſhelter'd once *his* ſacred head,
When *He* from *Wor'ſter*'s fatal battle fled;
Watch'd by the genius of this Royal place,
And mighty viſions of the *Daniſh* race.
His *refuge*, then, was for a Temple ſhown:
But, He reſtor'd, 'tis now become a *Throne*.

that, in which, during the Doctor's proſperity, he had thought fit to place it (z). It is not eaſy to ſay, what the cauſes were of our learned Phyſician's misfortunes, except it may be the death of his friends and patrons, and thoſe changes to which all things in this world are ſubject, together with the faſhion of following ſuch Phyſicians as are in vogue, though not more learned or more ſucceſsful than their predeceſſors. That it was not any decay of parts, or loſs of underſtanding, is very apparent from hence; that the very laſt of his books was, in point of various learning, equal to any that he had formerly publiſhed, more exact in its method, more correct in its ſtyle, and in every circumſtance more highly finiſhed than any of his former (a). Of this, as well as of his other performances, ſome account will be given in a note [E]. We have not been able

(z) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. p. 377.

(a) See this point explained in note [E].

[E] *Some account will be given in a note.*] We are here, according to the promiſe made in the text, to ſpeak of the remainder of our learned author's works, and this we ſhall do as clearly and as conciſely as it is poſſible.

XV. Diſquiſitiones duæ Anatomico-Phyſicæ; altera Anatome pueri de cœlo tacti, altera de proprietatibus cerebri humani. Londini 1664, 8°. That is, *Two Anatomico-Phyſical Diſſertations; the firſt, concerning a boy killed by lightning; the ſecond, of the properties of the human brain.* In the former of theſe, he diſcourſes largely of the nature and effects of thunder and lightning; explodes the vulgar error, concerning perſons being killed with thunder-bolts; and inſerts occaſionally many other curious obſervations and reflections, as well in regard to Natural Philoſophy, as Anatomy and Phyſick. In the latter alſo, he gives a great many ſingular, and in thoſe days new diſcoveries, and treats the ſubject with much learning and perſpicuty (21).

(21) Morhoff. Polyhiſt. II. 2, 7, 5.

XVI. Gulielmi Ducis Novicaſtrenſis vita. Londini 1668, in fol. That is, *The Life of William Duke of Newcaſtle.* This, as has been obſerved in the text, is no other than a tranſlation of the life of that eminent Stateſman, and great Captain, written originally by his conſort, Margaret Ducheſs of Newcaſtle; and the reader may find a copious account of it in another article of this work (22).

(22) See article CAVENDISH (William) Duke of Newcaſtle.

XVII. Onomaſticon Zoicon plerorumque Animalium differentias & nomina propria pluribus linguis exponens. Cui accedunt mantiſſa Anatomices, & quædam de variis Foſſilium generibus. Londini 1668, & 1671, in 4°. Id. Oxonii 1677, in fol. That is, *The names of ſeveral Animals in many languages; to which is annexed an Anatomical Appendix, and ſome obſervations as to the different kinds of Foſſils.* It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that ſome copies of the laſt edition are with, and ſome without cuts; the former are ſcarce, and bear a greater value than any of the reſt of Dr. Charleton's works.

XVIII. *Two philoſophical Diſcourſes:* the firſt, *Concerning the different wits of men*; the ſecond, *concerning the myſtery of* Vintners; *or, A Diſcourſe of the various ſickneſſes of* Wines, *and their reſpective* Remedies *at this day commonly uſed*, &c. Lond. 1668, 1675, 1692, 8°. This ſome have thought a little below the character of our author, and much inferior to his other writings. In all probability it was compoſed from obſervations ſet down in his common-place books, without any intention of publiſhing them originally; and it is very likely that he was perſuaded to ſend them abroad, either by ſome of his friends, or by ſome bookſeller, to whom they might be uſeful. In this he had the ſame misfortune with other great writers, who have been too ready to commit to the preſs thoſe pieces that were only fit for their cloſets, from a notion, that their bare names may ſupport any thing; whereas the greateſt writer runs the hazard of his reputation, every time he ventures to ſubmit a new work to the publick view.

XIX. De Scorbuto liber ſingularis; cui acceſſit Epiphonema in Medicaſtros. Londini 1671, in 8°. Id. Lugd. Bat. 1672, in 12mo. That is, *Of the Scurvy a ſingle book; to which is added, an Excurſion againſt Quacks.* The very learned father *Niceron* (23) obſerves, very juſtly, that there is great variety of curious matter contained in this book. The very ſame thing may be juſtly ſaid of moſt of our author's writings, ſince we find in them not only the fruits of general reading, and extenſive learning, but alſo the effects of his experimental knowledge, and of his enquiries, and converſations, with other learned perſons of the Faculty; ſo that one has, generally ſpeaking, in a very narrow view, all that could be expected on the ſubject he handles, and even more, becauſe the circle of his knowledge is commonly wider than that of his reader's, which contributes not a little to the value of his books.

(23) Memoires des Hommes Illuſtres, tom. xvii. p. 215.

XX. *Natural Hiſtory of the Paſſions.* Lond. 1674, 8°. This is alſo a very curious and inſtructive treatiſe, ſuitable to the philoſophick ſpirit that reigned at that time, when it was faſhionable for men of parts and learning to employ their time in endeavouring thoroughly to underſtand human nature; towards which we may, without flattery, affirm, that none afforded greater helps than our author, who has written almoſt upon every ſubject that can be held juſtly neceſſary to this purpoſe, and with great induſtry laboured to give us the hiſtory both of the body and of the mind.

XXI. *Enquiries into human Nature, in ſix Anatomy Prelections, in the new Theatre of the Royal College of Phyſicians in London.* London, 1680, 4°.

XXII. Oratio anniverſaria habita in Theatro inclyti Collegii Medicorum. Lond. 5 Aug. 1680, in commemorationem beneficiorum à Doctore Harvey, aliiſque, &c. præſtitorum. Lond. 1680, 4°. That is, *An Anniverſary* Oration *delivered in the Theatre of the College of Phyſicians at London,* Aug. 5, 1680, *in commemoration of the benefits received from Dr.* Harvey, *and other worthy perſons.* There could be nothing more agreeable to our author's diſpoſition than ſuch a performance as this, as well in regard to the love he had for his profeſſion, as the high eſteem, and true affection, which he bore to the memory of Dr. Harvey; which, upon many occaſions, while living, he expreſſed for his perſon, and of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſay ſomething more hereafter.

XXIII. *The Harmony of natural and poſitive divine Laws.* Lond. 1680, 8°. In this treatiſe our author endeavours to ſhew, that the ſupreme good, or ultimate happineſs of man, is not a thing either incertain or chimerical, but that it is ſettled by the will of God, in the diſpoſition of all things, and of man himſelf, as a free and rational being; ſo that what he has been pleaſed to diſcover to mankind in an extraordinary way, as a legiſlator, and what he has left it in their own power to diſcover by the light of reaſon, concerning him as their Creator, is ſo far from being contradictory, or repugnant, that in fact theſe laws help each other, and afford a joint proof of their reſpective authorities. This ſcheme of the book ſhews, that it was very well ſuited to thoſe times; but, perhaps, it would be no eaſy thing to prove, that it is at all leſs ſuitable to ours. Several of our author's treatiſes are now grown out of date, being ſuperſeded by other and freſher diſcoveries; but this is not liable to that fate, as the ſubject is like to continue the ſame for ever.

XXIV. *Three Anatomy Lectures, concerning,* 1. *The* motion *of the* Blood *through the veins and arteries.* 2. *The* organic ſtructure *of the* Heart. 3. *The efficient* cauſe *of the* Heart's *pulſation. Read on the* 19th, 20th, *and* 21ſt *days of* March, 1682, *in the Anatomical Theatre of his Majeſty's Royal College of Phyſicians in London.* Lond. 1683, 4°. I know none of our author's works that have been more, indeed, I think, hardly any ſo much, applauded, as theſe lectures, which ſhews the gradual improvements that were made in this ſort of uſeful knowledge, of which Dr. Charleton

able to discover how long he continued in that kind of voluntary exile, or whether he returned afterwards to London: but it is beyond all doubt, that those writers are much mistaken, who have asserted that he died soon after he retired thither; for, as much as we are in the dark as to other circumstances, we are very clear as to the time of his death, which happened in the latter end of the year 1707, and in the eighty-eighth year of his age (*b*). He was, as the many books he has written very fully shew, a man of very solid and extensive learning; and as he distinguished himself very early by his

(*b*) Hist. of Europe for 1707, p. 517.

ton was both a faithful register, and a great promoter. It was in these lectures that he clearly and effectually refuted the pretence, that Dr. Harvey had borrowed his doctrine, of the Circulation of the Blood, from Father Paul of Venice (24). It is, indeed, true, that Father Paul had written upon the use of the valves in the veins, which he has thought to have first discovered; and in like manner Servetus (25), Columbus (26), and Andreas Cæsalpinus (27), had delivered various things concerning the motion of the Blood, which was not unknown even to Hippocrates himself; but as a system from which the whole animal œconomy might be explained, it was first known to Dr. Harvey, and by him discovered, described, and demonstrated. The learned Boerhaave, therefore, in his Institutes, delivers this point clearly, and in a manner which fully shews, that he was convinced, that the rights of our countryman were, beyond all controversy, supported and established (28). 'At length, says he, the immortal Harvey, by the 'discoveries which he demonstrated, overturned the 'whole theory of the Ancients, and founded Physic upon a new and more certain basis, upon 'which it at present rests.' It will not be amiss, before we quit this subject, to observe, that it was no small advantage to Dr. Harvey's noble discovery, that, on the one hand, he lived long enough to establish the certainty of it, and to triumph over all the numerous efforts that were made from a disingenuous spirit of envy and contradiction; and that on the other, his intimate friendship with several learned men of his own country and profession, secured, after his decease, the glory due to his memory, from being tarnished by the many malicious attempts to show, that it was no discovery at all; or, that if it was, it did not belong to him, but to others. If these pretences had not been refuted in time, and before they had taken root in the minds of men, it might have been found much more difficult to eradicate them; and, perhaps, also many of the testimonies that were urged by his friends, might, in process of time, have been lost; or, at least, the circumstances that render them most convincing, buried in oblivion. But the learning and spirit of the Doctor's friends, more especially Dr. Peter Barwick, and our author, rendered every thing of this kind impracticable; for as soon as any hint was given abroad, or even suspicion dropped in any literary dissertation, or in prefaces before ancient authors, or epistolary essays of the moderns, to the prejudice of Dr. Harvey's system, his title to it, or the claim of any other, they were ready to take up the dispute; and were such able masters of it, both in regard to the Doctor's manner of finding and publishing his discovery, and of the nature of it, and its distinctness from what others had written about the motion of the blood, that nothing could gain ground during their life-times, contrary to the truth; and as they were both very long-lived men, they survived that spirit of rancour which so long followed this invention. To this concurrence of happy circumstances, we may justly attribute that general sense the learned world now has, of the merit of this great discovery, and of the great benefits thereby derived to Physic by its illustrious author; which may justly be esteemed a singular credit to the Faculty, and a very high honour to this nation.

(24) Dr. Goodall's Dedication to Dr. Whistler, before cited.

(25) Christianismi Restitutio, lib. vi.

(26) Reald. Columb. Anatom. lib. vii. p. 325.

(27) Question. Peripatet. p. 113.

(28) Boerhaave's Academical Lectures on the Theory of Physick, including a translation of his Institutes, vol. i. p. 41.

XXV. *The Life of* Marcellus, *translated from the Greek*. This is to be found in that noble treasury of English learning, the translation of Plutarch's Lives, by various hands (29). In this he has given the world a testimony of his perfect acquaintance with the Greek learning, as well as language, for it is illustrated throughout with concise explanatory notes. The style of this piece is excellent, and as different from that which our author used in his junior years, as can be imagined. His periods are short, his diction easy, natural, and perspicuous, insomuch that one perceives nothing in it of that stiffness and want of vigour which is generally complained of in translations. In short, he gives the sense of Plutarch with the same freedom as if it was his own, enters into the spirit of his author, and from the perfect knowledge he has of the subject, becomes, as it were, an original writer.

(29) Plutarch's Lives, vol. ii. p. 365.

XXVI. Inquisitio Physica, de Causis *Catameniorum*, & Uteri *Rheumatismo*; in qua probatur, sanguinem in animali *fermentescere* nunquam. Lond. 1685. 8°. That is, *A physical Dissertation on the Causes of certain feminine Disorders, and of the Rheumatism in the Womb; in which it is proved, that there is no such thing as* Fermentation *in the Blood*. This little book, divided into eight chapters, besides the conclusion, is written in a very clear and correct Latin style; in a method perfectly exact, in which the sentiments of the most eminent professors of the Art, Ancients, as well as Moderns, are clearly stated, and freely examined: in short, as this is the last work that he published, so it seems to be the most finished; and it ends with so much affection to his Faculty, that it looks like taking his farewel of them, and the public. The approbation prefixed informs us, that in the judgment of those who subscribe it, this physical enquiry of their most friendly member and collegue might be very useful, when printed; and the underwritten names are, Sir Thomas Witherley, Knight, and President; Dr. Samuel Collins, Register; Dr. Thomas Burwell, Dr. Peter Barwick, Sir Thomas Millington, and Dr. Humphry Brooke, Censors of the Royal College of Physicians.

XXVII. *Of human* Felicity *and* Infelicity: *a Discourse by way of similitude or parable*. This was never printed; but there are several copies of it handed about in manuscript, under the name of our author; but whether it be really his, or not, I am not able to say. Thus, as succinctly as might be, and as nearly as it was possible, in the order of time when they came abroad, the reader has a true catalogue of this learned Physician's writings; and as to his character, it has been attempted in the text, if not with success, at least with candour, and with an honest desire of doing justice to his memory, and to truth. C.

*** [We find, from Mr. Ayscough's Catalogue, that a considerable number of manuscript papers and letters, written by Dr. Charleton, are preserved in the British Museum. The greater part of them are on subjects of philosophy and natural history; but others are of a miscellaneous nature; and among the rest there is a copy of verses of the Doctor's composition (30). Some of the manuscripts are the materials upon which a few of his publications were founded, and several of the rest were probably read before the Royal Society. Dr. Charleton's name occurs not unfrequently in Birch's History of that learned body. We hope it will not be deemed very criminal in us, that we have not thought the Doctor's papers in the Museum to be of consequence enough to merit a particular examination; especially, as the article concerning him is already sufficiently extended; and, to say the least of it, ample justice has been done in it to his character and writings. Though Dr. Charleton was undoubtedly a man of abilities, he appears to have been sometimes too rapid and injudicious in his productions. His works are, at present, very little read or known; and yet there are parts of them that would probably well reward a perusal. From our learned predecessor's account of him, this must certainly be the case with regard to his defence of the morals of Epicurus.] K.

(30) Ayscough's Catalogue, p. 341. 355. 387. 434. 443. 528. 647. 659. 666. 768. 814.

great abilities, ſo, for the ſpace of five and thirty years, he continued a very uſeful and aſſiduous Member of the Republic of Letters. He was a very ſincere lover of the conſtitution in Church and State, and had ſo warm an affection for his country, that though he was ſtrongly ſolicited to accept a Profeſſor's chair in the Univerſity of Padua, yet he abſolutely refuſed it (*c*). He was a perſon of great candour and generoſity, ready upon all occaſions to acknowledge and to commend the merit of others; and, as in his youth he was honoured with the protection of the moſt conſiderable men for learning and quality in this kingdom, more eſpecially thoſe of his own profeſſion, ſo he continued happy in their eſteem and friendſhip to the laſt. In his junior years he dedicated much of his time to the ſtudy of Philoſophy and polite literature, and was as well read in the Greek and Roman authors as any man of his time. He learned, very early, from his excellent tutor Biſhop Wilkins, the art of digeſting his knowledge in ſuch a manner, as to command it readily and fully when occaſion required. It is doubtful, whether in Natural or in Moral Philoſophy he was the greater man: that he wrote very accurately upon both is however certain; and he who would ſee the dark and disjointed notions of the antients, concerning the *Anima Mundi*, ſet in a clear light, and thoroughly reconciled, muſt have recourſe to his works, ſince it would be hard to meet with it any where elſe (*d*). In every branch of his own profeſſion, he has left teſtimonies of his diligence and his capacity; and whoever conſiders the plainneſs and perſpicuity of his language, the pains he has taken to collect and produce the opinions of the old Phyſicians, in order to compare them with the moderns, the juſt remarks with which theſe collections and compariſons are attended, the ſuccinctneſs with which all this is diſpatched, and the great accuracy of that method in which his books are written, will readily agree with me, that he was equal to moſt of the writers in this faculty, who were his contemporaries; and that if he has been ſurpaſſed by any of the moderns, his example has been, in a great meaſure, the occaſion of it, many of the beſt received books in the preſent age, being, as to method and form, at leaſt, very like this. He was alſo a very curious and judicious Antiquary, had taken much pains in peruſing our antient Hiſtorians, and in obſerving their excellencies as well as their defects, the latter of which ſeem to have occupied chiefly the thoughts of modern Critics. But, above all, he was very ſtudious of connecting the Sciences with each other, and thereby rendering them ſeverally more perfect; in which, if he did not abſolutely ſucceed himſelf, he had at leaſt the ſatisfaction of opening the way to others, of ſhowing the true road to perfection, and pointing out the means of applying and making thoſe diſcoveries uſeful, which have been made in ſucceeding times. There is alſo good reaſon to believe, that though we have few or none of his writings extant that were compoſed during the laſt twenty years of his life, yet he was not idle during that ſpace, but committed many things to paper, as materials at leaſt for other works that he deſigned. This, I ſay, may be well concluded from the natural induſtry of this learned perſon, as well as from ſome volumes of Collections that are, or at leaſt lately were, in being, and have paſſed from hand to hand under his name (*e*). The accounts that have been hitherto given of him, and of his works, in our language, have been very ſlender and ſparing, no ways ſuitable to his deſerts, or to the reputation that he very juſtly acquired amongſt foreigners (*f*), which led us to take ſo much care in this article, that it may appear we have a true concern for the honour of all our countrymen, who have done credit to this nation, by promoting ſolid and uſeful knowledge of every kind.

(*c*) See Dr. Goodall's Dedication to Dr. Whiſtler, before cited.

(*d*) See his Apology for Epicurus, prefixed to the *Morals* of that Philoſopher.

(*e*) Theſe Collections were formerly in the hands of the Millington family.

(*f*) Morhoff. Polyhiſtor. Vol. II. I, 2, 5, 5. II, 2, 7, 5. II, 2, 24, 6. II, 2, 47, 3. Stollii, Introduct. ad Hiſt. Litter. p. 675. Ouvres de Bayle, tom. i. p. 626. Buddei, Compend. Hiſtor. Philoſophicæ, p. 367.

*** [CHATTERTON (THOMAS). In order to obtain fuller information, which we have good reaſon to hope for, and to render this article more perfect than it could at preſent have been made, it is referred to the end of the letter C, in the next volume.]

CHAUCER (GEOFFREY), the father of our Engliſh Poets, and the firſt great improver and reformer of our language. He flouriſhed in the XIVth century; and as he juſtly obtained the higheſt admiration amongſt his contemporaries, ſo his memory has ever ſince been highly honoured (*a*). One would imagine from this, that every hiſtorical circumſtance relating to him, or at leaſt thoſe of the greateſt moment, ſhould be well preſerved, and be perfectly clear; which, however, is ſo far from being the caſe, that nothing can hitherto be certainly determined concerning his deſcent, or ſo much as who was his father. One ſays that he was of a noble ſtock (*b*); another that he was the ſon of a Knight (*c*); a third that his father was a Vintner (*d*); a fourth that he was a Merchant (*e*); and the fifth, and laſt opinion, which is the beſt, is, that nothing can be ſaid (*f*) with any tolerable aſſurance of his family at all, but that there is ſomewhat more probability of his being the ſon of a gentleman, rather than of a tradeſman [*A*]. The place

(*a*) Sprat's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, p. 41, 42.

(*c*) Pits, de Illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 572.

(*e*) Mr. Hearne's Letter to Mr. Bagford, relating to Chaucer's Life.

(*f*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Mr. Urry's edit. of his Works.

(*b*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 419.

(*d*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

[*A*] *Rather than of a tradeſman.*] It is a point well agreed amongſt our ancient authors, that the French ſurname of this family, which was variouſly written, as for inſtance, Chaucier, Chaucierris, Chauſſier, Chauſir, &c. ſignified a Shoemaker (1). But notwithſtanding this it is very well known, that the founder of this family in England was a Norman Chief that came over with William the Conqueror, as appears by the roll of Battle Abbey (2); and in ſucceeding times there were ſeveral perſons of note of this

(1) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Mr. Urry's edit. of his Works.

(2) Aſhmole's Theatrum Chemicum, p. 471.

place of his birth is as much diſputed, but however may be determined with greater appearance of truth; for though ſome ſay he was a Berkſhire man (*g*), and others would entitle Oxfordſhire (*h*) to his birth, yet if we may rely upon what he tells us himſelf, it is much more likely that he drew his firſt breath in the City of London (*i*): and that he had a great intereſt amongſt its inhabitants, is a thing as certain as that it drew upon him many misfortunes; notwithſtanding which, his having that intereſt ſeems to be a corroborating proof of his being a citizen's ſon [*B*]. The time of his birth is pretty well fixed, for moſt of the writers who mention it agree, that it was in the ſecond year of Edward III. *A. D.* 1328 (*k*). Here again we fall into the dark, for as to his earlier years we know not where or how they were ſpent; but as ſoon as he was fit for academical ſtudies, he was ſent to Cambridge, where he gave early teſtimonies of his abilities

(*g*) Bale, de Script. Britan. p. 525.

(*h*) Pits, de Illuſt. Angl. Scriptor. p. 572.

(*i*) In the Teſtament of Love, p. 486. Camden. Eliz. edit. Hearne, p. 783.

(*k*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

this name mentioned in our records. In the reign of King John there was one le Chauſir (3), as appears by the records in the Tower; and in the reign of Henry III. one Elias Chaucefir, who in the reign following, *viz.* Edward I. had a grant of ten ſhillings from the Treaſury (4). There was alſo one John Chaucer, of whom King Edward I. heard a complaint for a thouſand pounds (5); but all this gives us no kind of certainty in reſpect to our author's family at all. Leland contents himſelf with hinting, that he was of genteel extraction: *nobili loco natus* (6), are his words; and it is ſaid, that he is faithfully copied by Bale; but this is to be underſtood of the later editions of his book, for in the firſt he calls him Sir Geoffrey Chaucer, Knight, and ſays nothing of his family at all (7); afterwards he met with Leland's book, and abridged his account of him. John Pits is very clear, that he was of an exceeding good family, and not only a knight himſelf, but his father a knight before him (8): but his authority goes for little, more eſpecially with thoſe that know him beſt. Mr. Speght is of opinion, that one Richard Chaucer was his father, who was a Vintner at the corner of Kirton-Lane; and dying in 1348, left his houſe, tavern, and ſtock, to the church of St. Mary Aldermary (9), where he was buried. This paſſed currently with Fuller; and, perhaps the better, becauſe it furniſhed him with a very ſilly jeſt. 'His father, 'ſays he, was a Vintner in London; and I have 'heard his arms quarrelled at being *argent* and *gules* 'ſtrangely contrived, and hard to be blazoned. Some 'more wits have made it the daſhing of white and 'red wine (the parents of our ordinary claret) as 'nicking his father's profeſſion.' Againſt this opinion, however, there lie two exceptions, that ſolider heads than his have not been able to get over; the firſt is, that there was ſomething very unnatural in this Vintner's leaving all his eſtate to the Church, while his ſon was at the Univerſity; and the ſecond, that Chaucer ſhould never complain of this, or, for any thing that we can diſcover, feel the effects of it, ſince it is evident enough, that in his youth he lived at a rate that could not have been ſupported without a fortune. The induſtrious Mr. Hearne thinks it probable, his father was a Merchant of London (10); but the laſt writer of his life thinking that father not good enough for him, hath found him out a better, one Sir John Chaucer, for which he has no other evidence, than that ſuch a man lived at a time (11) when our Poet might poſſibly have been his ſon. I muſt confeſs, I think he was of a good family, and that for various reaſons, which, becauſe I do not know they have been taken notice of before, I will mention as briefly as I can. Firſt then, his education ſpeaks him a gentleman bred at both the Univerſities, travelled through ſeveral countries, and at laſt a ſtudent in the Temple, where, it is reported, that he was fined two ſhillings for beating a Fryar in Fleet-ſtreet. Next, his poſt at court ſhews him to have been a gentleman; for birth was much ſtood upon in thoſe days, and young men of the beſt quality were the King's Pages. Thirdly, this is confirmed by his marriage, which ſo proud a man as John of Gaunt would not have admitted, if he had been of a mean deſcent, much leſs have recommended him to his wife, and thereby made him the uncle-in-law of his own children. Fourthly, his writings ſhew him a gentleman, for they are all written with ſuch freedom and ſpirit as muſt have expoſed him to great envy, if he had not been a gentleman, and which he would probably have appeaſed by ſome reaſonable apology. Laſtly, the company he kept, and the reſpect that was conſtantly paid him, ſeem the cleareſt teſtimonies of this, which, with the reſt, I ſubmit to the deciſion of the intelligent reader.

(3) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(4) Record. in Scacc.

(5) Record. in Tur. Lond.

(6) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 419.

(7) Illuſt. Major. Britan. Script. fol. 198.

(8) Pits, de Illuſt. Angl. Scriptor. p. 572.

(9) Speght's Life of Chaucer, in Stowe's Survey of London.

(10) Robert of Glouceſter's Chr. vol. ii. p. 596.

(11) Rymer's Fœd. tom. v. p. 51.

[*B*] *Of his being a citizen's ſon.*] It ſeems to have been a doubt with Leland, whether Oxfordſhire or Berkſhire produced this great man; but he thought he had reaſon to think, that he was born in one of thoſe counties (12). If Berkſhire was to be preferred, then Dunnington (13) would bid the faireſt for it, which was certainly Chaucer's ſeat; but then it ſeems to be no leſs certain, that he purchaſed it from Sir Richard Adderbury. Pits affirms roundly, that he was born at Woodſtock (14), and Camden ſpeaking of that place, ſays, that having nothing in it elſe remarkable, it boaſts of having produced our Engliſh Homer, Geoffrey Chaucer (15), but he was too knowing a man to credit this. He knew the reaſon of it to be, that Chaucer had a houſe there, and Ewelm and Hocknorton in the ſame county, were alſo belonging to his family, and might therefore, with as much juſtice as Woodſtock, put in a claim to his birth. But Chaucer himſelf ſeems to have determined the point, as clearly as man could do; for, ſpeaking of the troubles that had happened in this place, he ſays (16), *The city of* London, *that is to me ſo dear and ſweet, in which I was forth-grown, and more kindly love, have I to that place, than any other on earth, as every kindly creature hath full appetite to that place of his kindly engendruer, &c.* And therefore Camden very juſtly takes occaſion, ſpeaking of another Poet, to affirm, that London (17) was our author's birth-place. 'Edmund Spencer, *ſays he*, a 'Londoner, was ſo ſmiled on by the Muſes at his 'birth, that he excelled all the Engliſh Poets that 'went before him, if, we except only his fellow-'citizen, Chaucer.' It may ſeem a little difficult to reconcile what is ſaid in this note, to what has been advanced in the former, and yet it may be done tolerably well; for though we now conſider a citizen of London as a trader of courſe, yet in the times when Chaucer lived, men of great quality and diſtinction reſided in the city, where the Court was alſo kept; and therefore he might very well be in this ſenſe the ſon of an inhabitant of London, and ſtill his father might not be either Merchant or Vintner, but in ſome poſt about the Court; and this in ſo dark a matter, and which has employed ſo many learned pens, without letting in much light upon it, ſeems the moſt probable account of the matter. For in that diſcourſe in which he ſpeaks of London as his birth-place, he very clearly confeſſes, that he had been but too deeply engaged in the popular diſturbances that happened there, through his attachment to his patron the Duke of Lancaſter, which ſhows the intereſt he had among the people; and yet he affirms, that in what he did he had no evil intention, much leſs meant to throw all things into confuſion; and offers it as a reaſon why he ſhould be believed in declaring this, that he was a native of London, and loved it better than any place upon earth, as every creature naturally does the place from which it ſprings. After clearing up theſe points as far as poſſible, we ſhall be more brief in our remarks upon other points of this Hiſtory, though a large and full Life of Chaucer ſeems to be a work ſtill wanting to the learned world, after all the pains that have been hitherto taken about it.

(12) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 419.

(13) Camden. Britan. p. 138.

(14) Pits, de Illuſt. Angl. Script. p. 572.

(15) Camden. Britan. p. 279.

(16) The Teſtament of Love, p. 486. a.

(17) Camden. Annal. Eliz. id. hic Hearne, p. 783.

by ſeveral elegies and ſonnets, as well as by a poem called the Court of Love, which he compoſed when he was about eighteen (*l*), and which carries in it very pregnant proofs of ſkill and learning, as well as quickneſs of wit, and great ſtrength of genius [*C*]. It is not by any means certain in what college or hall of that Univerſity he ſtudied; but it is conjectured, and not without ſome ſhew of reaſon, that it might be in Solere's-Hall, which he has ſo particularly and humorouſly deſcribed in his ſtory of the Miller of Trompington (*m*). He removed from thence, for reaſons which we find no where aſſigned, to the Univerſity of Oxford, and compleated his ſtudies there; ſome ſay at Canterbury-College (*n*), which, however, is improbable, ſince it was not founded till Chaucer was thirty-five years of age; others in Merton-College, which is more likely; for though his name does not appear among the celebrated members of it at that time, yet we find moſt of his contemporaries, as Strode, Occleve, &c. (*o*) were of that college. After a conſiderable ſtay here, and a ſtrict application to the publick Lectures of the Univerſity, he became, as Leland tells us, a ready Logician, a ſmooth Rhetorician, a pleaſant Poet, a grave Philoſopher, an ingenious Mathematician, and a holy Divine (*p*). That he was a great maſter in Aſtronomy is plain from his Diſcourſes of the Aſtrolabe; that he was verſed in the Hermetick Philoſophy, appears by his Tale of the Chanon's Yeoman; his knowledge in Divinity is evident from his Parſon's Tale; and his Philoſophy from the Teſtament of Love. After he left this Univerſity, he travelled abroad through France and the Low-Countries, in order to ſee the world, and to improve the knowledge which he had acquired from books: but when he went abroad, or at what time he returned, are circumſtances not eaſy to be determined (*q*). Yet ſurely there is a probability that he ſpent not many years out of his own country, ſince the beſt writers ſeem to be well ſatisfied, that after his return he entered himſelf of the Middle-Temple, and became a ſtudent there of the Municipal Laws of this land (*r*). Of this learning having received ſome tincture, he betook himſelf to the Court, which was indeed the place in the world fitteſt for a man of his accompliſhments to thrive in. His firſt employment there was in quality of the King's Page (*s*), in thoſe times a very honourable office, as it gave near and frequent acceſs to the royal preſence: but one would imagine this was not a poſt to which any but a young man could be advanced upon his coming to Court; and therefore it ſeems moſt conſiſtent with truth to

(*l*) Court of Love, line 43.

(*m*) See the Gloſſary at the end of his Works, under the word *Solere*.

(*n*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*o*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 87.

(*p*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 419.

(*q*) Bale, de Script. Britan. p. 525. Pits, de Illuſtr. Angl. Script. p. 572.

(*r*) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 419. Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*s*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Mr. Urry's edit. of his Works.

[*C*] *And great ſtrength of genius.*] The moſt certain accounts we have of Chaucer are thoſe taken from his own writings, in which there are a great variety of circumſtances that occur not in any of the ancient relations of his life, in ſo much that it is very doubtful, whether we ſhould ever have heard any thing of his being a ſtudent at Cambridge, if he had not left us that particular himſelf. In like manner it might have been preſumed, but it could hardly have been proved, that his *Court of Love* was not his firſt performance; or, at leaſt, his firſt performance that made any great figure. But from the peruſal of this poem, we learn from himſelf, that he had written many things before in honour of the deity of love. Indeed, the poem itſelf ſpeaks it probable; for though we have a very high idea of the natural genius of Chaucer, yet it would be impoſſible to perſuade any judge of Poetry, that this was his firſt eſſay; for not only the ſtructure of the poem manifeſts an extraordinary ſkill in that kind of writing, but the harmony of his numbers, even at this diſtance of time, ſufficiently ſhew that they could not fall from the pen of an unpractiſed Poet. It is generally believed, upon the credit I apprehend of the Rubrick placed at the head of this performance, that in was written in imitation of the *Romant of the Roſe* (18); but I muſt confeſs I am not very well ſatisfied of that, and ſhould rather be of opinion, that our author compoſed it after the manner of thoſe Italian Poems that were then ſo generally eſteemed, and for which the famous Francis Petrarch had been crowned ſome years before with great ſolemnity at Rome (19). The honours which that celebrated Poet acquired, and which he had never acquired but in an age of the greateſt gallantry, excited all who had any turn that way, to emulate his performances. We may very plainly perceive in this work of Chaucer's, that he meant to make his entrance by it into the region of Parnaſſus, and boldly reſolved, on the ſtrength of his own judgment as well as of his genius, to declare himſelf a Poet, and put himſelf that way into the road to fame. If this had not been his intention, he would have ſcarcely written the *Court of Love*, the ground of which Poem is to ſhew, that it was a tribunal to which every man owed obedience, which ſooner or later he was obliged to pay. As for himſelf, he profeſſes that he was ſummoned to do ſuit and ſervice at the age of eighteen, which affords him an opportunity of deſcribing the Court, the manner of its proceedings, and the Statutes of Love by which thoſe proceedings are regulated, and in doing this he gives the following account of himſelf in three ſtanzas (20):

(18) This is alſo ſaid in the Rubrick of the Poem.

(19) Niceron. Memoires des Hommes Illuſtres, vol. xxviii. p. 372.

(20) Chaucer's Works, p. 367. a.

In art of Love I write and ſongis make,
That maie be ſong in honour of the King
And Queen of Love; and then I undirtake
He that is ſadde ſhall then full mery ſyng,
And daungerous not ben in every thyng:
Beſeche I you but ſeen my will and rede,
And let your anſwere put me out of drede.

What is your name? reherſe it here I praie;
Of whens and where, of what condicion
That ye ben of? let me ſe come of and ſaie
Fain would I know your diſpoſicion;
Ye have put on your old entencion
But whate ye mene, to ſerve me I ne wote,
Savſe that ye ſaie, ye love me woundir hote.

My name, alas! my herte why makes thou ſtraunge,
Phylogenet I call'd am ferre and nere,
Of Cambridge, Clerke, that nevir thinke to chaunge
Fro you, that with your heavenly ſtremis clere
Raviſhe myne herte, and ghoſt, and all in fere,
Since at the firſt I write my bill for grace,
Methinke I ſe ſome mercie in your face.

This poem is very long, conſiſting of upwards of fourteen hundred verſes, and concludes with the *Feſtival of Love*, which with great elegance our Poet fixes upon the firſt of May, and makes it celebrated by the birds: yet this part of the Poem is the moſt exceptionable of any, and ſhows what a ſtrange taſte prevailed in that age; for in this feſtival not only the Hymns of the Church, but the Pſalms themſelves, are very ſcandalouſly prophaned, and applied to the God of Love and his Mother, which ſhows the bad conſequences that naturally flow from ſuperſtitious devotion.

believe,

believe, that Geoffrey Chaucer could not at his admittance exceed thirty [*D*]. At this time the Engliſh Court was the moſt gay and ſplendid in Europe. Edward III. a Prince equally diſtinguiſhed by civil and martial virtues, ſat then upon the throne, bleſſed with an illuſtrious Conſort, by whom he had a numerous poſterity (*t*). His many victories had rendered him famous abroad, and his moderation and clemency, his reverence for the laws, and his kindneſs for his people, made him beloved at home; ſo that our Chronicles boaſt of few reigns ſo glorious, and of none brighter, than his. Among other great qualities with which this famous Monarch was endowed, his love of learning and learned men was not the leaſt conſpicuous; and therefore we need not wonder that our author, who was continually giving ſome ſpecimen or other of the vivacity of his parts, wrought himſelf into high favour, inſomuch, that it appears that he was a conſtant attendant on the Court, and when it was at Woodſtock reſided at a ſquare ſtone houſe near the Park-gate, which ſtill retains his name (*u*); and well indeed it may, ſince, being conſecrated in his Poems, the whole country round about is become, in reſpect to Engliſhmen, a kind of claſſick ground [*E*]. But beſides his employment about the perſon of his Prince, our Poet took pains to advance his fortune, by attaching himſelf to the ſervice of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter, by whom, and by his Ducheſs Blanch, a lady equally remarkable for her wit and virtue, he was exceedingly beloved, nor was it long before he became part of their family alſo (*w*). It happened thus: this Ducheſs entertained in her ſervice one Catherine Rouet, daughter of Sir Payne, or Pagan Rouet, a native of Hainault, and Guien King at Arms for that country, who was afterwards married to Sir Hugh Swynford, a Knight of Lincoln. He lived not long after their marriage, and upon his deceaſe this lady returned into the Duke's family, and was appointed Governeſs of his children (*x*). She had a ſiſter, whoſe name was Philippa, a great favourite likewiſe with the Duke and Ducheſs, and by them therefore, as a mark of their great eſteem, recommended to Chaucer for a wife (*y*). He married her about the year 1360, when he was in the flower of his age, and, as appears from a picture of him taken about that time, one of the handſomeſt perſons about the Court (*z*). Of a complexion fair and beautiful, his lips very red

(*t*) Robert de Aveſbury, Hiſt. de Mirabilibus Geſtis Edwardi III. Contin. Nic. Trivet. Annal. vol. ii. p. 72. Robert of Glouceſter's Chron. p. 592.

(*u*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*w*) Dugd. Baron. vol. i. p. 789, 790.

(*x*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*y*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition of his Works.

(*z*) This original picture was in the poſſeſſion of George Greenwood, of Chaſtleton, in Glouceſterſhire, Eſq;

[*D*] *Could not at that time exceed thirty.*] We have intimated in the text, that our author ſeems to have owed his admittance into the King's ſervice in quality of Page, which in the Latin of thoſe times was called *Valettus*, or *Valectus*, an honour that young Noblemen of the firſt rank were glad to accept, to the favour of the King's ſon John of Gaunt, afterwards Duke of Lancaſter, of which no notice is taken by any of thoſe who have hitherto collected the Memoirs of his Life. Yet we do not aſſert this without authority, for it appears by a poem of his, called *Chaucer's Dream* (21), firſt printed in the year 1597, that he was very deep in this young Prince's amorous ſecrets; for that poem is an Allegorical Hiſtory of the Loves of John of Gaunt and Blanch of Lancaſter, daughter of Henry Duke of Lancaſter; which, from this very poem it appears, were managed with the utmoſt ſecrecy, till, by a long train of intrigues and ſolicitations, all the obſtacles in the way of this match were got over, and with the help of the King's conſent and the Pope's diſpenſation, they were married in May 1359 (22); which, as it was the firſt introduction to John of Gaunt's vaſt power and greatneſs, ſo it ſeems to have been the beginning of our author's fortunes at Court: at leaſt it is certain, that the knowledge he had of this affair, was what made him equally the favourite of the Duke of Lancaſter and of the Ducheſs Blanch, who, as the higheſt teſtimony of her friendſhip, gave him the ſiſter of her favourite Lady in marriage, which is alſo intimated at the cloſe of this poem. But this is quite a different thing from another under the ſame title, that in the old manuſcripts is, and ought to be entituled, the *Book of the Ducheſs* (23), written, not upon her marriage, but upon her death; and this being written in the manner of a viſion, and the other not being diſcovered, came to be called *Chaucer's Dream*, becauſe that title appeared in ſome old liſts of his Works. As the credit of the Duke of Lancaſter increaſed with his father, Chaucer's alſo roſe in a like proportion; for he continued ſteady to his patron to the laſt hour of that Duke's life; and indeed, conſidering his alliance as well as his obligations, we need not at all wonder that he did. But after ſaying all this it will be very proper to add, that notwithſtanding his fidelity to his patron, he did not go all lengths with him, but kept exactly within the bounds of loyalty to his Prince, as well as thoſe of duty to his benefactor.

(21) Chaucer's Works, p. 572.

(22) Thomæ Walſingham, Ypod Neuſtr. p. 125, n. 50.

(23) Chaucer's Works, p. 404.

[*E*] *A kind of claſſick ground.*] In order to juſtify this, we need only obſerve, that many of the rural deſcriptions that occur in his works, are taken from Woodſtock Park; of which he tells us, that it was a park walled with green ſtone (24), that being the firſt park walled in England, and not many years before his time. In moſt of his pieces where he deſigns an imaginary ſcene, he certainly copies it from a real landſcape: ſo in his *Cuckow and Nightingale*, the morning walk he takes was ſuch, as at this day may be traced from his houſe through part of the park, and down by the brook into the vale, under Blenheim Caſtle (25), as certainly as we may aſſert, that Maples inſtead of Phylireas were the ornaments round the bower; which place he likewiſe deſcribes in his *Dream* as a white caſtle (26), ſtanding upon a hill; the ſcene in that poem being laid in Woodſtock-Park. When diſengaged from publick affairs, his time was entirely ſpent in ſtudy and walking: ſo agreeable to him was this exerciſe, that he ſays, he preferred it to all other ſports and diverſions. He lived within himſelf, neither deſirous to hear, nor buſy to concern himſelf with the affairs of his neighbours. His courſe of living was temperate and regular; he went to reſt with the ſun, and roſe before it; and by that means enjoyed the pleaſures of the better part of the day, his morning walk and freſh contemplations. This gave him the advantage of deſcribing the morning in ſo lively a manner, as he does every where in his works: the ſpringing ſun glows warm in his lines, and the fragrant air blows cool in his deſcriptions; we ſmell the ſweets of the bloomy haws, and hear the muſick of the feather'd choir, whenever we take a foreſt walk with him. The hour of the day is not eaſier to be diſcovered, from the reflexion of the ſun in Titian's paintings, than in Chaucer's morning landſcapes. 'Tis true, theſe deſcriptions are ſometimes too long; and as it is before obſerved, when he takes thoſe early rambles, he almoſt tires his reader with following him; and ſeldom knows how to get out of a foreſt, when once entered into it: but how advantageous this beautiful extravagance is, moſt of his ſucceſſors well know, who have very plentifully lopt off his exuberant beauties, and placed them as the chief ornaments of their own writings.

(24) Complaint of the Black Knight, ver. 42.

(25) Cuckow and Nightingale, ver. 56.

(26) Chaucer's Dream, v. 1018.

and full, his ſize of a juſt proportion, his air very graceful and majeſtick. We live at too great a diſtance of time, to be able to penetrate with certainty into the true motives of our author's match; but ſurely there is a great probability, that he was not unacquainted with the tenderneſs which his patron, the Duke of Lancaſter, had for the Lady Swynford, by whom he had ſeveral children, who were afterwards legitimated by Act of Parliament (*a*). Yet this alliance was not the only tie he had upon that Prince, one of the moſt ambitious and artful men of his time, and always embarked in ſome State-intrigue or other, and therefore, above all things, fond of having men of parts and literature about him, of whom he might make uſe as occaſion offered; and in which capacity, as there was none more able, ſo it appears there were none did him greater ſervice, than Chaucer (*b*). Being thus ſupported, we need not wonder that his fortunes made a very quick progreſs at Court; and, accordingly, we find very many marks of his Maſter King Edward's kindneſs towards him. As for inſtance, in the forty-firſt year of his reign, he granted him an annuity of twenty marks *per annum* out of the Exchequer (*c*). How mean ſoever ſuch a penſion may ſeem now, it was then very conſiderable; and in Chaucer's caſe was ſtill the more valuable, as being an earneſt of future favours. For not long after we find him Gentleman of the King's Privy-Chamber, and by that title the King granted to him, by Letters-patents dated in the forty-fifth year of his reign, the farther ſum of twenty marks *per annum* during his life (*d*). In this ſtation he did not long continue, being next year made Shield Bearer (*e*) to the King, a title at that time, though now extinct, of great honour, ſuch perſons being always next the King's perſon, and generally, upon ſignal victories, rewarded with military honours. Neither were theſe all the inſtances he received of the King's attention to, and confidence in, him; for in the very ſame year, and by the ſame title, we find him commiſſioned, in conjunction with other perſons, to treat with the Republick of Genoa (*f*); and, accordingly, thither he went, and actually managed a negociation, concerning the ſubject of which, thoſe who have written our author's life make not the leaſt mention, but ſeem to treat it as a matter, at this diſtance of time, altogether inexplicable. But it may, from the Hiſtory of that Prince's reign, be very probably inferred, that Chaucer was ſent to Genoa to hire ſhips for the King's navy: for in thoſe times, though we frequently made great naval armaments, yet we had but very few ſhips of our own; and this defect was ſupplied, by hiring them from the free States either in Germany or Italy (*g*). In this negotiation our author ſucceeded ſo well, that upon his return home he received new marks of his royal Maſter's favour; for, by Letters-patents dated at Windſor the 23d of April, in the 48th year of his reign, his Majeſty granted him a pitcher of wine daily in the Port of London, to be delivered by the Butler of England (*h*); and very ſoon after he was made Comptroller of the Cuſtoms in the Port of London, for wool, wool-fells, and hides, with a proviſo that he ſhould perſonally execute that office, and keep the accounts of it with his own hand (*i*). As this was a very lucrative, ſo it was a very reputable employment likewiſe; and as Chaucer was enriched by the profits of his poſt, ſo his reputation was very much increaſed by that diligence and integrity with which he diſcharged it. He values himſelf, as he had reaſon to do, very much upon his conduct in this office, which he affirms was never liable to any kind of imputation (*k*). And indeed it is highly probable, that what he has delivered upon this ſubject is ſtrictly true; for in the latter end of King Edward's reign there were great frauds and embezzlements committed in the cuſtoms, which by proſecutions were brought to publick view; but we do not find that in theſe Chaucer's name was ſo much as mentioned (*l*). About a year after he was in poſſeſſion of this office, the King made him a grant of the lands and body of Sir Edmund Staplegate, ſon of Sir Edmund Staplegate, of Kent, in ward, for which he received one hundred and four pounds (*m*); and other pecuniary advantages he had, which enabled him to raiſe altogether an income of one thouſand pounds *per annum*, which was, in thoſe days, a prodigious ſum, and might well enable him to live, as he ſays he did, with dignity in office, and with good-will amongſt his neighbours (*n*). But as all theſe benefits aroſe chiefly from the favour in which he ſtood with the potent and ambitious Duke of Lancaſter, ſo he became daily more and more involved in the political intrigues of that active and ambitious Prince. It is ſuggeſted, by many of our Hiſtorians, that this Duke had caſt a longing eye upon the Crown; and it is attributed to this, that about the time our author was ſent to Genoa, the King declared, in full Parliament, the young Prince Richard, the only ſurviving ſon of Edward the Black Prince, heir apparent to the Crown (*o*). But there ſeems to be a plainer and more natural reaſon for the King's taking this ſtep, in which none more readily concurred than the Duke of Lancaſter, and that was his own and his ſon's going abroad to carry on the war in France, upon which occaſion it was requiſite that the ſucceſſion ſhould be ſettled; and therefore the young Prince Richard was not only declared heir-apparent, but the government of the kingdom was, nominally at leaſt, entruſted with him, during the abſence of his grandfather, his father, and uncles (*p*). But what ſeems to be a ſtronger proof of the Duke of Lancaſter's innocence in this reſpect, was, his marrying, upon the deceaſe of his Ducheſs Blanch,

(*a*) Thom. Walſ. p. 388. n. 30.

(*b*) Henry Knighton, *apud* Decem Scriptor. p. 26. 47.

(*c*) 41 Ed. III. Pat. 41. p. 1. m. 13.

(*d*) 45 Ed. III. p. 3. m. 7.

(*e*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*f*) See an extract of this Commiſſion in Chaucer's Life, prefixed to Urry's edition.

(*g*) Froiſard, cap. 298, 299.

(*h*) Pat. 48 Ed. III. p. 1. m. 20.

(*i*) Pat. 48 Ed. III. p. 1. m. 7.

(*k*) Teſtament of Love, p. 488. b.

(*l*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

(*m*) Records collected by Mr. Rymer in the Houſe of Lords.

(*n*) Teſtament of Love, p. 486. a

(*o*) Froiſard, cap. 305.

(*p*) Pat. 46 Ed. III. p. 2. m. 25.

Blanch; the Lady Conſtantia, daughter of Peter the Cruel, King of Caſtile and Leon, in whoſe right, upon the deceaſe of her father, he aſſumed theſe royal titles (*q*). This muſt be allowed to be a mark of his ambition, and of his inclination to be a King; but at the ſame time it is a proof, that he had another crown in view than that of England; and therefore to this we may well aſcribe that device of his, of an eagle endeavouring with his bill to undo a footlock, which many of our writers, with more malignity than judgment, have conſtrued into a kind of treaſon (*r*). It is however true, that after the deceaſe of his eldeſt brother, Edward the Black Prince, he was aſſociated by his father in the government, and had the principal direction of publick affairs; which, conſidering his age, his experience, and his very near relation to the Crown (*s*), may be looked upon as a thing rather natural than extraordinary. In this happy ſeaſon of his life, when he enjoyed all the bleſſings this world could afford, Chaucer compoſed moſt of thoſe gay and lively pieces, which were ſo much adapted to the humour of thoſe times, and to that romantick ſpirit of love and fighting, which in thoſe days was ſo much in vogue, and by which he acquired ſo great and ſo extenſive a reputation for his wit, and for his capacity in writing (*t*) [*F*]. But it was not long before he found himſelf obliged to turn his thoughts to graver ſubjects; for his patron, the Duke of Lancaſter, having eſpouſed the cauſe of Wickliffe, whom the Clergy conſidered as a heretick, Chaucer inclined the ſame way, and turned the edge of his ſatire againſt lazy Monks, ignorant Prieſts, and the inſolence of ſuch as belonged to Eccleſiaſtical Courts, with extraordinary ſucceſs (*u*). Yet it does not at all appear, that he was an enemy to religion, or even to that of the Church of Rome; but rather the contrary; for he ſpeaks very ſubmiſſively of her doctrines, and beſtows high characters upon ſuch of the Clergy, as acted ſuitably to their calling: ſo that it was the ill men who brought religion into contempt, and proſtituted their own function in the vileſt manner, that felt the ſeverity of Chaucer's Muſe, and not Prieſts in general, or the Chriſtian Faith; for the former he highly revered, and the latter he firmly believed (*w*), as his writings plainly ſhew [*G*]. But how much ſoever Wickliffe's doctrines might prevail, or Chaucer's

(*q*) Barne's Hiſt. of Ed. III. p. 897.

(*r*) Chaucer's Life prefixed to Urry's edit. of his Works.

(*s*) Fox's Martyrology, p. 392.

(*t*) John Lidgate, in his Prologue to his Tranſlation of *Boccace* of the *Fall of Princes*.

(*u*) In his *Plowman's Tale*, and his *Jack Upland*, and other pieces.

(*w*) See his Teſtament of Love, his moral Poems, and other pieces in his Works.

[*F*] *And for his capacity in writing.*] We have already mentioned ſome of the performances of our author while a very young man, and alſo ſome of thoſe pieces that he wrote to compliment the Duke of Lancaſter and his Ducheſs. We will here take an opportunity of giving an account of ſome other pieces of his, that were written within the time of his greateſt proſperity. *The Complaint of* Mary Magdalen, *taken from* Origen (27), was tranſlated either before, or ſoon after his coming to Court; perhaps to oblige ſome pious lady of thoſe times, as he wrote that which is called *Chaucer's* A. B. C. for the uſe of the Ducheſs Blanch. *The Complaint of the* Black Knight, was penned in honour of John of Gaunt's courtſhip of that lady, and is as elegant and harmonious a poem, as any of our author's compoſure; ſo that it is reaſonable to believe, he took extraordinary pains about it; and perhaps it would be no unreaſonable conjecture, if we ſhould ſuppoſe, that it was written upon his firſt admiſſion to the intimacy of that great Prince, who is repreſented under the character of the Black Knight (28). The *Houſe of Fame* is alſo a moſt admirable performance, as well in the conſtruction of the fable, as in the eaſe and happineſs of its execution; of which there cannot be a higher teſtimony, than Mr. Pope's borrowing from thence the model of his *Temple of Fame*; which will probably be eſteemed, as long as there is either Taſte or Poetry in this nation. The *Aſſembly of Fowls* was written while he was at Court, and before the death of King Edward's Queen, Philippa (29); and ſo was his Tale of the *Cuckow and the Nightingale*, in which, as was obſerved in the preceding note, the ſcene is viſibly laid in Woodſtock-Park. He likewiſe wrote abundance of Elegies, Poems, or Ballads, in honour of Margaret Counteſs of Pembroke, and other Ladies of the Court; and as it is natural to ſuppoſe, that he was not the only perſon who wrote things of this kind; ſo by an accident common enough to great men, all of thoſe pieces which have ſurvived the injuries of time, are come down to us under the name of Chaucer, though it might be very eaſily proved that they are none of his. *The Poem of* Troilus *and* Creseide (30), was written in the former part of his life, and tranſlated, as he ſays, from Lollius, an Hiſtoriographer of Urbano in Italy. He did not however content himſelf with making a cloſe tranſlation of his author, but, on the contrary, added many things of his own, and borrowed alſo from others, more eſpecially his friend Petrarch, whatever he judged might render it acceptable to his reader. That diſcourſe of Predeſtination, which he has inſerted in the fourth book is entirely his own; and from it, and from what he has delivered upon the ſame ſubject in the Nun's Prieſt's Tale, the very learned Sir Henry Savile thought, that he was no ſtranger to Archbiſhop Bradwardine's learned book *de Cauſâ Dei*, publiſhed at that time (31). Sir Francis Kinaſton, who tranſlated this poem into Latin rhimes, in his manuſcript notes upon it, ſays, that it was not improbably conjectured, that Chaucer in writing the Lives and Loves of Troilus and Creſeide, glanced at ſome private perſons in the Court of King Edward III. and (32) did not follow Homer, Dares, Dictys, or any Hiſtorian of thoſe times. However (ſays he) Chaucer has taken the liberty of his own inventions; he hath made an admirable and inimitable Epick Poem, deſcribing in Troilus a complete Knight in arms and courtſhip, and a faithful and conſtant lover; and in Creſeide, a moſt beautiful and coy Lady, which being once overcome, yields to the frailty of her ſex (33). We ſhall have occaſion hereafter to ſpeak more largely of this worthy perſon's performance, and of the pains he took to illuſtrate Chaucer, in which he equalled at leaſt, if not exceeded, all who have ſpent their time in doing juſtice to this great Poet.

(27) Chaucer's Works, p. 520.

(28) It appears plainly, from the two laſt ſtanzas, to have been addreſſed to Lady Blanch.

(29) Chaucer's Works, p. 413.

(30) This Poem is digeſted into five books, and is the longeſt in our author's Works.

(31) In præfat. ejuſd. libr. edit. 1617.

(32) See this further explained in note [*U*].

(33) The ſixth book; or Teſtament of Creiſeide, is not Chaucer's, but one Mr. Henderſon's.

[*G*] *As his writings plainly ſhew.*] The true deſign of our author, was not to expoſe or abuſe the Clergy, from a diſlike to their order, but quite the contrary, to amend and reform them; and it was with this view, that he wrote many pieces, and tranſlated others, that they might plainly perceive how much religion ſuffered by the monſtrous irregularities in their behaviour. As for inſtance, the Romaunt *of the* Rose, is a tranſlation from the French. This poem was begun by William de Lorris, and continued by John Meung, commonly called Cloppinel, both famous French Poets in their time. It ſeems to have been tranſlated by Chaucer while he was at Court, and about the time of the riſe of Wickliffe's opinions, it conſiſting of violent invectives againſt the religious orders (34). It is left imperfect at the end, and there are ſome lacuna's in other places of it. It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that the original author of this work, William de Lorris, died in the year 1260, at

(34) Chaucer's Works, p. 215.

cer's writings pleaſe among the better ſort of people, and in the country, they were far enough from making a general impreſſion on the minds of people in London, where the meaner ſort of citizens were ſo warmly attached to the Church, that upon the Duke of Lancaſter's attending Wickliffe, when he was ſummoned before the Biſhop of London, and treating that Prelate a little roughly, they made a kind of inſurrection, and marching down into the Strand in a body, entered into, and rifled the Savoy, which was the Duke of Lancaſter's palace, built by himſelf, and at that time eſteemed one of the fineſt houſes in Europe, deſtroyed his goods, abuſed his ſervants, and turned his arms upſide down, as if he had been a traitor: but by the care of the King, and the interpoſition of ſome of the principal Nobility, this quarrel was compromiſed, and the Duke and the Citizens reconciled, at leaſt, in appearance (*x*). In the laſt year of King Edward, the French having infringed the truce which that Monarch had concluded with them, Commiſſioners were ſent over to expoſtulate that matter before the Pope's Legates; and of theſe, Chaucer was one. This negotiation of theirs was not very ſucceſsful, only it produced ſome mention of a marriage between Richard, Prince of Wales (*y*), and the Lady Mary, daughter to the French King; and thereby made way for a new treaty, in which Sir Guiſcard Dangle, Knight of the Garter, Sir Richard Sturrey, a great Wickliviſt, and in high favour with the King, together with Geoffrey Chaucer, Eſq; were Commiſſioners (*z*); and this ſeems to have been the laſt publick employment that our author bore: though from a gold chain about his neck, in that original picture of his ſtill remaining as is before-mentioned, it has been not without ſome ſhew of reaſon conjectured, that he was honoured with ſome other dignity, than from any records we have been able to trace; for it can hardly be ſuppoſed, that he wore this ornament on account of his office in the Cuſtoms (*a*). June 21, 1377, the young Prince of Wales ſucceeded his grandfather, by the title of Richard II. and his uncle, the Duke of Lancaſter, conſidering the incapacity of the King, who was then but eleven years of age, was intruſted with the chief ſhare of the adminiſtration; and, therefore, to ingratiate himſelf with the populace, he reſolved to ſolemnize the new Monarch's coronation with greater pomp and magnificence, than had been ever ſeen in this kingdom; previouſly to which, a Court of Claims was eſtabliſhed, to ſettle the demands of thoſe who ſhould pretend to have a right to aſſiſt upon this occaſion; and among theſe we find Geoffrey Chaucer (*b*) [*H*]. It appears plainly, that the Duke of Lancaſter,

(*x*) Barnes's Hiſt. of Edward III.

(*y*) Hollinſhed, Barnes, &c.

(*z*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*a*) Miſcellaneous Obſervations on old Engliſh Authors, p. 95.

(*b*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

at the age of twenty-ſix, and advanced no great way therein; but forty years afterwards it was finiſhed and publiſhed by John de Meung, when he was in his twenty-fourth year. He was a man of ſenſe and learning, well verſed in Divinity, Philoſophy, Chemiſtry, Aſtronomy, and other ſciences, but was a violent enemy to bad prieſts and bad women. He is ſuppoſed to have died about the year 1365 (35). This work is ſtill much eſteemed in France, where it has run through many editions; but the beſt, which was publiſhed in Holland, is of a very freſh date (*). Beſides this, Chaucer is affirmed by Leland (36), and other ancient writers, to have been the author of *the Plowman's Tale*, which bears very hard upon the vices of the Clergy, both ſecular and regulars; and the ſatire under the title of *Jack Upland* (37), is alſo attributed to him upon very good authority; notwithſtanding which, there want not many, who under colour of veneration for Chaucer's memory, are deſirous of imputing theſe pieces to others: and yet this would be of little uſe, for in many other works that are undoubtedly his, we find ſentiments of the ſame nature. On the other hand, the venerable John Fox thinks the labour of our author in this reſpect, worthy the higheſt commendation; and even attributes the preſervation of his works, to a particular providence. Let us hear him (38). 'I marvel to conſider this, ſays, he, how that the Biſhops condemning and aboliſhing all manner of Engliſh books and treatiſes, which might bring the people to any light of knowledge, did yet authorize the works of Chaucer, to remain ſtill and to be occupied; who no doubt ſaw in religion, as much almoſt as ever we do now, and uttereth in his works no leſs; and ſeemeth to be a right Wicklevian, or elſe there was never any; and that all his works almoſt, if they be thoroughly adviſed will teſtify; (albeit it be done in mirth and covertly) and eſpecially the latter end of his third book of the Teſtament of Love: for there purely he toucheth the higheſt matter, that is, the Communion; wherein, except a man be altogether blind, he may eſpy him at the full. Although in the ſame book (as in all other he uſeth to do) under ſhadows covertly, as under a vizour, he ſuborneth truth in ſuch ſort, as both privily ſhe may profit the godly-minded, and yet not be eſpied of the crafty adverſary. And therefore the Biſhops belike, taking his words but for jeſts and toys, in condemning other books, yet permitted his books to be read. So it pleaſed God then to blind the eyes of them for the more commodity of his people, to the intent that through the reading of his treatiſes, ſome fruit might redound thereof to his Church, as no doubt it did to many. As alſo I am partly informed of certain which knew the parties, which to them reported, that by reading Chaucer's works they were brought to the true knowledge of religion: and not unlike to be true; for to omit the other parts of his volume, whereof ſome are more fabulous than other, what tale can be more plainly told, than the Tale of the Ploughman? *&c.*'

(35) Hiſtoire de la Philoſophie Hermetique, vol. i. p. 193.

(*) Amſterdam, 1734. 3 vols. 12mo.

(36) De Script. Britan. p. 423.

(37) Chaucer's Works, p. 590.

(38) Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 42.

[*H*] *And amongſt theſe we find Geoffrey Chaucer.*] The claim made upon this occaſion, was in right of his ward, who was poſſeſſed of the manor of Bilſington in Kent (39); which was held of the Crown, by the ſervice of preſenting to the King three maple cups on the day of his coronation. This manor had been purchaſed by Sir Edmond Staplegate the father; of Richard Fitz-Allen, Earl of Arundel, whoſe family had been in long poſſeſſion of it; and it was ſet forth in Chaucer's petition, that the manor was held by Grand Serjeantry, by the owner's diſcharging the office of Chief Butler at the King's coronation (40). But Richard Earl of Arundel controverted this claim, and by his petition and plea ſet forth, that the office of Chief Butler belonged to his family, and was never annexed to this manor, his anceſtors having enjoyed it both before they held that manor, and ſince they parted with it, and therefore he demanded it as his proper right (41). The iſſue of this buſineſs was, that the Earl ſo far carried his point before John Duke of Lancaſter, then acting as Lord High-Steward, as to be allowed to officiate for that time with a *ſalvo jure*, that it ſhould not infringe the right of Edmond Staplegate, or any who ſhould pretend

(39) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

(40) Harris's Hiſt. of Kent, p. 42.

(41) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 318.

Lancaſter, who was now in the zenith of power, let ſlip no opportunity of ſerving ſo firm a friend, and ſo uſeful a dependant, as our author was; for in the very beginning of this reign it appears, that by Letters-patents, dated March 23, 1377, the King confirmed his grandfather's grant of twenty marks a year (*c*); and by other Letters-patents, dated the 18th of April following, he likewiſe confirmed the other grant of a pitcher of wine daily (*d*). But whether Chaucer remained in his office of Comptroller of the Cuſtoms, is not ſo clear, though the contrary ſeems to be moſt probable; for in a ſhort time after his affairs were in ſuch confuſion, that we find, in the ſecond year of King Richard, he was obliged to have recourſe to the King's protection (*e*), in order to ſcreen him from his creditors: but how he came to fall into theſe difficulties, and whether they were temporary only, or of a long continuance, is a point that, at this diſtance, it is not poſſible to aſcertain; but from a compariſon of circumſtances, it ſeems to be moſt likely, that it was from ſome ſudden accident he fell under this misfortune, and that he had recourſe to the King's protection, merely to gain time to ſettle his concerns. One may be the more confirmed in this, by comparing his circumſtances at this juncture, with thoſe of his family, ſoon after (*f*). We have no direct hiſtorical lights indeed, but methinks, though it be a new, it is ſtill a probable conjecture, that about this time, he conveyed all his eſtates to his eldeſt ſon Thomas Chaucer; and the facts that ſeem to ſtrengthen this conjecture, ſhall be ſubmitted to the reader's judgment at the bottom of the page (*g*) [*I*]. In the fourth year of King Richard the IId's reign, he procured a confirmation of the grants that had been formerly made to himſelf, and to Philippa his wife (*h*), which is a proof, that he had a great perſonal intereſt in this Court; ſince at the time of his obtaining this grant, the power and influence of the Duke of Lancaſter were very much ſunk, as from a train of ſiniſter accidents waiting upon his conduct, he was become equally ſuſpected by the King, and diſliked by the people. The great encouragement and ſupport he had afforded to Mr. Wickliffe, was attended with conſequences that he did not in the leaſt expect, and yet found it not in his power to hinder; for, without doubt, the Duke's great view in ſupporting this party, was to weaken the power of the Clergy, and to hinder them from taking ſo large a ſhare as they did in the management of all temporal affairs: but ſome great men of his party miſtaking his view, puſhed things to extremities, and by countenancing itinerant preachers, without either learning or ſound principles, made way for a ſudden turn, which had very nearly ſubverted the conſtitution, and thrown all things into confuſion (*i*). For the common people, thus encouraged to ſhake off the yoke of the Clergy, began to think that of the government alſo too heavy; and taking occaſion, from ſome taxes lately impoſed, roſe up in arms, under the conduct of Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and ſuch kind

(*c*) Pat. 1 R. II. p. 13.

(*d*) Pat. 1 R. II. p. 19.

(*e*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*f*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition of his Works.

(*g*) Clauſ. 19 Ric. II. m. 15.

(*b*) Records remaining in the Houſe of Lords, collected by Mr. Rymer.

(*i*) Lewis's Life of Wickliffe.

pretend title for the future (42). This ward of our author died about thirteen years after, but the manor continued in the family till the beginning of the reign of Hen. VI when it paſſed into that of the Cheyneys, who in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, ſold it to Sir Francis Barham, of London; and his grandſon, Mr. Robert Barham, was in poſſeſſion of it at the coronation of King Charles II. when Mr. Eraſmus Smith, on the behalf of the ſaid Mr. Barham, aſſiſted at the coronation, and preſented the three maple cups (43). This manor has ſince paſſed into other families.

(42) Harris's Hiſt. of Kent, p. 42.

(43) Hiſtorical Account of the Coronation of Charles II.

[*I*] *At the bottom of the page.*] All who have hitherto attempted to give any account of Chaucer's life, have been very much at a loſs about this circumſtance, of his having recourſe to the King's protection; which ſhows, that in the very beginning of this reign, his affairs were in great diſorder; and yet it is very plain, that himſelf and his patron flouriſhed in the full poſſeſſion of power and plenty, as long as King Edward the III. lived (44). A certain writer hints, that Chaucer exhauſted his fortune in his foreign embaſſies (45); but a later writer obſerves with greater probability, that he made his fortune by them; yet, as he very juſtly remarks, this by no means ſolves the doubt, how he ſhould come to be ſo very poor in ſo ſhort a time, after his poſſeſſing ſo great wealth (46); for which amongſt others, we have his own authority (47). Now this riddle I think, may be very probably explained thus. Our author, Chaucer, about this time, found out a very conſiderable match for his eldeſt ſon Thomas Chaucer, and this was Maud, the ſecond daughter of Sir John Burgherſhe, a man of very conſiderable rank, but by no means brother to Sir Bartholomew Burgherſhe, Knight of the Garter, and of Dr. Henry Burgherſhe, Biſhop of Lincoln, Chancellor and Treaſurer of England, as a certain writer very confidently aſſerts (48); but rather, if I gueſs right, the nephew of thoſe great men, and the ſon of Sir John Burgherſhe, who was truly their brother; and this I am led to believe, becauſe it appears upon record, that the cuſtody of this John Burgherſhe, the father of Maud, was granted in his nonage to the daughter of Sir Bartholomew Burgherſhe before-mentioned (49). A great fortune ſhe was without doubt, but not the only daughter or ſole heireſs of her family, as has been repreſented, or at leaſt not ſo at the time ſhe married Thomas Chaucer, though ſhe might be, and indeed was ſo afterwards. Neither are we to believe what we are told, of her being a ward to the crown (50); for her father was then living, and lived many years after, that is, to the nineteenth of Richard II. when he left behind him two daughters; Margaret, the eldeſt, firſt married to Sir John Grenville, Knight, and then to John Arundel, Eſq; and this Maud (51). Now my ſuppoſition is, that Geoffrey Chaucer, for obtaining this great match, ſettled all his land eſtate upon his ſon; and that his doing this might bring upon him thoſe demands, which put him under the neceſſity of obtaining the King's protection. As to the ſeveral facts upon which this conjecture is built, I think they are ſupported by as good authorities as can be deſired: nor can any great difficulty ariſe from the age of this young gentleman, as may appear thus. Chaucer married his wife Philippa Rouet about the year 1360, and if he had this ſon the next year, he might be of full age in the latter end of the fourth year of Richard II. when this marriage took place; and before which, in all probability, the father might make this ſettlement (52). We ſhall have occaſion hereafter to ſay more of this gentleman, who became a much greater man than his father, to whom he was a ſupport in his declining years.

(48) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(49) Pat. 29 E. III. p. 1. m. 5.

(50) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(51) Clauſ. 19 R. II. m. 15.

(52) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

(44) Hollinſhed, Stowe, Barnes, &c.

(45) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(46) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

(47) Prologue to the Teſtament of Love.

of leaders, with a wild intention of freeing themſelves from whatever theſe wife leaders taught them to look upon as oppreſſions (*k*). Their reſentment was chiefly directed againſt the Clergy, as appears by their beheading the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Prior of St. John's by Smithfield, who was Lord Treaſurer; and by their burning that ſtately Priory, and plundering the Abbies of St. Alban's, Bury, and ſeveral others (*l*). As ſoon as this rebellion was ſomewhat abated, the Parliament began to enquire into the cauſe of it; nor were there wanting enemies of Wickliffe, who charged him and his followers with being the encouragers of it. But that is unlikely to be true; for had the rebels been Wickliffe's friends, they would never have burnt the Savoy, the palace of his patron the Duke of Lancaſter. However, ſome of his followers gave too much cauſe for ſuch a ſurmiſe; as Dr. Hereford, who aſſerted, that Archbiſhop Sudbury deſerved that death he found; and the King, the year following, impowered the Biſhops to arreſt Wickliffe, and forbad his ſubjects to encourage any of that perſuaſion. Yet Wickliffe appeared, and ſeemed partly to ſatisfy the Biſhops with his opinion (*m*). It is commonly ſaid, by moſt of our Hiſtorians, that from this time forward the Duke of Lancaſter diſowned the Wicklevites, and charging the late diſturbances upon them, ſtiled their opinions, the Doctrine of Devils. The writers alſo of our author's life give into this opinion, and ſeem to think, that he likewiſe began to temporize, and did not ſpeak his ſentiments ſo freely as formerly; but the truth is otherwiſe; for the Duke of Lancaſter did not condemn Wickliffe's doctrine, but the doctrines of Dr. Hereford, and other followers of Wickliffe, who had now deſerted him, and propagated many dangerous tenets, which he diſclaimed (*n*). As for Chaucer, he was ſo far from abandoning his former notions, that he exerted himſelf to the utmoſt in 1382, in the ſupport of John Comberton, generally ſtiled John of Northampton, Mayor of London, in his endeavours to reform the city, according to the advice given by Wickliffe; which was ſo much reſented by the Clergy (*o*), that rather than they would let this reformation proceed, they had recourſe to the moſt violent methods; and in order to prevent Comberton's being re-choſen Mayor of London, excited ſuch diſturbances as bordered upon a rebellion. The King, making uſe of force upon this occaſion, ſent Sir Robert Knolles to London, who committed great ſeverities, put ſome to death, made the late Mayor Comberton priſoner, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours to apprehend Chaucer (*p*) [*K*]. But our author, having an early foreſight of his danger, made his eſcape into Hainault; and from thence went to France, where finding himſelf not ſo ſafe as he expected, he withdrew into Zealand, and there concealed himſelf for ſome time, with ſeveral other Londoners, who had fled upon the ſame account, and whom he generouſly ſubſiſted out of his own private fortune (*q*). But while he was in this diſtreſs, moſt of thoſe with whom he had been engaged at home, had found ways and means to make their peace; and far from conſidering the calamities to which Chaucer had expoſed himſelf for their ſakes, took no care to ſupply him; and, which was much worſe, endeavoured to hinder the remittances that might have been made him out of his own fortune; and this, in hopes that he might periſh in his baniſhment, and by his death put them out of all fear. Such baſe and barbarous ingratitude, though it extremely afflicted him, yet it did not put our author upon taking any meaſures to be revenged: on the contrary, he came over privately into England, to avoid ſtarving in a

(*k*) Thom. Walſ. p. 210. n. 10.

(*l*) H. Knyghton. ap. Decem Script. 2640. n. 10.

(*m*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*n*) Dugdale's Baronage, tom. ii. p. 117.

(*o*) Annal. Ricard. II. MS.

(*p*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

(*q*) Theſe circumſtances are all collected from our author's *Teſtament of Love*.

[*K*] *His utmoſt endeavours to apprehend Chaucer.*] It is very certain, that in this whole matter our author ſuffered for his attachment to his party: but this is ſo darkly repreſented by ſuch as have written his life, that it is a very difficult thing to diſcover their meaning (53); and yet after all, the fact is no more than this. There were at that time two powerful factions in the city; and as very ſeldom any thing of this kind happens, but religion is drawn into the quarrel, ſo the one was ſuppoſed to be well affected to the Church, and the other inclined to a reformation. Dr. Courtney, formerly Biſhop of London, and now Archbiſhop of Canterbury, was protector of the one, and John Duke of Lancaſter was eſteemed to be the head of the other; and the leading man in his intereſt was this John Comberton, or John of Northampton, Citizen and Draper; on whoſe account all this diſturbance happened, for which ſome lives were loſt; and this unfortunate perſon being carried to Reading, was there tried and convicted, and had judgment given againſt him to be impriſoned for life, and to have his goods ſeized, which we find was accordingly done: and ſo ſtrong the current ran at that time, that he with ſome other citizens of his party, were excepted out of a pardon which the King granted; and all this was then underſtood, to be done in ſpite and contempt of the Duke of Lancaſter, to whom Comberton ſteadily adhered, and called him *his Lord* at his trial (54). But for all this, things came about again not long after, and Mr. Comberton had the honour to have his ſentence reverſed, at the prayer of the Commons of England in Parliament aſſembled (55). We may from all this infer, that how warm and indiſcreet ſoever our author Chaucer might be, in ſupporting that party to which he had attached himſelf, yet beyond all queſtion there was nothing of diſloyalty in this, but quite the contrary: for thoſe who had then the management of the King's affairs, and ran him into all theſe warm and violent meaſures, were the very ſame perſons, who by their evil counſels brought him at laſt into that diſtreſſed condition, which coſt him firſt his crown and then his life. It is therefore no diſcredit to Chaucer that he was a friend to Wickliffe, or that he eſpouſed this party in the city, however ſome of our hiſtorians may have repreſented, or rather miſrepreſented it: for it is a thing well enough known to all who are converſant in the Engliſh hiſtory, that many baſe and black calumnies are thrown upon the Duke of Lancaſter and his party, merely on account of their oppoſing the pride and power of the Prelates (56) of thoſe times; who under colour of maintaining the King's prerogative, really ſacrificed him to their own intereſts, which at the ſame time alſo they very ill underſtood; ſince a reaſonable compliance had both ſaved him, and done themſelves much more good (57).

(53) See both the Lives of Chaucer ſo often quoted.

(54) Compleat Hiſt. of England, vol. i. p. 253.

(55) Cotton's Abridgment of the Records, p. 336.

(56) H. Knyghton. ap. Decem Script. col. 2643.

(57) Cotton's Abridgment of the Records, p. 555.

ſtrange country; but had not been long here before, either through the vigilance of the government's enquiries, or the treachery of ſome whom he truſted, he was diſcovered, ſeized, and ſent to priſon, where he was treated at firſt with great rigour and ſeverity, but in the end promiſed the King's pardon, and his liberty, if he would diſcloſe all he knew, and put it in the power of the government to reſtore the peace of the city; which, at length, he did. It does not appear what the conſequences were, of his confeſſion, with reſpect to others; but with regard to himſelf, they brought upon him an inexpreſſible load of calumnies and ſlanders. All theſe circumſtances, we learn from himſelf, in that moſt excellent treatiſe of his, intituled, the *Teſtament of Love*; which he wrote on purpoſe to vent his ſorrow, and to conſole himſelf under the heavy burthen of his afflictions [*L*]. This load, which was already almoſt too heavy for him, received however ſome very conſiderable additions from the concurrence of other untoward accidents; ſuch as the Duke of Lancaſter's loſing much of his credit at Court, and Chaucer, not a little of his intereſt with the Duke; who finding his reputation very much injured, by the liberties taken with his character, on account of his amours with the Lady Swynford, he came, though very unwillingly, to a full reſolution of parting with her; which he accordingly did: and this, for a time, affected the concerns of our author extremely, who finding himſelf ſtrongly puſhed on one ſide, by ſuch as meant him ill; and little, if at all, ſupported on the other, by ſuch as had been formerly his friends, was ſo much depreſſed thereby in his mind, and diſtreſſed in his fortune, as to reſolve upon diſpoſing of his penſions before-mentioned, which he had obtained in the former, and had been confirmed to him in the preſent reign; and this he actually did, to one John Scalby, as appears by a licence obtained for this purpoſe (*r*), on record. In this unexpected and terrible reverſe of fortune, he very wiſely reſolved to quit that buſy ſcene of life, in which he had met with ſo many troubles, and to ſeek in retirement that happineſs, which, from experience, he knew was not to be met with in Courts. The place he choſe for his retreat was Woodſtock, which had been the ſweet ſcene of ſo much ſatisfaction to him in the days of his proſperity; and there he employed part of his time in reviſing and correcting his writings, totally ſecluded from the world, and taſting only thoſe calm and ſolid pleaſures, which are the reſult of a wiſe man's reflections on the viciſſitudes of human life (*s*). By this means he became well prepared for a new alteration in his condition, and as unexpected a change in his affairs as he had hitherto met with; for the abſence of the great Duke of Lancaſter, which had coſt him ſo dear, gave him the better title to hope his favour and his protection upon his return, which happened towards the end of the year 1389 (*t*). He had made an expedition into Spain, in order to recover the kingdoms of Caſtile and Leon, of which, in right of his wife, he had aſſumed the title; and though his ſucceſs in war was at firſt various, and at laſt diſaſtrous, yet ſo wiſe and prudent a Prince he was, that after diſmiſſing his army, and ſeeming to relinquiſh that great deſign, for the accompliſhment of which he had ſpent ſo much, he had notwithſtanding ſo great addreſs, as to be able to extract, even from his diſappointment, almoſt as much as he could have expected from victory; for though he could not make himſelf a King, yet he made two of his daughters Queens, one of Caſtile, and the other of Portugal, bringing home with him alſo a vaſt treaſure in ready money, having, at the time he landed in England, as one of our Hiſtorians tells us, as many cheſts of gold as loaded forty-ſeven mules (*u*).

(*r*) This Licence bears date May 11, 1389.

(*s*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*t*) H. Knyghton. ap. Decem Script, col. 2677. n. 10.

(*u*) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 118.

[*L*] *Under the heavy burthen of his afflictions.*] There cannot be a better account given of this, which is the moſt important of our author's works in proſe, than by tranſcribing the Rubrick that ſtands before it, and which runs thus (58):

(58) Chaucer's Works, I. 479.

'This book is an imitation of *Boecius de Conſolatione Philoſophiæ*. I. In the firſt part whereof Love, 'by way of legacy, bequeaths to all them that follow her inſtructions, the knowledge of truth from 'error, whereby they may rightly judge of the 'cauſes of croſs fortune, and ſuch adverſities as befal them, whether in their ſuits of Love or otherwiſe, and ſo in the end obtain their wiſhed deſires. 'II. In the ſecond part ſhe teacheth the knowledge 'of one very God our Creator, as alſo the ſtate of 'Grace, and the ſtate of Glory, all which good 'things are figured by a Margarite Pearl. Chaucer 'compiled this book as a comfort to himſelf, after 'great griefs conceived for ſome raſh attempts of the 'Commons, with whom he had joined, and thereby 'was in fear to loſe the favour of his beſt friends, 'and alſo therein to ſet an end to all his writing, 'being commanded by Venus (as appears by Gower 'at the end of the eighth book, intituled *Confeſſio 'Amantis*) ſo to do, as one that was Venus Clerk; 'even as Gower had made his *Confeſſio Amantis*, 'his laſt work and ſhrift of his former offences.' As one of the great excellencies of all our author's compoſitions in verſe or proſe, is, an eaſy, natural, and unaffected manner of writing, allowing for the uſage of the times in which he lived, which in all ages has been held a kind of law even to the beſt and ableſt authors; ſo in this work theſe qualities are very remarkable; for one plainly ſees a great Philoſopher broken by misfortunes, deſerted by companions, and expoſed to the cenſures of an evil world, delivering himſelf in a priſon with freedom and ſpirit, though in a melancholy mood, and in the language of ſorrow; painting in the boldeſt colours his own miſtakes as well as thoſe of others; and pointing out the ſole remedies that are left, when a man is abandoned by fortune and by friends. Such is the nature of this performance, in which we have a clear and perfect repreſentation of his condition, and may enter as fully into all the cauſes of his private griefs, which were alſo thoſe of the publick diſorders of his time, as if we actually ſat by him in the priſon, and heard him utter thoſe complaints, which, with equal force of fancy, and elegance of expreſſion, he has committed to the peruſal of poſterity; and thereby tranſmitted the faireſt evidence of a ſpirit, which, though calamity might tame, yet it could not injure, much leſs deſtroy.

Upon

Upon his return, in ſo good circumſtances, his party began to revive, and the Duke recovered his credit at Court, inſomuch that the King, in full Parliament, created him Duke of Aquitaine, and ſent him over to take poſſeſſion of that noble principality (*w*). His old affection for the Lady Catherine Swynford, ſiſter to Chaucer's wife, revived with his fortune; and under colour of rewarding the care ſhe had taken in the education of his daughters, he made her very large grants in the nature of penſions (*x*) [*M*]. We have no particular account of the benefits that accrued to Chaucer from this turn in the Duke's affairs; but notwithſtanding this we have no reaſon to doubt, that he felt the effects of his patron's proſperity, who had ſuffered ſo deeply by the declenſion of his influence. But it ſeems his diſtaſte to Courts was grown ſo ſtrong, that nothing could tempt him to quit his rural retirement, or to launch again into that ſea of buſineſs where he had been ſo lately ſhipwrecked (*y*). His mind, however, being more at reſt, he undertook and finiſhed a new work, which has eſtabliſhed his reputation, with reſpect to learning, upon as firm a baſis, as his former labours had fixed his fame for wit and genius. This new work plainly appears to have been written in the year 1391, and was intended for the uſe of his younger ſon Lewis, then no more than ten years of age, and yet ſo forward in his learning, as to be deſirous of having his father's inſtructions in acquiring the principles of Aſtronomy. This gave birth to his *Treatiſe on* ASTROLABE (*z*), which not only ſhows the ſkill of its author, but likewiſe inconteſtibly proves, that uſeful ſcience was not at near ſo low an ebb in thoſe times, as it is generally repreſented (*a*). Neither will the caſe be at all altered, if what ſome writers have ſuggeſted ſhould really prove true, and this Diſcourſe of Chaucer's appear to be no more than a tranſlation, or, which ſeems to be ſtill a more probable opinion, a collection from other authors who had written before him upon the ſame ſubject (*b*) [*N*]. About four years after this, while her huſband was in France, Conſtance, Ducheſs of Lancaſter, died (*c*), and was buried with great ſolemnity at Leiceſter; and the Duke coming over into England at the cloſe of the year, and not meeting with quite ſo kind a

(*w*) Rot. Parl. 13 R. II. n. 21.

(*x*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*y*) See his Preface to his Treatiſe on the Aſtrolabe.

(*z*) Chaucer's Works, p. 439.

(*a*) See this farther explained in the note [*N*].

(*b*) Life of Chaucer prefixed to Urry's edition.

(*c*) Tho. Walſ. p. 385. n. 40. Hen. Knyghton. ap. Decem Script. col. 2731. n. 30.

[*M*] *He made her very large grants in the nature of penſions.*] The colour given by the Duke of Lancaſter to theſe grants made in favour of the Lady Swynford, was the care ſhe had taken of his two daughters Philippa and Elizabeth, as appears by the words of the grant of the wardſhip of Bertam de Sandbys's heir, and of an annuity of two hundred marks *per annum*, payable out of his honour of Tickhill, which words are theſe (59): 'For the good and agreeable ſervice 'which our thrice dear and moſt beloved Lady Ca'therine Swynford, the miſtreſs of our moſt beloved 'daughters, hath rendered to our ſaid children; we 'have given and granted, *&c.*' but no doubt the true reaſon was for his ſpecial affection towards her on account of the children he had had by her, to whom he gave the name of Beaufort, in Latin *de bello forte*, from a caſtle ſo called in Anjou, which came into his family by the Lady Blanch of Artois, Queen of Navarre (60). Theſe children were four, *viz.* John Beaufort, afterwards Earl of Somerſet; Henry Beaufort, afterwards Cardinal Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Chancellor of England; Thomas Beaufort, Earl of Dorſet, afterwards Duke of Exeter; and Joan, firſt married to Sir Robert Ferrers of Overſly, and afterwards to Ralph Earl of Weſtmorland (61). We have mentioned this more particularly, becauſe of the near relation between the deſcendants of our author and thoſe of this Lady by the Duke of Lancaſter, of which we find it remembered by a very curious and circumſpect writer (62) in the time of King Charles I. that there had been eight Kings, four Queens, and five Princes of England; ſix Kings, and three Queens of Scotland; two Cardinals, upwards of twenty Dukes, almoſt as many Ducheſſes of England, ſeveral Dukes of Scotland, beſides many potent Princes, and eminent Nobility in foreign parts.

(59) Ex libro nigro in Cam. Duc. Lanc. fol. 96.

(60) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition of his Works.

(61) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 119.

(62) Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 661.

[*N*] *Upon the ſame ſubject.*] The title of this piece, as it ſtands in our author's Works, is, *The Concluſions of the Aſtrolabie* (63), in the introduction to which, addreſſed to his ſon, he remarks, that it was with great pleaſure he obſerved his growing capacity and earneſt paſſion for learning, which very willingly induced him to yield to his requeſt, of teaching him the uſe of this inſtrument. He then proceeds to inform him, that his intention was not to diſcourſe of all, but on the moſt uſeful, and thoſe too the moſt eaſy operations that might be performed by this curious inſtrument, as being the fitteſt for the apprehenſion of a child of ten years old. He adds, that for the very ſame reaſon he wrote them in Engliſh and not in Latin, as conceiving it too much to put ſo young a perſon upon learning things unknown in a tongue of which he had little or no knowledge, and which alſo he held unneceſſary, ſince the ſcience was the ſame in whatever language taught, and the practice too had been the ſame in other nations; for the Greeks wrote their books of Aſtronomy in Greek, the Arabians in Arabick, the Jews in Hebrew, and thoſe to whom the Latin language was familiar in Latin; for aſſuredly, ſays he, thoſe who wrote in Latin had the knowledge of which they wrote, out of other tongues. He would not therefore have him believe, that he knew the leſs for not gaining his knowledge from that learned languade, becauſe, continues he, different tongues lead to the ſame ſcience, as by many different roads men go to the ſame city, as for inſtance to Rome. He adds likewiſe, that he has written it in a very plain ſtile, out of regard to the tenderneſs of his underſtanding, and that he judged it better to uſe more words to make the propoſitions clear, than by ſtudying a correct ſtyle, to render his work more difficult to a child, though more perfect in the eyes of ſcholars; and alſo puts him in mind, that he pretends not to deliver any thing of his own, but only to compile and to tranſlate from the Aſtronomers in ſeveral languages, what, with more accuracy, but leſs perſpicuity, they had delivered concerning this matter; and with this ſword, ſays he, (meaning this explication of his deſign) ſhall I ſlay envy. The work itſelf is unqueſtionably a maſter-piece in it's kind, and agrees in every reſpect to what it appears the author propoſed to make it; for there can be nothing better diſpoſed, more clearly written, or delivered in a way more ſuitable to pleaſe and ſatisfy the appetite of a young ſcholar. In a very fine MS. of this treatiſe, belonging formerly to Dr. Henry Moore, Biſhop of Ely, there is a note which ſignifies, that Lewis Chaucer was at this time under the tuition of his father's friend Nicholas Strode. Leland (64), Bale (65), and Wood (66), call him Ralph Strode of Merton-college in Oxford; one of the deepeſt Philoſophers, and moſt eſteemed Poets of his time, which, conſidering the youth of Lewis Chaucer, ſeems not a little ſtrange. The note referred to at the end of the book beforementioned runs thus: 'Explicit Tractatus de Concluſionibus Aſtrolabii, compilat. per *Galfredum Chauciers*, 'ad filium ſuum *Ludewicum* ſcholarem tunc temporis 'Oxoniæ, ac ſub tutela illius nobiliſſimi Philoſophi 'Magiſtri N. Strode.'

(63) Chaucer's Works, p. 439.

(64) Comment. de Scriptor. Britan. p. 376.

(65) Script. Brit. p. 477, 478.

(66) Hiſt. & Antiquit. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 87.

reception at Court as he expected, went ſuddenly to Lincoln, where his old miſtreſs Lady Catherine Swynford reſided; and, to the great ſurprize of the world, now, when ſhe had not either youth or beauty to recommend her, married her (*d*). This gave great diſcontent to the Ducheſs of Glouceſter, the Counteſs of Derby, the Counteſs of Arundel, and other Ladies deſcended of the Royal Family, becauſe ſhe became by this marriage the ſecond perſon in the realm, and from being no fit companion for any, was now ſuddenly to take place of them all: but ſhe behaved with ſo much diſcretion and humility, that theſe diſputes were quickly compoſed (*e*), and in a ſhort time ſhe gained ſuch an aſcendency over the King, that he carried her, as well as the Duke her huſband, with him, the year after their marriage, into France, at which time he eſpouſed Iſabel, the French King's daughter, then very young, and who was put under the care of the Ducheſs of Lancaſter (*f*). After the ceremony of this marriage, and the return of the Royal Family to England, we find a very ſingular inſtance of the advantage that Chaucer received from this alliance; for now, by Letters-patents, the King granted him an annuity of twenty marks *per annum* (*g*), in lieu of that given him by his grandfather, and which, in the time of his diſtreſs, he had been compelled to diſpoſe of for his ſubſiſtence. Soon after this he granted him his protection by other Letters-patents, dated the fourth of May, in the twenty-firſt year of his reign, for two years, ſignifying, that for that ſpace he had occaſion to employ him in his ſervice (*h*). Neither was this the laſt or greateſt inſtance afforded him of royal favour; ſince we find that by Letters-patents, dated the thirteenth of October, in the following year, he had a pipe of wine annually granted him out of the cuſtoms of the Port of London (*i*), which was to be delivered him by the Chief Butler, and to this office his ſon Thomas Chaucer was now raiſed (*k*). But if theſe benefits cheared and comforted his decayed ſpirits in the decline of life, he had, however, the mortification to loſe, about the ſame time, his noble patron, his conſtant friend, and kind brother, the Duke of Lancaſter, by whom he was firſt brought to Court, and through whoſe favour he never wanted either countenance or ſupport, when it was in his power to beſtow (*l*). This loſs very probably afflicted him deeply, as we may gather from his retiring about this time to Dunnington-Caſtle, where he ſpent moſt of his days during the laſt two years of his life, indulging his grave thoughts in the ſolitude of that ſweet retreat (*m*) [*O*]. In this ſituation he was, when that great revolution happened, which placed Henry of Lancaſter, the ſon of his brother-in-law, upon the throne, in which, as Chaucer had no hand, (though certainly it could not diſpleaſe him) ſo we do not find that he was at all eager in paying his compliments to the new King, much leſs that he triumphed in the misfortunes of his late kind maſter, and gracious benefactor, as others, and particularly Gower, who had been more obliged to that unfortunate Prince, and who at that time was both old and blind, moſt ſhamefully did (*n*). He did not, however, ſlight the advantages offered him by this revolution; but having accidentally loſt the two laſt grants of an annuity, and of the pipe of wine by King Richard, he obtained a confirmation of them in the firſt year of Henry IV. by an exemplification of his former Letters-patents (*o*). Neither was this the only favour he received from the new King, who, out of regard to the ancient friendſhip and near alliance between the Prince his father and our author, granted him, during the firſt year of his reign, an annuity of forty marks *per annum* for the term of his life (*p*). It is true, indeed, that a very great writer, a ſincere ad-

(*d*) Tho. Walſ. p. 388. n. 10.

(*e*) Stowe's Annals, p. 312.

(*f*) Knyghton, Walſingh. *ubi ſup.*

(*g*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*h*) Pat. 21 R. II. p. 3. m. 26.

(*i*) Pat. 22 R. II. p. 1. m. 5.

(*k*) Speght's Life of Chaucer.

(*l*) T. Walſingh. p. 393. n. 30.

(*m*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

(*n*) See his Prologue to his *Confeſſio Amantis*.

(*o*) Pat. 1 H. IV. p. 1. m. 18.

(*p*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to his Works by Urry.

[*O*] *Of that ſweet retreat.*] It is not very clear at what time our author quitted his beloved houſe at Woodſtock, in order to go to Dunnington-caſtle, where he ſpent the laſt two years of his life; but as this was his final retreat, and became very remarkable for being ſo, an account of it cannot be unacceptable to the reader. It was in Mr. Camden's time (67), (when in it's glory) 'a ſmall but neat caſtle, ſituate upon the 'brow of a riſing hill, having an agreeable proſpect, 'very light, with windows on all ſides, ſaid to be 'built by Sir Richard Adderbury, Knt. who likewiſe 'founded an hoſpital beneath it called God's Houſe: 'it was afterwards the ſeat of Chaucer, then of the 'De la Poles, and in our father's memory the dwelling of Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk.' At the beginning of the civil wars in the reign of King Charles I. it was a garriſon for the King under the valiant Sir John Boys, which commanded the weſtern road and town of Newbury, and was therefore of great advantage to the Royal Party as a ſafe retreat; and the cannon playing from it much annoyed the Parliament forces. This place his Majeſty honoured by lying one night in it; but after a rough aſſault, and as bold a reſiſtance, during which ſeveral of the towers were battered down, it was ſurrendered upon honourable conditions. This was the antient ſtate, and the occaſion of the late ruin of that pleaſant ſtructure. At preſent there is nothing to be ſeen of it but what raiſes horror and concern, a battered gateway with two towers, and ſome ſmall part of the ſhattered walls, being all that remains thereof. The ground about it, and the ruins of it, are choaked with brambles and over-run with ivy; but leſt the place of it's ſituation ſhould in a few years more be forgotten (68), I ſhall as plainly as I can deſcribe it. It lies half a mile to the right of Spinham-land, (the antient Spina of Antoninus) and a mile beyond Newbury on the ſame ſide: as you go from London you paſs over the river Kennet to the village of Dunnington, from which there is a pretty ſteep but pleaſant aſcent through a lane to a hill under the caſtle, where ſtands a ſeat formerly belonging to the Counteſs of Sandwich. From hence ariſes the Caſtle-hill, very ſteep, and not unlike that whereon the Obſervatory ſtands at Greenwich, and from this hill there is a very fine proſpect of ſeveral counties. On the back of the caſtle are level grounds, woodlands, and encloſures. The Caſtle itſelf ſtands in a pleaſant park, in which there was a famous oak called Chaucer's Oak, under which, as tradition taught, he wrote ſeveral Poems. Mr. Evelyn (69) gives a particular account of this tree, and ſays there were three of them planted by Chaucer, the King's Oak, the Queen's Oak, and Chaucer's Oak.

(67) Camd. Britan.

(68) Theſe are the words of the author of the Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition of his Works.

(69) In his Sylva.

mirer of our author, and moſt deſervedly a Poet-Laureat himſelf, informs us, that Chaucer enjoyed this honour under three Kings, Edward III. Richard II. and Henry IV. (q) : but this is a miſtake; for in truth there was no ſuch office in thoſe days, or, if we may truſt to the authority of the learned Selden, before the reign of Edward IV. (r). If we take this in a more extenſive ſenſe, for an eminent Poet who celebrated theſe Princes, it may be juſtly applied to Chaucer in regard to the two firſt; but we find nothing in his works relating to the laſt, nor indeed is his name ſo much as mentioned in any of our author's writings. The ſmall time he lived after the acceſſion of this King, was chiefly employed in regulating his private affairs, which had ſuffered by the publick diſorders; for all the publick acts of the depoſed King Richard, in the twenty-firſt year of his reign being declared void, Chaucer was forced to quit his retirement, to come up to town to ſolicit his cauſes, and beginning now to bend under the weight of years (s), this unlucky acceſſion of buſineſs, which obliged him to alter his uſual way of living, might very poſſibly haſten his end, the near approach of which he bore with Roman conſtancy, or rather with Chriſtian patience; for there is ſtill extant a kind of Ode that he is ſaid to have compoſed in his laſt agonies, which very plainly proves that his ſenſes were perfectly ſound, and the faculties of his mind not in the leaſt impaired (t) [P]. He died October 25, 1400, in the full poſſeſſion of that high reputation (u) which his writings had deſervedly acquired, and was buried in Weſtminſter-Abbey, in the great ſouth croſs-iſle. Some writers have affirmed, that he was firſt buried in the cloiſter, and lay there till ſome years after; but this is a miſtake; for Caxton, in his edition of Chaucer, (which was long before the time of his removal) as they place it, ſays, that he was buried in the Abbey-church of Weſtminſter, before the chapel of St. Bennet. And it is very probable he lay beneath a large ſtone of grey marble in the pavement, where the monument of Mr. Dryden now ſtands, which is in the front of that chapel, upon the erecting of which this ſtone was taken up, and ſawed in pieces to make good the pavement: at leaſt this ſeems beſt to anſwer the deſcription of the place given by Caxton (w). As to the alterations that have happened ſince, and the inſcription now viſible on his tomb, an account will be given in the notes [Q]. We may

(q) Mr. Dryden, in his Preface to his Fables.

(r) Selden's Titles of Honour, P. ii. ch. i. § 43.

(s) Leland, de Script. Brit.

(t) See this Poem in the note [P].

(u) Leland, de Script. Brit.

(w) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition of his Works.

[P] *And the faculties of his mind not in the leaſt impaired.*] This *Sonnet* or *Ode* conſiſts of no more than three ſtanzas, and as well for the beauty of the piece, as for the extraordinary occaſion on which it was written, I think it very well deſerves a place here (70).

(70) In a MS. in the Cotton. Library OTHO. A. XVIII. this title is inſerted; *A Balade made by* Giſtrey Chaucyer, *upon his Dethe Bedde lying in his grete Anguyſſe.*

Gode counſaile of Chaucer.

I.

Flie fro the preſe and dwell with ſothfaſtneſſe,
Suffice unto thy gode though it be ſmall,
For horde hath hate, and climbyng tikilneſſe,
Prece hath envy, and wele it brent ore all,
Savour no more then The behovin ſhall,
Rede well thy ſelf, that othir folke canſt rede,
And trouthe The ſhall delivir it is no drede.

II.

Paine The not eche crokid to redreſſe,
In truſt of her that tournith as a balle,
Grete reſt ſtandith in litil buſineſſe,
Beware alſo to ſpurre again a nalle,
Strive not as doith a crocke with a walle,
Demith thy ſelf that demiſt othir's dede,
And trouthe The ſhall deliver it is no drede.

III.

That The is ſent receve in buxomeneſſe;
The wraſtlyng of this worlde aſkith a falle,
Here is no home, here is but wildirneſſe,
Forthe pilgrim forthe o beſt out of thy ſtalle,
Loke upon high, and thanke thy God of all;
Weivith thy luſte and let thy ghoſt The lede,
And trouthe The ſhall delivir, it is no drede.

Attempted in modern Engliſh.

The Poet's laſt advice.

I.

Fly from the crowd, and be to virtue true,
Content with what thou haſt tho' it be ſmall,
To hoard brings hate; nor lofty thoughts purſue,
He who climbs high endangers many a fall.
Envy's a ſhade that ever waits on fame,
And oft the ſun that raiſes it will hide;
Trace not in life a vaſt expanſive ſcheme,
But be thy wiſhes to thy ſtate ally'd.
Be mild to others, to thyſelf ſevere;
So truth ſhall ſhield thee or from hurt or fear.

II.

Think not of bending all things to thy will,
Nor vainly hope that fortune ſhall befriend;
Inconſtant ſhe, but be thou conſtant ſtill,
Whate'er betide unto an honeſt end.
Yet needleſs dangers never madly brave,
Kick not thy naked foot againſt a nail;
Or from experience the ſolution crave,
If wall and pitcher ſtrive which ſhall prevail?
Be in thy cauſe as in thy neighbour's clear,
So truth ſhall ſhield thee or from hurt or fear.

III.

Whatever happens, happy in thy mind
Be thou, nor at thy lot in life repine,
He 'ſcapes all ill, whoſe boſom is reſign'd,
Nor way nor weather will be always fine.
Beſide, thy home's not here, a journey this,
A pilgrim thou, then hie thee on thy way;
Look up to GOD, intent on heavenly bliſs,
Take what the road affords and praiſes pay;
Shun brutal luſts, and ſeek thy ſoul's high ſphere;
So truth ſhall ſhield thee or from hurt or fear.

[Q] *In the notes.*] We are told by Speght and other authors, that the following lines ſtood anciently upon Chaucer's tomb-ſtone,

Galfridus Chaucer, vates & fama Poeſis
Maternæ, hâc ſacrâ ſum tumulatus humo.

This antiently muſt refer only to the time of Caxton, who procured a long epitaph to be written in honour of our author by Stephanus Surigonius, Poet-Laureat of Milan, which was hung upon a pillar over-againſt Chaucer's grave ſtone, towards the end of which epitaph theſe two lines occur (71). But about the year 1555, as a very exact author reports; or in 1556, as Wood will have it, Mr. Nicholas Brigham, a Gentleman of Oxford, who exerciſed his Muſe much in Poetry, and took great delight in Chaucer's works, and honoured his memory, at his own charge, erected a handſome monument for him not far from the ſaid chapel; for in the ſame place, he could not then conveniently erect it, by reaſon of the cancelli which the late Duke of Buckingham obtained leave to remove to make room for Mr. Dryden's tomb. Upon that monument, Mr. Brigham cauſed Chaucer's picture to be painted from

(71) Stowe's Survey, by Strype, B. vi. p. 31.

that

may juſtly affirm of this great man, that in whatever light he is conſidered, he ſeems always to merit our eſteem, as well as to claim our admiration. In his publick character, if we conſider the time in which he lived, we muſt acknowledge that he ſhewed as great ſteadineſs, and adhered as firmly to his principles as could be expected; and as to his gratitude towards, and affection for, his patron, the great Duke of Lancaſter, they ſtand in no need of apology. His conduct, in the laſt part of his life, was full of prudence, and of that calm contempt for an ungrateful world, which, though it is eaſy for a man of parts to conceive, yet to perſiſt in it is a very difficult taſk. In private life he was a fine gentleman, a learned writer, and an agreeable companion. In his youth he was gay, and loved pleaſure, for which he might not only plead the uſual excuſes of his age and conſtitution, but the cuſtom alſo of the times, ſince he lived in the moſt gallant reign from the Conqueſt. But in his maturer ſtate of life his manners altered, and his behaviour was modeſt and grave to a degree of exceſs, for which he was rallied by his patroneſs the Counteſs of Pembroke, who told him his abſence created more mirth than his converſation; for he was very baſhful and reſerved in company, notwithſtanding that life and ſpirit which appear in his writings. If we look upon him as an author, he may be truly ſtiled the Father of Engliſh Poetry, and perhaps the Prince of it; for excepting the unavoidable defects of language, his works have ſtill all the beauties that can be wiſhed for or expected, in every kind of compoſition (*x*). He was not unacquainted with the antient rules of Poetry, nor was he incapable of writing up to them, as very clearly appears by the *Knight's Tale*, which, as Mr. Dryden very juſtly ſays, is a finiſhed Epick Poem; but he did not always judge this exactneſs neceſſary, and perhaps he thought his genius ſet him above thoſe reſtraints that ought to limit, becauſe they improve, the works of meaner Poets. He was deeply verſed in Moral and in Natural Philoſophy; and as perhaps no man underſtood human nature better, ſo it may be truly ſaid that no writer in any language has either painted it with greater force, exactneſs, or judgment. His reading was deep and extenſive, and his learning both ſpecious and ſolid; for he knew how to expoſe thoſe parts of it to view, that are moſt apt to attract publick applauſe, and yet leave a ſenſe concealed, that might at once employ and ſatisfy the moſt inquiſitive underſtandings (*y*). It would draw this article into too great a length, ſhould we perſiſt in exhibiting every part of his accompliſhed character; and therefore we will in the notes give the beſt account we may of his merit in general as a Poet, in all the different kinds of writing by which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in that capacity [*R*]; and next we will give the reader the cleareſt account

(*x*) Camd. Britan. in Dobunis.

(*y*) Beaumont's Letter to Speght.

that which was in Occleve's book, together with the following inſcription, which ſtill remains.

M. S.
Qui fuit Anglorum vates ter maximus olim,
Galfridus Chaucer conditur hoc tumulo:
Annum ſi quæras Domini, ſi tempora vitæ,
Ecce notæ ſubſunt quæ tibi cuncta notunt.
25 Octobris 1400.

Ærumnarum requies mors.

N. Brigham hos fecit Muſarum nomine ſumptus.
1556.

In Engliſh thus:

Of Engliſh bards who ſang the ſweeteſt ſtrains,
Old Geoffrey Chaucer now this tomb contains:
For his death's date if reader thou ſhould'ſt call,
Look but beneath and it will tell thee all.
25th of October 1400.

Of cruel cares, the certain cure, is death.

N. Brigham placed theſe, in the name of the Muſes, at his own expence. 1556.

About the ledge of the tomb, we are told, the following verſes were written, that are now worn out; but it is more probable, that they were inſcribed upon a ledge of braſs, that is taken away, for there is not the leaſt ſign of any letters upon the ſtone itſelf.

Si rogites quis eram, forſan te fama docebit;
Quod ſi fama negat, mundi quia gloria tranſit,
Hac monumenta lege.

If who I was you aſk, fame ſhall declare;
If fame denies, ſince frail all glories are,
Theſe ſtones ſhall ſpeak inſcrib'd with pious care.

It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that this date of his death is preſerved by ſeveral writers; who alſo inform us, that he was then ſeventy-two. Some indeed have queſtioned it, becauſe of a piece, intituled, *Cupid's Letter*, printed with Chaucer's works (72), and dated in 1402; but that was written by Thomas Occleve his Scholar, and was intended to do honour to his works and memory. The Rev. Mr. Collier fixes his death in 1440 (73), which was the nineteenth of Henry VI. and if ſo, Chaucer was but ten years old at the death of King Edward III. which contradicts all the records, and is in every reſpect a moſt glaring abſurdity; whereas, the other date agrees with them exactly, and therefore, there can be no doubt of it's truth.

(72) Chaucer's Works, p. 534.

(73) Hiſtorical Dictionary, vol. i.

[*R*] *By which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in that capacity.*] We may ſafely affirm that of Chaucer, which can be hardly ſaid of any other general Poet, ancient or modern, that he excelled in all the different kinds of verſe, in which he wrote. In his Sonnets, or Love Songs, when he was but a very boy, there is not only fire and judgment, but great elegance of thought and neatneſs of compoſure. It is very true, that he did not always ſtand upon his own ground, but choſe rather to tranſlate from the Italian or French; yet he choſe his authors judiciouſly, and uſed them freely; ſo that this, inſtead of ſinking, ſerves really to heighten his character. That in the elegiack Poetry, he was a compleat maſter, appears plainly by his *Complaint of the Black Knight*, the Poem called, *La belle Dame ſans Mercy*, and ſeveral of his ſongs. He was an excellent maſter of Love Poetry, having ſtudied that paſſion in all it's turns and appearances; and Mr. *Dryden* prefers him upon that account to *Ovid*. His *Troilus* and *Creſeide* is one of the moſt beautiful Poems of that kind, in which love is curiouſly and naturally deſcribed in it's early appearance, it's hopes and fears, it's application, fruition, and deſpair in diſappointment. How great a maſter he was in ſatire, we ſhall have occaſion to ſhow in the next note; but his great proficiency in this, did not at all hinder his diſcharging himſelf moſt happily,

account we may of his largeſt work, peculiar in its kind; and as it was almoſt without example, ſo hitherto above the reach of imitation, I mean his CANTERBURY TALES (z) [S].

(a) Mr. Dryden in the Preface to his Fables.

happily, in a far more difficult way of writing, that of panegyrick. The praiſes of Chaucer are eaſy, natural, and delicate, ſuch as muſt give equal pleaſure to the perſon commended and to the peruſer, and have always the true air of a courtier, without the meanneſs of a flatterer. His moral Poems are grave and weighty, full of good ſenſe and of fine ſentiments. In a word, he deſerves all that is ſaid of him by Mr. Dryden, who was ſcarcely a better Poet than a Critick; let us hear him then a little upon this ſubject. 'As he is the Father of Engliſh Poetry, ſo I hold him 'in the ſame degree of veneration as the Grecians 'held Homer, or the Romans Virgil: he is a perpe-'tual fountain of good ſenſe, learned in all Sciences, 'and therefore ſpeaks properly on all ſubjects: as he 'knew what to ſay, ſo he knows alſo when to leave 'off, a continence which is practiſed by few writers, 'and ſcarcely by any of the Ancients, excepting 'Virgil and Horace.——Chaucer followed nature 'every where, but was never ſo bold as to go beyond 'her: and there is a great difference of being *Poëta* '*& nimis Poëta*, if we may believe Catullus, as much 'as betwixt a modeſt behaviour and affectation. The 'verſe of Chaucer, I confeſs, is not harmonious to 'us, but it is like the eloquence of one whom Tacitus 'commends, it was *auribus iſtius temporis accommodata:* 'they who lived with him, and ſome time after him, 'thought it muſical, and it continues ſo even in our 'judgment, if compared with the numbers of Lidgate 'and Gower, his contemporaries: there is the rude 'ſweetneſs of a Scotch tune in it, which is natural 'and pleaſing, though not perfect. It is true, I can-'not go ſo far as he who publiſhed the laſt edition of 'him, for he would make us believe, the fault is in 'our ears, and that there are really ten ſyllables in a 'verſe, where we find but nine: but this opinion is 'not worth confuting: it is ſo groſs and obvious an 'error, that common ſenſe (which is a rule in every 'thing but matters of faith and revelation) muſt con-'vince the reader, that equality of numbers in every 'verſe, which we call heroick, was either not known 'or not always practiſed in Chaucer's age: it were an 'eaſy matter to produce ſome thouſands of his verſes, 'which are lame for want of half a foot, and ſome 'times a whole one, and which no pronounciation 'can make otherwiſe. We can only ſay, that he 'lived in the infancy of our Poetry, and that nothing 'is brought to perfection at the firſt. We muſt be 'children before we grow men. There was an Ennius; 'and in proceſs of time, a Lucilius; and a Lucretius 'before Virgil and Horace; even after Chaucer, there 'was a Spenſer, a Harrington, a Fairfax, before 'Waller and Denham were in being: and our num-'bers were in their nonage, till theſe laſt appeared.'

[S] *I mean his Canterbury Tales.*] The ſcheme of this work is in every reſpect very extraordinary, and of ſo vaſt an extent, that at firſt ſight, one would be apt to pronounce it abſolutely impracticable, from a perſuaſion that it muſt ſurpaſs the powers of any ſingle mind to paint the different lineaments, and call out to view the various faculties of every mind. The truth, as well as meaning of this ſentiment, will beſt appear from a ſhort repreſentation of the author's deſign, which is this: Chaucer pretends, that intending to pay his devotions to the ſhrine of Thomas à Becket, he ſet up his horſe at the Tarbard-Inn in Southwark: That he found in the Inn, a number of Pilgrims, who ſeverally propoſed the ſame journey; and that they all agreed to ſup together, and to ſet out the next morning on the ſame party. The ſupper being finiſhed, the landlord, a fellow of ſenſe and drollery, conformably to his character and calling, makes them no diſagreeable propoſal: That to divert them on their journey, each of them ſhould be obliged to tell two ſtories, one going, the other coming back, and that whoever in the judgment of the company ſhould ſucceed beſt in this art of tale telling, by way of recompence, at their return to his inn, ſhould be intituled to a good ſupper at the common coſt; which propoſal being aſſented to, he promiſes to be their Governor and Guide. At the entrance of the Poem, the characters of all the Pilgrims are diſtinctly drawn, and a plan of the Comedy, in which they ſtand for the *Dramatis Perſonæ*. Beſides this, every Tale has it's Prologue, and a kind of Epilogue too, which ſerves by way of tranſition to the next: and to the honour of our author be it ſpoken, ſo far as his plan is executed, every part of it is performed with equal juſtice and ſpirit; and above all, the character of the Hoſt, who acts as a kind of Chorus in the ancient Drama, is moſt admirably kept up, and the ſame wit, ſpirit, and humour is preſerved through the whole journey, that ſtrikes and aſtoniſhes the reader ſo much at the very beginning, where the original character of this incomparable perſon is drawn at full length. A ſtronger argument in ſupport of this character of the Canterbury Tales, cannot well be brought, than ariſes from the authority of three great Poets, who have judged them worthy of imitation and revival; I mean Spenſer, Dryden, and Pope, to whom we may add, Mr. Betterton, who tranſlated many of the characters of Chaucer, and muſt have been allowed to have been as fit a judge of them, as any of the foregoing. But the reader will receive the fulleſt ſatisfaction on this head, from the critical remarks of Mr. Dryden, who, as he perfectly underſtood, ſo he has very freely given us his ſentiments on this maſter-piece of our author's. 'He muſt, *ſays he*, have been a man of a moſt wonderful comprehenſive nature, becauſe, as it has been 'truly obſerved of him, he has taken into the compaſs of his Canterbury Tales, the various manners 'and humours, as we now call them, of the whole 'Engliſh nation in his age. Not a ſingle character 'has eſcaped him. All his Pilgrims are ſeverally 'diſtinguiſhed from each other, and not only in their 'inclinations, but in their very phyſiognomies and 'perſons. Baptiſta Porta could not have deſcribed 'their natures better, than by the marks which the 'Poet gives them. The matter and manner of their 'tales and of their telling, are ſo ſuited to their dif-'ferent educations, humours, and callings, that each 'of them would be improper in any other mouth. 'Even the grave and ſerious characters are diſtin-'guiſhed by their ſeveral ſorts of gravity; their diſ-'courſes are ſuch as belong to their age, their calling, 'and their breeding; ſuch as are becoming of them, 'and of them only. Some of his perſons are vicious, 'and ſome virtuous; ſome are unlearned (or as 'Chaucer calls them) lewd, and ſome are learned. 'Even the ribaldry of the low characters is different: 'the Reeve, the Miller, and the Cook, are ſeveral 'men, and diſtinguiſhed from each other, as much as 'the mincing Lady Prioreſs and the broad ſpeaking 'gaptooth'd wife of Bath. But enough of this: 'there is ſuch a variety of game ſpringing up before 'me, that I am diſtracted in my choice, and know 'not which to follow. It is ſufficient to ſay, accord-'ing to the proverb, that here is God's plenty. We 'have our forefathers and great grand-dames all 'before us, as they were in Chaucer's days: their 'general characters are ſtill remaining in mankind, 'and even in England, though they are called by 'other names than thoſe of Monks and Friars, of 'Chanons, and Lady Abbeſſes, and Nuns: for 'mankind is ever the ſame, and nothing loſt out of 'nature, though every thing is altered.'—Boccace 'lived in the ſame age with Chaucer, had the ſame 'genius, and followed the ſame ſtudies: both wrote 'Novels, and each of them cultivated his mother 'tongue.'——In the ſerious part of Poetry, the ad-'vantage is wholly on Chaucer's ſide; for though 'the Engliſhman has borrowed many tales from the 'Italian, yet it appears, that thoſe of Boccace were 'not generally of his own making, but taken from 'authors of former ages, and by him only modelled; 'ſo that what was of invention in either of them, may 'be judged equal. But Chaucer has refined on 'Boccace, and has mended the ſtories, which he 'has borrowed, in his way of telling, though proſe 'allows more liberty of thought, and the expreſſion 'is more eaſy, when unconfined by numbers. Our 'countryman carries weight, and yet wins the race 'at diſadvantage.'

We have already, in the courſe of his memoirs, ſpoken of moſt of his patrons, who were the greateſt, as well as ableſt, men, of thoſe times. The circle of his friends was alſo very large, and his communicative diſpoſition made him as much beloved by his contemporaries, as he was admired both by them and by poſterity. He appears to have been uſeful to them in every manner that was in his power; and it was this diſpoſition, in all probability, that kept them ſo firm to his intereſt while he was living, and taught them to have ſo high a reſpect for his memory after his deceaſe. It is no difficult thing to compile a liſt of them from his writings, in which he has mentioned them with all the marks of kindneſs and eſteem poſſible; a circumſtance favourable to himſelf and to them, for in this Poets have the advantage even of Princes: the latter, how great ſoever, can confer only temporary benefits, but the former can beſtow immortality; and therefore Princes themſelves have courted, not perhaps without political reaſons, the good-will of theſe favourites of the Muſes. But we are apt to ſuſpect their praiſes when applied to their patrons of high rank, more than their commendations of private friends. The former is commonly dictated by the head, whereas the latter flows from the heart; and this conſideration alone makes it reaſonable, that we ſhould inſiſt more particularly on thoſe whom our author has thus conſigned to fame. But in order to ſpare the reader's time, we ſhall mention only a very few of Chaucer's intimate friends and contemporaries, at the bottom of the page [*T*]. That general applauſe with which his writings were received in his life-time, and the high honours that were paid him by ſuch as took a pride in ſtiling themſelves his diſciples, after his death, ſtamped ſuch a mark of authority upon his works (*a*), as ſaved at leaſt the greateſt part of them from that oblivion, which has covered the performances even of the moſt celebrated authors of his time. In ſpite of that ſpirit of envy which his free and ſevere ſatires excited in the Clergy, in ſpite of his own retractation (whether genuine or fictitious (*b*) is uncertain), in ſpite of that authority which the Church afterwards acquired, not of cenſuring only, but of condemning and prohibiting what books they pleaſed, his writings have eſcaped, and not barely eſcaped, but have been held in the greateſt honour, and tranſmitted to poſterity with ſuch care and circumſpection, and by the united labours of ſo many eminent perſons (*c*), as will do laſting honour to his memory, and plainly prove, that true genius, extenſive learning, and a free ſpirit, are capable of commanding reverence through all ages, and preſerving that tranſcendent eſteem, which is, and ought to be, the peculiar reward of ſuperior merit [*U*]. We are not, however, to ſuppoſe, that with all theſe great qualifications,

(a) Such as Occleve, Lydgate, &c.

(b) See Mr. Hearne's Letter to Mr. John Bagford.

(c) As Caxton, Thynne, Stowe, &c.

[*T*] *At the bottom of the page.*] Amongſt the earlieſt of Chaucer's friends, and alſo directors of his ſtudies, were Nicholas of Lynne and John Some (74), both Carmelite Monks, and extreamly well verſed in Mathematical ſciences; the former more eſpecially, who left behind him ſeveral learned books, and is commended by Leland as having excelled in Aſtronomy all that went before him (75). We have before mentioned Ralph Strode, who was both a celebrated Poet and Philoſopher of Merton-college in Oxford, where it ſeems our author was intimately acquainted with him, and had a great veneration for his abilities (76). It is a ſtrange error which the author of the Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Mr. Urry's edition, has fallen into, with regard to Strode, who, he ſays, was a great follower of Wickliffe (77), which is ſo far from being true, that he was one of the warmeſt writers againſt him, for which he is heavily cenſured by Bale (78), and as highly commended by Pits (79). It is very probable that Wickliffe and Chaucer were very good friends, as they both owed the eminence of their reſpective ſtations to the ſame Patron, John Duke of Lancaſter (80). Sir John Gower, an eminent Lawyer, Poet, and Philoſopher, was alſo Chaucer's intimate companion, as appears from both their writings: the former was blind before the latter died, and ſurvived him only two years (81). But Thomas Occleve, or Hockliffe, a very ingenious man, and a celebrated writer, was a great favourite of our author's, and imitated him in his manner of writing. We are indebted to him for preſerving Chaucer's picture, which he cauſed to be drawn in his book, *de Regimine Principis*, and which he dedicated to King Henry V. and it is very evident from the verſes which refer to that picture, that Chaucer had been a long time dead before he compoſed that work (82). Another ſcholar of his was the famous John Lydgate, a Monk of Bury, who celebrates our author's memory and writings in many of his pieces (83), and who outlived him forty years. Schogan alſo, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ſarcaſtical wit, was a profeſſed admirer and imitator of Chaucer, but, as Leland obſerves, if Chaucer, who ſometimes ſtiles Gower his Maſter, excelled him in the ſpirit and elegance of his verſes, Schogan, who acknowledged Chaucer for his Maſter (84), was ſo far from doing the like that he fell much below him. Yet ſuch in all ages has been the proneneſs of mankind to encourage even the coarſeſt ſort of ſatire, that Schogan wanted not his admirers, how little ſoever he reſembled Chaucer. It is believed that he was perſonally acquainted with the celebrated Petrarch (85); but that he was perfectly maſter of his writings, and thoſe of Boccace, is inconteſtible.

[*U*] *And ought to be the peculiar reward of ſuperior merit.*] It muſt be allowed by all who are proper judges, that the excellence attributed to Chaucer's writings by ſuch Poets as came neareſt his own times, did not ariſe in any degree either from cuſtom or complaiſance, but, on the contrary, was equally well founded in reaſon and on matter of fact; ſo that if we examine the ſentiments we ſhall find them more noble, ſhall diſcover a greater compaſs in his learning, and, above all, an harmonious ſweetneſs in his verſe, far beyond any thing that is to be met with in any poetical compoſitions for a whole century after his time. This is very candidly acknowledged by a ſtranger, who had as good a right as any to diſpute it, I mean that excellent old Poet of Scotland (86) Gawin Douglas, Biſhop of Dunkeld. Indeed Chaucer's reputation was as well eſtabliſhed in Scotland as in England, and I will take upon me to ſay, that he was as much the Father of Poetry in that country as in this. It would render this note tedious to attempt giving a detail of the ſeveral printed editions of our author's Works: it will be ſufficient to refer the reader to a place where this may be found (87). Caxton, the Father of Engliſh Printers, firſt printed many of Chaucer's Works, and printed them ſeveral times. In the reign of Henry VIII. William Botteville, *alias* Thynne, Eſq; was the editor of a new edition of Chaucer, which, in a very elegant diſcourſe, he addreſſed to King Henry VIII (88). In the ſame reign the induſ-

(74) We find theſe mentioned by Chaucer himſelf; and it is certain that they flouriſhed when he was young.

(75) Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 347.

(76) Chaucer's Works, p. 333.

(77) This is ſtill ſtranger, becauſe what he ſays of him ſeems to be taken from Bale.

(78) Script. Brit. p. 478.

(79) De Illuſt. Angl. Scriptor. p. 509.

(80) See the Life of Wickliffe, by the Rev. Mr. Lewis.

(81) Leland, Comment. de Script. Britan. p. 415.

(82) Bale, Script. Britan. p. 537.

(83) As in his Prologue to the Story of Thebes, his Prologue to the Fall of Princes, his Praiſe of the Virgin Mary, &c.

(84) Comment. de Scriptor. Britan. p. 421.

(85) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

(86) In the Preface to his tranſlation of Virgil, p. 9.

(87) See the concluſion of the Life of Chaucer, and the Preface to Mr. Urry's edit.

(88) Leland, Comment. de Script. Brit. p. 422.

fications, Chaucer could entirely eſcape the fury of falſe Criticks: neither would it have been very much, perhaps, to his honour if he had; inaſmuch as all great Poets, antient and modern, have been ſo generally infeſted by theſe cavillers, that they ſeem to be the neceſſary attendants of an exalted reputation, and, like the ſlaves in a Roman triumph, make unwillingly an addition to that glory they meant to ſhade. Thoſe who have attacked Chaucer have not preſumed to queſtion his wit, for of this perhaps no writer of our nation ever had more; neither have they diſputed his poetical abilities, which certainly ſet his on a level with the greateſt names in antiquity; nor have they dared to throw any aſperſion on his learning, the extent of which is not greater than the maſterly degree of propriety with which it is every where applied: but the point to which they object, is, his changing, debaſing, or corrupting our language (*d*), by introducing foreign words; as if the worth of all languages did not ariſe from their being thus enlarged and compounded, or as if Chaucer could have hurt the jargon of his time, which was not either Saxon, Norman, or French, but a mixture of all, by introducing words derived from the ſweeteſt and ſmootheſt language then uſed throughout Europe, I mean the Provençal (*e*). It is, however, juſt to obſerve, that this reflection never made any great impreſſion; and that with the beſt and moſt elegant writers in our tongue, Chaucer paſſes not only for a great improver, but for the very Father and Founder of it; and it is not a little to his honour, that amongſt thoſe who are of this opinion, we may reckon one of the ſoundeſt of our Criticks (*f*), and one of the correcteſt writers in our language (*g*). So wide the difference is between the narrow notions of falſe Wits, and the fair and candid judgments that are given by the true [*W*]. We

(*d*) Verſtegan, Skinner, &c.

(*e*) Remarks on the Engliſh language, by W. C.

(*f*) Rymer's Short View of Tragedy, p. 78.

(*g*) Sprat's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, p. 41, 42.

ſtrious and learned Leland, was a ſtudious reader, and a moſt zealous admirer, of the Works of Chaucer, in whoſe honour he wrote not one only, but three copies of commendatory verſes (89). The ſame tribute of praiſe was beſtowed upon our author, by that excellent writer, and great judge of elegance in all kind of writing, Roger Aſcham (90); to whom we may add Sir Philip Sidney (91), who very judiciouſly obſerves, that it was equally ſtrange to him, that Chaucer ſhould ſee ſo clearly in ſo miſty a time, and that in brighter ages men ſhould go ſo ſtumblingly after him. About this time Mr. Speght, by the aſſiſtance of the induſtrious John Stowe, publiſhed a new edition of our author's Works (92), which were dedicated to Sir Robert Cecil, afterwards Earl of Saliſbury; and another ſtill more complete edition was promiſed by Mr. Francis Thynne, which never appeared. We have mentioned the commendations given him by the laborious John Fox (93), and the moſt learned Camden (94). We muſt add to theſe the numerous teſtimonies of the immortal Spenſer (95), and the judicious Apology of the ſuppoſed levites in Chaucer's Works, by Mr. Francis Beaumont (96). The celebrated Sir Henry Savile (97), mentions him with the higheſt reſpect; and the great Mr. Selden (98) has given us a noble ſpecimen of that profound learning of which he was maſter, in juſtifying an epithet of our author's. Sir Francis Knyaſton of Otely in Shropſhire, publiſhed the firſt and ſecond books of a Latin verſion of Troilus and Creſeide, and compleated his tranſlation of, and notes upon, the other three; and from ſome ſpecimens that are extant in the Gloſſary at the end of Mr. Urry's edition, the world may well perceive, how valuable a performance we are deprived of, by the loſs or concealment of his manuſcript (99). It would be needleſs to ſwell this note with other particulars, but if ſome able hand would reſume the deſign of the late ingenious Mr. Ogle, and give us his Canterbury Tales in modern Engliſh, with a proper body of notes, there is no doubt that it would meet with a favourable reception.

(89) Collectanea, vol. v. p. 141. 152.

(90) Schole-maſter, fo. 60. b. Toxophilus, fo. 13. b. State of Germany, fo. 1.

(91) Defence of Poeſie, p. 492. 513.

(92) Stowe's Annals, p. 326.

(93) Acts and Monuments, vol. ii. p. 42.

(94) Britan. in Dobunis, & in Trinobantibus.

(95) Fairy Queen, l. iv. Cant. ii. St. 31. *Ibid.* l. vii. Cant. vii. St. 9. Shepherd's Calendar, in Feb. June, and December.

(96) In his Letter to Mr. Speght, dated the laſt of July 1597.

(97) In Prefat. ad Brad. De Cauſa Dei.

(98) Preface to Drayton's Polyolbion.

(99) Gloſſary to Chaucer, p. 47. voc. *morter*.

[*W*] *And the fair and candid judgments that are given by the true.*] The firſt writer that ventured to fall upon our author was himſelf more than half a foreigner, and very far from being correct with reſpect to ſentiment or ſtile. His very charge in the preſent caſe will prove what I have advanced (100). 'The 'Poet, Geoffry Chaucer (ſays he) writing his Poeſies 'in Engliſh, is of ſome called the firſt Illuminator of 'the Engliſh tongue. Of their opinion I am not, tho' I 'reverence Chaucer as an excellent Poet for his time. 'He was indeed a great mingler of Engliſh with 'French, unto which language (by like, for that he 'was deſcended of French, or rather Wallon race) 'he carried a great affection.' But Dr. Skinner (101), in a very elegant Latin ſtyle, has attacked our author with much more ſpirit and force. I ſhall give his words in Engliſh: 'The Poet Chaucer ſet the worſt exam-'ple, who by bringing whole ſhoals of French words 'into our language, which was but too much adul-'terated before, through the effects of the Norman 'Conqueſt, deprived it almoſt wholly of its native 'grace and ſplendor, laying on paint over its pure 'complexion, and, for a beautiful face, ſubſtituted 'a downright maſk.'

(100) Reſtitution of Decay'd Intelligence, chap. vii.

(101) Etymologiconn Linguæ Anglicanæ, in Prefat. p. 5.

*** [Though our ingenious and learned predeceſſor hath taken ſuch laudable pains in endeavouring to aſcertain the facts that relate to Chaucer's Life and Hiſtory, there are ſtill ſeveral circumſtances concerning him, the abſolute determination of which is attended with difficulty. Such, at leaſt, is the opinion of the laſt and beſt editor of the Canterbury Tales, Mr. Tyrwhit. This gentleman is inclined to believe, with the Heralds, in oppoſition to Leland, that Chaucer did not deſcend from any great Houſe. The ſame gentleman admits of his having been born at London, but thinks that we are more in the dark about the place of his education, and ſmiles at the Biographers, for telling us very gravely, that he was firſt at Cambridge, and afterwards removed from thence to compleat his ſtudies at Oxford. Mr. Tyrwhit wiſhes that Mr. Speght had given us the date of that record in the Inner Temple, where Geffrey Chaucer was fined two ſhillings for beating a Franciſcan Friar in Fleet-ſtreet. Though this is but a blind ſtory, it rather induces a belief that our Poet was of the Inner Temple *in the early part of his life*, before he went into the ſervice of Edward the Third. The firſt authentic memorial, which we have of Chaucer, is the patent in Rymer, 41 E. III. by which that King grants him an annuity of twenty marks, by the title of *Valettus noſter*, or our yeoman. He was then in the 39th year of his age. It is not known how long he had ſerved the King in that, or any other ſtation, or what particular merits were rewarded by this Royal bounty. Mr. Tyrwhit proceeds to mention, from various public inſtruments, the ſeveral grants that were made to Chaucer. When he was appointed Envoy, with two others, to Genoa, it was by the title of *Scutifer noſter*. This title only ſignifies that he was raiſed to the rank of a Squier, though the Biographers have changed it into *Shield-Bearer*, as if Chaucer had the ſpecial office of carrying the King's ſhield. Mr. Tyrwhit doubts whether the two offices conferred upon Chaucer, by Richard the Second, indemnified him for the loſs of his former office in the cuſtoms. This was probably a very lucrative one; but that he ſhould ever have been poſſeſſed of "Lands and revenues to the yearly value almoſt of a thouſand pounds,"

We cannot close this article better, than by giving a succinct detail of our author's family, or, to speak with greater propriety, of his eldest son; for as to his second son Lewis,

pounds," is, in the opinion of his learned editor, quite incredible. This gentleman thinks, also, that there is no proof of his having purchased Dunnington Castle in Berkshire, and that the situation of his affairs renders it highly improbable. The tradition of an Oak, in Dunnington Park, called *Chaucer's* Oak, may be sufficiently accounted for without supposing that it was planted by Chaucer himself, as the Castle was undoubtedly in the hands of Thomas Chaucer for many years. It appears that he received an annuity on account of his wife. There are many circumstances, in Mr. Tyrwhyt's opinion, which might incline us to think that Thomas Chaucer was not the son of the Poet. That he had a son, called Lewis, as is related in the text, and who was ten years of age in 1391, we learn from himself; and it seems to be the only fact, relating to his family, of which he has informed us. The supposition of some writers, that Chaucer was a *follower* of Alain Chartier, is rejected by Mr. Tyrwhit, and indeed very justly, on account of its being inconsistent with chronology: neither must we infer, from his repeated commendations of the Daysie Flower, that he was specially favoured by Margaret, Countess of Pembroke (102).

(102) Tyrwhit's edition of the Canterbury Tales, vol. i. Appendix to the Preface, p. xxiv—xxvi.

How strongly Chaucer was supported by the Duke of Lancaster, is plain from the whole article; but Mr. Thomas Warton hath found out another nobleman, whom he supposes to have been one of our Poet's patrons. This was the Earl of Salisbury, beheaded by Henry the Fourth. He "could not, says Mr. "Warton, but patronise Chaucer. I do not mean "for political Reasons. The Earl was a writer of "verses, and very fond of poetry. On this account, "his acquaintance was much cultivated by the "famous Christina of Pisa; whose works, both in "prose and verse, compose so considerable a part of "the old French Literature." She used to call him, "Gracieux Chevalier, aimant Dictiez, et lui-meme "Gracieux Dicteur (103)." It ought to be remembered, that Mr. Warton's opinion is only conjectural, not being founded on any positive historical evidence,

(103) History of Poetry, vol. i. p. 342. note.

Mr. Walpole takes notice of the painted effigies of Chaucer, which remained, till within these few years, on his Tomb at Westminster, and of another that is preserved in an illuminated manuscript of Thomas Occleve, painted by Occleve himself (104). Of Occleve's picture, and of some other pictures and drawings, representing Chaucer's person, and which have a remarkable resemblance, Mr. Warton has given an account, in his history of poetry (105).

(104) Anecdotes of Painting, vol. i. p. 33.

(105) Hist. of Poetry, vol. ii. p. 43, 44.

The same ingenious and learned writer, in his "Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser," hath devoted a whole section to that Poet's Imitations from Chaucer. Having thus had occasion to illustrate a number of passages in both these illustrious Geniuses, he concludes in the following terms: "I cannot dismiss this Section without a wish, that this neglected author, whom Spenser proposed as the pattern of his style, and to whom he is indebted for many noble inventions, should be more universally studied. This is at least what one might expect in an age of research and curiosity. Chaucer is regarded rather as an old, than as a good, Poet. We look upon his poems as venerable relics, not as beautiful compositions; as pieces better calculated to gratify the antiquarian than the critic. He abounds not only in strokes of humour, which is commonly supposed to be his sole talent, but of pathos, and sublimity, not unworthy a more refined age. His old manners, his romantic arguments, his wildness of painting, his simplicity and antiquity of expression, transport us into some fairy region, and are all highly pleasing to the imagination. It is true, that his uncouth and unfamiliar language disgusts and deters many readers: but the principal reason of his being so little known, and so seldom taken into hand, is the convenient opportunity of reading him with pleasure and facility in modern imitations. For when translation, and such imitations from Chaucer may be justly called, at length becomes substituted as the means of attaining a knowledge of any difficult and antient author, the original not only begins to be neglected and excluded as less easy, but also to be despised as less ornamental and elegant. Thus the public taste becomes imperceptibly vitiated, while the genuine model is superseded, and gradually gives way to the establishment of a more specious, but false, resemblance. Thus, too many readers, happy to find the readiest accommodation for their indolence and their illiteracy, think themselves sufficient masters of Homer from Pope's translation: and thus, by an indiscreet comparison, Pope's translation is commonly preferred to the Grecian text, in proportion as the former is furnished with more frequent and shining metaphors, more lively descriptions, and in general appears to be more full and florid, more elaborate and various (106)."

(106) Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser, vol. i. p. 196—198. Second edition.

The wish, expressed by Mr. Warton, in the beginning of this passage, that Chaucer may be more universally studied, will probably be accomplished, as an access to the knowledge and taste of his beauties hath been rendered easier of late years than it was in former times. To Mr. Tyrwhit, and to Mr. Warton himself, the public is eminently indebted for an event so desirable and important. It is entirely consistent with the nature of our work, which is critical as well as biographical, and which is intended to be a large repository of useful literature, that we should enter into a copious relation of what these gentlemen have done for the elucidation of Chaucer.

To begin with Mr. Tyrwhit, his admirable edition of the Canterbury Tales was published in 1775, in four volumes, crown octavo; to which was added, in 1778, a fifth volume, containing a Glossary. Prefixed to the first volume, is an account of the preceding editions of the Canterbury Tales, for which we refer to the work itself; only observing, that Mr. Urry, the last compleat editor previous to Mr. Tyrwhit, introduced a number of arbitrary innovations into the text. A volume, in octavo, containing the Prologue and the Knightes Tale, was published in 1737, by a gentleman who is said to have since distinguished himself by many other learned and useful publications. This gentleman appears to have set out upon the only rational plan of publishing Chaucer, by collating the best manuscripts, and selecting from them the genuine readings. Accordingly, his edition, as far as it extends, is infinitely preferable to any of those which have gone before it (107). We know not who was the publisher of this volume, or for what reasons his design was not compleated. Mr. Tyrwhit next gives a list of manuscripts collated, or consulted by him, with the abbreviations by which they are cited, and points out those manuscripts to which the most credit is certainly due (108). To this is added, an abstract of the historical passages of the Life of Chaucer; of which particular notice hath already been taken.

(107) Tyrwhit's Canterbury Tales of Chaucer, vol. i. Appendix to the Preface. A. p. vi—xxi.

(108) *Ibid.* p. xxii, xxiii.

Prefixed to the fourth volume, is an "Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer." This is so curious and important, and throws so much light on our great Poet, and on the literature of the age in which he lived, that, notwithstanding its length, we think it ought not to be omitted. We shall, therefore, insert the whole text of the Essay; but must be obliged to drop the learned notes with which it is accompanied, and many of which, if they would not take up too much room, would afford peculiar pleasure to our readers.

"The language of Chaucer has undergone two very different judgments. According to one, he is the "well of English undefiled;" according to the other, he has corrupted and deformed the English idiom by an immoderate mixture of French words. Nor do the opinions with respect to his versification seem to have been less discordant. His contemporaries, and they who lived nearest to his time, universally extol him as the "chief Poete of Britanie," "the flour of "Poetes," &c. titles, which must be supposed to implie their admiration of his metrical skill, as well as of his other poetical talents; but the later critics, though they leave him in possession of the fame

founding

Lewis, we have no account in what ſtation he lived, or where he died. But as to Thomas Chaucer, the office of Chief Butler to the King, granted to him in the laſt year of

founding titles, yet they are almoſt unanimouſly agreed, that he was either totally ignorant or negligent of metrical rules, and that his verſes (if they may be ſo called) are frequently deficient, by a ſyllable or two, of their juſt meaſure.

" It is the purpoſe of the following Eſſay to throw ſome light upon both theſe queſtions. Admitting the fact, that the Engliſh of Chaucer has a great mixture of French in it, I hope to ſhew, that this mixture (if a crime) cannot fairly be laid to his charge. I ſhall then proceed to ſtate ſome obſervations upon the moſt material peculiarities of the Norman-Saxon, or Engliſh language, as it appears to have been in general uſe in the age of Chaucer; and laſtly, applying theſe obſervations to the poetical parts of the Canterbury Tales, as they are faithfully printed in this edition from the beſt MSS. which I could procure, I ſhall leave it to the intelligent Reader to determine, whether Chaucer was really ignorant of the laws, or even of the graces, of verſification, and whether he was more negligent of either than the very early Poets in almoſt all languages are found to have been.

PART THE FIRST.

" § I. In order to judge, in the firſt place, how far Chaucer ought to be charged as the importer of the many French words and phraſes, which are ſo viſible in all his writings, it will be neceſſary to take a ſhort view of the early introduction and long prevalency of the French language in this country before his time. It might be ſufficient, perhaps, for our purpoſe to begin this view at the Conqueſt: but I cannot help obſerving, from a contemporary Hiſtorian, that, ſeveral years before that great event, the language of France had been introduced into the court of England, and from thence among the people. The account which Ingulphus gives of this matter is, that Edward, commonly called the Confeſſor, having been educated at the court of his uncle Duke Richard II. and having reſided in Normandy many years, became *almoſt a Frenchman*. Upon his return from thence and acceſſion to the throne of England in 1043, he brought over with him a number of Normans, whom he promoted to the higheſt dignities; and (according to Ingulphus) under the influence of the King and his Norman favourites, the whole nation began to lay aſide their Engliſh faſhions, and imitate the manners of the French in many things. In particular, he ſays expreſsly, that *all the Nobility in their courts began to ſpeak French, as a great piece of gentility*.

" § II. This faſhion however of ſpeaking French, having been adopted only in compliance with the caprice of the reigning prince, would not probably have ſpread very wide or laſted very long; but at the revolution, which followed ſoon after in 1066, the language of the Norman conqueror was interwoven with the new political ſyſtem, and the ſeveral eſtabliſhments, which were made for the ſupport and ſecurity of the one, all contributed, in a greater or leſs degree, to the diffuſion and permanency of the other.

" § III. To begin with the court. If we conſider that the King himſelf, the chief officers of ſtate, and by far the greateſt part of the nobility, were all Normans, and could probably ſpeak no language but their own, we can have no doubt that French was the ordinary language of the court. The few Saxons, who for ſome time were admitted there, muſt have had the ſtrongeſt inducements to acquire the ſame language as ſoon as poſſible, not merely for the ſake of apprehending and anſwering inſignificant queſtions in the circle, but becauſe in that age affairs of the greateſt importance were publickly tranſacted in the King's court, and there they might be called upon to anſwer for their poſſeſſions and even for their lives. In an eccleſiaſtical ſynod, held in the preſence of the King in 1072, the venerable Biſhop of Worceſter, Wulſtan, (whoſe *holy ſimplicity*, as the Hiſtorian calls it, ſeems to have preſerved him from the degradation which almoſt all the other Engliſh Prelates underwent) was obliged to defend the rights of his ſee by an interpreter, *a monk* (according to the ſame Hiſtorian) *of very little eloquence, but who had a ſmattering of the* Norman *language*.

" § IV. If we conſider further, that the great Barons, to whom William diſtributed a large ſhare of his conqueſt, when releaſed from their attendance in the King's court, retired to courts of their own, where they in their turn were ſurrounded by a numerous train of vaſſals, chiefly their own countrymen, we may be ſure that the French language travelled with them into the moſt diſtant provinces, and was uſed by them, not only in their common converſation, but in their civil contracts, their judicial proceedings, and even in the promulgation of their laws. The many Caſtles, which William built in different parts of the Iſland, muſt alſo have contributed very much to the propagation of the French language among the natives, as it is probable that the Foreigners, of whom the garriſons were entirely compoſed, would inſiſt upon carrying on all their tranſactions with the neighbouring country in their own language.

" § V. But the great alteration, which, from political motives, was made in the ſtate of the clergy at that time, muſt have operated perhaps more efficaciouſly than any other cauſe to give the French language a deep root in England. The Conqueror ſeems to have been fully apprized of the ſtrength which the new government might derive from a Clergy more cloſely attached to himſelf by a community of intereſts than the native Engliſh were likely to be. Accordingly, from the very beginning of his reign, all eccleſiaſtical preferments, as faſt as they became vacant, were given to his Norman chaplains; and, not content to avail himſelf of the ordinary courſe of ſucceſſion, he contrived, upon various charges of real or pretended irregularities, to remove ſeveral of the Engliſh Biſhops and Abbots, whoſe places were in like manner immediately ſupplied by Foreigners. In ſhort, in the ſpace of a very few years, all the Sees of England were filled with Normans, or ſtrangers naturalized (if I may ſo ſay) in Normandy, and the greateſt part of the Abbies in the kingdom were under governors of the ſame deſcription.

" § VI. It muſt be allowed, that the confeſſed ſuperiority in literature of the Norman clergy over the Engliſh at that time, furniſhed the King with a ſpecious pretext for theſe promotions; and it is probable, that the Prelates, who were thus promoted, made uſe of the ſame pretext to juſtify themſelves in diſpoſing of all their beſt benefices among their friends and countrymen. That this was their conſtant practice is certain. Nor were the new Abbots leſs induſtrious to ſtock their convents with foreigners, whom they invited over from the continent, partly perhaps for the pleaſure of their ſociety, and partly (as we may ſuppoſe) in expectation of their ſupport againſt the cabals of the Engliſh Monks. And when the great Barons, following the royal example, applied themſelves to make their peace with the Church, by giving her a ſhare of their plunder, it was their uſual cuſtom to begin their religious eſtabliſhments with a colony from ſome Norman Monaſtery.

" § VII. In this ſtate of things, which ſeems to have continued with little variation to the time of Edward III. it is probable, that the French and Engliſh languages ſubſiſted together throughout the kingdom; the higher orders, both of the Clergy and Laity, ſpeaking almoſt univerſally French, the lower retaining the uſe of their native tongue, but alſo frequently adding to it a knowledge of the other. The general inducements which the Engliſh had to acquire the French language, have been touched upon above; to which muſt be added, that the children, who were put to learn Latin, were under a neceſſity of learning French at the ſame time, as it was the conſtant practice in all ſchools, from the Conqueſt till about the reign of Edward III. to make the ſcholars conſtrue their Latin leſſons into French. From the diſcontinuance of this practice, as well as from other cauſes, the uſe, and probably, the knowledge of French,

of Richard II: was afterwards given him for life by Letters-patents from King Henry IV. (*b*), and confirmed by Henry VI. In the ſecond year of Henry IV. we find him

(*b*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Chaucer's Works by Urry.

French, as a ſeparate language, received a conſiderable check. In the 36th year of Edward III. a law was made, "that all pleas, in the courts of the King or of any other Lord, ſhall be pleaded and judged in the Engliſh tongue;" and the preamble recites, "*that the French tongue* (in which they had been uſually pleaded, &c.) *was too much unknown*," or diſuſed; and yet, for near threeſcore years after this, the proceedings in Parliament (with very few exceptions) appear to have been all in French, and the ſtatutes continued to be publiſhed in the ſame language, for above one hundred and twenty years, till the firſt of Richard III.

"§ VIII. From what has been ſaid, I think we may fairly conclude, that the Engliſh language muſt have imbibed a ſtrong tincture of the French, long before the age of Chaucer, and conſequently that he ought not to be charged as the importer of words and phraſes, which he only uſed after the example of his predeceſſors, and in common with his contemporaries. This was the real fact, and is capable of being demonſtrated to any one, who will take the trouble of comparing the writings of Chaucer with thoſe of Robert of Glouceſter and Robert of Brunne, who both lived before him, and with thoſe of Sir John Mandeville and Wickliff, who lived at the ſame time with him. If we could, for a moment, ſuppoſe the contrary; if we could ſuppoſe that the Engliſh idiom, in the age of Chaucer, remained pure and unmixed, as it was ſpoken in the courts of Alfred or Egbert, and that the French was ſtill a foreign, or at leaſt a ſeparate language; I would aſk, whether it is credible, that a Poet, writing in Engliſh upon the moſt familiar ſubjects, would ſtuff his compoſitions with French words and phraſes, which (upon the above ſuppoſition) muſt have been unintelligible to the greateſt part of his readers; or, if he had been ſo very abſurd, is it conceivable, that he ſhould have immediately become, not only the moſt admired, but alſo the moſt popular writer of his time and country?

PART THE SECOND.

"Having thus endeavoured to ſhew, in oppoſition to the ill-grounded cenſures of Verſtegan and Skinner, that the corruption (or improvement) of the Engliſh language, by a mixture of French, was not originally owing to Chaucer, I ſhall proceed, in the ſecond part of this Eſſay, to make ſome obſervations upon the moſt material peculiarities of that Norman-Saxon dialect, which, I ſuppoſe, to have prevailed in the age of Chaucer, and which, in ſubſtance, remains to this day the language of England.

"§ I. By what means the French tongue was firſt introduced and propagated in this iſland, has been ſufficiently explained above; but to aſcertain, with any exactneſs, the degrees by which it inſinuated itſelf, and was ingrafted into the Saxon, would be a much more difficult taſk, for want of a regular ſeries of the writings of approved authors, tranſmitted to us by authentic copies. Luckily for us, as our concern is ſolely with that period when the incorporation of the two languages was completed, it is of no great importance to determine the preciſe time at which any word or phraſe became naturalized; and, for the ſame reaſon, we have no need to enquire minutely, with reſpect to the other alterations, which the Saxon language, in its ſeveral ſtages, appears to have undergone, how far they proceeded from the natural mutability of human ſpeech, (eſpecially among an unlearned people) and how far they were owing to a ſucceſſive conflux of Daniſh and Norman invaders.

"§ II. The following obſervations therefore will chiefly refer to the ſtate, in which the Engliſh language appears to have been about the time of Chaucer, and they will naturally divide themſelves into two parts. The firſt will conſider the remains of the antient Saxon maſs, however defaced or diſguiſed by various accidents; the ſecond will endeavour to point out the nature and effects of the acceſſions, which, in the courſe of near three centuries, it had received from Normandy.

"§ III. For the ſake of method it will be convenient to go through the ſeveral parts of ſpeech, in the order in which they are commonly ranged by Grammarians.

"1. The Prepoſitive Article ꝑe, ꝑeo, ꝑat, (which anſwered to the ὁ, ἡ, τὸ, of the Greeks, in all its varieties of gender, caſe, and number), had been long laid aſide, and inſtead of it an indeclinable *the* was prefixed to all ſorts of nouns, in all caſes, and in both numbers.

"2. The Declenſions of the Nouns Subſtantive were reduced from ſix to one; and inſtead of a variety of caſes in both numbers, they had only a Genitive caſe ſingular, which was uniformly deduced from the Nominative, by adding to it *es*; or only *s*, if it ended in an *e* feminine; and the ſame form was uſed to expreſs the Plural number in all its caſes: as, Nom. *Shour*, Gen. *Shoures*, Plu. *Shoures*. Nom. *Name*, Gen. *Names*, Plur. *Names*.

"The Nouns Adjective had loſt all diſtinction of Gender, Caſe, or Number.

"3. The Primitive Pronouns retained one oblique caſe in each number: as, *Ic*, or *I*; *We*: Obl. *Me*; *Us*.—*Thou*; *Ye*: Obl. *Thee*; *You*.—*He*, *She*; *Hi*, or *They*: Obl. *Him*, *Hire*; *Hem*, or *Them*.

"Their Poſſeſſives were in the ſame ſtate with the Adjectives; *Min*, *Thin*, *His*, *Hire*; *Oure*, *Youre*, *Hir*, or *Their*.

"The Interrogative and Relative *Who* had a Genitive and Accuſative caſe, *Whoes*, and *Whom*, but no variety of Number.

"On the contrary, the Demonſtrative, *This*, and *That*, had a Plural expreſſion, *Thiſe*, and *Tho*, but no variety of caſe.

"The other words, which are often (though improperly) placed in the claſs of Pronouns, were all become undeclined, like the Adjectives; except, *Eyther*, alteruter; *Neyther*, neuter; *Other*, alter; which had a Genitive caſe Singular, *Eytheres*, *Neytheres*, *Otheres*: *Other*, alius, had a Genitive caſe ſingular, and a Plural number, *Otheres*; and *Aller* (a corruption of ealna) was ſtill in uſe, as the Genitive Plural of *Alle*.

"4. The Verbs, at the time of which we are treating, were very nearly reduced to the ſimple ſtate in which they are at preſent.

"They had four Modes, as now; the Indicative, the Imperative, the Subjunctive, and the Infinitive; and only two expreſſions of Time, the Preſent and the Paſt. All the other varieties of Mode and Time were expreſſed by Auxiliary Verbs.

"In the inflexions of their Verbs, they differed very little from us, in the Singular number: *I love*, *Thou loveſt*, *He loveth*: but in the Plural they were not agreed among themſelves; ſome adhering to the old Saxon form; *We loveth*, *Ye loveth*, *They loveth*; and others adopting, what ſeems to have been, the Teutonic; *We loven*, *Ye loven*, *They loven*. In the Plural of the Paſt Tenſe the latter form prevailed univerſally: I loved, thou lovedeſt, he loved; *We loveden*, *Ye loveden*, *They loveden*.

The ſecond perſon Plural in the Imperative Mode regularly terminated in *eth*; as, *Loveth* ye; though the final conſonants (according to the genius of the language) were frequently omitted, eſpecially in verſe.

"The Saxon termination of the Infinitive in *an* had been long changed into *en*; *to loven*, *to liven*, &c. and they were beginning to drop the *n*; *to love*, *to live*.

"The Participle of the Preſent Time began to be generally terminated in *ing*; as, *loving*; though the old form, which terminated in *ende*, or *ande*, was ſtill in uſe; as, *lovende*, or *lovande*. The Participle of the Paſt time continued to be formed, as the Paſt time itſelf was, in *ed*; as, *loved*; or in ſome contraction of *ed*; except among the irregular Verbs, where, for the moſt part, it terminated in *en*; as *bounden*, *founden*.

him Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, Sheriff of Oxfordſhire and of Berkſhire, and Conſtable of Wallingford-Caſtle, and of Knareſborough-Caſtle, during life. In the fourth

" The greateſt part of the Auxiliary Verbs were only in uſe in the Preſent and Paſt Tenſes of their Indicative and Subjunctive Modes. They were inflected in thoſe tenſes like other Verbs, and were prefixed to the Infinitive Mode of the Verb to which they were Auxiliary. I *ſhall* loven; I *will*, or *woll*, loven; I *may*, or *mow*, loven; I *can*, or *con*, loven, &c. We *ſhullen* loven; We *willen*, or *wollen*, loven; We *mowen* loven; We *connen* loven, &c. In the Paſt tenſe, I *ſhudde* loven; I *wolde* loven; I *mighte*, or *moughte* loven; I *coude* loven, &c. We *ſhulden*, we *wolden*, we *mighten*, or *moughten*, we *couden* loven, &c.

" The Auxiliary *To Haven* was a complete Verb, and, being prefixed to the Participle of the Paſt time, was uſed to expreſs the Preterperfect and Preterpluperfect Tenſes. I *have* loved, Thou *haveſt*, or *haſt* loved, He *haveth*, or *hath* loved; We *haven*, or *han* loved, &c. I *hadde* loved, thou *haddeſt* loved, he *hadde* loved; We, ye, they, *hadden* loved.

" The Auxiliary *To ben* was alſo a complete Verb, and being prefixed to the Participle of the Paſt time, with the help of the other Auxiliary Verbs, ſupplied the place of the whole Paſſive voice, for which the Saxon language had no other form of expreſſion. I *am*, thou *art*, he *is* loved; We, ye, they, *aren*, or *ben* loved. I *was*, thou *waſt*, he *was* loved; We, ye, they, *weren* loved.

" 5. With reſpect to the indeclinable parts of Speech, it will be ſufficient to obſerve here, that many of them ſtill remained pure Saxon: the greateſt number had undergone a ſlight change of a letter or two; and the more conſiderable alterations, by which ſome had been disfigured, were fairly deducible from that propenſity to abbreviation, for which the inhabitants of this iſland have been long remarkable, though perhaps not more juſtly ſo than their neighbours.

" § IV. Such was, in general, the ſtate of the Saxon part of the Engliſh language, when Chaucer began to write: let us now take a ſhort view of the acceſſions, which it may be ſuppoſed to have received at different times from Normandy.

" As the language of our anceſtors was complete in all its parts, and had ſerved them for the purpoſes of diſcourſe, and even of compoſition in various kinds, long before they had any intimate acquaintance with their French neighbours, they had no call from neceſſity (and conſequently no ſufficient inducement) to alter its original and radical conſtitution, or even its cuſtomary forms. Accordingly, we have juſt ſeen, that, in all the eſſential parts of Speech, the characteriſtical features of the Saxon idiom were always preſerved; and we ſhall ſee preſently, that the crowds of French words, which from time to time were imported, were themſelves made ſubject, either immediately or by degrees, to the laws of that ſame idiom.

" § V. The words, which were thus imported, were chiefly Nouns Subſtantive, Adjectives, Verbs, and Participles. The Adverbs, which are derived from French Adjectives, ſeem to have been formed from them after they were Angliciſed, as they have all the Saxon termination *lich* or *ly*, inſtead of the French *ment*. As to the other parts of Speech, our language, being ſufficiently rich in its own ſtores, has borrowed nothing from France, except perhaps an Interjection or two.

" The Nouns Subſtantive in the French language (as in all the other languages derived from the Latin) had loſt their Caſes long before the time of which we are treating; but ſuch of them as were naturaliſed here, ſeem all to have acquired a Genitive caſe, according to the corrupted Saxon form, which has been ſtated above. Their Plural number was alſo new modelled to the ſame form, if neceſſary; for in Nouns ending in *e* feminine, as the greater part of the French did, the two languages were already agreed. Nom. *Flour*. Gen. *Floures*. Plur. *Floures*. Nom. *Dame*. Gen. *Dames*. Plur. *Dames*.

" On the contrary, the Adjectives, which at home had a diſtinction of Gender and Number, upon their naturaliſation here, ſeem to have been generally ſtript of both, and reduced to the ſimple ſtate of the Engliſh Adjective, without Caſe, Gender, or Number.

" The French Verbs were obliged to lay aſide all their differences of Conjugation. *Accorder*, *ſouffrir*, *recevoir*, *deſcendre*, were regularly changed into—*accorden*, *ſuffren*, *receiven*, *deſcenden*. They brought with them only two Tenſes, the Preſent and the Paſt; nor did they retain any ſingularity of Inflexion, which could diſtinguiſh them from other Verbs of Saxon growth.

" The Participle indeed of the Preſent time, in ſome Verbs, appears to have ſtill preſerved its original French form; as, *uſant*, *ſuffiſant*, &c.

" The Participle of the Paſt time adopted, almoſt univerſally, the regular Saxon termination in *ed*; as, *accorded*, *ſuffred*, *received*, *deſcended*. It even frequently aſſumed the prepoſitive particle ȝe, (or y, as it was laterly written) which, among the Saxons, was very generally, though not peculiarly, prefixed to that Participle.

" § VI. Upon the whole, I believe it may be ſaid with truth, that, at the time which we are conſidering, though the form of our Language was ſtill Saxon, the matter was in a great meaſure French. The novelties of all kinds, which the Revolution in 1066 had introduced, demanded a large ſupply of new terms; and our Anceſtors very naturally took what they wanted, from the Language which was already familiar to a conſiderable part of the Community. Our Poets in particular (who have generally the principal ſhare in modelling a Language) found it their intereſt to borrow as many words as they conveniently could from France. As they were, for a long time, chiefly Tranſlators, this expedient ſaved them the trouble of hunting for correſpondent terms in Saxon. The French words too, being the remains of a poliſhed language, were ſmoother, and ſlid eaſier into metre than the Saxon, which had never undergone any regular cultivation: their final ſyllables chimed together with more frequent conſonancies, and their Accents were better adapted to Riming Poetry. But more of this in the next Part.

PART THE THIRD.

" Before we proceed in the third and laſt part of this Eſſay, in which we are to conſider the Verſification of Chaucer, it may be uſeful to premiſe a few obſervations upon the ſtate of Engliſh Poetry antecedent to his time.

" § I. That the Saxons had a ſpecies of writing, which differed from their common proſe, and was conſidered by themſelves as Poetry, is very certain; but it ſeems equally certain, that their compoſitions of that kind were neither divided into verſes of a determinate number of ſyllables, nor embelliſhed with what we call Rime. There are no traces, I believe, to be found of either Rime or Metre in our language, till ſome years after the Conqueſt; ſo that I ſhould apprehend we muſt have been obliged for both to the Normans, who very early diſtinguiſhed themſelves by poetical performances in their Vulgar tongue.

" The Metres which they uſed, and which we ſeem to have borrowed from them, were plainly copied from the Latin rythmical verſes, which, in the declenſion of that language, were current in various forms among thoſe, who either did not underſtand, or did not regard, the true quantity of ſyllables; and the practice of Riming is probably to be deduced from the ſame original, as we find that practice to have prevailed in Eccleſiaſtical Hymns, and other compoſitions, in Latin, ſome centuries before Otfrid of Weiſſenberg, the firſt known Rimer in any of the vulgar European dialects.

" § II.

fourth year of the ſame reign, the King directed an order to him, as Chief Butler, to deliver one hundred tuns of wine to the Duke of Burgundy. In the ſixth year of the ſame

" § II. I wiſh it were in my power to give a regular hiſtory of the progreſs which our Anceſtors made in this new ſtyle of verſification; but, except a few lines in the Saxon Chronicle upon the death of William the Conqueror, which ſeem to have been intended for verſes of the modern faſhion, and a ſhort Canticle, which, according to Matthew Paris, the bleſſed Virgin was pleaſed to dictate to Godric, an Hermite near Durham, I have not been able to diſcover any attempts at Riming Poetry, which can with probability be referred to an earlier period than the reign of Henry the ſecond. In that reign Layamon, a Prieſt of Ernleye near Severn, as he calls himſelf, tranſlated (chiefly) from the French of Wace a fabulous hiſtory of the Britons, entitled " Le Brut," which Wace himſelf, about the year 1155, had tranſlated from the Latin of Geffrey of Monmouth. Though the greateſt part of this work of Layamon reſembles the old Saxon Poetry, without Rime or metre, yet he often intermixes a number of ſhort verſes, of unequal lengths, but riming together pretty exactly; and in ſome places he has imitated not unſucceſsfully the regular octoſyllable meaſure of his French original.

" § III. It may ſeem extraordinary, after theſe proofs that the art of Riming was not unknown or unpractiſed in this country in the time of Henry II. that we ſhould be obliged to ſearch through a ſpace of above an hundred years, without being able to meet with a ſingle maker of Engliſh Rimes, whom we know to have written in that interval. The caſe I ſuſpect to have been this. The Scholars of that age (and there were many who might fairly be called ſo, in the Engliſh dominions abroad as well as at home) affected to write only in Latin, ſo that we do not find that they ever compoſed, in verſe or proſe, in any other language. On the other hand they, who meant to recommend themſelves by their Poetry to the favour of the great, took care to write in French, the only language which their patrons underſtood; and hence it is, that we ſee ſo many French poems, about that time, either addreſſed directly to the principal perſons at the Engliſh court, or at leaſt written on ſuch ſubjects as we may ſuppoſe to have been moſt likely to engage their attention. Whatever therefore of Engliſh Poetry was produced, in this infancy of the art, being probably the work of illiterate authors and circulating only among the vulgar, we need not be much ſurpriſed that no more of it has been tranſmitted down to poſterity.

" § IV. The learned Hickes however has pointed out to us two very curious pieces, which may with probability be referred to this period. The firſt of them is a Paraphraſe of the Goſpel Hiſtories, entitled *Ormulum*, by one *Orm*, or *Ormin*. It ſeems to have been conſidered as mere Proſe by Hickes and by Wanley, who have both given large extracts from it; but, I apprehend, every reader, who has an ear for metre, will eaſily perceive that it is written very exactly in verſes of fifteen ſyllables, without Rime, in imitation of the moſt common ſpecies of the Latin Tetrameter Iambic. The other piece, which is a moral Poem upon old age, &c. is in Rime, and in a metre much reſembling the former, except that the verſe of fifteen ſyllables is broken into two, of which the firſt ſhould regularly contain eight and the ſecond ſeven ſyllables; but the metre is not ſo exactly obſerved (at leaſt in the copy which Hickes has followed) as it is in the *Ormulum*.

" § V. In the next interval, from the latter end of the reign of Henry III. to the middle of the fourteenth century, when we may ſuppoſe Chaucer was beginning to write, the number of Engliſh Rimers ſeems to have increaſed very much. Beſides ſeveral, whoſe names we know, it is probable that a great part of the anonymous Authors, or rather Tranſlators, of the popular Poems, which (from their having been originally written in the Roman, or French, language) were called Romances, flouriſhed about this time. It is unneceſſary to enter into particulars here concerning any of them, as they do not appear to have invented, or imported from abroad, any new modes of Verſification, by which the Art could be at all advanced, or even to have improved thoſe which were before in uſe. On the contrary, as their works were intended for the ear more than for the eye, to be recited rather than read, they were apt to be more attentive to their Rimes than to the exactneſs of their Metres, from a preſumption, I ſuppoſe, that the defect, or redundance, of a ſyllable might be eaſily covered in the recitation, eſpecially if accompanied, as it often was, by ſome muſical inſtrument.

" § VI. Such was, in general, the ſtate of Engliſh Poetry at the time when Chaucer probably made his firſt eſſays. The uſe of Rime was eſtabliſhed; not excluſively (for the Author of the " Viſions of " Pierce Ploughman" wrote after the year 1350 without Rime), but very generally; ſo that in this reſpect he had little to do but to imitate his predeceſſors. The Metrical part of our Poetry was capable of more improvement, by the poliſhing of the meaſures already in uſe, as well as by the introducing of new modes of verſification; and how far Chaucer actually contributed to the improvement of it, in both or either of theſe particulars, we are now to conſider.

" § VII. With reſpect to the regular Metres then in uſe, they may be reduced, I think, to four. Firſt, the long Iambic Metre, conſiſting of not more than fifteen, nor leſs than fourteen ſyllables, and broken by a *Cæſura* at the eighth ſyllable. Secondly, the Alexandrin Metre, conſiſting of not more than thirteen ſyllables, nor leſs than twelve, with a *Cæſura* at the ſixth. Thirdly, the Octoſyllable Metre; which was in reality the ancient Diameter Iambic. Fourthly, the Stanza of ſix verſes; of which the firſt, ſecond, fourth, and fifth, were in the complete Octoſyllable Metre; and the third and laſt Catalectic, i. e. wanting a ſyllable, or even two.

" § VIII. In the firſt of theſe Metres it does not appear that Chaucer ever compoſed at all, (for, I preſume, no one can imagine that he was the author of Gamelyn,) or in the ſecond; and in the fourth we have nothing of his but the Rime of Sire Thopas, which, being intended to ridicule the vulgar Romancers, ſeems to have been purpoſely written in their favourite Metre. In the third, or Octoſyllable Metre, he has left ſeveral compoſitions; particularly, " an imperfect Tranſlation of the *Roman de la Roſe*," which was, probably, one of his earlieſt performances; " the Houſe of Fame;" " the Dethe of the Ducheſſe " Blanche," and a poem called his " Dreme;" upon all which it will be ſufficient here to obſerve in general, that, if he had given no other proofs of his poetical faculty, theſe alone muſt have ſecured to him the pre-eminence, above all his predeceſſors and contemporaries, in point of Verſification.

" § IX. But by far the moſt conſiderable part of Chaucer's works is written in that kind of Metre which we now call the Heroic, either in Diſtichs or in Stanzas; and as I have not been able to diſcover any inſtance of this metre being uſed by any Engliſh Poet before him, I am much inclined to ſuppoſe that he was the firſt introducer of it into our language. It had long been practiſed in France, in the Northern as well as the Southern provinces; and in Italy, within the laſt fifty years before Chaucer wrote, it had been cultivated with the greateſt aſſiduity and ſucceſs, in preference to every other metre, by Dante, Petrarch, and Boccace. When we reflect that two of Chaucer's juvenile productions, the Palamon and Arcite, and the Troilus, were in a manner tranſlated from the *Theſeida* and the *Filoſtrato* of Boccace, both written in the common Italian hendecaſyllable verſe, it cannot but appear extremely probable, that his metre alſo was copied from the ſame original; and yet I cannot find that the form of his Stanza in the Troilus (conſiſting of ſeven verſes) was ever uſed by Boccace, though it is to be met with among the poems of the King of Navarre, and of the *Provençal* Rimers. Whichever he ſhall be ſuppoſed to have followed, whether the French or Italians, it is certain that he could

ſame Prince, he was ſent Embaſſador into France, and the year following he went beyond the ſeas, joined in commiſſion with the King's brother, and Geoffry Chaucer's nephew,

could not want in either language a number of models of correct and harmonious verſification; and the only queſtion will be, whether he had ability and induſtry enough to imitate that part of their excellency.

" § X. In diſcuſſing this queſtion we ſhould always have in mind, that the correctneſs and harmony of an Engliſh verſe depends entirely upon its being compoſed of a certain number of ſyllables, and its having the accents of thoſe ſyllables properly placed. In order therefore to form any judgment of the Verſification of Chaucer, it is neceſſary that we ſhould know the ſyllabical value (if I may uſe the expreſſion) of his words, and the accentual value of his ſyllables, as they were commonly pronounced in his time; for without that knowledge, it is not more probable that we ſhould determine juſtly upon the exactneſs of his metres, than that we ſhould be able to caſt up rightly an account ſtated in coins of a former age, of whoſe current rates and denominations we are totally ignorant.

" § XI. Let us conſider a moment, how a ſenſible critic in the Auguſtan age would have proceeded, if called upon to examine a work of Ennius. When he found that a great proportion of the verſes were ſtrictly conformable to the ordinary rules of Metre, he would, probably, not ſcruple to conclude that ſuch a conformity muſt have been produced by art and deſign, and not by mere chance. On the other hand, when he found, that in ſome verſes the number of feet, to appearance, was either deficient or redundant; that in others the feet were ſeemingly compoſed of too few or too many ſyllables, or ſhort ſyllables in the place of long or of long in the place of ſhort; he would not, I think, immediately condemn the old Bard, as having all at once forgotten the fundamental principles of his art, or as having wilfully or negligently deviated from them. He would firſt, I preſume, enquire, whether all theſe irregularities were in the genuine text of his author, or only the miſtakes of Copyiſts: he would enquire further, by comparing the genuine text with other contemporary writings and monuments, whether many things, which appeared irregular, were not in truth ſufficiently regular, either juſtified by the conſtant practice, or excuſed by the allowed licence of the age: where authority failed, he would have recourſe (but ſoberly) to etymology and analogy; and if after all a few paſſages remained, not reducible to the ſtrict laws of Metre by any of the methods abovementioned, if he were really (as I have ſuppoſed him) a ſenſible critic, he would be apt rather to expect patiently the ſolution of his difficulties from more correct manuſcripts, or a more complete theory of his author's verſification, than to cut the knot, by deciding peremptorily, that the work was compoſed without any regard to metrical rules.

" § XII. I beg leave to purſue the ſame courſe with reſpect to Chaucer. The great number of verſes, ſounding complete even to our ears, which is to be found in all the leaſt corrected copies of his works, authorizes us to conclude, that he was not ignorant of the laws of metre. Upon this concluſion, it is impoſſible not to ground a ſtrong preſumption, that he intended to obſerve the ſame laws in the many other verſes which ſeem to us irregular; and if this was really his intention, what reaſon can be aſſigned ſufficient to account for his having failed ſo groſsly and repeatedly, as is generally ſuppoſed, in an operation, which every Balladmonger in our days, man, woman, or child, is known to perform with the moſt unerring exactneſs, and without any extraordinary fatigue?

" § XIII. The offences againſt metre in an Engliſh verſe, as has partly been obſerved before, muſt ariſe either from a Superfluity or Deficiency of ſyllables, or from the Accents being improperly placed.

" § XIV. With reſpect to the firſt ſpecies of irregularity, I have not taken notice of any Superfluities in Chaucer's verſes, but what may be reduced to juſt meaſure by the uſual practices of even modern Poets. And this, by the way, is a ſtrong proof of his real attention to metrical rules; for otherwiſe, if he had written without any reſtraint of that kind, a certain proportion of his deviations from meaſure muſt, in all probability, have been on the ſide of exceſs.

" § XV. But a great number of Chaucer's verſes labour under an apparent Deficiency of a ſyllable, or two. In ſome of theſe perhaps the defect may ſtill be ſupplied from MSS. but for the greateſt part, I am perſuaded, no ſuch aſſiſtance is to be expected; and, therefore, ſuppoſing the text in theſe caſes to be correct, it is worth conſidering whether the verſe alſo may not be made correct, by adopting, in certain words, a pronunciation, different indeed from modern practice, but which, we have reaſon to believe, was uſed by the author himſelf.

" For inſtance, in the Genitive caſe Singular, and the Plural Number of Nouns (which, as has been remarked above, in the time of Chaucer had the ſame expreſſion), there can be no doubt that ſuch words as, *ſhoures*, ver. 1. *croppes*, ver. 7. *ſhires*, ver. 15. *lordes*, ver. 47, &c. were regularly pronounced as conſiſting of two ſyllables. Whenever they are uſed as Monoſyllables, it muſt be conſidered as a Poetical Licence, warranted however even then (as we may preſume from the natural progreſs of our language) by the practice of inaccurate ſpeakers in common converſation.

" In like manner, we may be ſure that *ed*, the regular termination of the Paſt Tenſe and its Participle, made, or contributed to make, a ſecond ſyllable in the words, *perced*, ver. 2. *bathed*, ver. 3. *loved*, ver. 45. *wered*, ver. 75, &c. The firſt ſtep toward reducing words of this form to Monoſyllables ſeems to have been to ſhorten the laſt ſyllable, either by tranſpoſing the final letters, as in—*wolde*, ver. 144. *ſayde*, ver. 763, &c. or by throwing away the *d*, as in—*caſte*, ver. 1910. *caſte*, ver. 2083, &c. In both theſe caſes the words ſtill remained of two ſyllables, the final *e* being ſounded as an *e* feminine; but they were prepared to loſe their laſt ſyllable by the eaſy licence of changing an *e* feminine into an *e* mute, or of dropping it entirely, according to the modern practice.

" § XVI. But nothing will be found of ſuch extenſive uſe for ſupplying the deficiencies of Chaucer's metre as the pronunciation of the *e* feminine; and as that pronunciation has been for a long time totally antiquated, it may be proper here to ſuggeſt ſome reaſons for believing (independently of any arguments to be drawn from the practice of Chaucer himſelf) that the final *e* in our antient language was very generally pronounced, as the *e* feminine is at this day by the French.

" With reſpect to words imported directly from France, it is certainly quite natural to ſuppoſe, that, for ſome time, they retained their native pronunciation; whether they were Nouns ſubſtantive, as, *hoſte*, ver. 753. *face*, ver. 1580. &c.—or Adjectives, as, *large*, ver. 755. *ſtrange*, ver. 13, &c.—or Verbs, as, *grante*, ver. 12756. *preche*, ver. 12327, &c. and it cannot be doubted, that in theſe and other ſimilar words in the French language, the final *e* was always pronounced, as it ſtill is, ſo as to make them diſſyllables.

" We have not indeed ſo clear a proof of the original pronounciation of the Saxon part of our language; but we know, from general obſervation, that all changes of pronunciation are uſually made by ſmall degrees; and therefore, when we find that a great number of thoſe words, which in Chaucer's time ended in *e*, originally ended in *a*, we may reaſonably preſume, that our anceſtors firſt paſſed from the broader ſound of *a* to the thinner ſound of *e* feminine, and not at once from *a* to *e* mute. Beſides, if the final *e* in ſuch words was not pronounced, why was it added? From the time that it has confeſſedly ceaſed to be pronounced, it has been gradually omitted in them, except where it may be ſuppoſed of uſe to lengthen or ſoften the preceding ſyllable, as in—

Bope,

nephew, Henry Beaufort, Biſhop of Wincheſter. In the ninth year of the ſame reign, on Tueſday, the twenty-fifth of October, the Commons preſented him their Speaker; as

hope, *name*, &c. But according to the ancient orthography it terminates many words of Saxon original, where it cannot have been added for any ſuch purpoſe, as, *herte*, *childe*, *olde*, *wilde*, &c. In theſe therefore we muſt ſuppoſe that it was pronounced as an *e* feminine, and made part of a ſecond ſyllable; and ſo, by a parity of reaſon, in all others, in which, as in theſe, it appears to have been ſubſtituted for the Saxon *a*.

" Upon the ſame grounds we may preſume, that in words terminated, according to the Saxon form, in *en*, ſuch as the Infinitive modes and Plural numbers of Verbs, and a great variety of Adverbs and Prepoſitions, the *n* only was at firſt thrown away, and the *e*, which then became final, continued for a long time to be pronounced as well as written.

" Theſe conſiderations ſeem ſufficient to make us believe, that the pronuntiation of the *e* feminine is founded on the very nature of both the French and Saxon parts of our language; and therefore, though we may not be able to trace the reaſons of that pronountiation in all caſes ſo plainly as in thoſe which have been juſt mentioned, we may ſafely, I think, conclude with the learned Wallis, that what is generally conſidered as an *e* mute in our language, either at the end or in the middle of words, was antiently pronounced, but obſcurely, like the *e* feminine of the French.

" § XVII. The third kind of irregularity, to which an Engliſh verſe is liable, is from the Accents being miſplaced. The reſtoring of Chaucer's words to their juſt number of ſyllables, by the methods which have been pointed out above, will often be of ſignal ſervice in reſtoring his accents alſo to their proper places; but further, in many words, we muſt be cautious of concluding too haſtily that Chaucer accented the ſame ſyllables that we do. On the contrary, I am perſuaded that in his French words he moſt commonly laid his accent according to the French cuſtom (upon the *laſt* ſyllable, or the *laſt but one* in words ending in *e* femine,) which, as is well known, is the very reverſe of our practice. Thus in ver. 3. he uſes *licóur* for *líquour*; ver. 11. *corâges* for *cóurages*; ver. 22. again, *corâge* for *cóurage*; ver. 37. *reſón* for *réaſon*; ver. 77. *viâge* for *voyage*; ver. 109, 10. *viſage—uſage* for *víſage*, *úſage*; ver 140. *manére* for *mánner*; ver. 186. *laboúre* for *lábour*; ver. 204. *prelát* for *prélate*; ver. 211. *langâge* for *lánguage*; ver. 212. *mariâge* for *márriage*; ver. 216. *contrée* for *cóuntry*; and ſo through the whole work.

" In the ſame manner he accents the laſt Syllable of the Participle Preſent, as, ver. 885, 6. *wedding—coming* for *wédding—cóming*; ver. 903. *living* for *líving*; ver. 907, 8. *coming—crying*; ver. 998. *brenning* for *brénning*, &c. and as he does this in words of Saxon as well as of French growth, I ſhould ſuppoſe that the old Participle of the preſent tenſe, ending in *and*, was originally accented upon that ſyllable, as it certainly continued to be by the Scottiſh Poets a long time after Chaucer. See Bp. Douglas, Virg. p. 18. ver. 18. Spryngând; ver. 51. Berând; p. 27. ver. 49. Fleând; p. 29. ver. 10. Seând.

Theſe inſtances are all taken from the Riming ſyllables (where a ſtrong accent is indiſpenſably neceſſary) in order to prove beyond contradiction, that Chaucer frequently accented his words in the French manner. But if he followed this practice at the end of his verſes, it is more than probable that he did the ſame in the middle, whenever it gave a more harmonious flow to his metre; and therefore in ver. 4. inſtead of *vértue*, I ſuppoſe he pronounced, *vertúe*; in ver. 11. inſtead of *nâture*, *natúre*; in ver. 25. inſtead of *avénture*, *aventúre*; in ver. 46. inſtead of *hónour*, *honoúr*, &c.

It may be proper however to obſerve, that we are not to expect from Chaucer that regularity in the diſpoſition of his accents, which the practice of our greateſt Poets in the laſt and the preſent century has taught us to conſider as eſſential to harmonious verſification. None of his maſters, either French or Italian, had ſet him a pattern of exactneſs in this reſpect; and it is rather ſurprizing, that, without rule or example to guide him, he has ſo ſeldom failed to place his accents in ſuch a manner, as to produce the cadence beſt ſuited to the nature of his verſe.

" § XVIII. I ſhall conclude this long and (I fear) tedious Eſſay, with a Grammatical and Metrical Analyſis of the firſt eighteen lines of the Canterbury Tales. This will afford me an opportunity of illuſtrating at once a conſiderable part of that Theory, which I have ventured to propoſe in the preceding pages, with regard to the Language and Verſification of Chaucer. The remainder I ſhall take occaſion to explain in a few notes upon particular paſſages.

THE BEGINNING OF THE CANTERBURY TALES.

" I. *Whânne* that Âpril with his *ſhoûres ſôte*
" II. The droûghte of Márch hath *pérced* tó the *róte*,
" III. And *bâthed* évery véine in *ſwíche licoúr*,
" IV. Of whíche *vertûe* engéndred ís the floúr;
" V. Whan Zéphirús eké with his *ſôte* bréthe
" VI. *Enſpíred* háth in évery hólt and héthe
" VII. The téndre *cróppes*, and the *yónge* ſónne,
" VIII. Háth in the Rám his *hálfe* cóurs *yrónne*,
" IX. And *ſmále foúles máken* mélodíe,
" X. That *ſléepen âlle* night with ópen eye,
" XI. So príketh *hém natúre* in *hír coráges*;
" XII. Than *lóngen* fólke to *gón* on pilgrimáges,
" XIII. And *pálmer'es* fór to *ſéken ſtránge* ſtróndes,
" XIV. To *férre hálwes coúthe* in ſóndry lóndes;
" XV. And ſpécially from évery *ſhíres* énde
" XVI. Of *Englelónd* to Cánterbúry *they wénde*,
" XVII. The hóly blíſful mártyr fór to ſéke,
" XVIII. That *hém* hath *hólpen*, whân that théy were *ſéke* (109)."

(109) Tyrwhytt, *ubi ſupra*, p. 1—111.

Mr. Tyrwhytt hath annexed to the " Eſſay on the Language and Verſification of Chaucer, an " Introductory Diſcourſe to the Canterbury Tales." This, too, is of ſo much conſequence to the elucidation of theſe Tales, and to the explanation of the order of placing them, followed by our learned Editor, that we ſhall, likewiſe, inſert it; omitting, as before, the notes, and for the ſame reaſon.

" § I. The Dramatic form, which Boccace gave to his collection of Tales, or Novels, about the middle of the fourteenth Century, muſt be allowed to have been a capital improvement of that ſpecies of amuſing compoſition. The Decameron in that reſpect (not to mention many others) has the ſame advantage over the *Cento novelle antiche*, which are ſuppoſed to have preceded it in point of time, that a regular Comedy will neceſſarily have over an equal number of ſingle unconnected Scenes. Perhaps indeed there would be no great harm, if the Critics would permit us to conſider the Decameron, and other compoſitions of that kind, in the light of Comedies not intended for the ſtage: at leaſt we may venture to aſſume, that the cloſer any ſuch compoſition ſhall copy the moſt eſſential forms of Comedy; the more natural and defined the Plan ſhall be; the more the Characters ſhall be diverſified; the more the Tales ſhall be ſuited to the Characters; ſo much the more conſpicuous will be the ſkill of the Writer, and his work approach the nearer to perfection.

" § II. The Canterbury Tales are a work of the ſame nature with the Decameron, and were, in all probability, compoſed in imitation of it, though upon a different and (in my opinion) an improved plan. It would be eaſy to ſhew, that, in the ſeveral points above-mentioned, Chaucer has either been more judicious, or more fortunate, than his maſter Boccace; but (waving for the preſent that diſquiſition) I ſhall proceed to the immediate object of this Diſcourſe, which is, in the firſt place, to lay before the Reader the general plan of the Canterbury Tales, as it appears to have been originally deſigned by Chaucer; and, ſecondly, to give a particular review of the ſeveral parts of that work, which are come

as they did likewiſe in the eleventh year, on Wedneſday, the twenty-eighth of January. In the twelfth year of that reign, Queen Jane granted to him, for his good ſervice, the manors

down to us, as they are publiſhed in this edition.

" § III. THE GENERAL PLAN of the Canterbury Tales may be learned, in a great meaſure, from the Prologue, which Chaucer himſelf has prefixed to them. He ſuppoſes there, that a company of Pilgrims going to Canterbury, aſſemble at an Inn in Southwark, and agree, that, for their common amuſement on the road, each of them ſhall tell at leaſt one Tale in going to Canterbury, and another in coming back from thence; and that he, who ſhall tell the beſt Tales, ſhall be treated by the reſt with a ſupper upon their return to the ſame Inn. This is ſhortly the *Fable*. The *Characters* of the Pilgrims are as various as, at that time, could be found in the ſeveral departments of *middle* life; that is, in fact, as various as could, with any probability, be brought together, ſo as to form one company; the higheſt and the loweſt ranks of ſociety being neceſſarily excluded. It appears further, that the deſign of Chaucer was not barely to recite the Tales told by the Pilgrims, but alſo to deſcribe their journey, *And all the remenant of* their *pilgrimage* [ver. 726.]; including, probably, their adventures at Canterbury as well as upon the road. If we add, that the Tales, beſides being nicely adapted to the Characters of their reſpective Relaters, were intended to be connected together by ſuitable introductions, and interſperſed with diverting epiſodes; and that the greateſt part of them was to have been executed in Verſe; we ſhall have a tolerable idea of the extent and difficulty of the whole undertaking: and admiring, as we muſt, the vigour of that genius, which in an advanced age could begin ſo vaſt a work, we ſhall rather lament than be ſurprized that it has been left imperfect.

" § IV. In truth, if we compare thoſe parts of the Canterbury Tales, of which we are in poſſeſſion, with the ſketch which has been juſt given of the intended whole, it will be found that more than one half is wanting. The Prologue we have, perhaps nearly complete, and the greateſt part of the journey to Canterbury; but not a word of the tranſactions at Canterbury, or of the journey homeward, or of the Epilogue, which, we may ſuppoſe, was to have concluded the work, with an account of the Prize-ſupper, and the ſeparation of the company. Even in that part which we have of the journey to Canterbury, it will be neceſſary, in the following Review, to take notice of certain defects and inconſiſtencies, which can only be accounted for upon the ſuppoſition, that the work was never finiſhed by the Author.

" § V. Having thus ſtated the general Plan of the Canterbury Tales, I ſhall now, according to my promiſe, enter upon a particular Review of thoſe parts of them, which are publiſhed in this edition, beginning with THE PROLOGUE.

" It ſeems to have been the intention of Chaucer, in the firſt lines of the Prologue, to mark, with ſome exactneſs, the *time* of his ſuppoſed pilgrimage; but unluckily the two circumſtances of his deſcription, which were moſt likely to anſwer that purpoſe, are each of them irreconcileable to the other. When he tells us, that " the ſhours of April had *perced to the rote* the drought of March" [ver. 1, 2.], we muſt ſuppoſe (in order to allow due time for ſuch an operation) that April was far advanced; while, on the other hand, the place of the Sun, " having juſt run half his courſe in the Ram" [ver. 7, 8.], reſtrains us to ſome day in the very latter end of March; as the Vernal Equinox, in the age of Chaucer, according to his own treatiſe on the Aſtrolabe, was computed to happen on the twelfth of March. This difficulty may (and, I think, ſhould) be removed by reading in ver. 8, *the Bull*, inſtead of *the Ram*. All the parts of the deſcription will then be conſiſtent with themſelves, and with another paſſage, [ver. 4425.] where, in the beſt MSS. *the eighte and twenty day* of April is named as the day of the journey to Canterbury.

" We will ſuppoſe, therefore, that the preceding day, the ſeven and twentieth of April, was the day on which the company aſſembled at the Tabard. In what year this happened, Chaucer has not thought fit to inform us. Either he did not think it neceſſary to fix that point at all; or perhaps he poſtponed it, till the completion of his work ſhould enable him to aſſign ſuch a date to his Fable, as ſhould be conſiſtent with all the Hiſtorical circumſtances, which he might take occaſion to introduce into it.

" § VI. A ſecond point, intended to be defined in the Prologue, is the *number of the company*; and this too has its difficulties. They are ſaid in ver. 24. to have been *nine and twenty*, but it is not clear whether Chaucer himſelf is included in that number. They might, therefore, according to that paſſage, be *thirty*; but if we reckon the ſeveral characters, as they are enumerated in the Prologue, we ſhall find them *one and thirty*; 1. a Knight; 2. a Squier; 3. a Yeman; 4. a Prioreſſe; 5. an other Nonne; 6. 7. 8. Three Preeſtes; 9. a Monk; 10. a Frere; 11. a Marchant; 12. a Clerk of Oxenforde; 13. a Sergeant of the Lawe; 14. a Frankelein; 15. an Haberdaſher; 16. a Carpenter; 17. a Webbe; 18. a Deyer; 19. a Tapiſer; 20. a Coke; 21. a Shipman; 22. a Doctour of Phyſike; 23. a Wif of Bathe; 24. a Perſone; 25. a Plowman; 26. a Reve; 27. a Miller; 28. a Sompnour; 29. a Pardoner; 30. a Manciple; 31. Chaucer himſelf. It muſt be obſerved, however, that in this liſt there is one very ſuſpicious article, which is that of the *three Preeſtes*. As it appears evidently to have been the deſign of Chaucer to compoſe his company of individuals of different ranks, in order to produce a greater variety of diſtinct characters, we can hardly conceive that he would, in this ſingle inſtance, introduce *three*, of the ſame profeſſion, without any diſcriminating circumſtances whatever; and, in fact, when the Nonnes Preeſt is called upon to tell his tale, [ver. 14814.] he is accoſted by the Hoſt in a manner, which will not permit us to ſuppoſe that two others of the ſame denomination were preſent. This muſt be allowed to be a ſtrong objection to the genuineneſs of that article of the *three* Preeſtes; but it is not the only one. All the other Characters are particularly deſcribed, and moſt of them very much at large; whereas the whole that is ſaid of the *other Nonne*, and the *three Preeſtes*, is contained in theſe two lines [ver. 163, 4.] at the end of the Prioreſſes character:

> Another Nonne alſo with hire had ſhe,
> That was hire Chapellein, and Preeſtes three.

Where it is alſo obſervable, that the ſingle circumſtance of deſcription is falſe; for no Nonne could be a Chaplain. The chief duty of a Chaplain was to ſay Maſs, and to hear Confeſſion; neither of which offices could regularly be performed by a Nonne, or by any woman.

" It ſhould ſeem, therefore, that we have ſufficient ground to reject theſe two lines, or at leaſt the ſecond, as an interpolation; by which means we ſhall get rid of *two* of the Preeſtes, and the detail of the characters will agree with the groſs number in ver. 24. Chaucer himſelf being included among the *nine and twenty*. As Novelliſts generally delight in even numbers, it is not improbable that the Hoſt was intended to be the thirtieth. Though not under the ſame obligation with the other Pilgrims, he might nevertheleſs tell his Tale among them as a Volunteer.

" § VII. This leads me, in the third place, to examine what the *agreement* was, which the Pilgrims entered into, at the ſuggeſtion of the Hoſt, with reſpect to the number of Tales that each perſon was to tell. The propoſal of the Hoſt ſtands thus, with very little variation, in all the MSS.

" This is the point—[ſays he, ver. 792—c.]

> That eche of you, to ſhorten with youre way,
> In this viage ſhal tellen tales tway,
> To Canterbury ward, I mene it ſo,
> And homeward he ſhal tellen other two—

From this paſſage we ſhould certainly conclude, that each of them was to tell *two tales* in the journey to Canterbury,

manors of Woodſtock, Hannebrough, Wotton, and Stantesfield, during life; and in the thirteenth year, on the fifth of November, he was again preſented Speaker, as he was

Canterbury, and *two more* in the journey homeward: but all the other paſſages, in which mention is made of this agreement, would rather lead us to believe, that they were to tell only *one* Tale in each journey; and the Prologue to the Parſon's Tale ſtrongly confirms this latter ſuppoſition. The Hoſt ſays there, [ver. 17317.]

" Now lacketh us no tales mo than on"—

and calling upon the Parſon to tell this one tale, which was wanting, he ſays to him, [ver. 17325.]

——" ne breke thou not our play,
For every man, ſave thou, hath told his tale."

The Parſon therefore had not told any tale before, and only one tale was expected from him (and conſequently from each of the others) upon that journey.

" It is true, that a very ſlight alteration of the paſſage firſt cited would reconcile that too to this hypotheſis. If it were written—

That eche of you, to ſhorten with youre way,
In this viage ſhal tellen tales tway;
To Canterbury ward, I mene it, *o*,
And homeward he ſhall tell another *to*—

the original propoſition of the Hoſt would perfectly agree with what appears to have been the ſubſequent practice. However, I cannot venture to propoſe ſuch an alteration of the text, in oppoſition to ſo many MSS. ſome of them of the beſt note; and therefore the Reader, if he is ſo pleaſed, may conſider this as one of thoſe inconſiſtencies, hinted at above, which prove too plainly that the author had not finiſhed his work.

" § VIII. The remainder of the Prologue is employed in deſcribing the *Characters* of the Pilgrims, and their firſt ſetting out upon their journey. The little that it may be neceſſary to ſay in illuſtration of ſome of the Characters I ſhall reſerve for the Notes. The circumſtances of their ſetting out are related ſuccinctly and naturally; and the contrivance of appointing the Knight *by lot* to tell the firſt tale is a happy one, as it affords the Author the opportunity of giving his work a ſplendid opening, and at the ſame time does not infringe that apparent equality, upon which the freedom of diſcourſe, and conſequently the eaſe and good-humour of every ſociety ſo entirely depends. The general ſatisfaction, which this appointment is ſaid to give to the company, puts us in mind of a ſimilar gratification to the ſecret wiſhes of the Grecian army, when the lot of fighting with Hector falls to Ajax; though there is not the leaſt probability that Chaucer had ever read the Iliad, even in a tranſlation.

" § IX. THE KNIGHTES TALE, or at leaſt a Poem upon the ſame ſubject, was originally compoſed by Chaucer, as a ſeparate work. As ſuch it is mentioned by him, among ſome of his other works, in the *Legende of gode women*, [ver. 420, 1.] under the title of—" al the love of Palamon and Arcite Of Thebes, though the ſtorie is knowen lite—;" and the laſt words ſeem to imply, that it had not made itſelf very popular. It is not impoſſible that at firſt it was a mere tranſlation of the Theſeida of Boccace, and that its preſent form was given to it, when Chaucer determined to aſſign it the firſt place among his Canterbury Tales. As the Theſeida, upon which this tale is entirely founded, is very rarely to be met with, it may be not unpleaſing to the Reader to ſee here a ſhort ſummary of it, which will ſhew with what ſkill Chaucer has proceeded in reducing a poem of about ten thouſand lines to a little more than two thouſand, without omitting any material circumſtance.

" The Theſeida is diſtributed into twelve Books or Cantoes.

" B. I. Contains the war of Theſeus with the Amazons; their ſubmiſſion to him; and his marriage with Hippolyta.

" B. II. Theſeus, having ſpent two years in Scythia, is reproached by Perithous in a viſion, and immediately returns to Athens with Hippolyta and her ſiſter Emilia. He enters the city in triumph; finds the Grecian Ladies in the temple of Clemenzia; marches to Thebes; kills Creon, &c. and brings home Palemone and Arcita, who are

" *Damnati—ad eterna preſone.*

" B. III. Emilia, walking in a garden and ſinging, is heard and ſeen firſt by Arcita, who calls Palemone. They are both equally enamoured of her, but without any jealouſy or rivalſhip. Emila is ſuppoſed to ſee them at the window, and to be not diſpleaſed with their admiration.—Arcita is releaſed at the requeſt of Perithous; takes his leave of Palemone, with embraces, &c.

" B. IV. Arcita, having changed his name to *Pentheo*, goes into the ſervice of Menelaus at Mycenæ; and afterwards of Peleus at Ægina. From thence he returns to Athens and becomes a favourite ſervant of Theſeus, being known to Emilia, though to nobody elſe; till after ſome time he is overhead making his complaint in a wood, to which he uſually reſorted for that purpoſe, by Pamphilo, a ſervant of Palemone.

" B. V. Upon the report of Pamphilo, Palemone *begins* to be jealous of Arcita, and is deſirous to get out of priſon in order to fight with him. This he accompliſhes with the aſſiſtance of Pamphilo, by changing clothes with Alimeto, a Phyſician. He goes armed to the wood in queſt of Arcita, whom he finds ſleeping. At firſt they are very civil and friendly to each other. Then Palemone calls upon Arcita to renounce his pretenſions to Emilia, or to fight with him. After many long expoſtulations on the part of Arcita, they fight, and are diſcovered firſt by Emilia, who ſends for Theſeus. When he finds who they are, and the cauſe of their difference, he forgives them, and propoſes the method of deciding their claim to Emilia by a combat of an hundred on each ſide, to which they gladly agree.

" B. VI. Palemone and Arcita live ſplendidly at Athens, and ſend out meſſengers to ſummon their friends; who arrive; and the principal of them are ſeverally deſcribed, viz. Lycurgus, Peleus, Phocus, Telamon, &c. Agamemnon, Menelaus, Caſtor and Pollux, &c. Neſtor, Evander, Perithous, Ulyſſes, Diomedes, Pygmalion, Minos, &c. with a great diſplay of ancient hiſtory and mythology.

" B. VII. Theſeus declares the laws of the combat, and the two parties of an hundred on each ſide are formed. The day before the combat, Arcita, after having viſited the temples of all the Gods, makes a formal prayer to Mars. The Prayer, *being perſonified*, is ſaid to go and find Mars in his temple in Thrace, which is deſcribed; and Mars, upon underſtanding the meſſage, cauſes favourable ſigns to be given to Arcita. In the ſame manner Palemone cloſes his religious obſervances with a prayer to Venus. His Prayer, *being alſo perſonified*, ſets out for the Temple of Venus on Mount Citherone, which is alſo deſcribed; and the petition is granted. Then the ſacrifice of Emilia to Diana is deſcribed; her prayer; the appearance of the Goddeſs; and the ſigns of the two fires.—In the morning they proceed to the Theatre with their reſpective troops, and prepare for the action. Arcita puts up a private prayer to Emilia, and harangues his troop publickly; and Palemone does the ſame.

" B. VIII. Contains a deſcription of the battle, in which Palemone is taken priſoner.

" B. IX. The horſe of Arcita, being frighted by a Fury, ſent from hell at the deſire of Venus, throws him. However, he is carried to Athens in a triumphal chariot with Emilia by his ſide; is put to bed dangerouſly ill; and there by his own deſire eſpouſes Emilia.

" B. X. The funeral of the perſons killed in the combat. Arcita, being given over by his Phyſicians, makes his will, in diſcourſe with Theſeus, and deſires that Palemone may inherit all his poſſeſſions and alſo Emilia. He then takes leave of Palemone and Emilia, to whom he repeats the ſame requeſt. Their lamentations. Arcita orders a ſacrifice to Mercury, (which Palemone performs for him,) and dies.

" B. XI.

was in the ſecond of Henry V. on Wedneſday, the ſecond day of Parliament. And in the ſame year he was ſent by the King, in joint commiſſion with Hugh Mortimer, to treat

" B. XI. Opens with the paſſage of Arcita's ſoul to heaven, imitated from the beginning of the 9th Book of Lucan, The funeral of Arcita. Deſcription of the wood felled takes up ſix Stanzas. Palemone builds a temple in honour of him, in which his whole hiſtory is painted. The deſcription of this painting is an abridgment of the preceding part of the Poem.

" B. XII. Theſeus propoſes to carry into execution Arcita's will by the marriage of Palemone and Emilia. This they both decline for ſome time in formal ſpeeches, but at laſt are perſuaded and married. The Kings, &c. take their leave, and Palemone remains —" in gioia e in diporto Con la ſua dona nobile e corteſe."

" From this ſketch of the Theſeida, it is evident enough that Chaucer was obliged to Boccace for the Plan and principal incidents of the KNIGHTES TALE; and in the Notes upon that tale I ſhall point out ſome paſſages, out of many more, which are literal tranſlations from the Italian.

" § X. When the *Knight* has finiſhed his Tale, the *Hoſt* with great propriety calls upon the *Monk*, as the next in rank among the men, to tell the next Tale; but, as it ſeems to have been the intention of Chaucer to avail himſelf of the variety of his Characters, in order to diſtribute alternate ſucceſſions of Serious and Comic, in nearly equal proportions, throughout his work, he has contrived, that the *Hoſtes* arrangement ſhall be ſet aſide by the intruſion of the *dronken Miller*, whoſe Tale is ſuch as might be expected from his character and condition, a complete contraſt to the *Knightes*.

" § XI. I have not been able to diſcover from whence the Story of the MILLERS TALE is taken; ſo that for the preſent I muſt give Chaucer credit for it as his own invention, though in general he appears to have built his Tales, both ſerious and comic, upon ſtories, which he found ready made. The great difference is, that in his ſerious pieces he often follows his author with the ſervility of a mere tranſlator, and in conſequence his narration is jejune and conſtrained; whereas in the comic, he is generally ſatisfied with borrowing a ſlight hint of his ſubject, which he varies, enlarges, and embelliſhes at pleaſure, and gives the whole the air and colour of an original; a ſure ſign, that his genius rather led him to compoſitions of the latter kind.

" § XII. The next tale is told by the REVE (who is repreſented above [ver. 589.] as " a cholerick man") in revenge of the *Miller*'s tale. It has been generally ſaid to be borrowed from the *Decameron*, D. ix. N. 6. but I rather think that both Boccace and Chaucer, in this inſtance, have taken whatever they have in common from an old *Fabliau*, or *Conte*, of an anonymous French rimer, *De Gombert & des deux Clers*. The reader may eaſily ſatisfy himſelf upon this head, by caſting his eye upon the French *Fabliau*, which has lately been printed with ſeveral others from MSS. in France. See *Fabliaux & Contes*, Paris, 1756. t. ii. p. 115—124.

" § XIII. The COKES TALE is imperfect in all the MSS. which I have had an opportunity of examining. In MS. A. it ſeems to have been entirely omitted; and indeed I cannot help ſuſpecting, that it was intended to be omitted, at leaſt in this place, as in the *Manciples Prologue*, when the *Coke* is called upon to tell a tale, there is no intimation of his having told one before. Perhaps our Author might think, that three tales of *harlotrie*, as he calls it, together would be too much. However, as it is ſufficiently certain, that the *Cokes* Prologue and the beginning of his Tale are genuine compoſitions, they have their uſual place in this Edition. There was not the ſame reaſon for inſerting the ſtory of GAMELYN, which in ſome MSS. is annexed to the *Cokes Tale*. It is not to be found in any of the MSS. of the firſt authority; and the manner, ſtyle, and verſification, all prove it to have been the work of an author much inferiour to Chaucer. I did not therefore think myſelf warranted to publiſh it a ſecond time among the Canterbury Tales, though as a relique of our antient Poetry, and the foundation, perhaps, of Shakeſpeare's *As you like it*, I could have wiſhed to ſee it more accurately printed, than it is in the only edition which we have of it.

" § XIV. In the PROLOGUE TO THE MAN OF LAWES TALE Chaucer recalls our attention to the Action (if I may ſo call it) of his Drama, the journey of the Pilgrims. They had ſet out ſoon after *the day began to ſpring* [ver. 824 and f.] When the *Reve* was beginning to tell his tale, they were in the neighbourhood of Deptford and Greenwich, and it was *half way prime*; that is, I ſuppoſe, *half way* paſt *prime*, about half hour after ſeven A. M. [ver. 3904, 5.] How much further they were advanced upon their road at this time is not ſaid; but the hour of the day is pointed out to us by two circumſtances. We are firſt told [ver. 4422,3.], that

—" the Sonne
" The ark of his artificial day had ronne
" The fourthe part and half an hour and more;"

—and ſecondly [ver. 4432.], that he was " five and forty degrees high;" and this laſt circumſtance is ſo confirmed by the mention of a correſponding phænomenon that it is impoſſible to ſuſpect any error in the number. The *equality in length* of ſhadows to their projecting bodies can only happen, when the Sun is at the heighth of *five and forty* degrees. Unfortunately however this deſcription, though ſeemingly intended to be ſo accurate, will neither enable us to conclude with the MSS. that it was " *ten of the clock*," nor to fix upon any other hour; as the two circumſtances juſt mentioned are not found to coincide in any part of the twenty-eighth (or of any other) day of April in this climate. All that we can conclude with certainty is, that it was *not paſt* ten of the clock.

" The compliments which Chaucer has introduced upon his own writings are modeſt enough, and quite unexceptionable; but if the reflection [ver. 4497. and f.] upon thoſe who relate ſuch ſtories as that of *Canace*, or of *Apollonius Tyrus*, was levelled at Gower, as I very much ſuſpect, it will be difficult to reconcile ſuch an attack to our notions of the ſtrict friendſhip, which is generally ſuppoſed to have ſubſiſted between the two bards. The attack too at this time muſt appear the more extraordinary on the part of our bard, as he is juſt going to put into the mouth of his *Man of Lawe* a tale, of which almoſt every circumſtance is borrowed from Gower. The fact is, that the ſtory of *Canace* is related by Gower in his *Conf. Amant.* B. iii. and the ſtory of *Apollonius* (or *Apollynus*, as he is there called) in the VIIIth book of the ſame work; ſo that, if Chaucer really did not mean to reflect upon his old friend, his choice of theſe two inſtances was rather unlucky.

" § XV. THE MAN OF LAWES TALE, as I have juſt ſaid, is taken, with very little variation, from Gower, *Conf. Amant.* B. ii. If there could be any doubt, upon a curſory peruſal of the two tales, which of them was written firſt, the following paſſage, I think, is ſufficient to decide the queſtion. At ver. 5505, Chaucer ſays,—

Som men wold ſayn, how that the child Maurice
Doth this meſſage until this Emperour:—

and we read in Gower, that Maurice is actually ſent upon this meſſage to the Emperour. We may therefore fairly conclude, that in this paſſage Chaucer alludes to Gower, who had treated the ſame ſubject before him, but, as he inſinuates, with leſs propriety.

" I do not however ſuppoſe that Gower was the inventor of this tale. It had probably paſſed through ſeveral hands before it came to him. I find among the *Cotton* MSS. Cal. A. ii. fol. 69. an old Engliſh Rime, entitled " *Emare*," in which the heroine under that name goes through a ſeries of adventures, for the moſt part, exactly ſimilar to thoſe of Conſtance. But neither was the author of this Rime the inventor of the ſtory, for in fol. 70. a. he refers to his original " *in Romans*," or French; and in the laſt Stanza he tells us expreſsly—

Thys

treat of a marriage with Katherine, daughter to the Duke of Burgundy. He was likewiſe Embaſſador in the fifth and ſixth years of the ſame reign, with Walter Hungerford, Steward

Thys ys on of *Brytayne layes*
That was uſed by olde dayes.

" Of the *Britaine layes* I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more at large, when I come to the *Frankelin's Tale*.

" § XVI. *The Man of Lawes Tale* in the beſt MSS. is followed by the *Wife of Bathes Prologue and Tale*, and therefore I have placed them ſo here; not, however, merely in compliance with authority, but becauſe, according to the common arrangement in the *Merchants Tale*, there is a direct reference to the *Wife of Bathes Prologue*, before it has been ſpoken. Such an impropriety I was glad to remove upon the authority of the beſt MSS. though it had been acquieſced in by all former Editors; eſpecially as the ſame MSS. pointed out to me another (I believe, the true) place for both the *Merchant's* and the *Squier's* Tales, which have hitherto been printed immediately after the *Man of Lawes*. But of that hereafter.

" § XVII. The want of a few lines to introduce the WIFE OF BATHES PROLOGUE, is, perhaps, one of thoſe defects, hinted at above, which Chaucer would have ſupplied if he had lived to finiſh his work. The extraordinary length of it, as well as the vein of pleaſantry that runs through it, is very ſuitable to the character of the ſpeaker. The greateſt part muſt have been of Chaucer's own invention, though one may plainly ſee that he had been reading the popular invectives againſt marriage and women in general; ſuch as, the ROMAN DE LA ROSE; VALERIUS AD RUFINUM *de non ducendâ uxore*; and particularly HIERONYMUS *contra Jovinianum*.

" § XVIII. THE WIFE OF BATHES TALE ſeems to have been taken from the Story of *Florent* in Gower, *Conf. Amant.* B. i. or perhaps from an older narrative, in the *Geſta Romanorum*, or ſome ſuch collection, from which the Story of Florent was itſelf borrowed. However that may have been, it muſt be allowed that Chaucer has conſiderably improved the fable by lopping off ſome improbable, as well as unneceſſary, circumſtances; and the transferring of the ſcene from Sicily to the Court of King Arthur muſt have had a very pleaſing effect, before the fabulous majeſty of that court was quite obliterated.

" The old Ballad, entitled " The Marriage of Sir Gawaine," [*Ancient Poetry*, vol. iii. p. 11.] which the learned Editor thinks may have furniſhed Chaucer with this tale, I ſhould rather conjecture (with deference to ſo good a judge in theſe matters) to have been compoſed by one who had read both Gower and Chaucer.

" § XIX. THE TALES OF THE FRERE and THE SOMPNOUR are well ingrafted upon that of the *Wife of Bath*. The ill humour which ſhews itſelf between thoſe two characters is quite natural, as no two profeſſions at that time were at more conſtant variance. The Regular Clergy, and particularly the Mendicant Freres, affected a total exemption from all Eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, except that of the Pope, which made them exceedingly obnoxious to the Biſhops, and of courſe to all the inferior officers of the national hierarchy.

" I have not been able to trace either of theſe tales to any author older than Chaucer, and poſſibly they may both have been built upon ſome traditional pleaſantries, which were never before committed to writing.

" § XX. THE CLERKES TALE is in a different ſtrain from the three preceding. He tells us, in his *Prologue*, that he learned it *from Petrarch at Padua*; and this (by the way) is all the ground that I can find for the notion that Chaucer had ſeen Petrarch in Italy. It is not eaſy to ſay why Chaucer ſhould chooſe to own an obligation for this tale to Petrarch rather than to Boccace, from whoſe *Decameron*, D. x. N. 10. it was tranſlated by Petrarch in 1373 (the year before his death), as appears by a remarkable letter, which he ſent with his tranſlation to Boccace [*Opp. Petrarch.* p. 540—7. Ed. Baſ. 1581.]. It ſhould ſeem too from the ſame letter, that the ſtory was not invented by Boccace, for Petrarch ſays, " that it had always pleaſed him *when he heard it many years before*," whereas he had not ſeen the *Decameron* till very lately.

" § XXI. In the *Ballade*, with which *the Clerk* concludes his Tale, I have changed the order of the three laſt Stanzas, ſo as to make it end—

And let him *care*, and *wepe*, and wringe, and *waile*—

and immediately after I have placed the MARCHANTS PROLOGUE, beginning—

Weping and *wailing*, *care* and other ſorwe
I have enough—.

This arrangement, which recommends itſelf at firſt ſight, is alſo ſupported by ſo many MSS. of the beſt authority, that, without great negligence or dulneſs, I could not have either overlooked or rejected it, eſpecially as the whole turn of the *Marchants Prologue*, and the expreſs mention of *Griſilde* in ver. 9100. demonſtrate, that he is ſuppoſed to ſpeak with the *Clerkes Tale* freſh in his memory.

" § XXII. The ſcene of the MARCHANTS TALE is laid in Italy, but none of the names, except Damian and Juſtin, ſeem to be Italian, but rather made at pleaſure; ſo that I doubt whether the ſtory be really of Italian growth. The adventure of *the Pear-tree* I find in a ſmall collection of Latin fables, written by one Adolphus, in Elegiac verſes of his faſhion, in the year 1315. As this fable has never been printed but once, and in a book not commonly to be met with, I ſhall tranſcribe below the material parts of it, and I dare ſay the Reader will not be very anxious to ſee any more.

" Whatever was the real original of this Tale, the Machinery of the Faeries, which Chaucer has uſed ſo happily, was probably added by himſelf; and, indeed, I cannot help thinking, that his *Pluto* and *Proſerpina* were the true progenitors of *Oberon* and *Titania*, or rather, that they themſelves have, once at leaſt, deigned to reviſit our poetical ſyſtem under the latter names.

" § XXIII. The PROLOGUE to *the Squire's Tale* appears now for the firſt time in print. Why it has been omitted by all former Editors I cannot gueſs, except, perhaps, becauſe it did not ſuit with the place, which (for reaſons beſt known to themſelves) they were determined to aſſign to *the Squire's Tale*, that is, after *the Man of Lawes* and before *the Merchants*. I have choſen rather to follow the MSS. of the beſt authority in placing *the Squire's Tale* after *the Merchant's*, and in connecting them together by this Prologue, agreeably, as I am perſuaded, to Chaucer's intention. The lines which have uſually been printed by way of Prologue to *the Squire's Tale*, as I believe them to have been really compoſed by Chaucer, though not intended for *the Squire's* Prologue, I have prefixed to *the Shipman's Tale*, for reaſons, which I ſhall give when I come to ſpeak of that Tale.

" § XXIV. I ſhould have been very happy if the MSS. which have furniſhed the SQUIRES Prologue, had ſupplied the deficient part of his TALE, but I fear the judgement of Milton was too true, that this ſtory was " *left half-told*" by the author. I have never been able to diſcover the probable original of this tale, and yet I ſhould be very hardly brought to believe that the whole, or even any conſiderable part of it, was of Chaucer's invention.

" § XXV. We are now arrived with the common Editions (though by a different courſe) at the FRANKELEINES TALE; and here again we muſt be obliged to the MSS. not indeed, as in the laſt inſtance, for a *new* Prologue, but for authorizing us to prefix to this Tale of *the Frankelein* a Prologue, which in the common Editions is prefixed to the Tale of *the Merchant*, together with the true Prologue of that Tale, as printed above. It is ſcarce conceivable how theſe two Prologues could ever be joined together and given to the ſame character, as they are not only entirely unconnected, but alſo in one point directly contradictory to each other; for in that, which is properly *the Marchant's*,

Steward of the Houſhold, in the ſame affair; and again, in the ſixth year of the ſame reign, he was Embaſſador for peace with France; and he paſſed through ſeveral other publick

Marchant's, he ſays expreſsly [ver. 9110.] that he had been married "*two months* and not more;" whereas in the other, the Speaker's chief diſcourſe is about *his ſon*, who is *grown up*. THIS therefore, upon the authority of the beſt MSS. I have reſtored to *the Frankelein*; and I muſt obſerve, that the ſentiments of it are much more ſuitable to *his* character than to that of *the Marchant*. It is quite natural, that a wealthy land-holder, of a generous diſpoſition, as he is deſcribed [ver. 332—62.] who has been Sheriff, Knight of the Shire, &c. ſhould be anxious to ſee his ſon (as we ſay) *a Gentleman*, and that he ſhould talk ſlightingly of money in compariſon with poliſhed manners and virtuous endowments; but neither the character which Chaucer has drawn of *his Marchant*, nor our general notions of the profeſſion *at that time*, prepare us to expect from him ſo liberal a ſtrain of thinking.

"§ XXVI. THE FRANKELEINS TALE, as he tells us himſelf, is taken from a *Britiſh Lay*; and the name of perſons and places, as well as the ſcene and circumſtances of the ſtory, make this account extremely probable. The Lay itſelf is either loſt, or buried (perhaps for ever) in one of thoſe ſepulchres of MSS. which, by courteſy, are called Libraries; but there are two imitations of it extant by Boccace, the firſt in the Vth Book of his *Philocopo*, and the ſecond in the *Decameron*, D. x. N. 5. They agree in every reſpect with each other, except that the ſcene and the names are different, and in the latter the narration is leſs prolix and the ſtyle leſs flowery than in the former, which was a juvenile work. The only material point, in which Boccace ſeems to have departed from his original, is this: inſtead of "*the removal of the rockes*" the Lady deſires "*a garden, full of the flowers and fruits of May, in the month of January*;" and ſome ſuch alteration was certainly neceſſary, when the ſcene came to be removed from Bretagne to Spain and Italy, as it is in Boccace's novels. I ſhould gueſs that Chaucer has preſerved pretty faithfully the principal incidents of the *Britiſh Tale*, though he has probably thrown in ſome ſmaller circumſtances to embelliſh his narration. The long liſt of virtuous women in Dorigene's Soliloquy is plainly copied from HIERONYMUS *contra Jovinianum*.

"§ XXVII. Thus far I flatter myſelf I have been not unſucceſsful in reſtoring the true order, and connexion with each other, of the *Clerkes*, the *Marchantes*, the *Squieres* and *Frankeleines* Tales, but with regard to the next ſtep, which I have taken, I muſt own myſelf more dubious. In all the editions the Tales of *the Nonne* and *the Chanones Yeman* precede *the Doctoures*, but the beſt MSS. agree in removing thoſe Tales to the end of *the Nonnes Preeſtes*, and I have not ſcrupled to adopt this arrangement, which, I think, is indiſputably eſtabliſhed by the following conſideration. When *the Monk* is called upon for his Tale the Pilgrims were near Rocheſter [ver. 13932.] but when *the Chanon* overtakes them they were advanced to Boughton under Blee [ver. 16024.] twenty miles beyond Rocheſter, ſo that the Tale of *the Chanones Yeman*, and that of *the Nonne* to which it is annexed, cannot with any propriety be admitted till after *the Monkes* Tale, and conſequently not till after *the Nonnes Preeſtes*, which is inſeparably linked to that of *the Monk*.

"§ XXVIII. Theſe two Tales therefore of *the Nonne* and *the Chanones Yeman* being removed out of the way, *the Doctoures* comes clearly next to *the Frankeleines*; but how they are to be connected together, and whether at all, is a matter of doubt. What I have printed by way of *Prologue* to the *Doctoures* Tale I found in one of the beſt MSS. but only in one: in the others it has no Prologue. The firſt line applies ſo naturally and ſmartly to *the Frankeleines* concluſion, that I am ſtrongly inclined to believe it from the hand of Chaucer, but I cannot ſay ſo much for the five following. I would therefore only wiſh theſe lines to be received for the preſent (according to the Law-phraſe) *de bene eſſe*, till they ſhall either be more authentically eſtabliſhed, or ſuperſeded by the diſcovery of the genuine Prologue.

"§ XXIX. In THE DOCTOURES TALE, beſide Livy (who is quoted), Chaucer may poſſibly have followed Gower in ſome particulars, who has alſo related the Story of Virginia, *Conf. Amant.* B. vii. but he has not been a ſervile copyiſt of either of them.

"§ XXX. *The Pardoneres Tale* has a *Prologue* which connects it with *the Doctoures*. There is alſo a pretty long preamble, which may either make part of the Prologue, or of the Tale. The MSS. differ in this point. I have choſen to throw it into the Tale, and to confine the Prologue to what I ſuppoſe to be its proper uſe, the introduction of the new Speaker. When he is once in complete poſſeſſion of his office of entertaining the company, his Prefaces or Digreſſions ſhould all, I think, be equally conſidered as parts of his Tale.

"The mere outline of THE PARDONERS TALE is to be found in the *Cento Novelle Antiche*. Nov. lxxxii.

"§ XXXI. The Tale of *the Shipman* in the beſt MSS. has no *Prologue*. What has been printed as ſuch in the common Editions is evidently ſpurious. To ſupply this defect I have ventured, upon the authority of one MS. (and, I confeſs, not one of the beſt) to prefix to this Tale the *Prologue*, which has uſually been prefixed to the Tale of *the Squier*. As this Prologue was undoubtedly compoſed by Chaucer, it muſt have had a place ſomewhere in this Edition, and if I cannot prove that it was really intended by him for this place, I think the Reader will allow that it fills the vacancy extremely well. *The Pardoners Tale* may very properly be called "*a thrifty Tale*," and he himſelf "*a lerned man*" [ver. 12905—8.] and all the latter part, though highly improper in the mouth of the "*curteis Squier*," is perfectly ſuited to the character of *the Shipman*.

"This tale is generally ſuppoſed to be taken from the *Decameron*. D. viii. N. 1. but I ſhould rather believe that Chaucer was obliged to ſome old French *Fableour*, from whom Boccace had alſo borrowed the ground-work of his Novel, as in the caſe of *the Reves* Tale. Upon either ſuppoſition, a great part of the incidents muſt probably have been of his own invention.

"§ XXXII. The tranſition from the Tale of *the Shipman* to that of *the Prioreſſe* is happily managed. I have not been able to diſcover from what Legende of the Miracles of our Lady THE PRIORESSES TALE is taken. From the ſcene being laid in Aſia, it ſhould ſeem, that this was one of the oldeſt of the many ſtories, which have been propagated, at different times, to excite or juſtify ſeveral mercileſs perſecutions of the Jews, upon the charge of murthering Chriſtian children. The ſtory of *Hugh of Lincoln*, which is mentioned in the laſt Stanza, is placed by Matthew Paris under the year 1255.

"§ XXXIII. Next to *the Prioreſſe* CHAUCER himſelf is called upon for his Tale. In the *Prologue* he has dropped a few touches deſcriptive of his own perſon and manner, by which we learn, that he was uſed to look much upon the ground; was of a corpulent habit; and reſerved in his behaviour. His RIME OF SIRE THOPAS was clearly intended to ridicule the "palpable-groſs" fictions of the common Rimers of that age, and ſtill more, perhaps, the meanneſs of their language and verſification. It is full of phraſes taken from *Iſumbras*, *Li beaus deſconus*, and other Romances in the ſame ſtyle, which are ſtill extant. A few of his imitations of them will be pointed out in the Notes.

"§ XXXIV. For the more complete reprobation of this ſpecies of Riming, even *the Hoſt*, who is not to be ſuſpected of too refined a taſte, is made to cry out againſt it, and to cut ſhort Sire Thopas in the midſt of his adventures. CHAUCER has nothing to ſay for his *Rime*, but that "*it is the beſte he can*" [ver. 13856.] and readily conſents to tell another Tale; but having juſt laughed ſo freely at the bad poetry of his time, he might think it, perhaps, too invidious to exhibit a ſpecimen of better in his own perſon,

publick ſtations, as appears by records (*i*). He reſided chiefly at Ewelm, in Oxfordſhire, which came to him by marriage, and there he died on the twenty-eighth of April,

(*i*) Stowe's Annals, p. 388.

and therefore his other Tale is in proſe, a mere tranſlation from "*Le Livre de Melibee & de dame Prudence*," of which ſeveral copies are ſtill preſerved in MS. It is in truth, as he calls it, [ver. 13868.] "*a moral tale vertuous*," and was probably much eſteemed in its time, but, in this age of levity, I doubt ſome Readers will be apt to regret, that he did not rather give us the remainder of *Sire Thopas*.

"§ XXXV. THE PROLOGUE of THE MONKES Tale connects it with *Melibee*. The *Tale* itſelf is certainly formed upon the plan of *Boccace*'s great work *de caſibus virorum illuſtrium*, but Chaucer has taken the ſeveral Stories, of which it is compoſed, from different authors, who will be particularized in the Notes.

"§ XXXVI. After a reaſonable number of melancholy ditties, or Tragedies, as the Monk calls them, he is interrupted by the Knight, and the Hoſt addreſſes himſelf to *the Nonnes Preeſt*, to tell them "*ſwiche thing as may* their *hertes glade*."

"THE TALE OF THE NONNES PREEST is cited by Dryden, together with that of *the Wife of Bath*, as of Chaucer's own invention. But that great Poet was not very converſant with the authors of which Chaucer's library ſeems to have been compoſed. *The Wife of Bathes Tale* has been ſhewn above to be taken from Gower, and the Fable of the Cock and the Fox, which makes the ground of *the Nonnes Preeſtes Tale*, is clearly borrowed from a collection of Æſopean and other Fables, by *Marie*, a French Poeteſs, whoſe collection of *Lais* has been mentioned before in n. 24. As her Fable is ſhort and well told, and has never been printed, I ſhall inſert it here at length, and the more willingly, becauſe it furniſhes a convincing proof, how able Chaucer was to work up an excellent Tale out of very ſmall materials.

"§ XXXVII. The ſixteen lines, which are printed at the end of the *Nonnes Preeſtes Tale*, might perhaps more properly be conſidered as the beginning of the Prologue to the ſucceeding Tale, if it were certain what Tale was intended to ſucceed. In both Dr. Aſkew's MSS. the laſt of theſe lines is read thus,—

Seide unto *the Nunne* as ye ſhul heer.—

and there are ſix more lines to introduce her Tale; but, as theſe ſix lines are manifeſtly forged for the purpoſe, I have choſen rather to adhere to the other MSS. which acknowledge themſelves defective in this part, and give us *the Nonnes Tale*, as I have done, without any introduction. It is very probable, I think, that Chaucer himſelf had not determined, whether he ſhould connect *the Nonnes Tale* with that of *the Nonnes Preeſt*, or whether he ſhould interpoſe a Tale or two, or perhaps more, between them.

"THE TALE OF THE NONNE is almoſt literally tranſlated from the life of St. Cecilia in the *Legenda aurea* of *Jacobus Januenſis*. It is mentiond by Chaucer, as a ſeparate work, in his *Legende of good women* [ver. 426.] under the title of "the life of Seint Cecile," and it ſtill retains evident marks that it was not originally compoſed in the form of a Tale to be *ſpoken* by *the Nonne*. However, there can be no doubt that Chaucer meant to incorporate it into this collection of Canterbury Tales, as the *Prologue of the Chanones Yeman* expreſsly refers to it.

"§ XXXVIII. The introduction of *the Chanones Yeman* to tell a Tale, at a time when ſo many of the original characters remain to be called upon, appears a little extraordinary. It ſhould ſeem, that ſome ſudden reſentment had determined Chaucer to interrupt the regular courſe of his work, in order to inſert a Satire againſt the Alchemiſts. That their pretended ſcience was much cultivated about this time, and produced its uſual evils, may fairly be inferred from the Act, which was paſſed ſoon after, 5 H. IV. c. iv. to make it Felonie *to multiplie gold or ſilver, or to uſe the art of multiplication*.

"§ XXXIX. In the PROLOGUE TO THE MANCIPLES TALE, the Pilgrims are ſuppoſed to be arrived at a little town called "Bob up and down, Under the blee, in Canterbury way." I cannot find a town of that name in any Map, but it muſt have lain between Boughton (the place laſt mentioned) and Canterbury. The Fable of the Crow, which is the ſubject of THE MANCIPLES TALE, has been related by ſo many authors, from Ovid down to Gower, that it is impoſſible to ſay whom Chaucer principally followed. His ſkill in new dreſſing an old ſtory was never, perhaps, more ſucceſsfully exerted.

"§ XL. After the *Tale of the Manciple* the common Editions, ſince 1542, place what is called the *Plowmans Tale*; but, as I cannot underſtand that there is the leaſt ground of evidence, either external or internal, for believing it to be a work of Chaucer's, I have not admitted it into this Edition.

"§ XLI. THE PERSONES PROLOGUE therefore is here placed next to *the Manciples Tale*, agreeably to all the MSS. which are known, and to every Edition before 1542. In this Prologue, which introduces the laſt Tale upon the journey to Canterbury, Chaucer has again pointed out to us the time of the day; but the hour by the clock is very differently repreſented in the MSS. In ſome it is *ten*, in others *two*: in moſt of the beſt MSS. *foure*, and in one *five*. According to the phænomena here mentioned, the Sun being 29° high, and the length of the Shadow to the projecting body as 11 to 6, it was *between four and five*. As by this reckoning there were at leaſt three hours left to ſunſet, one does not well ſee with what propriety the Hoſt admoniſhes the Perſon to *haſte him*, becauſe "*the Sonne wol adoun*," and to be "*fructuous in litel ſpace*;" and indeed *the Perſon* (knowing probably how much time he had good) ſeems to have paid not the leaſt regard to his admonition; for his Tale (if it may be ſo called) is twice as long as any of the others. It is entitled in ſome MSS. "*Tractatus de Pœnitentia*, pro Fabulâ, ut dicitur, Rectoris," and I much ſuſpect that it is a tranſlation of ſome ſuch treatiſe. I cannot recommend it as a very entertaining or edifying performance at this day; but the Reader will be pleaſed to remember, in excuſe both of Chaucer and his Editor, that, conſidering the Canterbury Tales as a great picture of life and manners, the piece would not have been complete, if it had not included the Religion of that time.

"§ XLII. What is commonly called *the Retractation* at the end of the Perſon's Tale, in ſeveral MSS. makes part of that Tale; and certainly the appellation of "*litel tretiſe*" ſuits better with a ſingle tale, than with ſuch a voluminous work as the whole body of Canterbury Tales. But then on the other hand the recital, which is made in one part of it of ſeveral compoſitions of Chaucer, could properly be made by nobody but himſelf. I have printed it, as I found it in MS. Aſk. i. with a few corrections from other MSS. and in the Notes I ſhall give the beſt account that I can of it.

"Having thus gone through the ſeveral parts of the Canterbury Tales, which are printed in this Edition, it may not be improper, in the concluſion of this Diſcourſe, to ſtate ſhortly the parts which are wanting to complete the journey *to* Canterbury: Of the reſt of Chaucer's intended Plan (as has been ſaid before) we have nothing. Suppoſing therefore the number of the Pilgrims to have been *twenty-nine* [ſee before, § VI.] and allowing the Tale of *the Chanones Yeman* to ſtand in the place of that which we had a right to expect from the *Knightes Yeman*, the Tales wanting will be only thoſe of the *five* City-Mechanics and the Ploughman. It is not likely that the Tales told by ſuch characters would have been among the moſt valuable of the ſet, but they might, and probably would, have ſerved to link together thoſe which at preſent are unconnected; and for that reaſon it is much to be regretted, that they either have been loſt, or (as I rather believe) were never finiſhed by the Author (110)."

(110) Tyrwhytt, *ubi ſupra*, p. 115—188.

Mr. Tyrwhytt, at the end of the third, and through a conſiderable part of the fourth volume, hath added a variety of learned notes, explaining the difficult paſſages in the Canterbury Tales. At the beginning of

April, 1434, and was buried in that pariſh church, under a black marble tomb (*k*). By his wife Maud, or Matilda, who ſurvived him two years, he had one daughter named Alice,

(*k*) Life of Chaucer.

of the fifth volume, he hath prefixed an account of the works of Chaucer, to which the Gloſſary is adapted; and of thoſe other pieces which have been improperly mixed with his in the editions. The genuine writings of our Poet, excluſively of the Canterbury Tales, his greateſt production, are thus arranged by Mr. Tyrwhytt. 1. "The Romaunt of the Roſe." 2. "Troilus and Creſeide." 3. "The Court of Love." 4. "The Complaint of Pitee." 5. "Of Quene Annélida and falſe Arcite, with the Complaint of Annelida." 6. "The Aſſemblee of Foules." 7. "The Complaint of the black Knight." 8. "Chaucer's A. B. C." 9. "The Booke of the Ducheſſe." 10. "The Houſe of Fame." 11. "Chaucer's Dreme." 12. "The Flour and the Lefe." 13. "The Legende of goode Women." 14. "The Complaint of Mars and Venus." 15. "The Cuckow and the Nightingale." Beſide theſe more conſiderable works, it appears that our author had compoſed many "Balades, Roundels, Virelayes;" and that he had "made many a Lay and many a Thing." A few pieces of this ſort are ſtill extant, but Mr. Tyrwhytt thinks that ſcarcely any of them are of ſo early a date as the Legende. He hath ſet them down in the order in which they ſtand in the editions, and they are nine in number. Chaucer's works in proſe, are, his "Tranſlation of Boethius *de Conſolatione Philoſophiæ*;" his "Treatiſe on the Aſtrolabe;" and his "Teſtament of Love." The foregoing, Mr. Tyrwhytt conſiders as the genuine writings of Chaucer. Of thoſe, which have been improperly mixed with his in the editions, the following are known to be the productions of other authors. 1. "The Teſtament and Complaint of Creſeide." 2. "The Floure of Courteſie." 3. "La belle Dame ſang Mercie." 4. "The Letter of Cupide," written by Thomas Occleve. 5. "John Gower unto the noble King Henry the 4th." 6. "Sayings of Dan John" (Lydgate). 7. "Scogan unto the Lordes and Gentlemen of the Kinges Houſe." 8. "A Balade of goode Counſeil, tranſlated out of Latin Verſes into Engliſh, by Dan John Lydgate." 9. "A Balade made in the Preiſe, or rather Diſpreiſe, of Women for their Doubleneſs;" by Lydgate, according to M. S. Aſhmol. 6943. 10. "A Balade warning Men to beware of deceitful Women;" by Lydgate, according to M. S. Herl. 2251. To theſe, which are known to be the works of other writers, ſhould perhaps be added an 11th, viz. "Balade in Commendation of our Ladie." The anonymous compoſitions, which from time to time have been added to Chaucer's, in the ſeveral editions, ſeem to have been received, for the moſt part, without any external evidence whatever, and in direct contradiction to the ſtrongeſt internal evidence. Of this ſort are "The Plowman's Tale," "The Story of Gamelyn," "The Continuation of the Canterbury Tales," and "Jack Upland." Mr. Tyrwhytt ſuſpects, that the "Lamentation of Marie Magdalene" was not written by Chaucer; but he is ſtill clearer that the "Aſſemblee of Ladies," "A Praiſe of Women," and the "Remedie of Love," ought not to be imputed to him. The ſame ſagacious editor is of opinion, that it would be a waſte of time to ſift accurately the heap of rubbiſh, which was added, by John Stowe, to the edition of 1561: for though we might perhaps be able to pick out two or three genuine fragments of Chaucer, we ſhould probably find them ſo foiled and mangled, that he would not thank us for aſſerting his claim to them (111).

(111) Tyrwhytt, *ubi ſupra*, vol. v. p. vii—xxiii.

After having made ſo copious and liberal an uſe of Mr. Tyrwhytt's edition of the Canterbury Tales, we ſhould be deficient in gratitude to this excellent writer, if we did not expreſs a high ſenſe of obligation to him, for one of the moſt learned and inſtructive publications which the age hath produced. Our own teſtimony, indeed, can be of little conſequence in a matter with regard to which there are various particulars that we are not able to ſpeak of with ſufficient accuracy and deciſion. We ſhall, therefore, alledge the evidence of an author who ſeems to be a perfect maſter of the ſubject; and who, if we may judge from his aſperity to other eminent men, is not of a diſpoſition that is apt to praiſe. We mean the acute but unreaſonably ſevere writer of the late Obſervations on Mr. Warton's Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry; who ſays, that, (excepting only that mine of literary treaſure, Dr. Hickes's Theſaurus, which never had, nor ever will have, its equal) Mr. Tyrwhytt's publication of Chaucer is the moſt erudite, curious, and valuable performance that has yet appeared in this country (112).

(112) Obſervations on the three firſt volumes of the Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, p. 48.

We come next to Mr. Thomas Warton, who, at the latter end of the firſt volume of his Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, hath entered largely into the merits of Chaucer. It will not be expected, that we ſhould minutely follow Mr. Warton through his long and ingenious detail; but we ſhall lay before our readers his general view of our great Poet's character.

"The moſt illuſtrious ornament of the reign of Edward the Third, and of his ſucceſſor Richard the Second, was Jeffrey Chaucer; a poet with whom the hiſtory of our poetry is by many ſuppoſed to have commenced; and who has been pronounced, by a critic of unqueſtionable taſte and diſcernment, to be the firſt Engliſh verſifier who wrote poetically. He was born in the year 1328, and educated at Oxford, where he made a rapid progreſs in the ſcholaſtic ſciences as they were then taught: but the liveline's of his parts, and the native gaiety of his diſpoſition, ſoon recommended him to the patronage of a magnificent monarch, and rendered him a very popular and acceptable character in the brilliant court which I have above deſcribed. In the mean time, he added to his accompliſhments by frequent tours into France and Italy, which he ſometimes viſited under the advantages of a public character. Hitherto our poets had been perſons of a private and circumſcribed education, and the art of verſifying, like every other kind of compoſition, had been confined to recluſe ſcholars. But Chaucer was a man of the world: and from this circumſtance we are to account, in a great meaſure, for the many new embelliſhments which he conferred on our language and our poetry. The deſcriptions of ſplendid proceſſions and gallant carouſals, with which his works abound, are a proof that he was converſant with the practices and diverſions of polite life. Familiarity with a variety of things and objects, opportunities of acquiring the faſhionable and courtly modes of ſpeech, connections with the great at home, and a perſonal acquaintance with the vernacular poets of foreign countries, opened his mind and furniſhed him with new lights. In Italy he was introduced to Petrarch, at the wedding of Violante, daughter of Galleazzo duke of Milan, with the duke of Clarence: and it is not improbable that Boccacio was of the party. Although Chaucer had undoubtedly ſtudied the works of theſe celebrated writers, and particularly of Dante, before this fortunate interview; yet it ſeems likely, that theſe excurſions gave him a new reliſh for their compoſitions, and enlarged his knowledge of the Italian fables. His travels likewiſe enabled him to cultivate the Italian and Provencial languages with the greateſt ſucceſs; and induced him to poliſh the aſperity, and enrich the ſterility of his native verſification, with ſofter cadences, and a more copious and variegated phraſeology. In this attempt, which was authoriſed by the recent and popular examples of Petrarch in Italy, and Alain Chartier in France *, he was countenanced and aſſiſted by his friend John Gower, the early guide and encourager of his ſtudies. The revival of learning in moſt countries appears to have firſt owed its riſe to tranſlation. At rude periods the modes of original thinking are unknown, and the arts of original compoſition have not yet been ſtudied. The writers therefore of ſuch periods are chiefly and very uſefully employed in importing the ideas of other languages into their own. They do not venture to think for themſelves, nor aim at the merit of inventors, but they are laying the foundations of literature: and while they are naturaliſing the knowledge of more learned ages and countries by tranſlation, they

* With regard to Alain Chartier, this has already been ſhewn to be a miſtake.

Alice, who was thrice married, firſt to Sir John Philips, Knt. and afterwards to Thomas Montacute, Earl of Saliſbury, who dying, left her very rich. Her third huſband was

they are imperceptibly improving the national language. This has been remarkably the caſe, not only in England, but in France and Italy. In the year 1387, John Treviſa canon of Weſtbury in Wiltſhire, and a great traveller, not only finiſhed a tranſlation of the Old and New Teſtaments, at the command of his munificent patron Thomas lord Berkley, but alſo tranſlated Higden's POLYCHRONICON, and other Latin pieces. But theſe tranſlations would have been alone inſufficient to have produced or ſuſtained any conſiderable revolution in our language: the great work was reſerved for Gower and Chaucer. Wickliffe had alſo tranſlated the bible: and in other reſpects his attempts to bring about a reformation in religion at this time proved beneficial to Engliſh literature. The orthodox divines of this period generally wrote in Latin: but Wickliffe, that his arguments might be familiariſed to common readers and the bulk of the people, was obliged to compoſe in Engliſh his numerous theological treatiſes againſt the papal corruptions. Edward the Third, while he perhaps intended only to baniſh a badge of conqueſt, greatly contributed to eſtabliſh the national dialect, by aboliſhing the uſe of the Norman tongue in the public acts and judicial proceedings, as we have before obſerved, and by ſubſtituting the natural language of the country. But Chaucer manifeſtly firſt taught his countrymen to write Engliſh; and formed a ſtyle by naturaliſing words from the Provencial, at that time the moſt poliſhed dialect of any in Europe, and the beſt adapted to the purpoſes of poetical expreſſion.

" It is certain that Chaucer abounds in claſſical alluſions: but his poetry is not formed on the antient models. He appears to have been an univerſal reader, and his learning is ſometimes miſtaken for genius: but his chief ſources were the French and Italian poets (113)."

(113) Hiſt. of Engliſh Poetry, vol. i. p. 341—344.

Mr. Warton goes on to conſider, through ſeveral ſections, the various poems of Chaucer; and with regard to thoſe which had a foreign original, he ſhews how far the productions which gave riſe to them have been copied, altered, and improved. The compariſon turns out, in many reſpects, to the advantage of the Engliſh Poet. In the Knight's Tale, for inſtance, Boccace's " Le Teſeide" has received many new beauties, in paſſing through Chaucer's hands. Thoſe capital fictions and deſcriptions, the Temples of Mars, Venus, and Diana, with their allegorical paintings, and the figures of Lycurgus and Emetrius with their retinue, are ſo much heightened by the bold and ſpirited manner of the Britiſh Bard, as to ſtrike us with an air of originality. It is, likewiſe, to be remarked, that as Chaucer, in ſome places, has thrown in ſtrokes of his own, ſo in others he has contracted the tedious and unintereſting prolixity of narrative, which he found in the Italian Poet. And that he might avoid a ſervile imitation, and indulge himſelf, as he pleaſed, in an arbitrary departure from the original, it appears that he neglected the embarraſſment of Boccacio's ſtanza, and preferred the Engliſh Heroic Couplet, of which this poem affords the firſt conſpicuous example extant in our language (114.) Mr. Warton adds, that we are ſurpriſed to find, in a poet of ſuch antiquity, numbers ſo nervous and flowing; a circumſtance which greatly contributed to render Dryden's paraphraſe of the Knight's Tale the moſt animated and harmonious piece of verſification in the Engliſh language (115). In ſpeaking of the Troilus and Creſeide, our poetical hiſtorian obſerves, that pathetic deſcription is one of Chaucer's peculiar excellencies (116). With reſpect to " The Houſe of Fame," which contains great ſtrokes of Gothic imagination, bordering often on the moſt ideal and capricious extravagance (117), Mr. Warton has made the following remarks on Mr. Pope's imitation of that production of our ancient bard. " Pope has imitated this piece, with his uſual " elegance of diction, and harmony of verſification. " But in the mean time, he has not only miſrepre- " ſented the ſtory, but marred the character of the " poem. He has endeavoured to correct its extra- " vagancies, by new refinements and additions of " another caſt: but he did not conſider, that extra- " vagancies are eſſential to a poem of ſuch a ſtruc- " ture, and even conſtitute its beauties. An at- " tempt to unite order and exactneſs of imagery, " with a ſubject formed on principles ſo profeſſedly " romantic and anomalous, is like giving Corin- " thian pillars to a Gothic palace. When I read " Pope's elegant imitation of this piece, I think I " am walking among the modern monuments un- " ſuitably placed in Weſtminſter-Abbey (118)."

(114) *Ibid.* p. 357.

(115) *Ibid.* p. 367.

(116) *Ibid.* p. 387.

(117) *Ibid.* p. 389, 390.

(118) *Ibid.* p. 396.

In the Canterbury Tales, *that* of the Squier is conſidered, by Mr. Warton, as Chaucer's capital poem, and he hath admirably explained the origin of the fictions with which it abounds. With the like ingenuity and learning he illuſtrates the other characters, and the ſtories related by them (119). Concerning the licentious paſſages that are to be met with in Chaucer's works, Mr. Warton obſerves, that they are in a great meaſure to be imputed to the age in which they were written. " We are apt," ſays he, " to form romantic and exaggerated notions " about the moral innocence of our anceſtors. Ages " of ignorance and ſimplicity are thought to be ages " of purity. The direct contrary, I believe, is the " caſe. Rude periods have that groſſneſs of manners which is not leſs friendly to virtue than luxury itſelf. In the middle ages, not only the moſt " flagrant violations of modeſty were frequently " practiſed and permitted, but the moſt infamous " vices. Men are leſs aſhamed as they are leſs po- " liſhed. Great refinement multiplies criminal plea- " ſures, but at the ſame time prevents the actual " commiſſion of many enormities: at leaſt it pre- " ſerves public decency, and ſuppreſſes public licen- " tiouſneſs (120)." In delineating Chaucer's talent for humour, Mr. Warton agrees with Biſhop Hurd, who, in his excellent letters on Chivalry, ſuppoſes that the " Rime of Sir Thopas" was intended to expoſe the leading abſurdities of the old romances. That this was the Poet's aim, appears from many paſſages; and, therefore, the tale may juſtly be called a prelude to Don Quixote. " But it is to be remem- " bered, adds Mr. Warton, that Chaucer's deſign " was intended to ridicule the frivolous deſcriptions, " and other tedious impertinencies, ſo common in " the volumes of chivalry with which his age was " overwhelmed, not to degrade in general, or ex- " poſe a mode of fabling, whoſe ſublime extrava- " gances conſtitute the marvellous graces of his own " CAMBUSCAN; a compoſition which at the ſame " time abundantly demonſtrates, that the manners " of romance are better calculated to anſwer the " purpoſes of pure poetry, to captivate the imagi- " nation, and to produce ſurprize, than the fictions " of claſſical antiquity (121)." Chaucer's vein of humour, although conſpicuous in the *Canterbury Tales*, is chiefly viſible in the characters with which they are introduced. His excellence, in this reſpect, is ſtrongly diſplayed by Mr. Warton, who juſtly remarks, that we are ſurprized to find, in ſo groſs and ignorant an age, ſuch talents for ſatire, and for obſervation on life; qualities which uſually exert themſelves at more civilized periods. " Theſe curious " and valuable remains are ſpecimens of Chaucer's " native genius, unaſſiſted and unalloyed. The fi- " gures are all Britiſh, and bear no ſuſpicious ſigna- " tures of claſſical, Italian, or French imitation. " The characters of Theophraſtus are not ſo lively, " particular, and appropriated (122)."

(119) Warton, *ubi ſupra*, vol. ii. p. 397—456.

(120) *Ibid.* p. 431, 432.

(121) *Ibid.* p. 433, 434.

(122) *Ibid.* p. 435.

From the whole of Mr. Warton's ſurvey of the poems of Chaucer, theſe concluſions are deduced concerning him: that in elevation and elegance, in harmony and perſpicuity of verſification, he ſurpaſſes his predeceſſors in an infinite proportion: that his genius was univerſal, and adapted to themes of unbounded variety: that his merit was not leſs in painting familiar manners with humour and propriety, than in moving the paſſions, and in repreſenting the

was the famous William de la Pole, Earl, and afterwards Duke of Suffolk, who was firſt ſecretly married to the Counteſs of Hainault, by whom he had one daughter; but procuring a divorce from her, he married this Alice, by whom he had one ſon, John Duke of Suffolk (*l*). Duke William lived chiefly at Dunnington and Ewelm, at the firſt of which Stowe ſays he built an Hoſpital; but he ſeems to miſtake it for that founded by Adderbury, as before-mentioned, for Dugdale takes no notice of any other; but at Ewelm he founded one, called God's Houſe. He was an inſtance of the danger of a Prince's favour, and the envy that attends it; for, influencing the notions and the will of his Maſter Henry VI. too much, and abuſing the power he had over that eaſy Prince, he enraged the Commons to that degree, that nothing leſs than his baniſhment could appeaſe them; which, being agreed to, the Yorkiſts, fearful of his return, ſeized him on his paſſage in Dover-Road, and cut off his head upon the ſide of a cock-boat, and his body was buried at the Charter-Houſe at Hull (*m*). The Ducheſs ſurvived him ſeveral years; and, after an honourable life, died at Ewelm, in the year 1475. Their ſon John had iſſue, according to Leland (*n*), John Earl of Lincoln, Edmund, afterwards Duke of Suffolk; Richard, William, and a fifth ſon, who was a ſcholar in Gonvil-Hall, in Cambridge. Edmund de la Pole, the laſt of that name Duke of Suffolk, for being in treaſon againſt Henry VII. for which he had been once pardoned, forfeited his life to the Crown, and was beheaded in the ſeventh year of that King's reign, whereby the eſtates which Chaucer's family was poſſeſſed of came to the Crown, and particularly the Hoſpital of Ewelm, which was, by King James I. beſtowed on the Phyſick Profeſſor at Oxford, who is always Maſter thereof in virtue of his office (*o*). C.

(*l*) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 187.

(*m*) See his laſt Teſtament, Stafford, and Kemp, p. 189. b.

(*n*) As cited by Dugdale in his Baronage, vol. ii. p. 188.

(*o*) Life of Chaucer, prefixed to Urry's edition.

beautiful or the grand objects of nature with grace and ſublimity. In a word, he appeared with all the luſtre and dignity of a true Poet, in an age which compelled him to ſtruggle with a barbarous language, and a national want of taſte; and when to write verſes at all, was regarded as a ſingular qualification (123). As it is true that he lived at a time when the French and Italians had made conſiderable advancements and improvements in poetry, Mr. Warton hath cloſed his account of him with a diſtinct and comprehenſive view of the nature of the poetry which ſubſiſted in France and Italy when he wrote; in order to point out how far, and in what manner, it influenced his genius and writings (124). It hath been imagined, that Chaucer imitated the provençal Poets. But Mr. Tyrwhytt, who is entirely of a different opinion, ſays, that he has not obſerved, in any of our Poet's works, a ſingle phraſe or word, which has the leaſt appearance of having been fetched by him from the ſouth of the Loire (125). Mr. Warton, who had ſuppoſed that "The Houſe of Fame" might originally be a provencial compoſition, hath ſince more particularly explained his ſentiments on this head. He doth not affirm, that Chaucer imitated the provencial Bards, although it is by no means improbable, that he might have known their tales. But as the peculiar nature of the provencial poetry entered deeply into the ſubſtance, caſt, and character of thoſe French and Italian models which he is allowed to have followed, he may be ſaid to have copied, although not immediately, the *matter* and *manner* of the Troubadours. Mr. Warton has, indeed, called his "Houſe of Fame" originally a provencial compoſition. He did not, however, mean that it was written by a provencial Troubadour; but that Chaucer's original was compounded of the capricious mode of fabling, and that extravagant ſtyle of fiction, which conſtitute the eſſence of the provencial poetry (126).

(123) *Ibid.* p. 457.

(124) *Ibid.* p. 357—468.

(125) Tyrwhytt's edit. of the Canterbury Tales, vol. i. Appendix to the Preface, p. xxxv.

(126) Warton, *ubi ſupra*, vol. i. p. 389. 458. Emendations and additions, prefixed to the ſecond volume.

It is aſſerted in the text, and it hath often been aſſerted by other writers, that Chaucer is the Father of our Engliſh Poets. This is not ſtrictly true, as appears from what hath been cited above from Mr. Tyrwhytt, and ſtill more particularly from the firſt volume of Mr. Warton's work, to which we have ſo frequently referred. But none can be mentioned, who lived before Chaucer's age, that were ſo truly poetical; neither for a long time were there any that came after him, who could pretend to compare with him in excelſence and fame. I conſider him, ſays Mr. Warton, "as a genial day in an Engliſh ſpring. "A brilliant ſun enlivens the face of nature with an "unuſual luſtre: the ſudden appearance of cloudleſs "ſkies, and the unexpected warmth of a tepid at"moſphere, after the gloom and the inclemencies "of a tedious winter, fill our hearts with the vi"ſionary proſpect of a ſpeedy ſummer; and we "fondly anticipate a long continuance of gentle "gales and vernal ſerenity. But winter returns "with redoubled horrors: the clouds condenſe more "formidably than before; and thoſe tender buds, "and early bloſſoms, which were called forth by "the tranſient gleam of a temporary ſun-ſhine, are "nipped by froſts, and torn by tempeſts (127)."

(127) Hiſt. of Engliſh Poetry, vol. ii. p. 51.

This note hath been protracted to ſuch an uncommon length, that we ſhall only pay a ſlight attention to a few other circumſtances which have occurred to us in the courſe of our reading. Dr. Joſeph Warton, in the ſecond volume of his admirable Eſſay on the Writings and Genius of Pope, hath added his teſtimony, that Chaucer excels as much in the pathetic and the ſublime, as he does in his manner of treating light and ridiculous ſubjects. His comic vein was only like one of mercury, imperceptibly mingled with a mine of gold (128). Sir John Hawkins hath made conſiderable uſe of Chaucer's works, in order to aſcertain the ſtate of Muſic in that period; and Dr. Burney hath produced a number of paſſages from him, for the ſame purpoſe. We muſt content ourſelves with referring to the pages in which theſe two writers have treated on the ſubject, ſo far as information concerning it may be derived from our great Poet (129).

(128) Eſſay on Pope, vol. ii. p. 5. 70.

(129) Hawkins's general Hiſt. of Muſic, vol. ii. p. 81—88. 101—113. Burney's ditto, vol. ii. p. 372—382.

We forgot to mention, in its proper place, that Dr. (now Biſhop) Percy, hath publiſhed, for the firſt time, from an ancient manuſcript in the Pepyſian library, an original ballad of Chaucer's, which hath eſcaped all the Editors of his works. The verſification is of that ſpecies which the French call Rondeau. From comparing this ballad with a poem on the death of King Edward I. the ingenious Editor of the Reliques of ancient Engliſh Poetry, thinks that ſome countenance is given to the opinion of thoſe Antiquaries, who ſuppoſe that Chaucer made conſiderable innovations in his mother tongue, and introduced many terms, and new modes of ſpeech, from other languages (130). Mr. Tyrwhytt's incomparable Eſſay, inſerted above, will enable our readers eaſily to judge how far this reaſoning is valid.] K.

(130) Reliques of ancient Engliſh Poetry, vol. ii. p. 7. 11, 12.

CHAUNCY (Sir HENRY), Knight, author of *The Hiſtorical Antiquities of Hertfordſhire*, was deſcended from a family which came into England with William the

Conqueror [*A*]. He was educated in grammar-learning at Biſhop's-Stortford ſchool, under Mr. Thomas Leigh (*a*): and in the year 1647, admitted in Gonvil and Caius College in Cambridge (*b*). He removed, in 1649, to the Middle-Temple; and, in 1656, was called to the Bar. In 1661, he was conſtituted a Juſtice of Peace for the county of Hertford; made one of the Benchers of the Middle-Temple in 1675, and Steward of the Burgh-court in Hertford; and likewiſe, in 1680, appointed, by charter, Recorder of that place. In 1681, he was elected Reader of the Middle-Temple; and on the 4th of June, the ſame year, received the honour of Knighthood at Windſor-Caſtle, from King Charles II. He was choſen Treaſurer of the Middle-Temple in 1685. On the 11th of June, 1688, he was called to the degree of a Serjeant at Law, and the ſame year advanced to be a Welſh Judge, or one of his Majeſty's Juſtices for the counties of Glamorgan, Brecknock, and Radnor, in the principality of Wales. He married three wives; 1. Jane, youngeſt daughter of Francis Flyer, of Brent-Pelham, in Hertfordſhire, Eſq; by whom he had ſeven children. She died December 31, 1672. 2. Elizabeth, the relict of John Goulſmith, of Stredſet, in Norfolk, Eſq; one of the co-heirs of Gregory Wood, of Riſby, in Suffolk, Gent. By her he had no iſſue. She died Auguſt 4, 1677. 3. His third wife was Elizabeth, the ſecond daughter of Nathaniel Thruſton, of Hoxny, in Suffolk, Eſq; by whom he had two children (*c*). He died in the year 1700, and was buried at Ardley, or Yardley. He publiſhed 'The Hiſtorical Antiquities of Hertfordſhire [*B*]: with the Original of Counties, 'Hundreds,

(*a*) See the Hiſtorical Antiquities of Hertfordſhire, &c. by Sir Henry Chauncy, fol. Lond. 1700, p. 169.

(*b*) *Ib.* p. 59.

(*c*) *Ib.* p. 59. 611

'compleating it, he was forced to have recourſe to all 'thoſe that concerned that county, the better to en-'able him to ſerve ſuch gentlemen as had loſt their 'grants or charters, and would know the privileges 'belonging to their ſeveral manors.'—But he complains a little lower.——That many gentlemen who miſtook their intereſt, delayed; and others, denied him the opportunity of aſſerting their rights. And indeed this is a common obſtacle in works of this nature; moſt people not caring, or being afraid, of ſhewing the titles and writings belonging to their eſtates. Sir Henry left ſome additions to his book, which came afterwards into the hands of N. Salmon, LL.B. and were the chief foundation upon which he built his *Hiſtory of Hertfordſhire*. The author of the *Engliſh Topographer* (5) wiſhes, 'that more care had 'been taken in the engraving part of this work, and 'that that part of the performance had been better.' But he ſeems to find fault without ſufficient reaſon: for the plates in the copy now before us are really good, the greateſt fault being in the paper. M.

(5) Edit. Lond. 1720, 8vo. p. 66, 67.

[*A*] *Was deſcended from a family which came into England with William the Conqueror.*] The name of *Chancy*, or *Chauncy*, actually occurs in the roll of Battel-Abby (1). Sir Henry informs us (2), That that perſon was of Chauncy near Amiens in Picardy: and that ſeveral of this name remain ſtill in Normandy, and live there in good credit and reputation. *William*, the eldeſt ſon of him who came into England with the Conqueror, purchaſed the manor of *Scirpenbeck* in *Yorkſhire*, which continued in his family, (together with the manor of Willughton in Lincolnſhire, and other eſtates,) till 1399, when *William de Chauncy* mortgaged Scirpenbeck to Ralph Earl of Weſtmorland, who upon the forfeiture entered, and ſeized it into his hands; but, upon agreement, Richard Lord Scroop, Baron of Bolton, who married Margaret, the daughter of this Earl, granted the manor of *Piſhobury* in *Sabridgeworth* in Hertfordſhire, to William de Chauncy juſt now mentioned, whoſe poſterity lived there, till about the 25th of Queen Elizabeth. He laid out the money, which ſhould have diſcharged the mortgage of Scirpenbeck, upon the purchaſe of a fair eſtate at *Stepney* near London. His ſon, *John Chauncy*, married Margaret, one of the daughters and coheirs of William Giffard of *Gedleſton*, or Gilſon, in Hertfordſhire.—His deſcendant, *Henry Chauncy*, removed from Piſhobury, in the 25th of Queen Elizabeth aforeſaid, to *Gedleſton*, where he built a handſome houſe called New Place. This Henry's ſecond ſon, named *George*, married Jane the daughter and heir of John Cornwall of Ardley, Eſq; by whom he had a fine eſtate at *Ardley* in Hertfordſhire, the manor of Fairſtead in Eſſex, divers lands in Stebbing in the ſame county; together with ſome money, which enabled him to purchaſe of his elder brother's ſon (who was very extravagant,) his ſeat called New Place, with the manors of Giffards, and Netherhall in Gedleſton. He died in 1625, leaving his eldeſt ſon and heir *Henry*; who deceaſed in 1631. This Henry's eldeſt ſon, named alſo *Henry*, died in 1681. He was the father of Sir Henry Chauncy, who is the ſubject of this article. Sir Henry's mother was Anna, daughter and heir of Peter Parke of Tottenham in Middleſex, Gent (3).

(1) See Stowe's Annales, edit. 1631, p. 105; and Hollinſhed's Chron. vol. iii. p. 3.

(2) Hiſtorical Antiq. of Hertfordſhire, &c. p. 55.

(3) *Ibid.* p. 55—59; and from the Pedigree, p. 60, 61.

[*B*] *The Hiſtorical Antiquities of Hertfordſhire*, &c.] The author was very fit for ſuch an undertaking, being, in the firſt place, a native of that county, and a conſiderable proprietor therein, and therefore wanting neither means of information, nor money for carrying on ſuch an expenſive work. And then, as he obſerves himſelf (4), 'The near affinity Hiſtorical Antiquities 'have to that ſcience, which he had ſtudied, and all 'along practiſed, [*viz.* the Law] obliged him to be 'converſant in authors that treat thereof.—Nor had 'his frequent view of records, immediately relating to 'ſeveral parts of Hertfordſhire, in many caſes where 'he had been conſulted, a little contributed to qualify 'him for an undertaking of this kind: though for

(4) In the Preface, p. i.

*** [The firſt eſſay towards a delineation of Hertfordſhire was attempted by John Norden, in his Speculum Britanniæ, publiſhed in 1593; but it is not to be compared, in point of compleatneſs and perfection, with Sir Henry Chauncy's hiſtorical deſcription of the county. Sir Henry's digreſſions are pedantic, and the work would have admitted of greater care with reſpect to the execution of the engravings. Mr. Foreſter, of Bradfield in this county, father of Dr. Pulter Foreſter, Chancellor of Lincoln, and a near relation of Sir Henry Chauncy, had made large additions to Sir Henry's book. The copy was in the hands of the late William Foreſter, Eſq; who died about the year 1767. Mr. Cole is poſſeſſed of another copy, with great manuſcript additions by the late Browne Willis. A third copy, with large additions, by Peter Le Neve, is in the library of the Society of Antiquaries. The Rev. Dr. Paul Wright, Vicar of Oakley in Eſſex, and who formerly reſided, as Curate and Lecturer, in the town of Hertford, having received ſome manuſcript papers relative to Sir Henry Chauncy's hiſtorical Deſcription of Hertfordſhire, propoſes to publiſh an accurate edition of that elaborate work, with continuations to the preſent time. Theſe continuations will be derived from the Doctor's own actual view of every pariſh, as well as from the communications of others. His intention is, that nothing ſhall be wanting to render the work as compleat as poſſible (6).

(6) Britiſh Topography, vol. i. p. 419, 420. Preface to ditto, p. ix.

The family of Chauncy was of conſiderable note among the Puritans and Non-conformiſts of the laſt century, both in this country, and in New England. The head of the family, in this reſpect, was Mr. Charles Chauncy, great uncle to the Hiſtorian of Hertfordſhire. He was the fifth and youngeſt ſon of George Chauncy, Eſq; of Yardley-Bury and New Place

'Hundreds, Wapentakes, Boroughs, Corporations, Towns, Pariſhes, Villages, Ham-'lets, &c.'

Place in that county, by Agnes*, the daughter of Edward Welch, and widow of Edward Humberſtone. Mr. Charles Chauncy was born in the year 1592, and baptized at Yardley, on the fifth of November, in the ſame year (7). His grammatical education he received at Weſtminſter School, from which he was removed to Trinity College, in the Univerſity of Cambridge, where he was admitted to his ſeveral degrees, till he became Bachelor of Divinity. His reputation for learning was ſuch as gained him the eſteem and friendſhip of the celebrated Dr. Uſher, Archbiſhop of Armagh. In conſequence of his diſtinguiſhed ſkill in Oriental Literature, he was choſen, by the Heads of Houſes, Hebrew Profeſſor; but Dr. Williams, the Vice-chancellor, preferring a relation of his own, Mr. Chauncy reſigned his pretenſions, and was appointed to the Greek Profeſſorſhip. He was the author of the ἐπίκρισις which is prefixed to Leigh's Critica Sacra upon the New Teſtament. When Mr. Chauncy quitted the Univerſity, he became Vicar of Ware in Hertfordſhire (8). Being of puritanical principles, he was much offended with the Book of Sports; and oppoſed, likewiſe, the railing in of the Communion Table. Beſides this, he had the indiſcretion to ſay in a ſermon, that idolatry was admitted into the Church; that much Atheiſm, Popery, Arminianiſm, and Hereſy had crept into it; and that the preaching of the Goſpel would be ſuppreſſed. Having by theſe things excited the indignation of the ruling powers, he was queſtioned in the *High Commiſſion*; and the cauſe being referred, by order of that court, to the determination of his Ordinary, he was impriſoned, condemned in coſts of ſuit, and obliged to make the following recantation: "Whereas I "Charles Chauncy, Clerk, late Vicar of Ware, in "the county of Hertford, ſtand by ſentence of "this honourable Court legally convicted, for op-"poſing the ſetting of a rail about the Communion "Table in the chancel of the pariſh church of "Ware, with a bench thereunto affixed, for the "communicants to reſort unto, and to receive the "bleſſed Sacrament there, kneeling upon their knees, "and for uſing invective ſpeeches againſt the ſaid "rail and bench, ſaying it was an innovation, a "ſnare to men's conſciences, and a breach of the "ſecond commandment, an addition to the Lord's "worſhip, and that which hath driven me out of "town. I the ſaid Charles Chauncy, do here, "before this honourable Court, acknowledge my "great offence in uſing the ſaid invective words, "and am heartily ſorry for the ſame. I proteſt, and "am ready to declare by virtue of mine oath, that I "now hold, and am perſuaded in my conſcience, "that kneeling at the receiving of the holy Com-"munion is a lawful and commendable geſture; and "that a rail ſet up in the chancel of any church "by the authority of the Ordinary, with a bench "thereunto affixed for the communicants to repair "unto to receive the holy Sacrament kneeling, is a "decent and convenient ornament for that purpoſe; "and this Court conceiveth, that the rail ſet up "lately in the pariſh church of Ware, with the "bench affixed, is ſuch a one. And I do further "confeſs, that I was much to blame for oppoſing the "ſame, and do promiſe from henceforth, never by "word or deed to oppoſe either that or any other "the laudable rites and ceremonies preſcribed and "commanded to be uſed in the Church of England." Dr. Laud, then Biſhop of London, having been principally active in this proſecution, it was one of the things urged in proof againſt him, when he was brought to trial in 1642 (9).

As to Mr. Chauncy, his recantation, which had been extorted from him through fear, lay heavy on his mind. He continued, indeed, ſome years in his native country, and officiated at Marſton Lawrence, in the Dioceſe of Peterborough; but finding that he could enjoy no peace till he quitted the eſtabliſhed Church, he retired to New England, where he made an open acknowledgment of his crime; and a crime it certainly was, to act contrary to the dictates of his conſcience (10). In the latter end of 1637, Mr. Chauncy arrived at Plymouth in New England. For ſome conſiderable time ſucceeding his arrival, he aſſiſted Mr. Reyner, the Miniſter of that place; after which he removed to a town at a little diſtance, called "Scituate." Here he continued twelve years in the diſcharge of his paſtoral office. In a ſermon, preached upon the occaſion of his ſettlement, from theſe words of Solomon, "Wiſdom hath ſent forth his maidens (11); reflecting on his former recantation, he ſaid with tears, "Alas! Chriſtians, I am no "maiden: my ſoul hath been defiled with falſe "worſhip. How wonderous is the free-grace of the "Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that I ſhould ſtill be employed "among the maidens of wiſdom!" Such was the language of that age. When the republican party became predominant in England, Mr. Chauncy was invited, by his old pariſhioners at Ware, to return back to his native country, and ſettle among them. With this invitation he purpoſed to comply; but when he came to Boſton with that view, he was ſo earneſtly preſſed by the truſtees of Harvard College, in Cambridge, which then wanted a preſident, to accept of the government of that Society, that he could not reſiſt their ſolicitations. This event took place in 1654; and from that time to his death, which happened on the 19th of February, 1671, 2, in the 80th year of his age, Mr. Chauncy continued with great reputation at the head of the College, diſcharging the duties of his ſtation with diſtinguiſhed attention, diligence, and ability (12). So high was the eſteem in which he was held, that when he had reſided about two years in Cambridge, the Church of that town, to whom he was united, and among whom he preached, kept a whole day of thankſgiving to God, for the mercy they enjoyed in their connection with him. Mr. Chauncy, by his wife Catherine, whoſe life was publiſhed, had ſix ſons, all of whom were brought up for the Miniſtry. Iſaac, the eldeſt of them, became Paſtor of a Nonconformiſt Society in London, and wrote ſeveral treatiſes (13). Mr. Charles Chauncy had a number of deſcendants, who have long flouriſhed both in Old and in New England. One of them is the Rev. Dr. Chauncy, at this time a very reſpectable and learned Miniſter at Boſton. Another was the late Dr. Chauncy the Phyſician, ſo well known for his ſkill and taſte in pictures, and for his choice collection of them, now in the poſſeſſion of his brother, Nathaniel Chauncy, Eſq; of Caſtle-Street, Leiceſter Fields, to whom we are indebted for information concerning ſome of the particulars mentioned above.] K.

* She was his ſecond wife.

(7) From the information of Nathaniel Chauncy, Eſq;

(8) Mr. Cotton Mather's Hiſtory of New-England, p. 134.

(9) Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, vol. ii. p. 273, 274. Prynne's Trial of Archbiſhop Laud, p. 93—96. 361, 362.

(10) Neal and Prynne, *ubi ſupra*.

(11) Prov. ix. 3.

(12) Cotton Mather, *ubi ſupra*, p. 136. 140. Hutchinſon's Hiſt. of Maſſachuſet's Bay, vol. i. p. 259.

(13) Mather, *ubi ſupra*.

CHEKE (John), a learned and ingenious writer in the XVIth century, was deſcended of an antient and worthy family [*A*], that flouriſhed long in wealth and reputation at Motſton, in the Iſle of Wight (*a*). He was born at Cambridge, June the 16th, 1514, being the ſon of Peter Cheke, Gent. and Agnes, daughter of Mr. Dufford (*b*), of Cambridgeſhire. After having been educated in grammar-learning under Mr. John

(*a*) The Life of Sir John Cheke, Knt. by J. Strype, 8vo. Lond. 1705, p. 2, 3.

(*b*) Or De Ufford, an ancient and good family. Mr. Wood calls him Duffield. Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. edit. 1721, col. 100.

[*A*] *Was deſcended of an ancient and worthy family.*] A certain Hiſtorian, who ſeldom gives a favourable account of thoſe who were inclined to the Reformation (1), ſays, That Mr. Cheke was *a man of mean birth*. But therein he is very much miſtaken. For the antiquity of the Cheke family is traced as far back as the reign of King Richard II. when one Cheke married a daughter of the noble family of Montacute. Their paternal eſtate in the Iſle of Wight, was three hundred pounds a year, which was never increaſed nor diminiſhed, till ſold outright about the year 1630 (2).

(1) Dr. Hayward, in his Life and Reign of King Edward VI. near the beginning.

(2) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. Book viii. p. 37. Strype's Life of Sir John Cheke, p. 2—4.

Morgan,

Morgan (*c*), he was admitted into St. John's College in Cambridge, at about the age of ſeventeen years; where he ſo cloſely applied himſelf to his ſtudies, that he became very eminent for his knowledge in the learned languages, particularly the Greek tongue, which was then almoſt univerſally neglected (*d*). Being recommended as ſuch, by Dr. Butts, to King Henry VIII. he was ſoon after made that King's ſcholar, and ſupplied by him with money for his education, and for his charges in travelling into foreign countries. While he continued in College, he introduced there a more ſubſtantial and uſeful kind of learning, than what had been received for ſome years; and encouraged eſpecially the ſtudy of the Greek and Latin languages, and of Divinity (*e*). After having taken his degrees in Arts, being noted for an excellent Grecian, he was choſen Greek Lecturer of the Univerſity. There was no ſalary belonging to that place: but King Henry having founded, about the year 1540, a Profeſſorſhip of the Greek tongue in the Univerſity of Cambridge, with a ſtipend of forty pounds a year, Mr. Cheke, though but twenty-ſix years of age, was choſen the firſt Profeſſor (*f*). This place he held long after he left the Univerſity, namely, till October 1551 (*g*). In this ſtation he was highly inſtrumental in bringing the Greek language into repute, which was then very much ſlighted; and endeavoured to reform and reſtore the true and original pronunciation of it: but herein he met with great oppoſition from Stephen Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, Chancellor of the Univerſity (*h*) [*B*]. However, in the courſe of

(*c*) D. Lloyd tells us, that 'a German had the 'care of his 'younger ſtudies, and a 'Frenchman of 'his carriage.' State Worthies, edit. 1679, p. 191.

(*d*) Wood, *ibid.* and Strype, as above, p. 6, 7.

(*e*) Strype, as above, p. 7—13. Aſchami Epiſt. lib. ii. p. 263. edit. Colon. Allobrogrum, 12mo.

(*f*) Strype, p. 16, 17. He was choſen, though abſent, and when he had no leſs than three competitors. Life of Cheke, by Dr. Langbaine.

(*g*) Strype, as above, p. 17.

(*h*) *Ibid.* p. 17, 18, &c.

[*B*] *He endeavoured to reform and reſtore the true and original pronunciation of the Greek language; but—met with great oppoſition from —— Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter.*] The Greek language was then but newly revived, and brought into the Univerſities, not without great oppoſition from the patrons of Ignorance and Popery, who could not endure any thing that had the face of novelty, though never ſo true and right in itſelf. The pronunciation of it was very vicious; and the received way of ſounding the vowels and diphthongs, and ſome conſonants, very odd and untoward. For inſtance, αι was pronounced as ε (*e*), οι and υι as ι (*i*), and η ι and υ were ſounded alike, as ιωτα, or (*j*). Some of the conſonants alſo were pronounced differently, according as they ſtood in the word; that is, the conſonant π when it came after ν, they pronounced as a ſoft B. And τ after μ was pronounced as our D. The letter κ was pronounced as we do CH, and β as we do the V conſonant. Now, ſince different letters muſt make different ſounds, Cheke concluded theſe to be very falſe ways of reading Greek; and not, certainly, what was practiſed by the ancient Grecians (3). He ſaw, that not only the beauty of the language was loſt in this way, but likewiſe it's very ſpirit and life were gone, by the loſs of ſo many vowels and diphthongs, and the language become jejune and languid. In this way of ſpeaking it, nothing of numeroſity appeared in the ancient Orators and Rhetoricians, nor thoſe flowing periods, for which they had been renowned in old Greece; neither could he himſelf ſhew his eloquence, in his orations or lectures, for want of the beauty and variety of ſounds (4). He ſet himſelf therefore to find out what was the right method: and, partly, by conſidering the power of the letters themſelves; partly, by conſulting Ariſtophanes, and other ancient authors, he concluded, that each vowel ſhould have it's proper ſound, and, that diphthongs, conſiſting of two vowels ſhould have the ſound of two. This took exceedingly among the more ingenious men of the Univerſity, and great improvements were daily made in the knowledge of the Greek tongue, ſo that Plato and Ariſtotle began to be much read. But there was another party in the Univerſity, who by being older fancied themſelves wiſer than the others. Theſe made a great diſturbance about this *new* way of ſpeaking Greek, as they called it, and oppoſed it with all their might, both by writing and ſpeaking. But not finding their arguments ſo effectual as they wiſhed, they carried their complaints to Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, Chancellor of the Univerſity; who, in the true ſpirit of Popery, made an edict, dated the 14th of May 1542, wherein he forbad all perſons to uſe the new faſhion of pronouncing Greek, upon the following penalties: If he were a regent to be expelled out of the Senate; if he ſtood for a degree, not to be admitted to it; if a ſcholar, to loſe his ſcholarſhip; and the younger ſort, to be privately chaſtiſed. This edict is framed in ſuch a dictatorial air, that I cannot forbear laying the greateſt part of it before the curious reader. —— *Sic edico: Quiſquis noſtram poteſtatem agnoſcis, ſonos, literis ſive Græcis ſive Latinis, ab uſu publico præſentis ſeculi alienos, privato judicio affingere ne audeto.—Diphthongos Græcas, nedum Latinas, niſi id Diæreſis exigat, ſonis ne diducito, neve divellito. Quæſitam uſu alteri vocalium prærogativam ne adimito. Sed ut marem fœminæ dominari ſinito. Quæ vero earum in communione ſoni uſu convenerunt, iis tu negotium ne faceſſito.* Αι & ε, οι & ει *ab* ι *ſono ne diſtinguito. Tantum in orthographia diſcrimen ſervato.* Η, ι, υ, *uno eodemque ſono exprimito. Cujuſq; tamen propriam in orthographia ſedem diligenter notato. In* κ & γ, *quoties cum diphthongis aut vocalibus ſonos* ι *aut* ε *referentibus conſonantur, quoniam a doctis etiamnum in uſu variantur, aliis denſiorem, aliis tenuiorem ſonum affingentibus, utriuſque pronuntiationis modum diſcito: Ne aut horum aut illorum aures offendas; neve de ſonis litem inutiliter excites. Cæterum, qui in his ſonis a pluribus receptus eſt, illum frequentato.* Β *literam ad exemplum noſtri* Β *ne inſpiſſato, ſed ad imitationem* V. *conſonantis mollius proferto. Literas* π & τ, *item* γ & κ, *pro loco & ſitu alios atque alios ſonos adimere memento. Itaque* τ & π, *tum denique* β, *quum proxime locantur, hæc poſt* μ, *illa poſt* ν, *his locis videlicet litera* τ *referat noſtrum* D, π *vero* B *noſtrum exprimat. Litera porro* γ *cum proxima ſedem occupet ante* κ, χ, *aut aliud* γ, *huic tu non ſuum, ſed ſonum* ν *literæ accommodato. Ne multa. In ſonis omnino ne philoſophator, ſed utitor præſentibus. In his ſiquid emendandum ſit, id omne authoritati permittito.—Si quis autem, quod abominor, ſecus fecerit, &c.* Then follow the penalties expreſſed above——And the whole concludes thus——*In ſumma, hoc edictum omnes ſacroſanctum ita habento, ut nec contumacibus remiſſum, nec reſipiſcentibus ſeverum eſſe videatur* (5). Upon the coming out of this edict, Cheke wrote an elegant letter to the Biſhop, wherein he ſaid, 'That the true ſounds of 'the letters were changed in the laſt barbarous ages, 'and that it was therefore better to mend that bar-'barity, than to follow it.' And for this he appealed to Eraſmus, (who had written a book *of the true pronunciation of the Latin and Greek*) and other learned men. The Biſhop replied, 'That the ſound of let-'ters was more like to be changed by the learned 'than the unlearned: the learned being wont to have 'ſo much regard to the euphony, and the gracefulneſs 'of the ſound of words.' Cheke ſhewed, how by pronouncing the diphthong οι as an ι, (as was then commonly done) there would be no diſtinction between Λοιμὸς and Λιμός. But the Chancellor was for no changes. *Utere*, ſaith he to Cheke, *moribus antiquis, verbis vero præſentibus, & multo magis ſonis*, i. e. uſe ancient cuſtoms, but preſent words, and much more ſounds. And when Cheke alledged, 'He 'acted merely out of love for the truth:' The Chancellor broke out into this expreſſion——*Quid non mortalia pectora cogit veri quærendi fames?* i. e. What does not too great an eagerneſs for ſeeking out truth drive men into? as if that had been ſo great a crime. However, truth at length prevailed; and this true way of reading Greek came to be received not only in the Univerſities, but alſo throughout the king-

(3) Strype, as above, p. 18, 19. 203, &c. and Eccleſiaſtical Memorials, vol. i. p. 372.

(4) Reflections upon Learning, by T. Baker, B.D. 5th edit. 1714, 8vo. p. 32.

(5) Printed among *J. Cheki de Pronuntiatione Diſputationes, &c.*

of his lectures, he went through all Homer, all Euripides, part of Herodotus, and through Sophocles twice, to the advantage of his hearers, and his own credit (*i*). He was alſo at the ſame time Univerſity-Orator (*k*). About the year 1543, he was incorporated Maſter of Arts at Oxford, where he had ſtudied ſome time (*l*). On the 10th of July 1544, he was ſent for to Court, in order to be School-maſter, or Tutor, for the Latin tongue, jointly with Sir Anthony Cooke, to Prince Edward: and, about the ſame time, for an encouragement and a reward, the King granted him one of the Canonries in his new-founded college at Oxford, now Chriſt-Church; but that college being diſſolved in the beginning of the year 1545, a penſion (*m*) was allowed him in the room of his Canonry (*n*). By this preferment it appears, he was then in holy orders. While he was entruſted with the Prince's education, he ſo adapted all the inſtructions he gave him, as that they ſhould tend to render him a wiſe man, and a good governor. And he made uſe of all the intereſt he had, in promoting men of learning and probity. He ſeems alſo to have had ſometimes the Lady Elizabeth under his care (*o*). In 1547, he married Mary, daughter of Richard Hill, Serjeant of the Wine-cellar to King Henry VIII. (*p*). When his royal pupil, King Edward VI. came to the crown, he rewarded him for his care and pains with an annuity of one hundred marks (*q*); and alſo made him a grant of ſeveral lands and manors [*C*]. He likewiſe cauſed him, by a mandamus, to be elected Provoſt of King's College in Cambridge; which place was vacant by the deprivation of George Day, Biſhop of Chicheſter (*r*). In May, 1549, he retired to Cambridge, upon ſome diſguſt he had taken at the Court; and was, notwithſtanding, one of the King's Commiſſioners for viſiting that Univerſity this ſummer. The October following, he was one of the thirty-two Commiſſioners appointed to examine the old Eccleſiaſtical Law books, and to compile from thence a body of Eccleſiaſtical Laws (*s*), for the government of the Church: and again, three years after, he was put in a new commiſſion, iſſued out for the ſame purpoſe (*t*). He returned to Court in the winter of 1549, but met there with great uneaſineſs, on account of ſome offence given by his wife to Anne, Ducheſs of Somerſet, whoſe dependent ſhe was. Mr. Cheke himſelf was not exempt from trouble, being of the number of thoſe who were charged with having ſuggeſted ill counſels to the Duke of Somerſet, and afterwards betrayed him (*u*). But having got over this ſhock at Court, he ſtood the firmer afterwards, and his intereſt and authority daily increaſed; ſo that he became the great patron of religious and learned men, both Engliſh and foreigners. In 1550 (*w*), he was made chief Gentleman of the King's Privy-Chamber, whoſe tutor he ſtill continued to be, and who made a wonderful progreſs through his good inſtructions. Mr. Cheke, to ground him well in morality, read to him Cicero's Philoſophical works, and Ariſtotle's Ethicks: And alſo, what was of great importance, inſtructed him in the General Hiſtory, the State and Intereſt, the Laws and Cuſtoms of England (*x*). He likewiſe directed him to keep a diary of all the remarkable occurrences that happened [*D*]. In October, 1551, his Majeſty conferred on him the honour of Knighthood; and to enable him the better to ſupport that degree, made him a conſiderable grant [*E*]. The ſame year he held two private conferences with ſome other learned perſons [*F*], upon

(*k*) Strype, as above, p. 27.

(*i*) Wood, *ubi ſupra*, col. 100.

(*l*) Wood, Faſti, vol. i. col. 68. He ſays elſewhere that it was in 1542, or thereabouts. Athenæ, vol. i. col. 100.

(*m*) Of 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

(*n*) Wood, *ibid.* and Strype, as above, p. 31.

(*o*) Strype, p. 40.

(*p*) *Ibid.* p. 43.

(*q*) *Ib.* p. 44. 46.

(*r*) *Ibid.*

(*s*) See the article COX (RICHARD) in the note concerning *Reformatio Legum Eccleſiaſticarum.*

(*t*) Strype, as above, p. 49. 55, 56.

(*u*) *Ibid.* p. 56. 58.

(*w*) Wood ſays it was in 1547; but we chuſe to follow Mr. Strype, Wood being viſibly miſtaken.

(*x*) Strype, as above, p. 59. 72, 73.

(6) *Ibid.* & Strype's Eccleſ. Memorials, vol. i. p. 372.

dom (6). This controverſy was managed between Biſhop Gardiner and Mr. Cheke, in *ſeven* elegant epiſtles: of which the originals being left in the hands of Coelius Secundus Curio, a learned man of Baſil, by Cheke himſelf, as he paſſed through that place in his journey to Italy, in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, they were publiſhed from thoſe originals in 1555, 8vo. without Mr. Cheke's knowledge or conſent, by Curio, with the following title, *Joannis Cheki Angli de pronuntiatione Græcæ potiſſimum Linguæ, Diſputationes cum Stephano Wintonienſi Epiſcopo, ſeptem contrariis Epiſtolis comprehenſæ, magna quadam & elegantia & eruditione refertæ* (7).

(7) Strype's Life of Cheke, &c. p. 24. 127. 202—209.

[*C*] *Made him a grant of ſeveral lands and manors.*] In 1548 he granted to him, and Walter Moyle, the very advantageous purchaſe, of the College of St. John Baptiſt of Stoke, near Clare in Suffolk, and likewiſe all the meſſuages, tenements, &c. with the appurtenances belonging to the College of *Corpus Chriſti*, in the pariſh of St. Laurence Poultney, London, lately diſſolved; together with divers other lands and tenements in the counties of Suffolk, Devon, Kent, and in London; for the ſum of 958*l.* 3*s.* 5*d. ob.* a good penny-worth, undoubtedly, as Mr. Strype obſerves (8). The next year, in conſideration of his induſtry in teaching the King, he obtained the houſe and ſite of the late Priory of Spalding in the county of Lincoln, the manor of Hunden in the ſame county, and divers other lands and tenements in the counties of Lincoln, and Suffolk, to the yearly value of 118*l.* 11*d.* *q.* and no rent reſerved (9).

(8) Page 46.

(9) *Ibid.*

[*D*] *He likewiſe directed him to keep a diary, &c.*] And to write down briefly, under each day of the month, debates in Council, diſpatch of embaſſadors, honours conferred, and other remarks as he thought proper. This undoubtedly produced that King's journal, which is preſerved in the Cottonian Library, and thence printed in Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. Appendix.

(12) *Ibid.*

[*E*] *Made him a conſiderable grant.*] It was a gift in fee ſimple, (upon conſideration of his ſurrender of the hundred marks above-mentioned,) of the whole manor of Stoke near Clare, excluſively of the College before granted him, and the appurtenances in Suffolk and Eſſex, with divers other lands, tenements, &c. all to the yearly value of 145*l.* 19*s.* 3*d.* And a paſture, with other premiſſes, in Spalding; and the Rectory, and other premiſſes, in Sandon (10).

(10) *Ibid.* p. 86.

[*F*] *The ſame year he held two private conferences—upon Tranſubſtantiation.*] The firſt conference was held November the 25th, in Secretary Cecil's houſe, and the ſecond December 3d, the ſame year, at Sir Richard Moriſon's. The auditors were, the Lord Ruſſel, Sir Tho. Wroth of the Bed-Chamber, Sir Anthony Cooke one of the King's tutors, Throgmorton Chamberlain of the Exchequer, Mr. Knolles, and Mr. Harrington, with whom were joined the Marquis of Northampton, and the Earl of Rutland, in the ſecond Conference. The Popiſh diſputants for the real preſence were, Feckenham afterwards Dean of St. Paul's, and Yong; and at the ſecond diſputation Watſon. The diſputants on the other ſide, were, Sir John

upon the ſubject of the Sacrament, or Tranſubſtantiation (*y*). He procured Bucer's manuſcripts; and in 1552, the famous John Leland's valuable collections [*G*], for the King's library (*z*). Being at Cambridge, at the Commencement in 1552, he diſputed there againſt Jeſus Chriſt's local deſcent into Hell [*H*]. On the 25th of Auguſt, the ſame year, he was made Chamberlain of the Exchequer for life: and in 1553, conſtituted Clerk of the Council; and, ſoon after, one of the Secretaries of State, and a Privy-Counſellor (*a*). In May, the ſame year, the King granted to him, and his heirs male, the honour of Clare in Suffolk, with divers other lands, to the yearly value of one hundred pounds. His zeal for the Proteſtant religion induced him to approve of the ſettlement of the Crown upon the Lady Jane Grey; and he acted as Secretary to her, and her Council, after King Edward's deceaſe (*b*) [*I*]. But upon Queen Mary's acceſſion to the throne, he was dealt with as a traitor; being committed to the Tower on the 28th of July, and an indictment drawn up againſt him, the 12th or 13th of Auguſt (*c*). The year following, after he was almoſt ſtripped of his whole ſubſtance, he obtained the Queen's pardon, and was ſet at liberty September 3, 1554 (*d*). But not being able to reconcile himſelf to Popery, which was then reſtored again; and foreſeeing the evil times that were drawing on, he obtained a licence from the Queen to travel for ſome time into foreign parts. He went firſt to Baſil, where he ſtaid ſome time; and thence paſſed into Italy. At Padua he met with ſome of his countrymen, whom he directed in their ſtudies, and read and explained to them ſome Greek orations of Demoſthenes. Upon his return from Italy, not caring to venture into his own country, he went and ſettled at Straſburgh in Germany, where the Engliſh ſervice was kept up, and many of his pious and learned friends reſided. But ſo offended at this were the Popiſh zealots in England, that his whole eſtate was confiſcated to the Queen's uſe, under pretence, that he did not come home at the expiration of his travel (*e*). Being hereby reduced to low circumſtances, he was forced to read a Greek lecture at Straſburgh, for his ſubſiſtence (*f*). In the beginning of the year 1556, his wife being come to Bruſſels, he reſolved, chiefly upon an invitation he had received from the Lord Paget and Sir John Maſon [*K*], to go thither to fetch her. But, firſt, he conſulted Aſtrology, in which he was very ſkilful and credulous [*L*], to know, whether he might ſafely

(*y*) *Ibid.* p. 85, 90, &c.

(*z*) *Ibid.* p. 12, 133 and Wood, Athenæ, edit. 1721, vol. i. col. 85.

(*a*) Strype, p. 119.

(*b*) *Ibid.*

(*c*) *Ibid.* p. 123.

(*d*) Wood, as above, col. 101.

(*e*) Strype's Life of Sir John Cheke, &c. p. 124, 125, 126. 135.

(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 134.

John Cheke, Sir William Cecil, Horn Dean of Durham, Whitehead, and Grindal. Some account of theſe diſputations is ſtill extant in Latin, in the library of MSS. belonging to Bennet-College in Cambridge; and from thence publiſhed in Engliſh by Mr. Strype (11).

(11) Life of Sir John Cheke, p. 90—112.

[*G*] *In* 1552 *he procured J. Leland's Collections, for the King's library.*] But, either by reaſon of Sir John's misfortunes, or through ſome other accident, they were not repoſited there. Four volumes of theſe *Collections* were given by his ſon Henry Cheke, to Humphrey Purefoy, Eſq; one of Queen Elizabeth's Council in the North, whoſe ſon Thomas Purefoy, of Barwel in Leiceſterſhire, gave them to the famous Antiquary William Burton of Lindley, in the ſame county, in 1612; and he made uſe of them in his deſcription of Leiceſterſhire. Many years after, he made a preſent of them to the Bodleian library at Oxford, where they now are. Some other of theſe collections, after Cheke's death, came into the hands of William Lord Paget, and Sir William Cecil (12). The original of the Itinerary, in five volumes, 4°, is in the Bodleian library; and two volumes of Collections, relating to Britain, are in the Cottonian. Julius C. 6 (13).

(12) *Ibid.* p. 113.

(13) *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, auctore J. Lelando, Oxon. 1709, in Vita auctoris, & ad calcem ſecundi Voluminis.

[*H*] *He diſputed againſt Jeſus Chriſt's local deſcent into Hell.*] This was a point very much canvaſſed in England, not long after the beginning of the Reformation (14); and which was grounded upon the authority of J. Calvin, who aſſerted, That Jeſus Chriſt went into hell, and there ſuffered the pains of the damned (15).——At this Commencement at Cambridge, Chriſtopher Carlile keeping a Divinity-Act, choſe this for his Theſis, That Chriſt went into no other hell but the very loweſt, *i. e.* that of the damned. Sir John Cheke agreed beforehand to diſpute upon that queſtion with him, on purpoſe to attack the Popiſh doctrine of the *Limbus Patrum*; that is, an apartment in hell, where, they ſay, the ancient patriarchs and good men before Chriſt were detained, and in which Chriſt deſcended on purpoſe to deliver them from thence (16).

(14) See the article BILSON (THOMAS).

(15) Calvini Inſtitut. l. ii. c. 16. § 10.

(16) Wood's Ath. vol. i. col. 144; and Strype, as above, p. 116.

[*I*] *He acted as Secretary to her* [the Lady Jane Grey] *and her Council, after King Edward's deceaſe.*] He was ſworn and admitted into that office June the 2d, and the two other Secretaries were yet continued, and all three Secretaries appeared in Council together, as is manifeſt from the council-book. But at this juncture Cecil was intended to be laid aſide, becauſe he ſcrupled coming into the ambitious deſigns of the Duke of Northumberland, who would have the Crown ſettled upon the Lady Jane Grey, who had married his ſon Guilford Dudley. But Cheke's zeal for religion made him come into thoſe meaſures; and that was the cauſe of his advancement (17). One author tells us, 'he had that place three years (18).' But he is much miſtaken; for he enjoyed it but little above *four weeks:* to which may be added the nine days of the Lady Jane's reign, for he acted to the laſt, *viz.* till July the 19th.

(17) Strype, p. 119.

(18) D. Lloyd's State Worthies, edit. 1679, 8vo. p. 194.

[*K*] *Upon an invitation he had received from the Lord Paget and Sir John Maſon.*] Theſe two perſons had been his friends and acquaintance in the late King Edward's reign; but having changed their religion, were in great favour with the Queen, and conſequently had altered their inclination towards him. Paget came into thoſe parts, under pretence of uſing the baths of Aix la Chapelle, but really with intent to have the Ducheſs of Suffolk, and her huſband, who had fled abroad for their religion, betrayed into his hands. As for Maſon, he was the Queen's Ambaſſador at the Court of Bruſſels. Failing in their attempt upon the Ducheſs of Suffolk, they uſed this ſtratagem to get Sir John Cheke, and Sir Peter Carew (who had been engaged in Wyat's inſurrection, and was fled abroad) apprehended. They deſired Sir John, to take the opportunity of fetching his wife, to come and ſee them at Bruſſels; and for his better ſecurity, Maſon aſſured him of a ſafe-conduct thither in King Philip's, and his own, name. He accordingly went thither, with Sir Peter Carew, and enjoyed his pretended friends Paget and Maſon; but, as he was coming back from them, he was ſeized between Bruſſels and Antwerp, as is above related. So that it appears, he and his friend Carew were betrayed (19).

(19) Strype, p. 135, 136. 139; and Dr. Ponet's Treatiſe of Politick Power, cited by Strype, p. 139, 140.

[*L*] *He conſulted Aſtrology*, &c.] That art was then much ſtudied, both by the Nobility and Gentry; in ſo much, that Dr. Laurence Humfrey, who lived in thoſe days, and was afterwards Divinity-Profeſſor at Oxford, in his book *De Nobilitate* (20), obſerves, how this ſcience above the reſt was ſo ſnatched at, ſo beloved, and even devoured by moſt perſons of faſhion (21), that

(20) Lib. iii. p. 347.

(21) *Sic rapi ſic adamari, & devorari a pleriſque Nobilibus.*

safely undertake that journey; and being deceived by that delusive art, he fell into a fatal snare between Brussels and Antwerp. For, upon certain intelligence and orders from King Philip II. being way-laid there by the Provost-Marshal, he was suddenly seized on the 15th of May [*M*], unhorsed, blind-folded, bound, and thrown into a waggon; conveyed to the nearest harbour, put on board a ship under hatches, and brought to the Tower of London, where he was committed close prisoner (*g*). He soon found, that it was on account of his religion he was thus strangely used: for, two of the Queen's Chaplains were sent to the Tower, to endeavour, out of charity and good-will, as they pretended, to reconcile him to the Church of Rome, though without success. But the desire of gaining so great a man, induced the Queen to send to him Dr. Feckenham, Dean of St. Paul's, a man of a moderate and obliging temper, and with whom he had been acquainted in the late reign. This man's arguments were inforced by this dreadful alternative, *either comply, or burn*; which Sir John's frailty was not able to withstand. Seeming, therefore, inclined to turn, he was, at his own desire, carried before Cardinal Pole, who gravely advised him to depart from the variety of Doctors to the Unity of the Church: whereupon he was forced to submit his person to be ordered as should be thought best for his soul's wealth, to them that had authority in the Church upon such offenders. Then he drew up a paper, consisting of quotations out of the Fathers that seemed to countenance Transubstantiation, representing them as his own opinion, and hoping that would suffice to procure him his liberty, without any other publick declarations of his change. This paper he sent to Cardinal Pole, with a letter dated July 15, wherein he desired him to have so much compassion of his frailty, as to spare him from making an open recantation; but that was refused him. He wrote a letter to the Queen the same day, in which he declared his readiness to obey her laws, and other orders of religion. After this, to declare his repentance for rejecting the Pope, he made his solemn submission before the Cardinal, suing to be absolved, and received into the bosom of the Roman Catholick Church; and this was granted him as a mighty favour. But notwithstanding all that, he was forced to make a publick recantation before the Queen, on the 4th of October, and another long one before the whole Court [*N*]; and submitted, moreover, to whatever penances should be enjoined him by the Pope's Legate, *i. e.* the Cardinal (*h*). After all this drudgery, his lands were restored to him, but it was upon condition of an exchange with the Queen for others [*O*]. The Papists, to triumph in his conversion, and to mortify the Protestants, obliged him to keep company generally with Catholicks, and to be present at the examinations and convictions of those they called Hereticks (*). But his remorse, and extreme vexation for what he had done, sat so heavy upon his mind, that pining away with shame and regret, he died September the 13th, 1557, aged forty-three, at his friend Mr. Peter Osborne's house, in Wood-street, London, and was buried in St. Alban's Church there, in the north chapel of the choir, the 16th of September (*i*). A stone was set afterwards over his grave, with an inscription [*P*]. He left three sons [*Q*]; and

(g) *Ib.* p. 135, 136; and Wood, Athenæ, col. 101.

(*h*) Strype, as above, p. 142—166.

(*) J. Fox says, That he was drawn unawares to sit in the place where the poor Martyrs were brought before Bonner, and other Bishops, to be condemned. Acts and Monuments, edit. 1583, p. 1955.

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 167—170.

that they needed no inticements to it, but a bridle rather; not to be set on, but rather taken off from it. And that many had so trusted to this, that they almost distrusted God.

[*M*] *He was suddenly seized, on the 15th of May.*] Or, as it is expressed in his second recantation,—— 'When *he* thought least,—he was *taken* as it were 'with a hurlewind from the place he was in, and 'brought over the sea, and never knew whither *he* 'went, afore *he* found himself in the Tower of Lon-'don, which of all places *he* abhorred most (22).'

(22) See Strype, p. 157.

[*N*] *And another long one before the whole Court.*] The second recantation, in particular, is manifestly in the style of Cardinal Pole, that is, long and tedious. Cheke is made to accuse himself therein, in the most ignominious manner———As may appear from these few lines——'I did most grievously offend, both to 'the ruin of myself, and of others that were conver-'sant with me in the Court, where I had more occa-'sion to do hurt for the place of schoolmaster I had 'with young King Edward, and with all the youth 'of the Nobility than any other had. And albeit 'mine office was not to teach him the matters of 'religion, which was committed to others; yet I con-'fess touching my pestilent error, I peradventure did 'no less to confirm and set forward the same in his 'mind, and all the rest of the youth than any other. '——Mine error [*i. e.* his being a Protestant] was a 'blasphemy of the holy name of God, under colour 'to glorify the same, and a persecution of the name 'of Christ, more grievous than ever were they, that, 'deceived by others, crucified Christ, or afterward 'did persecute those that were his disciples—(23).'

(23) See Strype, p. 152; and also p. 163.

[*O*] *But it was upon condition of an exchange with the Queen for others.*] Upon his surrendering the lands mentioned above in Note [*E*] the Queen granted him, April 12, 1556, the reversion of the manor of Brampton-Abbot in Devonshire, and the annual rents of 37*l.* 2*s.* 6*d. ob.* and the reversion of customary lands of Freshford, and Woodwick, in Somersetshire; the capital messuage of Batokysborough; the manor of Ayscote; and the manor of Northlode, in the same county; the manor of More in Devonshire; and some other things (24).

(24) *Ibid.* p. 167, 168.

[*P*] *A stone was set afterwards over his grave, with an inscription.*] Which inscription was composed by his learned friend Dr. Walter Haddon, and is as follows:

Doctrinæ lumen Checus, vitæque magister,
Aurea naturæ fabrica, morte jacet.
Non erat è multis unus, sed præstitit unus
Omnibus, & patriæ flos erat ille suæ.
Gemma Britanna fuit, tam magnum nulla tulerunt
Tempora thesaurum, tempora nulla ferent (25).

(25) *Ibid.* p. 191. Mr. Strype took it from a copy transcribed from the stone, by C. Lancaster, a herald, in 1611. By Dr. Langbaine and A. Wood, the first verse is thus read, *Doctrinæ Checus, Linguæque utriusque magister.*

[*Q*]. *He left three sons.*] John, and Edward, the two youngest, died without issue. *Henry*, the eldest, was Secretary to the Council in the North, and knighted by Queen Elizabeth: he died about the year 1586. *Thomas*, his eldest son and heir, was knighted by King James I. He purchased the seat of Pyrgo near Romford in Essex, where he and his posterity were settled several years. He was buried March 25, 1659, in St. Alban's Wood-street, near his grandfather. Sir Thomas's second son, *Thomas*, commonly known

and was author of ſeveral books [*R*]. As to his character, he was a perſon of extraordinary wit, and was accounted one of the beſt and moſt learned of his age, and a ſingular ornament to his country. He was one of the revivers of polite literature in England, and a great lover and encourager of the Greek language in particular. The authors he chiefly admired and recommended, were Demoſthenes, Xenophon, Plato, Ariſtotle, Iſocrates, and Cicero. Theſe, together with the Bible, and a few more, were ſufficient, in his judgment, to render a man ſubſtantially learned, and withal to make him wiſe and good, which is the true end of learning (*k*). He was very happy in imitating the ancient and beſt writers, and had great judgment in tranſlating them. In the orthography, and pronunciation of the Latin and Greek languages, he was very critical and exact [*S*]; and alſo took great pains to correct, regulate, and improve his mother-

(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 193, 194. 196—200.

known by the name of Colonel Cheke, inherited the eſtate, and was Lieutenant of the Tower in the reigns of King Charles II. and James II. This Thomas had two ſons, Henry, who died young; and *Edward*, who ſucceeded him in his eſtates. This Edward dying in 1707 left two ſons; but they died both under age; and ſo the eſtate devolved to Edward's younger ſiſter *Anne*, wife of Sir Thomas Tipping of Oxfordſhire, Baronet. She left only two daughters, whereof *Catharine*, the youngeſt, was married to Thomas Archer of Underſlade in Warwickſhire, Eſq; the late poſſeſſor of the Eſſex-Eſtate of the Cheke's (26).

(26) See Strype, as above, p. 179—192; and Hiſt. and Antiquities of Eſſex, by N. Salmon, fol. p. 245.

[*R*] *And was author of ſeveral books.*] Thoſe that are printed, are as follows. I. A Latin tranſlation of two of St. Chryſoſtom's Homilies, never before publiſhed, *Contra obſervatores novilunii*; and *De dormientibus in Chriſto*. Lond. 1543. 4°. II. A Latin tranſlation of ſix Homilies of the ſame Father, *De Fato*, and *Providentia Dei*. Lond. 1547. III. 'The hurt 'of ſedition, how grievous it is to a commonwealth.' The running title is, 'The true ſubject to the rebel.' It was written, and publiſhed, by Mr. Cheke in 1549, on occaſion of the inſurrections in Devonſhire and Norfolk; and contains very ſerious and earneſt expoſtulations with the rebels. It is inſerted in Holinſhed's Chronicle, under the year 1549, and was reprinted in 1576, as a ſeaſonable diſcourſe upon apprehenſion of tumults from malecontents at home, or renegadoes abroad. Dr. Gerard Langbaine of Queen's College Oxon, cauſed it to be reprinted again about 1641, for the uſe and conſideration of thoſe who took arms againſt King Charles I. in the time of the civil wars, and prefixed to it a ſhort life of the author (27). IV. A Latin tranſlation of the Engliſh *Communion-book*; done for the uſe of M. Bucer, that he might underſtand it, and paſs his judgment upon the ſame. 'Tis printed among Bucer's *Opuſcula Anglicana*. V. *De obitu doctiſſimi & ſanctiſſimi Theologi domini Martini Buceri, &c. Epiſtolæ duæ*. Lond. 1551, 4°. printed in Bucer's *Scripta Anglicana*. He alſo wrote an *Epicedium* on the death of that learned man (28). VI. *Carmen heroicum*, or *Epitaphium, in Antonium Deneium clariſſimum virum*. Lond. 4°. (29). This Sir Anthony Denny was originally of St. John's College in Cambridge, and a learned man: afterwards he became one of the Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber, and Groom of the Stole to King *Henry* VIII. and one of the executors of his will. VII. *De Pronuntiatione Græcæ potiſſimum linguæ diſputationes*, &c. See above, note [*B*]. Baſil. 1555. 8°. VIII. *De ſuperſtitione ad regem Henricum*. This diſcourſe on ſuperſtition was drawn up for King Henry's uſe, in order to excite that Prince to a thorough Reformation of religion. It is written in very elegant Latin, and was prefixed by the author, as a dedication, to a Latin tranſlation of his, of Plutarch's book of Superſtition. A copy of this diſcourſe, in manuſcript, is ſtill preſerved in the library of Univerſity College, Oxon, curiouſly written, and bound up in cloth of ſilver: which makes it probable, that it was the very book that was preſented to the King. An Engliſh tranſlation of it, done by the learned W. Elſtob, formerly fellow of that college, was publiſhed by Mr. Strype, at the end of his Life of Sir John Cheke. IX. Several *Letters* of his, are publiſhed in the Life juſt now mentioned (30), and perhaps in other places. X. A Latin tranſlation of Archbiſhop Cranmer's book on the Lord's Supper; was alſo done by Sir John Cheke; and printed in 1553. XI. He likewiſe tranſlated *Leo de apparatu bellico*. Baſil. 1554. 8°.

(27) Strype, p. 27. 38, 39. 51—55. Balei, Scriptorum Brytanniæ Centuria Octava, No. 97, p. 699, edit. 1557, fol.

(28) Printed in Strype, as above, p. 218.

(29) Printed there, p. 219, 220.

(30) Page 11. 21. 38. 49. 57. 69, 70. 75. 79. 81. 130. 144.

Thoſe pieces of his that are loſt, or elſe were never printed, are theſe. I. *De Fide juſtificante*. Of juſtifying faith; undoubtedly againſt the Papiſts. II. *De Euchariſtiæ ſacramento*. On the Euchariſt: Probably his conferences with Dr. Feckenham, as mentioned above note [*F*]. III. *In quoſdam Pſalmos*. IV. *In Pſalmum, Domine probaſti*, &c. Theſe Mr. Strype ſuppoſes to be ſome pious meditations of his on thoſe pſalms (31). V. *De cineribus & palmis. Ad Wintonienſem*. Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, was earneſt with the Protector, for retaining the old uſages in the Church; particularly, ſprinkling of aſhes on Aſh-Wedneſday, and carrying palms on Palm-Sunday. Perhaps, this tract of Cheke was an anſwer to Gardiner's letter on that ſubject to the Duke of Somerſet (32). VI. *De Eccleſiâ; An poteſt errare?* Of the Church; whether it can err? Still extant among J. Fox's manuſcripts. It is a diſpute againſt the Romaniſts, under theſe three queſtions; whether there be a Church; what the Church is; and, whether it can err? VII. *An liceat nubere poſt divortium?* Whether a woman may marry after being divorced? A caſe much handled in thoſe times. VIII. *De nativitate Principis*. On the Prince's nativity. The author of *Heroologia Anglicana* will have this to be a panegyric on the Prince's birth: and ſo accordingly Mr. Wood entitles it, *Panegyric. in nativitatem Edwardi Principis* (33). But Mr. Strype more truly ſuppoſes, that it was ſome private calculation of Prince Edward's nativity, an art in which Cheke had great ſkill, and depended on too much. IX. *Introductio Grammaticæ*, an introduction to Grammar. X. *De ludimagiſtrorum officio*. Of the duty of ſchoolmaſters. Theſe two were probably written by him for the uſe of his royal pupil, the Prince. XI. *Elegia de Ægrotatione & obitu R. Edwar. 6.* An elegy on the ſickneſs and death of King Edward 6. There is an Engliſh elegy, much of the ſame nature as this, printed in the Heroologia; but Mr. Strype does not ſeem to believe it to be his (34). XII. *Epitaphia*. Epitaphs. Beſides his epitaph on Sir Anthony Denny, mentioned above; and a Greek epitaph for his ſiſter Mary, wife of Sir William Cecil (35); Mr. Strype ſuppoſes, he alſo was author of the inſcription on the monument of his patron Dr. Butts, in Fulham-Church; and on his father-in-law, Richard Hill, in St. Michael's Queen-Hith, London. XIII. He alſo tranſlated from Greek into Latin, 1. Five books of Joſephus's Antiquities. 2. The Aſcetic of Maximus the monk. 3. Plutarch of ſuperſtition. 4. Three of Demoſthenes's Philippics. 5. And his three Olynthiacs. 6. His oration againſt Leptines. 7. The orations of Demoſthenes and Æſchines, on the two oppoſite ſides. 8. Ariſtotle *de Anima*. 9. He tranſlated Sophocles and Euripides literally. 10. And made corrections on Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Xenophon, and other authors. Finally, he collected the arguments and reaſons of both ſides, upon the buſineſs of the Euchariſt; at the time that point was learnedly and largely debated in parliament, when the Communion-book was appointed. Mr. Strype ſuppoſes, he wrote many other things, which are unknown to us at this diſtance. But, adds he, this is ſufficient to inform us what a ſcholar he was (36).

(31) Page 216.

(32) See Fox's Acts and Monum. edit. 1583, p. 1342, &c.

(33) Col. 101.

(34) See p. 218.

(35) Strype, *ibid.*

(36) This Catalogue is taken from *Balei Scriptorum Brytanniæ Centuria Octava*, No. 97, p. 699, 700. Wood's Athenæ. vol. i. col. 101. and Strype's Life of Sir John Cheke, p. 216, &c.

[*S*] *In the orthography, and pronunciation of the Greek and Latin languages, he was very critical and exact.*] What he did with regard to the Greek, hath been fully ſhown above in note [*B*]. And for the Latin; that it might be ſpoken truly, and the ſyllables in reading pronounced long or ſhort, according to their nature,

mother-tongue, the Engliſh [T]. We are alſo aſſured, that he was an excellent Statesman, and a true and ſincere Chriſtian, and a hearty profeſſor of the Reformed Religion:

nature, he deviſed a way to write the vowels according to their quantity. Namely the long vowel O, after this manner *ω*, like a Greek *omega*, as in *Uxωrem*, *Liberωs*. And the long I, with two tittles over it, as in *Diϊnitus*; and as for the long E, eſpecially the Diphthong, which before was commonly written as the ordinary E, he put a tail to it, as in *Le,tor* (37).

(37) Strype, p. 211.

[T] *And alſo took great pains to correct, regulate, and improve——the Engliſh.*] Namely in theſe following particulars. 1. He would have no E put to the end of words, as being needleſs and unexpreſſive of any ſounds; for inſtance, in theſe words, *excus, giv, deceiv, prais, commun:* Unleſs where it is ſounded, and then to be written with a double E, as in *neceſſitee*. 2. Where the letter A was ſounded long, he would have it written with a double A, indiſtinction from A ſhort; as in *maad, ſtraat, daar*. 3. Where the letter I was ſounded long, to be written with a double I, as in *deſiir, liif*. 4. He entirely threw the letter Y out of the alphabet, as uſeleſs, and ſupplied it with I, as *mi, ſai, awai*. 5. U long he wrote with a ſtroke over it, as in *præsum*. 6. The reſt of the long vowels he would have to be written with double letters, as *weer, theer,* (and ſometimes *thear,*) *noo, noon, adoo, thooſ, loov*, to avoid an E at the end. 7. Letters without ſound he threw out, as in theſe words, *frutes, wold, faut, dout, again* for *againſt, hole, meen* for *mean*. And, 8. Changed the ſpelling in ſome words, to make them the better expreſſive of the ſounds; as in *gud, britil, praiſabil, &c.* He alſo had better ſkill in our language to judge of the phraſes, and properties of words, and to divide ſentences, than any elſe then had: And was thought to have greatly improved the language by a practice he had, when he read his Greek lectures, to take the book, and only looking upon the book, to read it in Engliſh. He farther brought in a ſhort and expreſſive way of writing, without long and intricate periods. And moreover in what he wrote himſelf, he would allow no words, but ſuch as were true Engliſh, or of Saxon original; ſuffering no adoption of any foreign word into the Engliſh language, which he thought was copious enough of itſelf, without borrowing words from other countries. This made him diſlike the then Engliſh tranſlation of the Bible, becauſe there were in it ſo many foreign words, and to undertake a new one. He went through the Goſpel of St. Matthew, and began that of St. Mark; wherein all along he laboured to uſe only true Engliſh Saxon words, though they were ſometimes odd and uncouth; as for inſtance *deſiirful, ungre-vous, tollers* for publicans, *&c.* The original under his own hand ſtill remains in the MS. Library at Benet College Cambridge. A ſpecimen whereof follows. Matth. I. ver. 18.—'After his mother Mari was enſured to 'Joſeph, before thei weer cupled together, ſhe was 'preived to be with child; and it was indeed by the 'Holi Ghooſt. 19. But Joſeph her huſband, being 'a juſt man, and loth to uſe extremitee toward her, 'entended privili to divorſe himſelf from her. 20. 'And being in this mind, lo the angel of the Lord 'appeired by dream, *&c.* Chap. II. ver. 16. Then 'Herod ſeeing that he was plaid withal by the wiſe-'heards,' *&c.*—Laſtly, Sir John Cheke brought in a fair and graceful way of writing; for he wrote himſelf an excellent and accurate hand, as did alſo the beſt ſcholars in thoſe times, namely Smith, Cecil, and eſpecially Aſcham. So that fair writing, and good learning ſeem to have begun in England together (38).

(38) Strype, as above, p. 211—215.

M.

*** [In Harrington's Nugæ Antiquæ, publiſhed within theſe few years, there are eight original letters, written by Sir John Cheke. The firſt of them, which is to the Duke of Somerſet, relates to the education of the young King, Edward the Sixth. Among other things, Sir John gives the following excellent advice: "I do wiſh therefore oftentymes, "that which the King's Majeſtie was wont to labour "in, that he contynewed to be an Academike, ſlow "to judge, glad to here all men, miſtruſting his "own reaſon, taking trouthe to be hidden, and ſo "not to be found at the firſt ſight; thinking wiſdom "either to be in men of experience, or elſe in no "men; and alwaiſe perſwading himſelf in his "youthe, which Socrates believed when he was "olde, that he knoweth this onlye thinge, that yet "he knew nothing; and ſo ſhall he beſt avoid the "bottomleſs dangers, unknown faults, which elſe "unawarſe creepe into his minde (39)." The next letter is addreſſed to King Edward himſelf, and was written at a time when Sir John Cheke, in conſequence of a fit of illneſs, thought himſelf in certain view of a ſpeedy deceaſe. This letter diſplays ſo much wiſdom and integrity, together with ſuch a grateful remembrance of his friends, that it will not be diſpleaſing to our readers to have the whole of it inſerted.

(39) Nugæ Antiquæ, vol. iii. p. 13.

"Becauſe I am departing, my Sovereigne Lord, unto the King of all Kings, Almightie God, and muſt, by his appointment, leave you, whome of long tyme I have done my beſt to bring up in vertue and good learninge; and you are now coming to a government of your ſelf, in whiche eſtate I pray God you maye alwaies be ſerved with them that will faithfullye, trewlye, and playnlye give you counſeill: I have thought it my dutie, for a memorie of my laſt will, and for a token of my well-wiſhinge unto you (remayning preſentlye with me, even as it hath alwaies heretofore done) to requyre you, yea, and in God's behalf to chardge you, that, foraſmoche as yeares bothe have and will diminiſhe in you the feare of man, to have yet before your eyes continuallye the fear of God; with the which if you do not direct, order, and temper all your doings and ſayings, be you well aſſured neither to have good ſucceſs in the greate chardge that he hath committed to you, yet neither in th' end to enjoye that joyfull place that is promyſed *timentibus eum:* For if God do right extreamlye poniſhe men of baſe eſtate, and of low degrees, for wanting of that neceſſarie jewell, which hath in Scripture ſo many promeſes: how ſevearely will he poniſhe Kings and Princes failing thearein, in whome the lack thereof muſt needes be both to themſelves and to the commonwealth moſt perillouſe. My weakneſſe ſuffereth me not ſo long to talke with you in this matter as I coulde wiſhe, and your majeſties diſpoſition, (which I know moſt apt to receave all godlie admonitions) puttethe me in comforte to thincke this to be ſufficient, beſeaching God ſo to direct all your doings, thoughts, and meanings, as may tend to his glory and your honour and wealth, both here and in the worlde to come, when by death you ſhall be called thereunto; to the whiche all men, as well Princes as others, as well yonge as old, are ſubjecte. Moſt affectuouſlye beſeachinge your Grace, if any of your ſervaunts about you ſhall frendlye admoniſhe you of anye thinge whiche in you may be miſlyked to take it at their handes, and thincke them that ſhall ſo doe to be your only ſervants of truſt, and to conſyder them, and to rewarde them accordinglye. And if anye ſuche ſhall be, that ſhall of all things make fair weather, and, whatſoever they ſhall ſee to the contrarye, ſhall tell you all is well; beware of them, they ſerve themſelves, and not you.

"And wheare you have readd, in the tyme that it hath pleaſed God to lend me unto you, dyvers diſcourſes of dyvers ſortes, as well of ſtories, as of philoſophie, wherebye you have had proffit, and plentie of graye and wiſe rules and orders for the good government of your realme; yet, in myne opinyon, among them all, none hath ſo habundantlye furniſhed you in thoſe points, as hath Ariſtotle, to whome I beſeach you, for thoſe matters, often to reſorte, and eſpeciallye to two chapters in his Politiques, the one *de mutatione regni, &c.* and the other *per quæ regna ſervantur*, being the tenth and eleventh chapters of the S. of his Politiques.

"For your divinitie, I wolde wiſhe you wolde diligentlye contynew the reading of the New Teſtament, *Sapientia, Eccleſiaſticus*, and the Proverbs.

"And, underſtanding that it hath pleaſed you ſithen the tyme of my ſickneſſe to ſend unto me manie comfortable

gion (*l*): and likewiſe extremely beneficent, charitable, and communicative (*m*). His unhappy fall is indeed a great blemiſh to his memory. But, before he is abſolutely condemned, let any one place himſelf in his circumſtances, and then conſider, how few can have reſolution enough to withſtand this dreadful dilemma, *either turn, or burn*? An author, of more zeal than charity or knowledge (*n*), treats him as 'a Libertine by profeſſion;' but, undoubtedly, he has borrowed that odious and unjuſt character of him from his enemies the Papiſts. With regard to his perſon, he had a full, comely countenance, ſomewhat red, with a yellow large beard (*o*); and, as far as can be judged by his picture, he was tall and well made.

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 224, 225. Dr. Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 195.

(*m*) Strype, *ibid.* p. 227, 228.

(*n*) The author of the Hiſtory of Socinianiſm. See *Memoires Literaires de la Grande Bretagne*, tom. xv. p. 277.

(*o*) Strype, as above, p. 173.

comfortable meſſages, and among the reſt, that you have appointed (moche unto my comfort) the wardſhipp of my ſonne to his mother; like as I do therefore render unto your Grace my moſt humble thancks ſo to do, I with like humbleneſs deſyre you (my great debts conſydered) to remitt to hym (if all ſhall be too moche) yet ſome convenient peece of ſuch lands as, during his noneage, ſhall fall unto you.

"And, whereas I ſhall now leave my colledge in Cambridge deſtitute of an headd, if your Grace appoint thereunto Mr. Haddon, I think you ſhall appoint a worthie man. Finallie, one ſute charitye moveth me to make unto your Majeſtie: The Biſhop of Chicheſter * was my bringer-upp, and at his hands I gate an entrie to ſome ſkill in learning; lyving I could never do hyme anye good whereby I might be accompted a grateful ſcholler; if dyeing I might attaine for hym libertie with ſome ſmall aide of lyving, I ſhould be moche bound unto youe, thinking moſt aſſuredlye you ſhall fynde of hym, during his lyfe, bothe a dailye beadeſman for you, and a right obedient ſubject; thoughe, in ſome things heretofore, he hathe more throughlye perſwaded his conſcience, then to the perfection of Chriſtes religion was requiſyte. Thus the lyving God preſerve your Majeſtie long to raigne moſt proſperouſlye. Out of my death bedd (40)."

* This was George Day, the deprived Biſhop of Chicheſter.

(40) *Ibid.* p. 16—20.

The five next letters are one each to Biſhop Gardiner, Sir John Maſon, and Queen Mary, and two to Lord Paget. All theſe were written during the time of Sir John Cheke's perſecution and diſtreſs, and are of the ſupplicatory kind (41). The laſt and longeſt is a letter of advice to Mrs. Penelope Pie, who was daughter and heireſs of his deceaſed friend, Sir Thomas Pie (42). It is an admirable compoſition, abounding in piety and good ſenſe, and expreſſed with uncommon eaſe, and even elegance of language. It is a happy inſtance of the purity and correctneſs of his taſte, at a period when literary men, in general, had not emancipated themſelves from an uncouth and pedantic phraſeology.

(41) *Ibid.* p. 21—36.

(42) *Ibid.* p. 37—59.

Sir John Cheke can never be mentioned with too great reſpect, as one of the firſt introducers of true learning into this country; and the world is highly indebted to him for his ſucceſsful endeavours in reforming the pronunciation of the Greek and Latin tongues. But we cannot equally approve his ſcheme of innovation with regard to the orthography of the Engliſh language. The plan is not eaſily practicable, and, were it more practicable, would not, we think, be deſirable. That it could not readily be brought into practice, is plain from the total diſregard which hath always hitherto been ſhewn to every propoſal of this kind. Nor do we conceive that any material benefit could reſult from ſuch an attempt. If it were carried into execution, it would introduce a deal of confuſion between the peruſal of former writings, and thoſe which ſhould be printed in the new mode. We hope, therefore, that every future project of this nature will be immediately rejected.]

K.

*** [CHESELDEN (WILLIAM)†, an eminent Surgeon and Anatomiſt, and a celebrated writer in both theſe reſpects, was born, in 1688, at Burrow on the Hill, in the pariſh of Somerby, in the county of Leiceſter. After having received a claſſical education, he was placed, about the year 1703, under the immediate tuition of Mr. Cowper, whoſe reputation for anatomical ſkill is well known in the medical world. In the houſe of this gentleman Mr. Cheſelden reſided, and, at the ſame time, ſtudied ſurgery under Mr. Ferne, the head Surgeon of St. Thomas's Hoſpital. Such was the proficiency he made under theſe able maſters, that he himſelf began, at the age of twenty-two, to read lectures in anatomy, a ſyllabus of which, in quarto, was firſt printed in 1711. Lectures of this kind were then ſomewhat new in this country, having been introduced, not many years before, by M. Buffiere, a French Refugee, and a Surgeon of high repute in the reign of Queen Anne. Till then, the popular prejudices had run ſo high againſt the practice of diſſection, that the civil power found it difficult to accommodate the lecturers with proper ſubjects; and pupils were obliged to attend the Univerſities, or other public ſeminaries, where, likewiſe, the procuring of bodies was no eaſy taſk. It is an extraordinary proof of Mr. Cheſelden's early reputation, that he had the honour of being choſen a Member of the Royal Society in 1711, when he could be little more than twenty-three years of age. The wiſdom of this choice he took care to juſtify by a variety of curious and uſeful communications [*A*]. Nor were his contributions limited to the Royal Society, but are to be found in the

† For various particulars in this article, we are indebted to the obliging information of Dr. William Hunter.

[*A*] *By a variety of curious and uſeful communications.*] In looking over the Abridgment of the Philoſophical Tranſactions, the following articles have occurred to us, as communicated by Mr. Cheſelden. "Caſe of an unuſual bone in the head, and a diſtempered optic nerve." "Account of oſſifications or petrefactions in the coats of the Aorta." "Anatomical obſervations (1)." Account of a bone taken from the falx." "Caſe of the optic nerve waſted." "Two caſes of dropſy." "Account of two and three ſpleens found in one body." "Account of human bones of an extraordinary ſize." Theſe were found near an urn, inſcribed "Marcus Antoninus, in the ſituation of a Roman camp, not far from St. Alban's (2)." "Obſervations by a young Gentleman born blind." Theſe we ſhall take notice of below. "Explication of the inſtruments uſed in couching him (3)."

Mr. Nichols hath mentioned the two following articles, which had eſcaped our enquiry. "A remarkable caſe of a perſon cut for the ſtone in a new way, commonly called the *lateral*." March 13, 1741, 2. Phil. Tranſ. N° 478. p. 33. "The effects of the *Lixivium Saponis*, taken inwardly by a man aged 75, who had the ſtone, and in whoſe bladder, after his deceaſe, were found 214 ſtones. Ibid. p. 36 (4).

(1) Continuation of Lowthorp's Abridgment, vol. i. Part 2d, p. 13. 37. 40.

(2) Abridgment of the Philoſophical Tranſactions, vol. v. p. 202. 231. 252. 387.

(3) *Ibid.* vol. vii. Part 3. p. 491—494.

(4) Nichols's Anecdotes of Bowyer, p. 638.

Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Surgeons at Paris, and in other valuable repoſitories (*a*). In 1713, Mr. Cheſelden publiſhed, in octavo, his "Anatomy of the human "Body." A ſecond edition appeared in 1722, a third in 1726, a fourth in 1732, a fifth, in folio, in 1734, and a ſixth in 1740. Not to enumerate the ſucceeding impreſſions, we may mention it as a deciſive proof of the eſteem in which the work is ſtill held, that the eleventh edition of it was printed in 1778. During the courſe of twenty years, in which Mr. Cheſelden carried on his anatomical lectures, he was continually riſing in reputation and practice. Upon Mr. Ferne's retiring from buſineſs, he was elected head Surgeon of St. Thomas's Hoſpital. At two other Hoſpitals, St. George's and the Weſtminſter Infirmary, he was choſen Conſulting Surgeon; and, at length, had the honour of being appointed Principal Surgeon to Queen Caroline, by whom he was highly eſteemed (*b*). It is not, indeed, ſurprizing, that all theſe diſtinctions ſhould be beſtowed upon him, ſince he was long and generally regarded as the firſt man in his profeſſion.

(*a*) Nichols's Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer, p. 213. 341.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 343.

To revert to Mr. Cheſelden's writings; in 1723 he publiſhed, in octavo, his "Treatiſe on the high Operation for the Stone." This work was ſoon attacked in an anonymous pamphlet, called "Lithotomus caſtratus, or an Examination of the Treatiſe of Mr. Cheſelden;" and in which he was charged with plagiariſm. How unjuſt this accuſation was, appears from his preface, in which he had acknowledged his obligations to Dr. James Douglas, and to Mr. John Douglas [*B*], from one of whom the attack is ſuppoſed to have come. Mr. Cheſelden's ſolicitude to do juſtice to other eminent practitioners, is farther manifeſt, from his having annexed to his book a tranſlation of what had been written on the ſubject by Franco, who publiſhed "Traité des Hernies," &c. at Lyons, in 1561; and by Roſſet, in his "Cæſarei Partus Aſſertio Hiſtoriologica," Paris, 1590. The whole affair was more candidly explained in 1724, by a writer who had no other object than the public good, in a little work, entitled "Methode "de la Taille au haut appareile recuillie des Ouvrages du fameux Triumvirat." This triumvirate conſiſted of *Roſſet*, to whom the honour of the invention was due; *Douglas*, who had revived it after long diſuſe; and *Cheſelden*, who had practiſed the operation with the moſt eminent ſkill and ſucceſs. Indeed, Mr. Cheſelden was ſo celebrated on this account, that, as a Lithotomiſt, he drew to himſelf the principal buſineſs of the kingdom. The author of his Eloge, in the "Memoires de l'Academie Royale de "Chirurgerie," who was preſent at many of his operations, teſtifies, that one of them was performed in ſo ſmall a time as fifty-four ſeconds (*c*). In 1728, Mr. Cheſelden added greatly to his reputation in another view, by couching a lad of nearly fourteen years of age, who was either born blind, or had loſt his ſight ſo early, that he had no remembrance of his having ever ſeen (*d*). The obſervations that were made by the young gentleman, after obtaining the bleſſing of ſight, are ſingularly curious [*C*], and have

(*c*) Nichols, *ubi ſupra*, p. 342.

(*d*) Cheſelden's Anatomy, p. 300. Eleventh edition.

[*B*] *In which he had acknowledged his obligations to Dr. James Douglas, and to Mr. John Douglas.*] The following extract from Mr. Cheſelden's preface will be an ample teſtimony to the candour of his mind. "In the year 1717, 18, Dr. James Douglas pre- "ſented a paper to the Royal Society, in which he "demonſtrated, from the anatomy of the parts, that "the high operation for the ſtone might be per- "formed ſafely; and though moſt were convinced of "it, yet either no one underſtood which way to do "it, or cared to venture his reputation upon it, till "his brother Mr. John Douglas, a good anatomiſt, "and formerly a pupil in St. Thomas's Hoſpital, "performed it. His method is nearly the ſame with "Roſſet's, (Vid. Mr. Douglas's Treatiſe called "Lithotamia *Douglaſſiana*) though, as he declares, "he had never heard of that author at that time. "He performed his operations with ſucceſs, and if "he may not be called the inventor, he was ſurely "the firſt man that ever practiſed it this way upon "living bodies, (his operation and Franco's differ- "ing as much as the ways by the greater and the "leſſer apparatus) for which the Company of Sur- "geons (forward to encourage every improvement "in Surgery) have preſented him with his freedom, "with an exemption from ſeveral expenſive offices. "In my own account of this operation, I have fairly ſet "down every thing that I judged moſt material to "be known, without the leaſt diſguiſe or partiality "to myſelf: and that the reader might ſee what had "been before done, and that I might not be ſuſpect- "ed of arrogating to myſelf any part of this opera- "tion which was not my own invention (which I "confeſs is very little) I have added to it a tranſla- "tion of what had been written upon the ſubject by "ſeveral authors (5)."

(5) Nichols, *ubi ſupra*, p. 342.

[*C*] *The obſervations that were made by the young gentleman are ſingularly curious.*] We are perſuaded that it will be a gratification to our readers to inſert them.

"An account of obſervations made by a young gentleman who was born blind, or loſt his ſight ſo early that he had no remembrance of ever having ſeen, and was couched between thirteen and fourteen years of age.

"Though we ſay of this gentleman that he was blind, as we do of all people who have ripe cataracts, yet they are never ſo blind from that cauſe but that they can diſcern day from night, and for the moſt part in a ſtrong light, diſtinguiſh black, white, and ſcarlet; but they cannot perceive the ſhape of any thing; for the light by which theſe perceptions are made, being let in obliquely through the aqueous humour, or the anterior ſurface of the cryſtalline, by which the rays cannot be brought into a focus upon the retina, they can diſcern in no other manner, than a ſound eye can through a glaſs of broken jelly, where a great variety of ſurfaces ſo differently refract the light, that the ſeveral diſtinct pencils of rays cannot be collected by the eye into their proper foci; wherefore the ſhape of an object in ſuch a caſe cannot be at all diſcerned, though the colour may: And thus it was with this young gentleman, who, though he knew theſe colours aſunder in a good light, yet when he ſaw them after he was couched, the faint ideas he had of them before, were not ſufficient for him to know them by afterwards, and therefore he did not think them the ſame which he had before known by thoſe names. Now ſcarlet he thought the moſt beautiful of all colours, and of others the moſt gay were the moſt pleaſing; whereas the firſt time he ſaw black it gave him great uneaſineſs, yet after a little time he was reconciled

have been much attended to, and reaſoned upon, by ſeveral writers on viſion, as we ſhall probably have occaſion more particularly to ſhew in a future article. In 1729, our author was elected a correſponding Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris; and, in 1732, ſoon after the inſtitution of the Royal Academy of Surgery in that city, he had the honour of being the firſt foreigner aſſociated with their learned body (*e*). Mr. Cheſelden's "Oſteography, or Anatomy of the Bones," inſcribed to Queen Caroline, and publiſhed by ſubſcription, came out in 1733. It is a ſplendid folio, in the figures of which all the bones are repreſented in their natural ſize. Our author loſt a great ſum of money by this publication, which, in 1735, was attacked, with much ſeverity, by Dr. Douglas, whoſe criticiſm appeared under the title of "Remarks on that pompous Book, the Oſteography of Mr. Cheſelden." The work received a more judicious cenſure from the celebrated Haller, who, whilſt he candidly pointed out its errors, paid the writer that tribute of applauſe which he ſo juſtly deſerved. Heiſter, likewiſe, in his "Compendium of Anatomy," has done juſtice to his merit (*f*). Mr. Cheſelden, having long laboured for the benefit of the public, and accompliſhed his deſires with reſpect to fame and fortune, began, at length, to wiſh for a life of greater tranquillity and retirement; and, in 1737, he obtained an honourable ſituation of this kind, by being appointed head Surgeon to Chelſea Hoſpital; which place he held, with the higheſt reputation, till his death. He did not, however, wholly remit his endeavours to advance the knowledge of his profeſſion; for, upon the publication of Mr. Gataker's tranſlation of Monſ. le Dran's Operations of Surgery, he contributed twenty-one uſeful plates towards it, and a variety of valuable remarks, ſome of which he had made ſo early as while he was a pupil to Mr. Ferne (*g*). This was the laſt literary work in which he engaged. In 1751, Mr. Cheſelden, as a governor of the Foundling Hoſpital, ſent a benefaction of fifty pounds to that charity, encloſed in a paper, with the following lines:

(*e*) Nichols, *ubi ſupra*, p. 343.

(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 341, 342.

(*g*) *Ibid.* p. 342.

"'Tis what the happy to th' unhappy owe;
"For what man gives, the gods by him beſtow."

POPE (*b*).

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 215.

reconciled to it; but ſome months after, ſeeing by accident a negro woman, he was ſtruck with great horror at the ſight.

"When he firſt ſaw, he was ſo far from making any judgment about diſtances, that he thought all objects whatever touched his eyes (as he expreſſed it) as what he felt did his ſkin, and thought no objects ſo agreeable as thoſe which were ſmooth and regular, though he could form no judgment of their ſhape, or gueſs what it was in any object that was pleaſing to him: He knew not the ſhape of any thing, nor any one thing from another, however different in ſhape or magnitude; but upon being told what things were, whoſe form he before knew from feeling, he would carefully obſerve, that he might know them again; but having too many objects to learn at once, he forgot many of them; and (as he ſaid) at firſt he learned to know, and again forgot a thouſand things in a day. One particular only, though it may appear trifling, I will relate: Having often forgotten which was the cat, and which the dog, he was aſhamed to aſk; but catching the cat, which he knew by feeling, he was obſerved to look at her ſtedfaſtly, and then, ſetting her down, ſaid, So, puſs, I ſhall know you another time. He was very much ſurpriſed, that thoſe things which he had liked beſt, did not appear moſt agreeable to his eyes, expecting thoſe perſons would appear moſt beautiful that he loved moſt, and ſuch things to be moſt agreeable to his ſight, that were ſo to his taſte. We thought he ſoon knew what pictures repreſented, which were ſhewed to him, but we found afterwards we were miſtaken; for about two months after he was couched, he diſcovered at once they repreſented ſolid bodies, when to that time he conſidered them only as party-coloured planes, or ſurfaces diverſified with variety of paint; but even then he was no leſs ſurprized, expecting the pictures would feel like the things they repreſented, and was amazed when he found thoſe parts, which by their light and ſhadow appeared now round and uneven, felt only flat like the reſt, and aſked which was the lying ſenſe, feeling, or ſeeing?

"Being ſhewn his father's picture in a locket at his mother's watch, and told what it was, he acknowledged a likeneſs, but was vaſtly ſurprized; aſking, how it could be, that a large face could be expreſſed in ſo little room, ſaying, it ſhould have ſeemed as impoſſible to him, as to put a buſhel of any thing into a pint.

"At firſt, he could bear but very little light, and the things he ſaw, he thought extremely large; but upon ſeeing things larger, thoſe firſt ſeen he conceived leſs, never being able to imagine any lines beyond the bounds he ſaw; the room he was in, he ſaid, he knew to be but part of the houſe, yet he could not conceive that the whole houſe could look bigger. Before he was couched, he expected little advantage from ſeeing, worth undergoing an operation for, except reading and writing; for he ſaid, he thought he could have no more pleaſure in walking abroad than he had in the garden, which he could do ſafely and readily. And even blindneſs, he obſerved, had this advantage, that he could go any where in the dark, much better than thoſe who can ſee; and after he had ſeen, he did not ſoon loſe this quality, nor deſire a light to go about the houſe in the night. He ſaid, every new object was a new delight; and the pleaſure was ſo great, that he wanted words to expreſs it; but his gratitude to his operator he could not conceal, never ſeeing him for ſome time without tears of joy in his eyes, and other marks of affection: And if he did not happen to come at any time when he was expected, he would be ſo grieved, that he could not forbear crying at his diſappointment. A year after firſt ſeeing, being carried upon Epſom Downs, and obſerving a large proſpect, he was exceedingly delighted with it, and called it a new kind of ſeeing. And now being lately couched of his other eye, he ſays, that objects at firſt appeared large to this eye, but not ſo large as they did at firſt to the other; and looking upon the ſame object with both eyes, he thought it looked about twice as large as with the firſt couched eye only, but not double, that we can any ways diſcover.

"I have couched ſeveral others who were born blind, whoſe obſervations were of the ſame kind; but they being younger, none of them gave ſo full an account as this gentleman (6)."

(6) Cheſelden's Anatomy, p. 300—304. Eleventh edition.

In the latter end of the ſame year, he was ſeized with a paralytic ſtroke, from which, in appearance, he ſoon perfectly recovered. The flattering proſpect, however, of his continuance in life, was not long enjoyed; for, on the 10th of April, 1752, he was ſuddenly carried off by a fit of an apoplexy. This event happened at Bath, in the 64th year of his age. He married Deborah Knight, a citizen's daughter, and, if we miſtake not, ſiſter of the famous Robert Knight, Caſhier to the South-Sea Company in 1720. By this lady Mr. Cheſelden had only one daughter, Wilhelmina Deborah, who was married to Charles Cotes, Doctor of Phyſic, of Woodcote in Shropſhire, and Member of Parliament for Tamworth in Staffordſhire. Dr. Cotes died without iſſue, on the 21ſt of March, 1748; and Mrs. Cotes, who ſurvived him, departed this life, ſome years ſince, at Greenhith, in the pariſh of Swanſcombe, in the county of Kent (*). (*) *Ibid.* p. 213, 343.

Mr. Cheſelden's reputation was great in anatomy, but we apprehend that it was ſtill greater, and more juſtly founded, in ſurgery. The late eminent Surgeon, Mr. Sharpe, in a dedication to our author (*i*), celebrates him as the ornament of his profeſſion; acknowledges his own ſkill in ſurgery to have been chiefly derived from him; and repreſents, that poſterity will be ever indebted for the ſignal ſervices he has done to this branch of the medical art (*k*). In ſurgery he was undoubtedly a great improver, having introduced ſimplicity into the practice of it, and laid aſide the operoſe and hurtful French inſtruments which had been formerly in uſe. Guided by conſummate ſkill, perfectly maſter of his hand, fruitful in reſources, he was prepared for all events, and performed every operation with remarkable dexterity and coolneſs. Being fully competent to each poſſible caſe, he was ſucceſsful in all. He was, at the ſame time, eminently diſtinguiſhed by his tenderneſs to his patients. Whenever he entered the Hoſpital on his morning viſits, the reflection of what he was unavoidably to perform, impreſſed him with uneaſy ſenſations; and it is even ſaid, that he was generally ſick with anxiety before he began an operation, though during the performance of it he was, as hath already been obſerved, remarkably cool and ſelf-collected. Our author's euloguiſt relates a ſtriking contraſt between him and a French Surgeon of eminence. The latter gentleman, having had his feelings rendered callous by a courſe of ſurgical practice, was aſtoniſhed at the ſenſibility ſhewn by Mr. Cheſelden previouſly to his operations, and conſidered it as a great mark of weakneſs in his behaviour. Yet the ſame gentleman, being perſuaded to accompany Mr. Cheſelden to the Fencing School, who frequently amuſed himſelf with it as a ſpectator, could not bear the ſight, and was taken ill. The adventure was the ſubject of converſation at court, and both were equally praiſed for goodneſs of heart. Each of them, indeed, though the occaſions were ſo different, was affected by ſimilar ſentiments of humanity (*l*). The principle, however, of humanity appears to have been ſtronger in Mr. Cheſelden, becauſe the feeling of it was not weakened in caſes where, from long practice, it might be expected that it would have been almoſt totally deſtroyed. (*l*) *Ibid.* p. 342, 343.

The connections of our eminent Surgeon and Anatomiſt were not confined to perſons whoſe ſtudies and purſuits were congenial to thoſe of his own profeſſion. He was fond of the polite arts, and cultivated an acquaintance with men of genius and taſte. He was honoured, in particular, with the friendſhip of Mr. Pope, who (*m*) frequently ſpeaks of dining with him, and who thus writes concerning him, in a letter to Dr. Swift. "I wondered a little at your quære, who Cheſelden was. It ſhews that the "trueſt merit does not travel ſo far any way as on the wings of poetry. He is the "moſt noted and moſt deſerving man in the whole profeſſion of Chirurgery; and has "ſaved the lives of thouſands by his manner of cutting for the ſtone (*n*)." In 1742, Mr. Cheſelden, in a converſation with Mr. Pope at Mr. Dodſley's, expreſſed his ſurprize at the folly of thoſe who could imagine that the fourth book of the Dunciad had the leaſt reſemblance in ſtile, wit, humour, or fancy, to the three preceding books. Though he was not, perhaps, altogether ſingular in this opinion, it was no ſmall mortification to him, to be informed by Mr. Pope, that he himſelf was the author of it, and was ſorry that Mr. Cheſelden did not like the poem (*o*). Writers, unleſs they are well prepared for diſagreeable remarks, ſhould be cautious of making their anonymous compoſitions the ſubjects of diſcourſe. Mr. Cheſelden is underſtood to have valued himſelf more upon his taſte in poetry and architecture than he ought to have done, conſidering the different nature of his real accompliſhments and purſuits. His ſkill in the latter art is ſaid not to have been diſplayed to the beſt advantage in Surgeon's Hall, which was principally built under his direction. Theſe little ſhades in eminent characters will ſcarcely detract any thing from their merit, in the eſtimation of true candour and ſound judgment (*p*)]. K.

(*i*) Prefixed to Mr. Sharpe's "Treatiſe on the Operations of Surgery."

(*k*) Nichols, *ubi ſupra*, p. 343.

(*m*) In his letters to Mr. Richardſon.

(*n*) Nichols, *ubi ſupra*, p. 214. Pope's Works, vol. vi. p. 299. Edition of 1776.

(*o*) Nichols, *ubi ſupra*, p. 344.

(*p*) A friend once ſaying to Mr. Cheſelden at dinner, that as he was the beſt Anatomiſt in England, he ought to be the beſt Carver, he anſwered, "I am." Nichols, *ubi ſupra*.

* * [CHEYNE (GEORGE), a Phyſician of conſiderable eminence, and author of ſeveral learned works, was deſcended from a good family in Scotland, where he was born in the year 1671 (*a*). He received a regular and liberal education, and was at firſt intended by his parents for the Church (*b*); though that deſign was afterwards laid aſide. He paſſed his youth, as he himſelf informs us, in cloſe ſtudy, and in almoſt continual

(*a*) Supplement to the New and General Biog. Dict. 8vo. p. 95.

(*b*) Engliſh Malady, p. 330.

continual application to the abſtracted ſciences; and in theſe purſuits his chief pleaſure conſiſted. The general courſe of his life, therefore, at this time, was extremely temperate and ſedentary; though he did occaſionally admit of ſome relaxation, diverting himſelf with works of imagination, and "rouſing nature by agreeable company "and good cheer (*c*)." But upon the ſlighteſt exceſſes he found ſuch diſagreeable effects, as led him to conclude, that his glands were naturally lax, and his ſolids feeble: in which opinion he was confirmed, by an early ſhaking of his hands, and a diſpoſition to be eaſily ruffled on a ſurprize (*d*). He ſtudied phyſic at Edinburgh under the celebrated Dr. Pitcairne, to whom he was much attached, and whom he ſtyles "his great "maſter, and generous friend (*e*)." Having taken the degree of Doctor of Phyſic, he repaired to London to practiſe as a Phyſician, when he was about thirty years of age. On his arrival in the metropolis, he ſoon quitted the regular and temperate manner of life to which he had been chiefly accuſtomed, and partly from inclination, and partly from a view to promote his practice, he paſſed much of his time in company, and in taverns. Being of a cheerful temper, and having a lively imagination, with much acquired knowledge, he ſoon rendered himſelf very agreeable to thoſe who lived and converſed freely. He was, as he ſays, much careſſed by them, "and grew daily "in bulk, and in friendſhip with theſe gay gentlemen, and their acquaintances (*f*)." But, in a few years, he found this mode of living very injurious to his health: he grew exceſſively fat, ſhort-breathed, liſtleſs, and lethargic (*g*).

(*c*) Caſe of the Author, in his Engliſh Malady, or Treatiſe of Nervous Diſeaſes of all Kinds, p. 325.

(*d*) *Id. ibid.*

(*e*) Pref. to his Eſſay on Health and long Life, p. ii.

(*f*) Engliſh Malady, p. 326.

(*g*) *Id. ibid.*

But before his health was in this unfavourable ſtate, he had publiſhed a medical treatiſe, in 8vo, under the following title: "A new Theory of acute and ſlow continued "Fevers [*A*]: wherein, beſides the Appearances of ſuch, and the Manner of their "Cure, occaſionally, the Structure of the Glands, and the Manner and Laws of Se-"cretion, the Operation of purgative, vomitive, and mercurial Medicines are mecha-"nically explained." To this he prefixed, "An Eſſay concerning the Improvements "of the Theory of Medicine." This treatiſe on fevers was drawn up by Dr. Cheyne, at the deſire of Dr. Pitcairne [*B*]; but it was a haſty performance; and, therefore, though it ſeems to have been favourably received, our author never choſe to prefix his name to it. His next publication was a piece on abſtracted geometry and algebra, entitled, *Fluxionum Methodus inverſa; ſive quantitatum fluentium leges generaliores* [*C*]. He afterwards publiſhed a defence of this performance, againſt Mr. De Moivre, under the following title: *Rudimentorum Methodi Fluxionum inverſæ Specimina, adverſus Abr. De Moivre.* In 1705, when he was about thirty-four years of age, at which time he was a fellow of the Royal Society, he publiſhed, in 8vo, "Philoſophical Principles of na-"tural Religion: containing the Elements of natural Philoſophy, and the Proofs for "natural Religion, ariſing from them." This piece he dedicated to the Earl of Roxburgh, at whoſe deſire, and for whoſe inſtruction, it appears to have been originally written.

In conſequence of the free mode of living in which our author had for ſome time indulged himſelf, beſides the ill conſequences that have been already mentioned, he at length brought on himſelf, as he informs us, an autumnal intermittent fever; but this he removed in a few weeks by taking the bark (*h*). He afterwards went on tolerably well for about a year, though neither ſo clear in his faculties, nor ſo gay in his temper, as he had formerly been. But the following autumn, he was ſuddenly ſeized with a vertiginous paroxyſm, ſo alarming in its nature, as to approach nearly to a fit of an apoplexy. By degrees, his diſorder turned to a conſtant violent head-ach, giddineſs, and lowneſs of ſpirits: upon which he entirely left off ſuppers, which he never reſumed, and alſo confined himſelf at dinner to a ſmall quantity of animal food, drinking but very little fermented liquors (*i*). The decline of his health and ſpirits occaſioned him

(*h*) Engliſh Malady, p. 326.

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 327.

[*A*] *A new theory of acute and ſlow continued fevers.*] The fourth edition of this, with many additions, was publiſhed in 1724.

[*B*] *Drawn up by Dr. Cheyne, at the deſire of Dr. Pitcairne.*] Our author ſays, 'that Dr. Pitcairne 'thought himſelf ill uſed by ſome of his brethren of 'the profeſſion who were then at inteſtine war on 'the ſubject of fevers; and fancied the handſomeſt 'way to bring them down, was to exhibit a more 'ſpecious account of this diſeaſe, than any of them 'had ſhewn.' But 'his buſineſs in the practice of 'phyſic was then ſo great, as not to allow him ſuffi-'cient time for ſuch a work (1).'

(1) Cheyne's Pref. to his Eſſay of Health and long Life, p. ii. 4th edit.

[*C*] *Fluxionum Methodus inverſa, &c.*] Dr. Cheyne ſays himſelf of this work, that it was 'brought forth 'in ambition, and bred up in vanity.' 'There are 'ſome things in it,' ſays he, 'tolerable for the time, 'when the methods of quadratures, the menſuration 'of ratio's, and tranſformation of curves, into thoſe 'of other kinds, were not advanced to ſuch heights 'as they now are. But it is a long time ſince I was 'forced to forego theſe barren and airy ſtudies for 'more ſubſtantial and commodious ſpeculations: 'indulging and rioting in theſe ſo exquiſitely be-'witching contemplations, being only proper for 'public profeſſors, and thoſe born to eſtates, and who 'are under no outward neceſſities. Beſides, to own 'a great but grievous truth, though they may 'quicken and ſharpen the invention, ſtrengthen and 'extend the imagination, improve and refine the rea-'ſoning faculty, and are of uſe both in the neceſſary 'and the luxurious refinement of mechanical arts; yet 'having no tendency to rectify the will, ſweeten the 'temper, or mend the heart, they often leave a ſtiff-'neſs, poſitiveneſs, and ſufficiency on weak minds, 'much more pernicious to ſociety, and the intereſts 'of the great ends of our being, than all the advan-'tages they bring them can recompenſe (2).'

(2) Pref. *ut ſupra*, p. iv.

to be deſerted by many of his more airy and jovial companions [*D*]; and this circumſtance contributed to the increaſe of his melancholy. He ſoon after retired into the country, into a fine air, and lived very low: and at this time he employed himſelf in the peruſal of ſome of the moſt valuable theological writers. He had never, even in his freer moments, deſerted the great principles of natural religion and morality [*E*]; but in his preſent retirement he made divine Revelation the more immediate object of his attention [*F*]. The books that he read were recommended to him by a worthy and learned Clergyman of the Church of England, whom he does not name, but whom he repreſents to be the man, that, of all his numerous acquaintance, he the moſt wiſhed to reſemble (*k*).

(*k*) Engliſh Malady, p. 332.

Dr. Cheyne's retirement into the country, and low regimen, having not entirely removed his complaints, he was perſuaded, by his medical and other friends, to try the Bath waters. He accordingly went to Bath, and for ſome time found conſiderable relief from drinking the waters. But he afterwards returned to London for the winter ſeaſon, and had recourſe to a milk diet [*G*], from which he derived the moſt ſalutary conſequences. He now followed the buſineſs of his profeſſion, with great diligence and attention, in ſummer at Bath, and in the winter at London, applying himſelf more particularly to chronical, and eſpecially to low and nervous caſes (*l*): and at this period of his life, he generally rode on horſeback ten or fifteen miles every day, both ſummer and winter: in ſummer on the Downs at Bath, and in winter on the Oxford road from London.

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 339.

After our author had found his health to be thoroughly eſtabliſhed, he again made a change in his regimen, gradually leſſening the quantity of his milk and vegetables, and by ſlow degrees, and in moderate quantities, living on the lighteſt and tendereſt animal food. This he did for ſome time, and at laſt gradually went into the common mode of living, and drinking wine [*H*], though within the bounds of temperance (*m*); and appears to have enjoyed good health for ſeveral years. But his mode of living, though he indulged in no great irregularities [*I*], was ſtill more free than his conſtitution would admit; and at length produced very ill effects. In the courſe of ten or twelve years he continued to increaſe in ſize, and at length weighed more than thirty-two ſtone (*n*). His breath became ſo ſhort, that, upon ſtepping into his chariot quickly, and with ſome effort, he was ready to faint away, and his face would turn black. He was not able to walk up above one pair of ſtairs at a time, without extreme difficulty; he was forced to ride from door to door in a chariot even at Bath; and if he had but a hundred paces to walk, he was obliged, as he informs us himſelf,

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 342.

(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 342.

[*D*] *Deſerted by many of his more airy and jovial companions.*] He ſays, 'Even thoſe who had ſhared 'the beſt part of my profuſions, who, in their neceſ'ſities had been aſſiſted by my falſe generoſity, and 'in their diſorders relieved by my care, did now en'tirely relinquiſh and abandon me; ſo that I was 'forced to retire into the country quite alone, being 'reduced to the ſtate of Cardinal Wolſey, when he 'ſaid, that if he had ſerved his Maker as faithfully 'and warmly as he had his prince, he would 'not have forſaken him in that extremity; and ſo will 'every one find, when union and friendſhip is not 'founded on ſolid virtue, and in conformity to the 'divine order, but in ſenſual pleaſures and mere 'jollity (3).'

(3) Engliſh Malady, p. 328.

[*E*] *Never——deſerted the great principles of natural religion and morality.*] He ſays, that he had always 'preſerved a firm perſuaſion of the great and funda'mental principles of all virtue and morality; viz. 'the exiſtence of a ſupreme and infinitely perfect 'Being, the freedom of the will, the immortality of 'the ſpirits of all intelligent beings, and the certainty 'of future rewards and puniſhments (4).'

(4) *Ibid.* p. 330.

[*F*] *He made divine Revelation the more immediate object of his attention.*] He intimates, that he had before made little progreſs in his inquiries concerning revealed religion; having almoſt taken Chriſtianity and Revelation on truſt; but now, ſays he, 'I col'lected a ſet of religious books and writers, of moſt 'of the firſt ages ſince Chriſtianity, with a few others 'of the moſt ſpiritual of the moderns, which have 'been my ſtudy, delight, and entertainment, in my 'retirements ever ſince; and on theſe I have formed 'my ideas, principles, and ſentiments: ſo as, under 'all the varieties of opinions, ſects, diſputes, and 'controverſies, that of late, and ſince the earlieſt 'ages, have been canvaſſed and bandied in the world, 'I have ſcarcely ever ſince been the leaſt ſhaken, or 'tempted to change my ſentiments or opinions, or 'ſo much as to heſitate in any material point (5).'

(5) *Ibid.* p. 333.

He afterwards obſerves, that he did not attain to true tranquillity of mind, till he came to this firm and ſettled reſolution, and to which he ſincerely endeavoured to adhere: "To neglect nothing to ſecure his eter"nal peace, any more than if he had been certified "he ſhould die within the day; nor to mind any "thing that his ſecular obligations and duties de"manded of him leſs, than if he had been inſured to "live fifty years more (6)."

(6) *Ibid.* p. 336.

[*G*] *Had recourſe to a milk diet.*] He ſays, 'I 'drank cow-milk from the park every morning, and 'engaged a milk-woman, at a higher price than 'ordinary, to bring me every day as much pure and 'unmixed, as might be ſufficient for dinner and 'breakfaſt. I uſed ſeeds, bread, mealy roots, and 'fruit with my milk indifferently, taking them all to be 'pretty nearly of the ſame nature and claſs of foods: 'milk being vegetables immediately cooked by 'animal heat and organs, and directly (without 'going the circulation) drawn from their chyle, or 'from an emulſion of vegetables in the ſtomach (7).'

(7) Engliſh Malady, p. 337.

[*H*] *Gradually went into the common mode of living, and drinking wine.*] 'For near twenty years,' he ſays, 'I continued ſober, moderate, and plain in my 'diet, and in my greateſt health drank not above a 'quart, or three pints at moſt, of wine any day (8).'

(8) *Ibid.* p. 342.

[*I*] *Though he indulged in no great irregularities.*] Speaking on this ſubject, in an after period of life, he ſays, 'After all I have ſaid of my exceſſes, eſpe'cially in liquor, if it be conſidered, that I was near 'thirty years old before I drank ſcarcely any thing 'ſtrong, at leaſt for a continuance: and that for near 'one half of the time ſince, viz. from thirty to ſixty, 'I ſcarcely drank any ſtrong liquor at all: It will be 'found, that, upon the whole, I drank very little 'above a pint of wine, or at moſt, not a quart one 'day with another, ſince I was near thirty: and I 'was never ſix times in my life overtaken with wine, 'and ſcarce ever taſted any diſtilled liquors, but as 'a medicine, however mixed or brewed (9).'

(9) *Ibid.* p. 352, 353.

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to have a ſervant following him with a ſtool to reſt upon (*o*). He had alſo ſome other complaints, and grew extremely lethargic; and at Midſummer, in the year 1723, he was ſeized with a ſevere ſymptomatic fever, which terminated in a moſt violent eriſipelas. He continued to be in a very bad ſtate of health for about a year and a half, having now reſided for a conſiderable time almoſt entirely at Bath. But in December, 1725, he went to London, where he had the advice of his friend Dr. Arbuthnot, Dr. Mead, Dr. Friend, and ſome other phyſicians. From nothing, however, did he find ſo much relief as from a milk and vegetable diet; by a ſtrict adherence to which, in ſomewhat more than two years, his health was at length thoroughly eſtabliſhed; and he almoſt entirely confined himſelf to this regimen [*K*] during the remainder of his life.

(*o*) *Ibid.* p. 343.

In the mean time, our author continued to publiſh ſome other medical works; particularly "An Eſſay of the true Nature, and due Method of treating the Gout, toge- "ther with an Account of the Nature and Quality of Bath Waters, the Manner of "uſing them, and the Diſeaſes in which they are proper: as alſo of the Nature and "Cure of moſt Chronical Diſtempers." This paſſed through at leaſt five editions; and was followed by "An Eſſay on Health and long Life [*L*];" which was well received by the public, but occaſioned ſundry reflections to be thrown out againſt him by ſome perſons of the medical profeſſion [*M*]. In 1726, he publiſhed the ſame work in Latin, enlarged, under the following title: *Georgii Cheynæi Tractatus de Infirmorum Sanitate tuenda, vitaque producenda, libro ejuſdem argumenti Anglice edito longe auctior & limatior; huic acceſſit de natura fibræ ejuſque laxæ ſive reſolutæ morbis tractatus nunc primum editus.*" In 1733, he publiſhed a piece, in 8vo, under the following title: "The "Engliſh Malady: or, a Treatiſe of Nervous Diſeaſes of all Kinds [*N*], as Spleen, "Vapours,

[*K*] *Confined himſelf to this regimen.*] In his account of his own caſe, he ſays, 'My regimen, at preſent, 'is milk, with tea, coffee, bread and butter, mild 'cheeſe, ſalladin, fruits, and ſeeds of all kinds, with 'tender roots, (as potatoes, turnips, carrots,) and, 'in ſhort, every thing that has not life, dreſſed, or 'not, as I like it; (in which there is as much, or a 'greater variety than in animal foods:) ſo that the 'ſtomach need never be cloyed. I drink no wine, 'nor any fermented liquors, and am rarely dry, moſt 'of my food being liquid, moiſt, or juicy; only, after 'dinner, I drink either coffee, or green tea, but 'ſeldom both in the ſame day, and ſometimes a glaſs 'of ſoft ſmall cyder. The thinner my diet is, the 'eaſier, more chearful, and lightſome I find myſelf. 'My ſleep is alſo the ſounder, though perhaps 'ſomewhat ſhorter than formerly under my full ani- 'mal diet. But then I am more alive than ever I 'was, as ſoon as I awake and get up. I riſe com- 'monly at ſix, and go to bed at ten (10).'

(10) Engliſh Malady, p. 361.

[*L*] *An Eſſay on Health and long Life.*] The fourth edition of this was publiſhed in 1725, 8vo. It was dedicated to Sir Joſeph Jekyll, Maſter of the Rolls, at whoſe deſire it was written.

It appears from a paſſage in this book, that Dr. Cheyne had a very unfavourable opinion of the effects of *Punch*. 'Next to drams,' he ſays, 'no liquor 'deſerves more to be ſtigmatized, and baniſhed the 'repaſts of the tender, valetudinary, and ſtudious, 'than *Punch*. 'Tis a compoſition of ſuch parts, as 'not one of them is ſalutary, or kindly to ſuch con- 'ſtitutions, except the pure element in it.'——'I 'could never ſee any temptation, for any one in their 'ſenſes, to indulge in this heatheniſh liquor, but 'that it makes its votaries the ſooneſt, and all of a 'ſudden the deepeſt drunk, holds them longeſt in 'the fit, and deprives them the moſt entirely of the 'uſe of their intellectual faculties, and bodily organs, 'of any liquor whatſoever. It is likeſt *Opium*, both 'in its nature, and in the manner of its operation, 'and neareſt *Arſenick* in its deleterious and poiſonous 'qualities: and ſo I leave it to them (11).'

(11) Eſſay of Health and long Life, p. 55. 59.

[*M*] *Occaſioned ſundry reflections to be thrown out againſt him*, &c] Of this we are informed by himſelf: 'Some good-natured and ingenious retainers 'to the profeſſion,' ſays he, 'on my publication of 'my book of long life and health, proclaimed every 'where that I was turned mere enthuſiaſt, and re- 'ſolved all things into allegory and analogy, adviſed 'people to turn monks, to run into deſarts, and to 'live on roots, herbs, and wild fruits; in fine, that 'I was at bottom a mere leveller, and for deſtroying 'order, ranks, and property, every one's but my own. 'But that ſneer had its day, and vaniſhed into 'ſmoke. Others ſwore I had eaten my book, re- 'canted my doctrine and ſyſtem (as they were pleaſed 'to term it) and was returned again to the Devil, the 'world, and the fleſh. This joke I have alſo ſtood. 'I have been ſlain again and again, both in verſe and 'proſe; but, I thank God, I am ſtill alive and well '(12).'

(12) Pref. to his Engliſh Malady, p. iii, iv.

[*N*] *The Engliſh Malady; or, a Treatiſe of Nervous Diſeaſes of all Kinds.*] In the preface to this work our author ſays, 'The title I have choſen for this trea- 'tiſe, is a reproach univerſally thrown on this iſland 'by foreigners, and all our neighbours on the conti- 'nent, by whom nervous diſtempers, ſpleen, vapours, 'and lowneſs of ſpirits, are in deriſion called the 'Engliſh Malady. And I wiſh there were not ſo 'good grounds for this reflection. The moiſture of 'our air, the variableneſs of our weather, (from our 'ſituation amidſt the ocean,) the rankneſs and ferti- 'lity of our ſoil, the richneſs and heavineſs of our 'food, the wealth and abundance of the inhabitants '(from their univerſal trade,) the inactivity and 'ſedentary occupations of the better ſort (among 'whom this evil moſt rages) and the humour of 'living in great, populous, and conſequently un- 'healthy towns, have brought forth a claſs and ſet 'of diſtempers, with atrocious and frightful ſymp- 'toms, ſcarcely known to our anceſtors, and never 'riſing to ſuch fatal heights, nor afflicting ſuch 'numbers in any other known nation. Theſe ner- 'vous diſorders being computed to make almoſt one 'third of the complaints of the people of condition 'in England.'

That it might not be ſuppoſed, that the milk and vegetable diet, and low regimen, which Dr. Cheyne recommended to valetudinary perſons, and thoſe who laboured under nervous diſeaſes, was thought proper by him for perſons in full health and vigour, he aſſerted, that he thought 'a thin, poor, cool, low diet, as 'improper and unnatural to a robuſt, active, ſtrong, 'healthy man, as a groſs, full, high diet, is for a 'poor, thin, low, valetudinary creature (13).' He alſo ſays, 'I here ſolemnly declare it, as my judg- 'ment and opinion (if it be worth the knowing) 'founded on the experience and obſervation of many 'years: 1ſt, That the diet and manner of living of 'the middling rank, who are but moderate and tempe- 'rate in foods of the common and natural product of 'the country, to wit in animal foods plainly dreſſed, 'and liquors purified by fermentation only, without 'the tortures of the fire, or without being turned 'into ſpirits, is that intended by the Author of nature 'for this climate and country, and conſequently the

(13) Pref. p. 8.

" Vapours, Lowneſs of Spirits, Hypochondriacal, and Hyſterical Diſtempers, &c." His next publication, which was printed in 1740, was entitled, " An Eſſay on Regi- " men; together with five Diſcourſes, medical, moral, and philoſophical: ſerv- " ing to illuſtrate the Principles and Theory of Philoſophical Medicine, and point " out ſome of its moral Conſequences." The following paſſage, in a letter from Lord Cheſterfield to Dr. Cheyne, dated April 20, 1742, appears to refer to this work, though the date of the letter is conſiderably poſterior to the publication. 'I read, 'with great pleaſure, your book, which your bookſeller ſent me according to your di-

'moſt wholeſome, and fitteſt in general for prolong- 'ing life, and preventing diſtempers, that the ends 'of providence, and the conditions of mortality will 'admit. 2dly, That no wiſe man, who is but 'moderate and temperate in this manner, ought on 'any account to alter the kind and quality of his 'diet, till he has duly and ſufficiently tried, what 'proper medicines can do, by the advice of the moſt 'experienced and knowing phyſicians. 3dly, That 'the changes that are adviſed to be made, ought to 'be duly and maturely conſidered, and entered upon 'by degrees, whether from a higher to a lower, or 'from a lower to a higher diet. 4thly, That ſtrong 'high animal foods, and generous defecated ſpiri- 'tuous liquors, as begetting warm, full, and enli- 'vened juices, urging on the circulation with force, 'and the ſecretions with vigour, in young, robuſt, 'healthy conſtitutions, are fitteſt and moſt effectual 'for mechanical and animal ſtrength, force, action, 'and labour: and ſo abſolutely neceſſary for han- 'dicrafts, great fatigue, and military proweſs '(14).'

(14) Pref. p. 4, 5, 6.

In this book, Dr. Cheyne mentions a dangerous accident which happened to him about the year 1729, and of which he relates the following particulars: 'I was thrown,' he ſays, 'or rather threw myſelf, 'out of my chariot, (upon the fore-horſes being 'frighted, and the coachman being thrown off his 'box) and falling on my head, was taken up dead 'and ſenſeleſs, being wounded in my temple, and 'the wheels of the chariot having entirely ſhaved my 'eye-brow. But, on being blooded, I found my 'ſpirits and ſtomach moſtly affected with it. I grew, 'for ſome time, low, feeble, and loſt my appetite; 'but in two or three months recovered to a miracle, 'from what would have killed another with bad 'juices, and have continued perfectly well ever 'ſince (15).'

(15) Engliſh Malady, p. 360, 361.

This book alſo contains the extraordinary caſe of Colonel Townſhend, which is ſo ſingular, that we ſhall inſert it here in Dr. Cheyne's own words.

'Colonel Townſhend, a gentleman of excellent 'natural parts, and of great honour and integrity, 'had for many years been afflicted with a nephritick 'complaint, attended with conſtant vomitings, which 'had made his life painful and miſerable. During the 'whole time of his illneſs, he had obſerved the 'ſtricteſt regimen, living on the ſofteſt vegetables and 'lighteſt animal foods, drinking aſſes milk daily, 'even in the camp: and for common drink Briſtol 'water, which the ſummer before his death he had 'drunk on the ſpot. But his illneſs increaſing, and 'his ſtrength decaying, he came from Briſtol to Bath 'in a litter, in autumn, and lay at the Bell Inn. Dr. 'Baynard (who is ſince dead) and I were called to 'him, and attended him twice a day for about the 'ſpace of a week; but his vomitings continuing ſtill 'inceſſant, and obſtinate againſt all remedies, we 'deſpaired of his recovery. While he was in this 'condition, he ſent for us early one morning: we 'waited on him, with Mr. Skrine his Apothecary '(ſince dead alſo:) we found his ſenſes clear, and his 'mind calm! his nurſe and ſeveral ſervants were 'about him. He had made his will, and ſettled his 'affairs. He told us, he had ſent for us to give us 'ſome account of an odd ſenſation he had for ſome 'time obſerved and felt in himſelf: which was, that 'compoſing himſelf he could die or expire when he 'pleaſed, and yet by an effort, or ſome how, he could 'come to life again: which it ſeems he had ſome- 'times tried before he had ſent for us. We heard 'this with ſurprize, but as it was to be accounted 'for from no common principles, we could hardly 'believe the fact as he related it, much leſs give any 'account of it, unleſs he ſhould pleaſe to make the 'experiment before us, which we were unwilling he 'ſhould do, leſt in his weak condition, he might 'carry it too far. He continued to talk very diſ- 'tinctly and ſenſibly above a quarter of an hour 'about this (to him) ſurpriſing ſenſation, and inſiſt- 'ed ſo much on our ſeeing the trial made, that we 'were at laſt forced to comply. We all three felt 'his pulſe firſt: it was diſtinct, though ſmall and 'thready: and his heart had its uſual beating. He 'compoſed himſelf on his back, and lay in a ſtill poſ- 'ture ſome time: while I held his right hand, Dr. 'Baynard laid his hand on his heart, and Mr. Skrine 'held a clean looking-glaſs to his mouth. I found 'his pulſe ſink gradually, till at laſt I could not feel 'any, by the moſt exact and nice touch. Dr. Bay- 'nard could not feel the leaſt motion in his heart, 'nor Mr. Skrine the leaſt ſoil of breath on the bright 'mirror he held to his mouth: then each of us by 'turns examined his arm, heart, and breath, but 'could not by the niceſt ſcrutiny diſcover the leaſt 'ſymptom of life in him. We reaſoned a long time 'about this odd appearance as well as we could, and 'all of us judging it inexplicable and unaccountable, 'and finding he ſtill continued in that condition, we 'began to conclude that he had indeed carried the 'experiment too far, and at laſt were ſatisfied he was 'actually dead, and were juſt ready to leave him. 'This continued about half an hour, by nine o'clock 'in the morning in autumn. As we were going 'away, we obſerved ſome motion about the body, and 'upon examination, found his pulſe and the motion 'of his heart gradually returning: he began to 'breathe gently and ſpeak ſoftly: we were all aſto- 'niſhed to the laſt degree at this unexpected change 'and after ſome further converſation with him, and 'among ourſelves, went away fully ſatisfied as to all 'the particulars of this fact, but confounded and 'puzzled, and not able to form any rational ſcheme 'that might account for it. He afterwards called 'for his attorney, added a codicil to his will, ſettled 'legacies on his ſervants, received the ſacrament, and 'calmly and compoſedly expired about five or ſix 'o'clock that evening. Next day he was opened, '(as he had ordered) his body was the ſoundeſt and 'beſt made I had ever ſeen; his lungs were fair, 'large, and ſound; his heart big and ſtrong, and his 'inteſtines ſweet and clean: his ſtomach was of a due 'proportion, the coats ſound and thick, and the 'villous membrane quite entire. But when we came 'to examine the kidnies, though the left was per- 'fectly ſound and of a juſt ſize, the right was about 'four times as big, diſtended like a blown bladder, 'and yielding as if full of pap; he having often paſſ- 'ed a wheyiſh liquor after his urine, during his 'illneſs. Upon opening this kidney, we found it 'quite full of a white chalky matter, like plaiſter of 'Paris, and all the fleſhy ſubſtance diſſolved and worn 'away, by what I called a nephritick cancer. This 'had been the ſource of all his miſery; and the 'ſymptomatick vomitings from the irritation on the 'conſentient nerves, had quite ſtarved and worn him 'down. I have narrated the facts, as I ſaw and ob- 'ſerved them deliberately and diſtinctly, and ſhall 'leave to the philoſophick reader to make what in- 'ferences he thinks fit: the truth of the material 'circumſtances I will warrant (16).'

(16) *Ibid.* p. 307, &c.

'rections.

'rections. The phyſical part is extremely good, and the metaphyſical part [O] may 'be ſo too, for what I know, and I believe it is; for as I look upon all metaphyſics 'to be gueſs work of imagination, I know no imagination likelier to hit upon the 'right than your's; and I will take your gueſs againſt any other metaphyſician's what-'ſoever. That part, which is founded upon knowledge and experience, I look upon 'as a work of public utility, and for which the preſent age, and their poſterity, may 'be obliged to you, if they will be pleaſed to follow it (*p*).' The laſt work of our author, which he dedicated to the Earl of Cheſterfield, was entitled, "The natural "Method of curing the Diſeaſes of the Body, and the Diſorders of the Mind depend-"ing on the Body: in three Parts. Part I. General Reflections on the Oeconomy of "Nature in animal Life. Part II. The Means and Methods for preſerving Life and "Faculties; and alſo concerning the Nature and Cure of acute, contagious, and ce-"phalic Diſorders. Part III. Reflections on the Nature and Cure of particular chroni-"cal Diſtempers."

(*p*) Lord Cheſterfield's Miſcellaneous Works, vol. ii. p. 454.

Dr. Cheyne died at Bath, in the year 1742, in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age. He had great reputation in his own time, both as a practitioner, and as a writer; and moſt of his pieces paſſed through ſeveral editions. He is to be ranked among thoſe phyſicians who have accounted for the operations of medicine, and the morbid alterations which take place in the human body, upon mechanical principles. A ſpirit of piety and of benevolence, and an ardent zeal for the intereſts of virtue, are predominant throughout his writings. An amiable candour and ingenuouſneſs are alſo diſcernible, and which led him to retract with readineſs whatever appeared to him to be cenſurable in what he had formerly advanced [*P*]. Some of the metaphyſical notions which he has introduced into his books may, perhaps, juſtly be thought fanciful and ill-grounded; but there is an agreeable vivacity in his productions, together with much openneſs and frankneſs, and, in general, great perſpicuity.] T.

[O] *The metaphyſical part, &c.*] The fourth of thoſe diſcourſes which he has annexed to his *Eſſay on Regimen*, contains "Philoſophical Conjectures of "ſpiritual Nature, and the human Spirit in parti-"cular." The fifth diſcourſe contains "Philoſo-"phical Conjectures on natural Analogy, its Laws, "and ſome of their Conſequences."

In the former of theſe diſcourſes are the following paſſages: 'It is highly probable and philoſophical, 'to think there is no perfectly pure and immaterial 'ſpirit, but the ſupreme ſpirit, the Father and Cre-'ator of all ſpirits; and that all created ſpirits, how 'high and ſublime ſoever, have proper and peculiar 'bodies, and organized caſes, not only to circum-'ſcribe and limit their powers, and their extenſion 'and expanſion, but to enable them to communi-'cate, and commerciate with, to contemplate and 'admire the contrivance of the material world; to 'converſe with the lower ranks of intelligences, that 'we certainly know have material vehicles, ſuch as 'we of the human race are; but alſo to execute the 'orders of the divine œconomy and providence, over 'the whole ſyſtem of intelligences, and material 'world. And accordingly we find mention made in 'holy writ of a *natural* body and a *ſpiritual* body; 'and of the ſun and planets having a particular 'glory, in their bodies, peculiar to themſelves; and 'of the glorious appearance and radiation of our Sa-'viour's body on the mount.'

'What a *ſpiritual* ſubſtance, or of what nature the '*ſubſtratum* of theſe faculties of underſtanding and 'will, or of thinking is, we ſhall never perfectly 'know, till we arrive at the world of ſpirits, and drop 'this coarſe earthly tabernacle. Indeed, we know 'nothing of the internal ſubſtance of any being: all 'we know, or can know, is, their ſenſible qualities, 'and the effects of them on us; and ſomething in 'general we learn of inanimated bodies, and their 'laws, from the uniformity of theſe effects: and we 'may be certain, that ſpiritual ſubſtance is in moſt, 'if not in all its qualities, contradictory, at leaſt 'contrary, to body, or material ſubſtance, and *vice 'verſa*.'

'Living, ſenſation, or actuation of matter, is not 'eaſy to define or deſcribe. Exiſtence or being be-'longs to matter as well as ſpirit; but life, ſenſa-'tion, or perception, and their conſequences, belong 'only to ſome one rank of ſpirit or mind; and I 'may defy all the philoſophers and mathematicians, 'that ever have been, to explain conſiſtently, from 'matter and mechaniſm alone, as it now obtains, the 'life, growth, and fecundity of the loweſt plant or 'vegetable, at leaſt its ſeed or ſeeding, much leſs of 'the leaſt inſect or animal, and leaſt of all of a ra-'tional, ſentient, and percipient being: ſo that 'wherever there is any degree of life, vegetative, 'ſenſitive, or rational, there is probably ſome degree 'of a ſoul, or ſpirit, immaterial, immortal, and 'progreſſive; ſo that life, or animation, in all crea-'tures in general, is indeed matter organized and 'actuated by a ſpirit, or ſoul, of ſome one rank or 'degree or other. I mean only created life, or life 'derivative, as it is in creatures; for in the Creator, 'life is without matter, without body or vehicle, and 'without limits, or poſſibility of non-exiſtence or not 'living. The beſt notion, idea, or perception, we 'can frame of created life, is that of a nice, delicate, 'finely contrived machine, of a vaſt variety of organs 'ſet in motion by the firſt cauſe, and continued by an 'internal ſelf-motive ſpring, which ſpring is this 'ſpiritual ſubſtance (17).'

(17) Eſſay on Regimen, &c. p. 122, 123, 124.

[*P*] *Led him to retract with readineſs whatever appeared to him to be cenſurable, &c.*] Of this we have a remarkable inſtance in the preface to his *Eſſay on Health and Long Life*, in which is the following paſſage: 'The defence of that book his (*Methodus Fluxiorum 'inverſa*,) againſt the learned and acute Mr. Abr. 'de Moivre, being written in a ſpirit of levity and re-'ſentment, I moſt ſincerely retract, and wiſh undone, 'ſo far as it is perſonal or peeviſh, and aſk him and 'the world pardon for it; as I do for the defence of 'Dr. Pitcairn's Diſſertations, and the New Theory 'of Fevers, againſt the late learned and ingenious 'Dr. Oliphant. I heartily condemn and deteſt all 'perſonal reflections, all malicious and unmannerly 'terms, and all falſe and unjuſt repreſentations, as 'unbecoming gentlemen, ſcholars, and Chriſtians; 'and diſprove and undo both performances, as far as 'in me lies, in every thing that does not ſtrictly and 'barely relate to the argument (18).']

(18) Pref. p. vi, vii. 4th edit.

CHICHLEY, or CHICHELY (Henry), Archbiſhop of Canterbury in the reigns of Henry V. and VI., was born of an obſcure family, at Higham-Ferrars, in Northamptonſhire (*a*). He was educated in Grammar-learning at Wincheſter-School (*b*), and afterwards became Fellow of New-College in Oxford, where he took the degree of Doctor

(*a*) Arthur Duck's Life of Henry Chichele, &c. made Engliſh. Lond. 1699, 8vo. p. 1.

(*b*) Harpsfield, Hiſt. Angl. Eccleſ. Duaci 1622, fol. p. 620.

Doctor in the Civil and Canon Law. He was next Chaplain to Robert Medford, Biſhop of Saliſbury, who, about the year 1402, preferred him to the Archdeaconry of Saliſbury [*A*], which he exchanged, two years after, for the Chancellorſhip of that dioceſe [*B*]. His eminent qualifications being now generally taken notice of, he was employed by King Henry IV. in ſeveral important negotiations. He was ſent Embaſſador to Pope Gregory XII. to congratulate him on his advancement to the papacy (*c*). The Biſhoprick of St. David's becoming vacant during his abſence, he was promoted to that ſee by the Pope, who conſecrated him with his own hands at Sienna, the 4th of October 1407 [*C*]. He returned into England in April following, and on the 26th of Auguſt made profeſſion of canonical obedience in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury. In the beginning of the year 1409, he was deputed by the Synod of London, with Robert Hallum, Biſhop of Saliſbury, and the Prior of Canterbury, to the General Council of Piſa, held for the putting an end to the ſchiſm of the Church (*d*). After the breaking up of that Council, Biſhop Chichley returned into England, and was preſent in two Synods holden at London in 1410 and 1411 (*e*). In 1413, he was ſent by King Henry V. Embaſſador, together with Richard, Earl of Warwick, firſt to the King of France, and then to the Duke of Burgundy, for concluding a truce between England and France, then at war (*f*). And being returned into England, he was ſent again the ſame year, with the Earl of Warwick, to demand the Duke of Burgundy's daughter in marriage for King Henry (*g*). The next year, 1414, upon the death of Thomas Arundel, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, our Biſhop of St. David's was tranſlated, by virtue of the Pope's bull, to the Archiepiſcopal See [*D*]. The King delivered to him the temporalities the 30th

(c) Arth. Duck, *ubi ſupra*, p. 2, 3, 4.

(d) *Id. ib.* p. 5, 6.

(e) *Ibid.* p. 33.

(f) Monſtrelet. c. 106, *ap.* Ar. Duck, *ubi ſupra*, p. 34, 35.

(g) Monſtrelet. c. 109, *ap.* Ar. Duck, *ib.* p. 35.

[*A*] *He was preferred to the Archdeaconry of Saliſbury.*] The learned Dr. Duck tells us (1), that one Walter Fitzperes, a prieſt, commenced a ſuit againſt him for this dignity, claiming it by virtue of a Grant from King Henry IV. under the Great Seal. But, the cauſe being brought by appeal before Thomas Arundel, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Archdeaconry was adjudged to Henry Chichley by the Auditor of the Archbiſhop's court, who was deputed with full power to determine this affair.

(1) In his Life of Henry Chichele, &c. made Engliſh, Lond. 1699, 8vo. p. 2.

[*B*] *He exchanged it for the Chancellorſhip of that dioceſe.*] He made this exchange with Walter Medford, the Biſhop of Saliſbury's brother, who enjoyed that dignity; which was allowed to be lawful by the conſtitutions of the Canon Law: and having both quitted their ſeveral dignities, Henry was made Chancellor, and Walter Archdeacon. There was annexed to the Chancellorſhip the Parſonage of Odyham in the dioceſe of Winchester, which was then vacant, and was given him by the Biſhop, and he was immediately put in poſſeſſion of it by the *Cuſtos Rotulorum* of the See of Winchester, which was then vacant by the death of William Wickham (2). Here it may be proper to obſerve from the ſame author (3), that theſe two preferments (the Archdeaconry and Chancellorſhip) were both given him by the Biſhop of Saliſbury, who always highly eſteemed him, and when he died, which was about three years after, left him by will a golden cup with a cover, and appointed him the chief of his executors.

(2) *Id. ib.* p. 3.

(3) *Ibid.*

[*C*] *He was conſecrated the 4th of October* 1407.] Biſhop Godwin (4) aſſigns the 12th of June 1409, which is almoſt two years later, for the time of his conſecration. But, if he was deputed, in quality of Biſhop of St. David's, to the Synod of Piſa, in the beginning of the year 1409 (5), it is plain his conſecration to that See muſt have preceded that date: and therefore I adhere to the authority of the Life-writer in this point.

(4) Comment. de Præſul. Angl. *inter* Epiſ. Menev. ann. 1409.

(5) See the text, ref. (*d*).

[*D*] *He was tranſlated, by virtue of the Pope's bull, to the Archbiſhopric of Canterbury.*] Upon the death of Archbiſhop Arundel, John Woodenburgh, Prior of Canterbury, and the monks of that church, deſired the King's leave for electing a new Archbiſhop; which prerogative, the learned author of Chichley's *Life* affirms, the Kings of England had challenged to themſelves ſince the time of Edward III. who took it away from the Pope, and conſtituted Biſhops by his own authority; and that theſe royal elections were agreeable to the conſtitutions of the Canon Law (6). But this ſeems to be a miſtake: for the author of the *Antiquity of the Britiſh Church* expreſsly tells us, that, at the very time we are ſpeaking of, notwithſtanding the laws in being againſt Papal proviſions, the many royal proclamations and petitions of the Clergy, and even the threats of the nobility and people, againſt obtaining thoſe proviſions for biſhopricks and other benefices, they were ſtill ſuffered and obtained, with as much licence and impunity, as if there were no law forbidding them. *Lege atque ſanctione jam diu ante contra Papales proviſiones lata, multiſq; regum decretis & cleri interceſſionibus, procerumq; & populi minis interpoſitis, ne impetrarentur à Papa epiſcopatum & beneficiorum proviſiones; ea tamen adhuc impunitate ac licentia permiſſæ atque obtentæ ſunt, ac ſi nullo jure vetari putarentur* (7). The King's leave being obtained under the Great Seal, the monks aſſembled in the Chapter-Houſe, and, after divine ſervice, and a ſermon, proceeded to the choice of an Archbiſhop; and, the election unanimouſly falling upon Chichley, it was declared by John Langdon, one of the monks, in the name of the reſt, to the people, who were aſſembled in the church in great numbers. The ſame day two of the monks, William Moleſh and John Moland, were appointed proxies for the reſt; who, on the 15th of March, waited upon the Biſhop at London, and acquainted him with the humble requeſt of the prior and monks, that he would take upon him the government of the church of Canterbury. He deſired a day's time to conſider of it; and the next day, when they came to him again in the Biſhop of Norwich's houſe, in the preſence of Edward Duke of York, and ſeveral of the nobility, he expreſsly told them, he could not gratify their requeſt without the Pope's conſent, to whoſe arbitration he referred their petition. Whereupon the prior and the monks, by their proxies, ſent to Rome, humbly requeſted of Pope John XXIII. that he would confirm their election of the Biſhop of St. David's to the See of Canterbury. The King alſo ſignified to his Holineſs, that he had granted leave to the Chapter of Canterbury to elect an Archbiſhop. The Pope, who was then at Bologne, would not confirm the election of the monks, but, on the 27th of April, in virtue of his own authority, tranſlated Chichley by way of *Proviſor* (*), to the Archbiſhoprick (8). The author of the *Antiquity of the Britiſh Church* tells us, that the Pope, reſolving to keep faſt hold of the right of nominating to benefices, by way of Papal Proviſion, and not to depart from it by any diſuſe, or by permitting any contrary acts, ſignified to the monks of Canterbury by letter, that he had reſerved to himſelf the collation to the See of Canterbury, before the death of Thomas Arundel, and that he annulled whatever they, or any other perſons, might have done in prejudice of his Proviſion. However he collated, by his Bull of Proviſion, the ſame Henry Chichley, whom they had elected, to the archiepiſcopal ſee. *Papa vero Joannes viceſimus tertius, ut proviſionis uſu captionem teneret mordicus, nec ab ea deſuetudine ulla aut contrariis*

(6) Ar. Duck, *ubi ſupra*, p. 36, 37.

(7) Matt. Parker, De Antiq. Brit. Eccleſ. edit. S. Drake, Lond. 1729, fol. p. 414.

(*) Proviſionis titulo.

(8) Ar. Duck, *ib.* p. 37—40.

30th of May, and on the 29th of June following (*h*), the pall was delivered to him by the Biſhops of Wincheſter and Norwich, delegated by the Pope for that purpoſe, with great ſolemnity, in the preſence of the King, and many of the Nobility, at the King's palace of Sutton (*i*): at which time he took an oath of obedience and fidelity to the Pope [*E*]. In a Parliament held the ſame year at Leiceſter, Archbiſhop Chichley perſuaded King Henry V. to aſſert his title to the crown of France [*F*]. On the 28th of November, 1415, he held a Provincial Synod at London [*G*], and another on the 1ſt of April, 1416 [*H*]; after the breaking up of which, the Archbiſhop went over into France to the King (*k*). He came back ſoon after with the King from Calais, and, by the King's command, held a third Synod at London on the 9th of November, 1416 [*I*]. The King being again departed for France, the Archbiſhop commanded all the Biſhops of his province to cauſe proceſſions to be made in all churches and chapels, for the ſafety of the King, and the ſucceſs of his arms (*l*). The ſame year he exerciſed the power of eccleſiaſtical cenſures, in a remarkable manner, againſt the Lord and Lady Strange [*K*]. On the 26th of November, 1417, he held a fourth Synod at

(*b*) Regiſtr. Chichele.

(*i*) *Ibid.*

(*k*) Ar. Duck, *ibid.* p. 75.

(*l*) *Id. ib.* p. 75, 76.

trariis tolerandis actibus recederet, monachis Cantuarienſibus reſcripſit; Cantuarienſis Archiepiſcopatus collationem ſuæ proviſioni ante mortem Thomæ Arundel fuiſſe reſervatam; ſeque irritum ac inane decreviſſe, quicquid ab his, aut aliis quibuſcunque, in ſuæ proviſionis prejudicium fieret. Tum Archiepiſcopatum eidem Henrico Chichley proviſionis ſuæ prætextu donavit (9).

(9) M. Parker, *ubi ſupra.*

[*E*] *He took an oath of obedience and fidelity to the Pope.*] It was conceived in the following terms (10). *I* Henry, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *will be faithful and obedient to St.* Peter, *to the holy Apoſtolical Church of* Rome, *and to my Lord* John *the twenty-third, and his ſucceſſors that ſhall be canonically elected. I will not conſent to, nor engage in any deſign againſt their life, limbs, or liberty. The ſecrets that they ſhall entruſt me with, either by themſelves, by their legates, or by letters, I will not reveal to any one to their prejudice. I will aſſiſt them in maintaining and defending the* Papacy, *and the rights of St.* Peter, *againſt all perſons whatſoever, as far as is conſiſtent with the privileges of my own ſtation. I will honourably attend the* Legate *of the Apoſtolick See both at his coming and return, and will ſupply his neceſſities. When I am called to a* Council, *I will come, unleſs hindered by ſome lawful impediment. I will viſit the* Apoſtolical Palace *every three years, either in my own perſon, or by my deputy, unleſs excuſed by leave from the* Pope. *The poſſeſſions belonging to my* Archieſpicopal See *I will not ſell, nor give away, nor mortgage, nor grant any new infeoffments of them, nor any other way alienate them without the conſent of the* Pope. *So help me God, and his holy Goſpel.* This tie of canonical obedience to the Pope ſeeming to bear hard upon the duty of a ſubject, and to contain ſeveral clauſes not reconcileable to the oath of allegiance, the Archbiſhop, when he did homage to the King, was obliged to renounce all clauſes in the Pope's bull of tranſlation, or any other engagements to that See, which were prejudicial to the royal prerogative (11).

(10) Ar. Duck, *ib.* p. 42.

(11) *Id. ib.* p. 43.

[*F*] *He perſuaded King Henry* V. *to aſſert his title to the crown of France.*] King Henry having demanded of the Parliament a ſubſidy, the Commons thereupon revived a former project againſt the wealth of the Clergy, and addreſſed the King to ſeize their revenues, and apply them to the ſervice of the publick. The Archbiſhop, apprehenſive of the Church's danger, and fearing the King's youth might be ſurprized by the plauſibleneſs of the bill, adviſed the Clergy to make an offer of a large ſubſidy, and to put the King in mind of his title to the Crown of France; the ſtarting a new enterprize, and opening the proſpect to another Crown, being the moſt likely way to divert the ſtorm. Moſt of the writers of that age relate, that the Archbiſhop, upon this occaſion, called a Synod at London: but none of it's decrees are now to be found among the publick records. The Archbiſhop's expedient being approved, he prepared himſelf for the ſubject, and addreſſed himſelf in a ſpeech to the King, ſitting on his throne. He began with inſinuating the virtues of the King, ſaying, he was worthy to wear, not the Crown of England only, but that of the whole world. Then he repreſented to him, 'That it was inconſiſtent 'with his glory to let the French King peaceably 'enjoy Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, Maine, and 'part of Guienne, all thoſe provinces having been 'taken away from the Kings of England by mere 'force, and upon frivolous pretences: that he had 'not only an inconteſtable right to theſe countries, 'but even might very juſtly pretend to the whole 'kingdom of France, in quality of heir and ſucceſſor 'of Edward III.' Here the Archbiſhop made a long deduction of the reaſons, upon which the King's title was founded. He ſpeaks of the *Salique Law* as a mere chimera, ſupported upon no good foundation, and which, being contrary to natural right, could not be admitted, even ſuppoſing it to be as true, as it was imaginary (†).

(†) The Archbiſhop, or whoever made the Speech for him, forgot, that without the *Salique Law*, Edward III. himſelf could have no pretenſion to the crown of France.

[*G*] *He held a Provincial Synod at London, the 28th of November,* 1415.] The firſt day of their meeting was taken up in religious aſſemblies. The following days, the Biſhops and Abbots met in St. Mary's chapel, and the Priors, Deans, Archdeacons, and Proctors of the ſeveral Dioceſes, withdrew into the Chapter-Houſe, where they conſulted ſeparately about the affairs of the Church; from whence (*ſays my author*) they are generally called, *The Upper and Lower Houſe of Convocation.*

[*H*] ——*Another Synod on the 1ſt of April,* 1416.] This Synod was held, to conſult with the Biſhops and Clergy about ſending Delegates to the Council of Conſtance (12).

(12) Ar. Duck, *ib.* p. 71; and M. Parker, *ib.* p. 415.

[*I*] *He held a third Synod at London on the 9th of November,* 1416.] In this Synod, at the requeſt of Henry Beaufort, Biſhop of Wincheſter, the Earl Marſhal, and Henry Ware, Keeper of the Privy Seal, who for that purpoſe were ſent thither by the King, he prevailed with the Clergy to grant the King two tenths for his expedition into France. There was nothing elſe done in this Synod, but the appointing the days of John Beverley, and of Criſpin and Criſpianus, on which the battle of Agincourt was fought, to be holy days (13).

(13) *Ibid.* p. 75, 76; and M. Parker, *ib.* p. 416.

[*K*] *He exerciſed the power of eccleſiaſtical cenſures —againſt the Lord and Lady Strange.*] The affair was this. On Eaſter-Day, the Lord Strange, with the Lady Elizabeth his wife, and a great train of ſervants attending them, came to St. Dunſtan's Church to veſpers; and meeting Sir John Truſſel there, between whom and the Lord Strange there had been an ancient quarrel, the Lord Strange's ſervants drew their ſwords in the church, wounded Sir John, his ſon, and ſome others of his family, and killed one Thomas Petwardy a citizen of London, who, to accommodate the matter between them, had thruſt himſelf into the ſcuffle. The affair being brought before the Archbiſhop, he interdicted the church, as having been polluted with blood, and publickly excommunicated the authors and accomplices of the crime at Paul's Croſs. And ſitting as Judge in St. Paul's Church, after he had examined the fact, he obliged the Lord Strange and his Lady to aſk the Church's pardon on their knees before him; and impoſed this farther penance on them, that their ſervants in their ſhirts and drawers only, and he and his wife with tapers in their hands, ſhould walk through the great ſtreet of the city from St. Paul's to St. Dunſtan's: which was accordingly performed with great ſolemnity, and, when the Archbiſhop purified St. Dunſtan's church, the Lady Strange filled the veſſels with water; and each of them were commanded to offer a pyx and an altar-cloth (14).

(14) *Ibid.* p. 77, 78; and M. Parker, *ib.* p. 427.

London [*L*], upon a command from the King by letters out of France (*m*). Towards the end of this year, the Archbiſhop repaired to the King at Rouen in Normandy, and was appointed one of the Commiſſioners for treating of a peace between England and France (*n*). He ſtaid ſome time with the King at Rouen, being entertained in a Convent of preaching Friars there, and afterwards attended his Majeſty in his camp at Meudon and Pontoiſe; whence he returned into England about the end of Auguſt 1419 (*o*). On the 30th of October that year, he held a fifth Synod at London [*M*]; after which he again ordered proceſſions to be made to all churches for the King's ſucceſs in France (*p*). On the 10th of June, 1420, the Archbiſhop took ſhipping at Winchelſea, and ſailed over to France, to congratulate the King upon his late marriage with Catherine of France, and was preſent in the King's camp at the ſiege of Melun; after the ſurrender of which, he accompanied the King to Paris; from whence he returned into England about the end of November (*q*). The next year, 1421, he ſolemnly crowned Queen Catherine (*r*), and about that time called a ſixth Synod at London [*N*]; after the breaking up of which, he uſed ſome endeavours to unite the churches of France and England [*O*]. In December that year, he chriſtened the young Prince Henry, afterwards King Henry VI. who, when he came to the crown, uſed to call the Archbiſhop godfather, and always paid him a great deal of reſpect (*s*). On the 4th of Auguſt, 1422, the Archbiſhop held a ſeventh Synod at London [*P*]. In the firſt Parliament after the death of Henry V. held at Weſtminſter the 9th of November, 1422 (*t*), Archbiſhop Chichley was commanded by the Protector to declare the cauſe of their meeting [*Q*], and was likewiſe nominated to be the firſt Privy Counſellor during the minority of the King: but he choſe to decline publick buſineſs, and retired within the bounds of his province, in which he performed the duties of his function with great diligence. The next year, 1423, by virtue of his metropolitical authority, he viſited the dioceſes of Chicheſter and Saliſbury, and the year following that of Lincoln. About this time he founded a noble college at Higham-Ferrers, the place of his birth, in honour of the Virgin Mary, St. Thomas of Canterbury, and King Edward the Confeſſor, for eight Fellows, four Clerks, ſix Choriſters, and over them all a Maſter, to pray for the ſouls of the deceaſed. He alſo built a large hoſpital, for the maintenance of the poor of that place. Both theſe foundations he endowed with ample revenues, which were afterwards augmented, with great legacies, by his brothers Robert and William Chichley, Aldermen of London (*u*). He held an eighth Synod at London, the 12th of October,

(*m*) *Ib.* p. 86—88.

(*n*) *Ib.* p. 94, 95.

(*o*) *Ib.* p. 97, 98.

(*p*) *Ib.* p. 99.

(*q*) *Ib.* p. 101, 102.

(*r*) *Ibid.*

(*s*) *Ib.* p. 105.

(*t*) Rotul. Parl. ann. 1 H. VI.

(*u*) Ar. Duck, *ib.* p. 113, 114; and M. Parker, Antiq. Brit. Eccleſ. edit. S. Drake, Lond. 1729, fol. p. 426, 427.

[*L*] *He held a fourth Synod at London the 26th of November*, 1417.] In this Synod were preſent Thomas Biſhop of Durham, Lord Chancellor of England; Thomas Beaufort Duke of Exeter, Henry Piercy Earl of Northumberland, and Ralph Nevil Earl of Weſtmorland; being ſent by the Regent, John Duke of Bedford, to deſire of the Clergy a ſupply of money for the King, who was then carrying on the war ſucceſsfully in France; which being ſeconded by the Archbiſhop, they granted two tenths.

[*M*] *He held a fifth Synod at London the 30th of October*, 1417.] It was ſummoned, that the Clergy might conſult about granting a ſupply of money to the King, who was carrying on the war in France with ſucceſs. The Synod granted half a tenth upon all livings; and it was alſo agreed, that thoſe that held chapels or chantries, or that received ſtipends for ſaying maſs, ſhould pay to the King ſix ſhillings and eightpence each: but withal a publick proteſtation was made by William Lyndewood, in the name of the Proctors for the Clergy, that this conceſſion ſhould be no prejudice to them hereafter, nor be made a precedent for ſucceeding ages (15).

(15) *Ibid.* p. 98.

[*N*] *He called a ſixth Synod at London.*] He obtained of them a tenth for the ſervice of the King; which was granted upon ſome conditions, put in by William Lyndewood, in the name of the Proctors for the Clergy. They were theſe: *That the King's purveyors ſhould not meddle with the goods of the Clergy; that they ſhould not be committed to priſon, but upon manifeſt conviction of theft or murther; that for all other crimes they ſhould only find ſureties for their appearance at their trial, but ſhould not be impriſoned; and that it ſhould be felony to geld a prieſt:* all which the King confirmed in parliament (16).

(16) *Ibid.* p. 103.

[*O*] *He endeavoured to unite the Churches of France and England.*] To this end, he recalled thoſe judges he had placed, to exerciſe eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, in moſt of the dioceſes conquered by the King; and by his letters commanded all the people of France, that for the future they ſhould obey their Biſhops, and the Ordinaries of the places in which they lived (17).

(17) Ar. Duck, *ibid.* p. 105.

[*P*] *He held a ſeventh Synod at London the 4th of Auguſt*, 1422.] In this Synod, ſeveral Biſhops, and others of the Clergy, were appointed to repreſent the Engliſh nation at the Council of Pavia (18).

(18) *Ibid.* p. 107.

[*Q*] *He was commanded by the Protector to declare the cauſe of their meeting.*] This he did in a ſet ſpeech, wherein, having ſpoken largely in praiſe of the virtues of King Henry V. and made honourable mention of his actions in France, he came to ſpeak of the young King, and affirmed, 'That it was by the 'ſpecial favour of Almighty God, that a ſon of ſuch 'promiſing hopes ſhould ſucceed ſo great a father; 'that his very title of the *Sixth* was attended with a 'lucky omen; for, as the number *Six* was the moſt 'complete of all the reſt, becauſe in ſo many days 'God Almighty had made this vaſt fabrick of the 'world; ſo this King Henry, the ſixth of that name, 'would prove the greateſt of all his predeceſſors, and 'compleat what his father had ſo proſperouſly begun 'in France; and that, as he was deſcended both from 'the Kings of England and France, ſo he would at 'length enjoy both thoſe crowns, which were devolv'ed to him by lawful inheritance.' Then the Archbiſhop declared, in the King's name, to the Peers, and all the people, 'That they ſhould enjoy all the privi'leges and immunities granted them by his Highneſs's 'predeceſſors; and that he was commanded to give 'them three reaſons for calling this Parliament; which 'were, That governors might be aſſigned the King by 'a publick act; that they might conſult about the 'peace of the realm, and the adminiſtration of juſtice; 'and that they might provide for the defence of the 'kingdom againſt the inſults of foreign enemies.' Laſtly, he exhorted them, from the example of Jethro, Moſes's father-in-law, 'To make choice of the 'beſt and wiſeſt of the nobility, to take upon them 'the government of the King and kingdom, and to 'uſe their utmoſt endeavours for the ſafety of the 'King, and the benefit of their country (19).'

(19) Ar. Duck, *ib.* p. 111—113.

1423 [*R*]; and a ninth the 23d of April following [*S*]. The ſame year he was very inſtrumental in healing the differences between the Protector Humphrey, Duke of Glouceſter, and Henry Beaufort, Biſhop of Wincheſter (*w*). He held a tenth Synod at London, the 15th of April, 1426 [*T*]. About this time Pope Martin ſhewed his diſpleaſure againſt our Archbiſhop [*U*], for having vigorouſly oppoſed the encroachments of the See of Rome (*x*). The Archbiſhop held an eleventh Synod at London, the 5th of July, 1428 [*W*]; a twelfth, the 19th of February, 1430 [*X*]; a thirteenth, the 15th of September, 1432 [*Y*]; a fourteenth, the 7th of November, 1433 [*Z*]; a fifteenth, the 7th of October, 1434 [*AA*]; and a ſixteenth, the 30th of April, 1437. About

(*w*) See the article BEAUFORT (HENRY).

(*x*) *Ib.* p. 132.

[*R*] *He held an eighth Synod at London, the 12th of October*, 1423.] This Synod was called, to demand of the Clergy a ſupply of money for the war with France. The Biſhop of Wincheſter, in a formal ſpeech, laid before them the preſent condition of affairs in France, and exhorted and intreated them to beſtow ſome part of their revenues for ſubduing the remains of the Dauphin's forces (20).

(20) *Ibid.* p. 115.

[*S*] ——*And a ninth the 23d of April following.*] This Synod was prevailed upon, by the florid ſpeeches of the Lord Chancellor, and the flatteries, threats, and promiſes, of the court Lords, to grant the King half a tenth (21).

(21) *Ibid.* p. 118.

[*T*] *He held a tenth Synod at London, the 15th of April*, 1426.] This aſſembly did nothing but grant the King half a tenth towards carrying on the war (*).

(*) Ar. Duck, *ib.* p. 123, 124.

[*U*] *Pope Martin* V. *ſhewed his diſpleaſure againſt the Archbiſhop.*] The ſtate of this affair is briefly this. His Holineſs, it ſeems, thought this prelate to blame for having made no oppoſition to the ſtatute of *Premunire* 1 Henry IV. But, Henry V. being the greateſt Prince in Chriſtendom, the Pope did not think it adviſeable to remonſtrate in his time. But now, the Engliſh affairs being ſomewhat upon the decline, he laid hold of the opportunity, and expoſtulated ſeverely with the Archbiſhop for his remiſſneſs, in a letter dated December the 5th, 1426 (22). If it be aſked, what was Chichley's peculiar guilt in this matter, ſince he could not oppoſe a ſtatute, which was paſſed before his time; and why his predeceſſors Courtney and Arundel were not reprimanded upon this ſcore: the anſwer is, that the Pope ſeems to have had a peculiar grudge againſt Chichley; firſt, becauſe that prelate, in his firſt Synod, had moved for the annulling *Papal Exemptions* (23); and, in the next place, becauſe he had written to King Henry V. to ſtop the Cardinalate of the Biſhop of Wincheſter (24). Beſides, the Papacy had been hitherto greatly embroiled by ſchiſms: but now Pope Martin, having gotten the better of his competitors, had time to look about him (25). The Archbiſhop, not willing the matter ſhould come to extremities, ſent an excuſe of his conduct to Rome. But the Pope, it ſeems, was not ſatisfied with this anſwer; for his Holineſs's next letter is ſtill more ſevere, and ſuſpends the Archbiſhop's legantine power. Upon this Chichley appealed from the Pope to the next General Council, and, if none met, to the tribunal of Chriſt (26). The Pope's next to the Archbiſhop is dated the ſixth of May, and requires him to make his utmoſt effort for repealing the ſtatute. He is likewiſe ſeverely reprimanded for having ſaid, *the Pope's zeal in this matter was only to raiſe a good ſum of money upon the Engliſh* (27). The next letter is in a ſtill higher ſtrain. It is directed to the two Archbiſhops, and, to mortify Chichley, the Archbiſhop of York is named firſt. In this the Supremacy flies a very lofty pitch: for his Holineſs pretends to make void the ſtatutes of *Proviſors* and *Premunire* made in the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. and commands the Archbiſhops never to act upon the authority of thoſe ſtatutes. It is dated the 8th of December (28). To mollify the Pope's diſpleaſure, the Archbiſhop of York, the Biſhops of London, Durham, and Lincoln, wrote in Chichley's behalf. The Univerſity of Oxford likewiſe interceded for him with Pope Martin, in a letter bearing date the 24th of July that year; in which, after giving him a very extraordinary character, calling him *the mirror of life, the light of manners, a perſon moſt dear to the people and clergy, and a golden candleſtick ſet up in the Church of England*, they beſought his Holineſs, *that he would not ſuffer the credit of ſo eminent a prelate to be blaſted by the ſecret calumnies of detractors* (29). To this purpoſe alſo, in the Parliament at Weſtminſter (30), the Houſe of Commons petitioned the King to ſend an Embaſſador to the court of Rome to intercede with the Pope in behalf of the Archbiſhop (31). Theſe apologetical applications the Archbiſhop ſent by an expreſs to Rome, and wrote a very ſubmiſſive letter to the Pope, proteſting that he had done, and would ſtill do, his utmoſt towards repealing thoſe ſtatutes. One paſſage in his letter is particularly remarkable. He tells the Pope, *he hears he had proceeded to a ſentence againſt him, which had never been done from the days of St. Auguſtin* (32) *to that time: that he knew this only by report, having not ſo much as opened the bulls, which contained the cenſure, becauſe he had been commanded by the King to lodge thoſe inſtruments, with the ſeals whole, in the Paper-Office, 'till the meeting of the Parliament* (33). The Archbiſhop had already moved the Commons to vote for the repeal of the *Premunire* act. But the Commons, after debating the matter, had come to no reſolution, either for repealing or explaining that act (34). And here the matter reſted for that time.

(12) See Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, vol. i. in the Records, p. 95.

(23) Walſingham, Hiſt. Angl. p. 387.

(24) Ar. Duck, *ibid.* p. 124, &c.

(25) Spondan. Annal. ad ann. 1429.

(26) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 110.

(27) *Id. ibid.*

(28) *Ibid.*

(29) Epiſt. Acad. Oxon. 36 in Archiv. & Wood, Hiſt. &c. Univ. Oxon. l. i. p. 212.

(30) Rot. Parl. 6 H. VI.

(31) Ar. Duck, *ubi ſupra*, p. 133.

(32) The firſt Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

(33) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 111.

(34) *Id. ib.* p. 100.

[*W*] *He held an eleventh Synod at London, the 5th of July*, 1428.] In their firſt ſeſſion, at the requeſt of the Archbiſhop of York Lord Chancellor, and Walter Hungerford Lord Treaſurer, they granted the King half a tenth. This Synod was prorogued, by reaſon of the exceſſive heat of the ſummer, to St. Martin's day in November following; and then again to the 29th of October the next year: at which time, the Archbiſhop of York, with ſome other Lords, was ſent to them again from the King; at whoſe requeſt, a tenth and a half was granted, and ſolemn proceſſions were ordered to be made for the ſucceſs of the war. Theſe liberal conceſſions were rewarded by an act of Parliament, granting the Clergy, aſſembled in Convocation, the privilege, as was enjoyed by members of Parliamant, of being exempted, they and their ſervants, from arreſts (35).

(35) *Ibid.* p. 137.

[*X*] —— *A twelfth, the 19th of February*, 1430.] In this Synod Delegates were choſen, to be ſent to the Council of Baſil, and two-pence in the pound was allowed them out of all the revenues of the Clergy. This Synod alſo, at the ſolicitation of the Archbiſhop of York, Lord Chancellor, granted the King a whole tenth. It likewiſe prohibited the uſe of falſe weights and meaſures, under pain of excommunication (36).

(36) *Id. ib.* p. 141, 142.

[*Y*] —— *A thirteenth, the 15th of September*, 1432.] It was ſummoned in relation to the diſſention between Pope Eugenius IV. and the Council of Baſil; and it was unanimouſly concluded to ſend Delegates to the Fathers at Baſil, and others to his Holineſs at Bologna; and, for the expences thereof, they voted a penny in the pound out of all the profits of the Clergy, beſides the two-pence granted by the former Synod. They likewiſe granted the King half a tenth (37).

(37) *Ibid.* p. 144.

[*Z*] —— *A fourteenth, the 7th of November*, 1433.] It was called on occaſion of the differences ſtill ſubſiſting between the Pope and the Council; and it was reſolved to nominate more Delegates, many of thoſe, who were ſent before, being dead at Baſil: whereupon eight Doctors of Divinity and Law were choſen, to be ſent to Baſil, provided the Fathers would admit them, without impoſing upon them any new oath. In this Synod, three quarters of a tenth were granted to the King towards re-eſtabliſhing the affairs of France, which declined daily (38).

(38) *Id. ibid.* p. 150, 151.

[*AA*] —— *A fifteenth, the 7th of October*, 1434.] About this time, the Clergy complained grievouſly of the proceedings of the King's Judges, and the Common Lawyers; 'That, againſt all law and equity,

'prieſts

[*BB*]. About this time, Archbiſhop Chichley founded the Convent of St. Bernard [*CC*], and the College of All-Souls [*DD*], at Oxford (*y*). The next year, 1438, he held a ſeventeenth Synod at London [*EE*]; and an eighteenth, the 21ſt of November, 1439 [*FF*]. This was the laſt Synod called by this Prelate (*z*); who, about the ſame time, drew up a form of excommunication [*GG*], ordering it to be publiſhed in all the

(*y*) *Ib.* p. 156, 157.

(*z*) *Ibid.* p. 166.

‘ prieſts were brought before the ſecular courts; that ‘ the power of the eccleſiaſtical judges was reſtrained ‘ by their unjuſt prohibitions; and, particularly, that ‘ they wreſted the ſtatute of Richard II. againſt Pro- ‘ viſors, to the prejudice of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts.’ The Archbiſhop hereupon, in a pathetical ſpeech to the Synod, expreſſed, ‘ how ſolicitous he was that ‘ the Church ſhould receive no prejudice under his ‘ government, and that it might be delivered from ‘ the illegal oppreſſion of the Lawyers, and be re- ‘ ſtored to its antient dignity;’ and commanded them to conſider ‘ what meaſures were to be taken to eaſe ‘ the Clergy of the weight of thoſe oppreſſions.’ But, the plague breaking out in the city, the Synod was ſoon diſſolved, having only appointed a holiday to be kept in honour of St. Frideſwide, Protectoreſs of the Univerſity of Oxford, and denounced excommunication (39) againſt all thoſe that ſhould detract from the privileges and juriſdiction of the Church (40).

(39) See the remark [*GG*].

(40) Ar. Duck, *ib.* p. 153; and M. Parker, *ib.* p. 419.

[*BB*] —— *And a ſixteenth the 30th of April*, 1437.] This Synod did nothing more than grant the King a tenth for carrying on the war in France (41).

(41) Ar. Duck, *ib.* p. 155.

[*CC*] *He founded the convent of St. Bernard.*] The Archbiſhop had a long time deſigned to erect ſome noble monument, for the ſervice of religion and learning, and for his own glory, at Oxford, the place of his education. For, at that time, the eſtates of private perſons, as well as the publick revenues, being greatly exhauſted by the long continuance of the French war, the Univerſity was ſo thin and empty, that moſt of the colleges and halls were quite forſaken by the ſtudents. Wherefore, that he might by his bounty repair the decays of learning occaſioned by the general poverty of the kingdom, he gave orders for building a large and ſtately edifice, of a ſquare form, in the north part of the ſuburbs of Oxford, which he deſigned for a college. But, when the work was almoſt finiſhed, whether it was that he found fault with the ſtructure, or did not like the ſituation of it, he changed his mind, and gave it to the Monks of St. Bernard, for the reception of novices out of all the convents of that order, to ſtudy the Arts and Divinity. Afterwards, at the diſſolution of the monaſteries, it was purchaſed by Sir Thomas White, Merchant of London, who founded there the college of St. John Baptiſt (42).

(42) *Id. ib.* p. 155—157.

[*DD*] —— *And All-Souls College.*] Having choſen another place for building a college, very commodious for the ſtudents, in the middle of the town, near St. Mary's church, and pulled down the houſes, which ſtood there, he laid out a ſquare court; and on the 10th of February 1437, the firſt ſtone of this auſpicious building was laid, and the inſpection of the work was committed to the care of one John Druel, a clergyman, who executed that truſt with great integrity and diligence (43). The walls of this new ſtructure were finiſhed about the latter end of the year 1439, and the workmen had begun to lay the roof. The Archbiſhop had purchaſed lands and manors for the perpetual maintenance of his foundation: all which he acquainted the King with, and humbly beſought him to permit, that the college might be founded in his name, becauſe the lawyers were of opinion, that the ſplendor and authority of the King's name was of great importance towards founding a college in due and lawful manner. Whereupon the King, by his letters patent under the Great Seal, erected this building into a college, and granted it very large privileges. He alſo gave the founder leave to place in it a Warden and Fellows, and to make laws and ſtatutes for the government of the ſociety. Upon this the Archbiſhop went the next year to Oxford, where he ſolemnly conſecrated the chapel of his college, and made Richard Andrew, Doctor of Laws and Chancellor of Canterbury, Warden of it. He alſo appointed twenty Fellows, being all choice men pick'd out of the whole Univerſity; to whom he gave power to elect into their ſociety twenty more: out of which number he ordered that twenty-four ſhould ſtudy Divinity and the liberal ſciences, and the other ſixteen the Civil and Canon Law. He alſo commanded all the members of his foundation to pray for the ſouls of King Henry V. of Thomas Duke of Clarence, and of the nobility and common ſoldiers that had been killed in the French war. For which cauſe he ordered his college to be called *The College of All-Souls departed in the faith.* He added alſo two chaplains, ſeveral choriſters, and ſervants. After this he preſcribed them laws and ſtatutes, and committed the care of beautifying and enlarging it to Robert Keyes, afterwards Warden (44).

(43) *Ibid.* p. 157, 158.

(44) *Ib.* p. 163—171.

[*EE*] *In* 1438, *he held a ſeventeenth Synod at London.*] The King having appointed ſome perſons of eminent quality to go Embaſſadors to the Council of Ferrara, the Biſhops voted them an allowance ſuitable to their rank; which however was not complied with by the Proctors for the Clergy in the Lower Houſe, who were more inclined in favour of the Council of Baſil; only the Proctors for the Convents granted four pence in the pound out of their revenues. In this Synod the Archbiſhop complained heavily of a late injury offered him by Pope Eugenius, who, by his ſole authority had given the Biſhoprick of Ely *in commendam* to Lewis Archbiſhop of Rouen, and by his bull had confirmed him in the government of that See; and therefore he recommended it to the Synod to conſider, how to put a ſtop to a proceeding, which had never been attempted by any Pope before. But Philip Morgan, who was then Biſhop of Ely, outliving the Archbiſhop of Rouen, the Pope's deſign was fruſtrated (45).

(45) *Ibid.* p. 160.

[*FF*] ——*And an eighteenth, the 21ſt of November*, 1439.] The Archbiſhop, being hindered by ſome indiſpoſition, was not at the opening of this Synod. However, a few days after, he came, and in a long ſpeech, in which he could hardly refrain from tears, he reckoned up the miſeries of the Church, proceeding from *the penalties daily inflicted by the eccleſiaſtical judges, which by the ſtatute of* Premunire *were deſigned againſt* Proviſors; *and from the citations of the Clergy to the ſecular courts.* Whereupon it was unanimouſly agreeed, that the Archbiſhop ſhould preſent a remonſtrance to the King upon the ſubject of theſe grievances. Which being done, the King anſwered, ‘ That he ‘ would lay their petition before the next Parliament, ‘ and that in the mean time he would take care that ‘ no one ſhould be moleſted by his Judges upon the ac- ‘ count of that ſtatute, unleſs the cauſe were firſt ap- ‘ proved by himſelf or the Privy-Council.’ This gracious anſwer of the King's ſo pleaſed the Synod, that they immediately granted him a whole tenth, with this expreſs condition, that the revenues and benefices belonging to the college of *All-Souls* (of which the Archbiſhop was the founder) ſhould not be included in the conceſſion (46).

(50) Ar. Duck, *ib.* p. 171—174.

(51) *Ib.* p. 174.

(46) *Ib.* p. 166—168.

[*GG*] *He drew up a form of excommunication.*] I ſhall tranſcribe part of it from Lyndewood (47), and give it the reader as a ſpecimen of the Engliſh language at that time.

(47) Provincial. in calce, p. 73. edit. Oxon.

Fyrſte, Yei be accurſy'd that preſume to take away or pryſe any chirche of the right yat longyth thereto, or elſe agayn right to ſtroy, breke, or ſtrobyll ye liberties of the chirche.

And alſo yoo that parchaſes any manner of letterys from any temporal courte, to let any proceſs of ſpiritual juggs in ſuch cauſes as longyth to ſpiritual courte; And all yoo yat with puple and noyſe come to ſpiritual courte, and put the juggs or partyes yat their pletts in feer, or elſe for alſmoche as the partyes ſew in ſpiritual courte ſuch cauſes as longyth to ſpiritual courte, make or procure any of the ſaid parties, advocats, procurators, or other mynyſteres of ſpiritual courte, to be endytt, or reſbytt, or any wiſe be vexyd, *&c.*

This excommunication, moſt probably, was drawn up in conſequence of a decree of the Synod of 1434 (48).

(48) See the remark [*AA*].

cathedral and parochial churches of his province (*a*). He was the firſt, who ordered the Proctors of the Court of Arches to wear the ſame habit in Court that Bachelors of Arts do in the Univerſities (*b*). He was a very liberal benefactor to the Univerſity of Oxford [*HH*], and to the church of Canterbury [*II*], and contributed largely towards the building of Croydon church, and Rocheſter bridge (*c*). This illuſtrious Prelate died in a good old age, the 12th of April, 1443, having ſat twenty-nine years and upwards, and was buried in the cathedral church of Canterbury [*KK*].

(*a*) Lyndewood Provincial. edit. Oxon. in calce, v. 73.

(*b*) Antiq. Brit. *ubi ſupra*, p. 427.

(*c*) Ar. Duck, *ib.* p. 174.

[*HH*] *He was a benefactor to the Univerſity of Oxford.*] There had been begun ſome time before, by the munificence chiefly of the Duke of Glouceſter, a lofty and magnificent ſtructure; the upper part of which was deſigned for a library, and the lower for the Publick Divinity Schools. To this work the Archbiſhop gave a great ſum of money himſelf, and was very earneſt in ſoliciting all the Biſhops and Peers, who came to the Parliament at Weſtminſter, to contribute towards it: all which is gratefully acknowledged by the Univerſity in their letters to him (49). He alſo gave two hundred marks to the publick cheſt of the Univerſity; which he ordered to be kept by three Maſters of Arts, two Regents, and one Non-Regent, who were to be choſen yearly, and were bound by an oath to the faithful diſcharge of that truſt: out of which money the Univerſity might borrow for the publick uſe five pounds, every particular college five marks, a Maſter of Arts forty ſhillings, a Licentiate or Bachelor two marks, and an Under-Graduate one; with this condition, that every one ſhould depoſit a ſufficient pawn, which, if the money were not repaid within a month, was to be forfeited. Beſides theſe benefactions, it appeared by his private accounts, that he had allowed yearly ſtipends to ſeveral poor ſtudents. And, to perpetuate the memory of theſe favours, it was ordered by a publick decree of the Univerſity, that Archbiſhop Chichley's name ſhould be regiſtered among their benefactors, and read every year in the Publick Schools by the chaplain of the Univerſity; and that a ſolemn maſs ſhoold be ſaid for him on the anniverſary of his death (50).

(49) Epiſt. Acad. Oxon. 26.

(50) Ar. Duck, *ib.* p. 171—174.

[*II*] ——*And to the church of Canterbury.*] He laid out a conſiderable ſum of money in beautifying and adorning that cathedral, and in building a ſteeple, and a library, which he furniſhed with many valuable books in all kinds of learning: which are all reckoned up in a publick inſtrument made by the Prior and Monks of Canterbury, and deſcribed among the publick acts of that church; in which they promiſe on their parts, that his body ſhould be laid in the tomb that he had cauſed to be built on the north-ſide of the chancel, and that no one beſide ſhould ever be buried in that place (51).

(51) *Ib.* p. 174.

[*KK*] *He was buried in the cathedral church of Canterbury.*] His body was depoſited (according to what was ſaid in the preceding remark) under the monument built by himſelf; on which is his effigy at full length in his *Pontificalia*, and under it another of a ſkeleton in it's ſhroud; and round the ſide pillars, which are gilt and painted, are ſmall images, in niches, of the apoſtles, *&c.* The inſcription on his monument is as follows (52). *Hic jacet* Henricus Chichele *Legum doctor, quondam Cancellarius* Sarum, *qui anno ſeptimo* Henrici IV. *Regis ad* Gregorium *Papam* XII. *in ambaſciata tranſmiſſus, in civitate* Senenſi *per manus ejuſdem Papæ in* Menevenſem *Epiſcopum conſecratus eſt. Hic etiam* Henricus *anno ſecundo* Henrici V. *Regis in hac ſancta eccleſia in Archiepiſcopum poſtulatus, & à* Joanne *Papa* XXIII. *ad eandem tranſlatus eſt: Qui obiit Anno Domini* MCCCCXLIII, *Menſis Aprilis die* XII.

(52) Dart's Hiſt. and Antiquities of the Cath. Ch. of Cant. p. 158; and Ar. Duck, *ibid.* p. 174.

Cœtus ſanctorum concorditer iſte precetur,
Ut Deus ipſorum meritis ſibi propitietur.

Round the verge, at the bottom of the monument is written;

Quiſquis eris qui tranſieris, rogo memor eris,
Tu quod eris mihi conſimilis qui poſt morieris,
Omnibus horribilis, pulvis, vermis, caro vilis.

Mr. Camden, in his *Remains*, attributes this inſcription to him.

Pauper eram natus, poſt primas hic elevatus,
Jam ſum proſtratus, & vermibus eſca paratus.
Ecce meum tumulum MCCCCXLIII.

B.

*** [However political Archbiſhop Chichley's conduct might be in exciting Henry the Fifth to claim the crown of France and attempt the conqueſt of that kingdom, it was very little conſiſtent with the character of a truely Chriſtian prelate and divine. That he might prevent the wealth of the clergy's being touched, he involved the nation in a dangerous and deſtructive war. Dangerous it evidently was in its firſt appearance; and, notwithſtanding the ſplendour of Henry's victories, it may well be called deſtructive, ſince it involved England, as well as France, in a long ſeries of calamities. The ſpeech which Shakſpeare, in the beginning of his play of King Henry the Fifth, hath put into the mouth of the Archbiſhop, is agreeable, in general, to hiſtorical truth; being copied, in a manner verbatim, either from Hall or Hollinſhed (53).

(53) Shakſpeare's Works, vol. vi. p. 17. Johnſon and Steevens's edition of 1778.

The circumſtance mentioned in note [*N*], "that it ſhould be felony to caſtrate a prieſt," deſerves to be remarked, as a feature in the character of the age. It not only ſhews what was the nature of the crimes ariſing from the celibacy of the clergy, but to what a ſeverity of revenge laymen were ſometimes carried by a ſtrong feeling of injury in the deareſt connection of life.

Archbiſhop Chichley, in the ſpeech which he made to parliament, at the acceſſion of Henry the Sixth, was very unfortunate in his omens, and in his reaſons for proving that the young King would be greater than any of his predeceſſors. The ſanguine propheſiers, concerning what will be the glory and happineſs of a new reign, have often been deceived.

A full account of All-Soul's College, of its Founder, Benefactors, Wardens, Biſhops, Writers, and Buildings, down to 1674, may be ſeen in Anthony Wood's "Hiſtoria & Antiquitates Univerſitatis Oxonienſis (54)." Governor Codrington, a great modern benefactor, will hereafter be recorded (55). All Soul's College is one of the nobleſt inſtitutions at Oxford. To the preſent reſpectable warden, the Hon. and Rev. Dr. Tracy, the writer of this note is indebted for much civility and attention, and for ſubſequent information, when making Biographical enquiries at the Univerſity.

(54) Lib. ii. p. 172—176.

(55) See the article CODRINGTON.

Archbiſhop Chichley, or Chichele, as his name was ſometimes ſpelt, had two younger brothers; of whom, Sir Robert, Lord Mayor of London, left only daughters; but William, Sheriff of London, had a grandſon Henry, of Wimpole, in Cambridgeſhire; whoſe poſterity, in the male line, flouriſhed in great reputation till the beginning of the preſent century, when it ended in Richard Chichele, Doctor of Laws. This gentleman left no more than one daughter, who became the wife of Chriſtopher Griffith, Eſq; of Sadworth, in Berkſhire; which Lady is dead, and alſo her only child Chriſtopher Griffith (56).

(56) From the communication of John Loveday, Eſq; of Caverſham.

A farther account of the family of Chichele, and of the numerous deſcendants of Thomas Chichele, of Higham-Ferrers, father to the Archbiſhop, may be ſeen in the "Stemmata Chicheleana," publiſhed at Oxford, in Quarto, in the year 1765.]

K.

CHICHESTER (Arthur), a brave officer in the XVIth century, and made Lord Deputy of Ireland, and Baron of Belfaſt [*A*], in the beginning of the XVIIth, was born at Ralegh, near Barnſtaple, in the county of Devon (*a*). Some part of his youth he ſpent in the Univerſity, but that being too ſedentary a life for his active genius, he went into the wars [*B*]; and at every place where his Sovereign's ſervice required, there he was, by ſea and land, in England and in France; in the laſt of which, for ſome ſignal exploit done by him in the preſence of King Henry IV. he was knighted by that excellent Prince (*b*). But his aſſiſtance being moſtly wanted in Ireland, where things were in the utmoſt confuſion, he put himſelf into that ſervice: and in this employment manifeſted great valour and wiſdom, ſo fairly and even tempered, that his generous actions expreſſed an uncommon capacity (*c*). In June, 1600, he was at the taking of the ſtrong caſtle of Ballinſhor (*d*). And in the enſuing winter, was put in garriſon at Carrickfergus, with eight hundred and fifty foot, and a hundred and twenty-five horſe, under his command (*e*). In Auguſt, 1602, he and Sir Henry Danvers, took the ſtrong fort of Eniſlaghlin, wherein moſt of the Earl of Tir-Oen's plate and choice goods were depoſited (*f*). The March following he expelled Brian Mac-Art from Killultagh, where he had ſecretly lodged himſelf with five hundred men (*g*); and brought the rebels in Ireland to ſo low a condition, that they were forced to eat human fleſh [*C*]. In a word, he was ſo effectually aſſiſtant, as one expreſſes it (*h*), firſt to plow and break up that barbarous nation by conqueſt, and then to ſow it with the ſeeds of civility, when he was made Lord-Deputy of Ireland (which was in 1604), that he did more than could be done in ſeveral years before. Good laws and proviſions had indeed been made by his predeceſſors, but they were like leſſons ſet for a lute out of tune, uſeleſs, till the inſtrument was fitted for them. Being therefore raiſed to that eminent ſtation, in which he was ſworn the third of February (*i*), he acted with ſuch prudence and reſolution, that he quite put an end to all inſurrections in that kingdom; and did three great things towards a reformation therein (*k*). The firſt was, his management of the moſt ſtubborn Parliament that ever was in Ireland, which nevertheleſs he prevailed with to attaint the Earls of Tir-Oen, and Tirconell, Sir Cahir O'Dogharty, and others, and to make an Act of Recognition, and give the King a ſubſidy. The ſecond was, the plantation of the forfeited eſtates in Ulſter, which he very much influenced and promoted. And the third was, the eſtabliſhing a new circuit for Judges of Aſſize in the province of Connaght, and retrieving the circuit of Munſter, which had been diſcontinued for two hundred years (*l*). So that, whereas the circuits were before confined to the Engliſh Pale, they were extended by him throughout the kingdom (*m*). By this wiſe regulation, Ireland was, in a ſhort time, ſo cleared of thieves and capital offenders, that ſo many malefactors were not found in the two and thirty ſhires of that kingdom, as in ſix Engliſh ſhires in the weſtern circuit (*n*). He alſo reduced the mountains and glinns on the ſouth of Dublin, which uſed to be thorns in the ſides of the Engliſh, into the county of Wicklow (*o*). And ſo watchful was he over the actions of ſuſpected perſons, that Tir-Oen was heard to complain, 'He could not drink a full carouſe of ſack, but the 'State was, within a few hours, advertiſed thereof (*p*).' In the year 1612 (*q*), he was, for a reward of his great ſervices, advanced to the dignity of Baron of Belfaſt (*r*). Whilſt he continued Lord-Deputy, namely, in 1614, the harp was firſt marſhalled with the arms of Great-Britain (*s*): and about the ſame time the Iriſh began to imitate the Engliſh faſhions, and to cut their mantles into cloaks (*t*). In the beginning of the year

(*a*) The Worthies of Devon, by J. Prince, fol. Exeter, 1701, p. 200.

(*b*) *Ibid.* and Fuller's Worthies, in Devon, p. 254.

(*c*) Prince, *ubi ſupra.*

(*d*) Hiſtory of Ireland, by R. Cox, Part i. fol. edit. 1689, p. 437.

(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 440.

(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 447.

(*g*) *Ibid.* p. 449.

(*h*) Fuller's Worthies, *ubi ſupra.*

(*i*) R. Cox, Hiſt. of Ireland, P. ii. p. 9.

(*k*) R. Cox, Pref. to the 2d part of the Hiſtory of Ireland.

(*l*) *Ibid.* and Hiſt. P. ii. p. 9.

(*m*) Fuller and Prince, *ubi ſupra.*

(*n*) Sir John Davis, in his Diſcourſe of Ireland, p. 270.

(*o*) Fuller and Prince, *ubi ſupra.*

(*p*) *Ibid.* p. 271; and Fuller's and Prince's Worthies, *ubi ſupra*, p. 255, & 201.

(*q*) R. Cox ſays, it was Feb. 23, 1615, P. ii. p. 33.

(*r*) Iriſh Compendium, 3d edit. 12mo. 1735, p. 97; and Fuller and Prince, *ubi ſupra.*

(*s*) Iriſh Compendium, *ibid.*

(*t*) Fuller and Prince, *ubi ſupra.*

[*A*] CHICHESTER (Arthur), *a brave officer in the ſixteenth century*, &c.] The family of *Chicheſter* hath flouriſhed for many generations at Ralegh above-mentioned. *Arthur*, who is the ſubject of this article, was the ſecond ſon of Sir *John Chicheſter*, of that place, Knight, by Gertrude his wife, daughter of Sir William Courtenay of Powderham, Knight. They had a very numerous iſſue; namely, five ſons, four whereof were knights, and one, (*viz.* Arthur) was made a Baron: And eight daughters, all married into the chiefeſt families in thoſe parts. 1. Elizabeth to Hugh Forteſcue of Phillegh, Eſq; 2. Dorothy to Sir Hugh Pollard of King's Nimpton, Knight. 3. Eleanor to Sir Arthur Baſſet of Umberlegh, Knight. 4. Mary to Richard Blewet of Holcombrogus, Eſq; 5. Cecilia to Thomas Hatch of Aller, Eſq; 6. Suſanna to John Forteſcue of Buckland Phillegh Eſq; 7. Bridget to Sir Edmund Prideaux of Farway, Baronet; all in Devonſhire. And, 8. Urith to —— Trevillian of Nettlecomb in Somerſetſhire, Eſq; (1).

(1) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 199, 200.

[*B*] *He went into the wars.*] In his youth he was guilty of great extravagance, and, to ſupport it, robbed one of Queen Elizabeth's Purveyors. To avoid being proſecuted for that crime, he fled into France, where he behaved with great bravery and conduct. The fame of this reaching the Queen's ears, his friends took thence an opportunity to ſue for his pardon, which the Queen readily ſent him, with an invitation home. Whereupon ſhe employed him in her wars in Ireland, where he made his fortune, as is related in this article. This is mentioned in no hiſtorian, but has been handed down in the family, as a certain fact. The famous Richard Boyle, created afterwards Earl of Corke, is ſaid to have been his Secretary, when he was Lord-Deputy.

[*C*] *That they were forced to eat human fleſh.*] Three children were ſeen eating the entrails of their dead mother, upon whoſe fleſh they had fed twenty days, and roaſted it with fire; and it was manifeſt that ſome older people had been in ſuch a ſtarving condition, that they murdered and eat children for a long time together, and were at laſt diſcovered and executed for that barbarity. In ſhort, as R. Cox, Eſq; obſerves (2), the famine of Jeruſalem did not exceed that amongſt the rebels of Ireland; and therefore it is no wonder, that on the 30th of March 1602, the Earl of Tir-Oen, not knowing of Queen Elizabeth's death, did at Meliſont, in moſt humble manner, and upon his knees, make his ſubmiſſion to the Deputy.

(2) Hiſt. of Ireland, P. i. p. 449.

1616,

1616, after this worthy perſon had continued Lord-Deputy of Ireland above eleven years (*u*), King James I. appointed him Lord High-Treaſurer of that kingdom (*w*), and recalled him to England; not out of any diſpleaſure, but, as far as can be conjectured, through the artifices of the Iriſh Papiſts, over whom he kept a ſtrict hand (*x*). Being thus returned home, ſo conſiderable were his abilities that he was not ſuffered to lie unactive: for in May 1622, he was ſent by King James I. to the Palatinate, and from thence to the Emperor (*y*). While he was in Germany, Manheim was ſeaſonably victualled through his prudent direction and advice. And being in that place when it was beſieged by Count Tilly, the Emperor's General, his Lordſhip ſent the Count word, 'That it was againſt the law of nations to beſiege an Embaſſador.' Tilly returned for anſwer, 'That he took no notice that he was an Embaſſador.' Upon which the Lord Chicheſter replied to the meſſenger, 'Had my Maſter ſent me with as many hundred 'men, as he hath ſent me on fruitleſs meſſages, your General ſhould have known, that 'I had been a Soldier, as well as an Embaſſador (*z*).' At his return from this embaſſy, in the October following, his Lordſhip was very well received by King James, and the 31ſt of December made one of his Majeſty's Privy-Council in England (*a*). He died about the ſame time as his Maſter King James, namely, about the beginning of the year 1625 (*b*): but, in *This* ſuperior to his Sovereign, that he died in as great honour as any Engliſhman of his age (*c*); and to the great grief of his country, becauſe it was in ſuch a time as moſt required his aſſiſtance, courage, and wiſdom, which ſeldom meet, but in him were united, and challenged an equal ſhare in his perfections (*d*). He was buried at Belfaſt, in Ireland (*e*) [*D*]. He was ſtout in his nature, above any diſorder upon emergencies, reſolved in his temper above any impreſſions from other Princes, and high in his propoſal beyond the expectation of his own. With regard to Ireland his ſentiments were, that time muſt open and facilitate things for reformation of religion, by the Proteſtant plantations, by the care of good Biſhops and Divines; the amplification of the college; the education of wards; an inſenſible ſeizure of Popiſh liberties; reducing the number of Privy-Counſellors, which were fifty or ſixty at leaſt, and that occaſioned great debates, and cauſed buſineſs to be divulged, *&c.* (*f*). In a word, he was *a good ſoldier*, and *a true Engliſhman* (*g*), which is as great a character as can be given. He married Letice, daughter of Sir John Perrot, Lord-Deputy of Ireland [*E*]; and having no iſſue by her, made his youngeſt brother, Sir Edward Chi-

(*u*) Clark's Lives, in Archbiſhop Uſher, p. 206, Lond. 1662.

(*w*) Iriſh Compend. *ubi ſupra.*

(*x*) See R. Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, P. ii. p. 25—33.

(*y*) Fuller, Prince, and Iriſh Compend. *ubi ſupra.* Camdeni Annal. Jac. I.

(*z*) Fuller and Prince, *ubi ſupra.* Lloyd's State Worthies, 2d edit. 1679, p. 754.

(*a*) Iriſh Compend. *ubi ſupra.*

(*b*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, vol. i. col. 510. Mr. Prince, by miſtake, ſays it was about the year 1620.

(*c*) Fuller, *ubi ſupra.*

(*d*) Wood, *ubi ſupra*, col. 510. Alex. Spicer, his Chaplain, wrote elegies on his death, printed in 1625. *Ibid.*

(*e*) *Ibid.*

(*f*) Lloyd's State Worthies, *ubi ſupra*, p. 754, 755.

(*g*) R. Cox, Preface to P. ii. of his Hiſt. of Ireland.

[*D*] *He was buried at Belfaſt in Ireland.*] Mr. Prince ſuppoſes, that his brother and heir, the Lord Edward Chicheſter, might afterwards bring over, and lay his remains in the ſepulchre belonging to his houſe at Eggesford in Devonſhire. And obſerves, that in a little oratory adjoining to the church of Eggeſford, on the north-ſide of the chancel, he ſaw this memorial of him; namely, a head cut out in coarſe marble, where his face is repreſented to the life, with a look ſtern and terrible, like a ſoldier. They who are ſkill'd in ſculpture, ſay, it is an excellent piece of art (3). There are extant, *two Letters* of my Lord Chicheſter's writing, in the Cabala (4).

[*E*] *He married Letice*, &c.] F. Nicholls, author of the Iriſh Compendium, is guilty of a very great error (5), in ſaying, that 'he married Mary eldeſt 'daughter to John Digby the firſt Earl of Briſtol.' Whereas, he that married that Lady, was, Arthur, the firſt Earl of Donegall, ſon of Sir Edward Chicheſter, Knight, mentioned above in the text (6). C.

(3) Prince, *ubi ſupra*, p. 201.

(4) Edit. 1663, p. 211. 213.

(5) Page 97, edit. 1735.

(6) See Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 437.

*** [Dr. Leland gives a high character of Sir Arthur Chicheſter, as Lord-Deputy of Ireland. He advanced the work of reformation farther than had been done by any preceding governor. By his wiſe conduct, inferiors were emancipated from the tyranny of barbarous chieftains; and the whole body of old natives were taught to regard the ſyſtem of Engliſh polity more favourably, when it was executed, not like that mockery of juſtice with which they had too often been inſulted, but with general impartiality, without oppreſſion or impunity (7). With reſpect to the plantation of Ulſter, Dr. Leland thus deſcribes the ſuperior abilities of the Lord-Deputy, for carrying on that important undertaking. "The thoughts "of Lord Bacon on this ſubject had been more preciſe and accurate, if his great genius had been "aſſiſted by a competent knowledge of the ſtate of "Ireland. But the man whoſe counſels were of "greateſt ſervice on this intereſting occaſion, was Sir "Arthur Chicheſter, now Lord-Deputy of the "realm. He had capacity, judgment, firmneſs, and "experience, and was already diſtinguiſhed by his "ſervices, both in war and peace. What was of "greateſt conſequence, no man was better acquainted "with the territories to be planted, the ſtate of the "inhabitants, their characters, expectations, and "pretenſions; ſo that none could be better qualified "to propoſe a ſcheme for the plantation, or to di-"rect the execution of it. He cauſed ſurveys to be "taken of the ſeveral counties where the new ſet-"tlements were to be eſtabliſhed, deſcribed particularly the ſtate of each, pointed out the ſituations "proper for the erection of towns and caſtles, delineated the characters of the Iriſh chieftains, the "manner in which they ſhould be treated, the temper and circumſtances of the old inhabitants, "the rights of new purchaſers, and the claims of "both, the impediments which had obſtructed "former plantations, and the methods of removing "them (8)." The meaſures purſued by the Lord-Deputy in this affair, are diſtinctly related by Dr. Leland; who afterwards obſerves, that Sir Arthur Chicheſter's adminiſtration was indeed active, vigilant, cautious, and firm, ſuited to a country ſcarcely emerging to tranquillity and order; where diſaffection was yet unextinguiſhed, and diſcontents were publicly and boldly avowed (9). The chief governor's moderation, with regard to his treatment of the recuſants, is likewiſe celebrated by the Hiſtorian of Ireland. Sir Arthur's management, in this reſpect, was, indeed, highly diſpleaſing to the Puritans, and even occaſioned complaints and murmurs to be whiſpered againſt him in the Privy-Council: but Dr. Leland is clearly of opinion, and, we think, with good reaſon, that his conduct was dictated by the plaineſt rules of diſcretion, and that it was the only conduct which could be purſued with ſafety (10).

A few of Sir Arthur Chicheſter's ſtate papers are preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum. One of them is entitled, "A Note of ſome of the moſt material Service, which I have performed, ſince I came into the Government of your Majeſty's Realm, in Feb. 1604 (11)." Dr. Leland hath made conſiderable uſe of a collection of the Lord-Deputy's manuſcript papers, now remaining in the Library of the Univerſity of Dublin.] K.

(7) Hiſt. of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 418.

(8) *Ibid.* p. 430.

(9) *Ibid.* p. 438, 439.

(10) *Ibid.* p. 449.

(11) Ayſcough's Catalogue, p. 331. 339.

cheſter,

cheſter, Knt. his heir: who was created by King Charles I. Baron Belfaſt, and Viſcount Chicheſter, of Carrickfergus, in the county of Antrim. His ſon Arthur was created Earl of Donegall; which dignity hath been ever ſince enjoyed by his poſterity (*b*).

(*b*) Prince, *ubi ſupra.* Iriſh Compend. Dugdale's Baronage, vol. iii. p. 437.

CHILLINGWORTH (WILLIAM), a learned Writer and Divine of the laſt century, was ſon of Mr. William Chillingworth, Citizen, and ſome time Mayor, of Oxford; and was born in St. Martin's pariſh in that city, in October 1602. After he had been educated in Grammar-learning at a private ſchool in that city, he was admitted a ſcholar of Trinity-College, the 2d of June, 1618 (*a*). June the 18th, 1620, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*b*); the 16th of March, 1623, he was admitted Maſter of Arts (*c*); and the 10th of June, 1628, he was elected Fellow of his College [*A*]. About this time, by the arts and inſinuations of the famous Jeſuit John Fiſher, Mr. Chillingworth was converted to the Romiſh religion [*B*], and perſuaded to retire to the Jeſuits College at Douay (*d*). But Dr. Laud, then Biſhop of London, who was his godfather (*e*), correſponding with him by letters [*C*], and preſſing him with ſeveral arguments againſt the doctrines and practices of the Romaniſts, Mr. Chillingworth, who began now to ſee the arguments, by which he had been converted, in another light, left Douay, after a ſhort ſtay there [*D*], in 1631 (*f*). Upon his return to England, with

(*a*) Wood, Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 40.

(*b*) *Id.* Faſt. Oxon. vol. i. col. 215.

(*c*) *Ib.* col. 226.

(*d*) *Id.* Athen. *ubi ſupra.*

(*e*) *Ib.* col. 41.

(*f*) *Ibid.*

[*A*] ——*Fellow of his college.*] 'He was then 'obſerved, *ſays the Oxford Antiquary* (1), to be no 'drudge at his ſtudy, but being a man of great parts 'would do much in a little time when he ſettled to it. 'He would often walk in the college grove, and contemplate; but when he met with any ſcholar there, 'he would enter into diſcourſe, and diſpute with 'him, purpoſely to facilitate, and make the way of 'wrangling common with him; which was a faſhion 'uſed in thoſe days, eſpecially among the diſputing 'Theologiſts, or among thoſe that ſet themſelves 'apart purpoſely for Divinity.' Mr. Chillingworth did not confine his ſtudies to Divinity: he applied himſelf likewiſe, with good ſucceſs, to the Mathematicks (2), and had the reputation of a Poet, as appears from theſe verſes of Sir John Suckling:

(1) Wood, Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 50.

(2) *Hiſtorical and Critical Account of the Life and Writings of William Chillingworth*, &c. by M. Des Maizeaux, Lond. 1725, 8vo. p. 2.

There Selden, and he ſat hard by the chair;
Weniman not far off, which was very fair;
Sands with Townſend, for they kept no order;
Digby and Shillingſworth a little further (3).

(3) Seſſion of the Poets. See the Works of Sir John Suckling, Lond. 1719, 12mo. p. 5.

Our author's intimate friends, at this time, were Sir Lucius Cary, afterwards Lord Viſcount Falkland, Mr. John Hales of Eton, *&c.* but more particularly Mr. Gilbert Sheldon, who ſucceeded Dr. Juxon in the See of Canterbury, in 1663 (4).

(4) Hiſtorical and Critical Account, &c. p. 3.

[*B*] *He was converted, by John Fiſher the Jeſuit, to the Romiſh religion.*] The converſation and ſtudy of the Univerſity ſcholars, in our author's time, turned chiefly upon the controverſies between the Church of England and the Church of Rome; occaſioned by the uncommon liberty allowed the Romiſh prieſts by King James I. and King Charles I. Several of them lived at or near Oxford, and made frequent attempts upon the young ſcholars, ſome of whom they deluded to the Romiſh religion, and afterwards conveyed to the Engliſh Seminaries beyond ſea. Among theſe prieſts was the celebrated John Fiſher (5), who was, at that time very converſant at Oxford; and Mr. Chillingworth being accounted a very ingenious man, he uſed all poſſible means to be acquainted with him. Their converſation ſoon turned upon the points controverted between the two churches; but more particularly on the neceſſity of an infallible living judge in matters of faith. Mr Chillingworth found himſelf unable to anſwer the arguments of the Jeſuit on this head; and, being once convinced of the neceſſity of ſuch a judge, he was eaſily brought to believe, that this infallible judge was to be found in the church of Rome, and that therefore the church of Rome muſt be the true church, and the only church, in which men could be ſaved. He therefore forſook the communion of the church of England, and, with incredible ſatisfaction of mind, embraced the Romiſh religion (6). Mr. Des Maizeaux has given us a letter (7), which Mr. Chillingworth wrote on this occaſion to his friend Mr. Sheldon, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in which he deſires him ſeriouſly to conſider the following queries. I. *Whether it be not evident from Scriptures, and Fathers, and reaſon, from the goodneſs of God, and the neceſſity of mankind, that there muſt be ſome one church infallible in matters of faith?* II. *Whether there be any other ſociety of men in the world, beſides the church of Rome, that either can upon good warrant, or indeed at all, challenge to itſelf the privilege of infallibility in matters of faith.* After which, he concludes his letter with theſe words; 'When you have applied 'your moſt attentive conſideration upon theſe queſ-'tions, I do aſſure myſelf, your reſolution will be affirmative in the firſt, and negative in the ſecond. 'And then the concluſion will be, that you will ap-'prove and follow the way, wherein I have had the 'happineſs to enter before you; and ſhould think it 'infinitely increaſed, if it would pleaſe God to draw 'you after.'

(5) His true name was *John Perſe*, or *Perſey*. See an account of him in the *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jeſu*, &c. Romæ 1676, p. 487.

(6) Hiſtorical and Critical Account, &c. p. 3—7; and Wood, *ubi ſupra.*

(7) *Ibid.*

[*C*] *Dr. Laud—correſponded with him by letters.*] Archbiſhop Laud, in his ſpeech before the Lords, on the firſt day of his trial, March 12, 1643, appealed to the letters which then paſſed between him and Mr. Chillingworth, in order to vindicate himſelf from the charge of Popery. 'Mr. Chillingworth's learning 'and abilities, *ſays he* (8), are ſufficiently known to 'all your Lordſhips. He was gone, and ſettled at 'Dowaye. My letters brought him back; and he 'lived and died a defender of the Church of Eng-'land. And that this is ſo, your Lordſhips cannot 'but know: for Mr. Prynne took away my letters, and 'all the papers which concerned him, and they were 'examined at the Committee.' Theſe letters are ſuppoſed to be loſt. Mr. Prynne, who took away Archbiſhop Laud's papers, purſuant to an order of the Houſe of Commons, kept them till after the Reſtoration; when, by order of the King in Council, they were delivered to Dr. Sheldon, Archbiſhop of Canterbury. But very few of thoſe papers, which Prynne had publiſhed in ſeveral pamphlets and books, came into the Archbiſhop's hands: and many, even of thoſe which had not been publiſhed, were found wanting; among which were the letters in queſtion (9).

(8) Wharton's Hiſtory of the Troubles and Trial of William Laud, &c. p. 227.

(9) *Ibid.* Pref.

[*D*] *He left Douay, after a ſhort ſtay there.*] Mr. Chillingworth was ſoon tired with the company of his new friends at Douay, as appears from the following paſſages of Mr. Lacy, a Jeſuit, who wrote a bitter invective againſt him, after he had publiſhed his book, intitled, *The Religion of Proteſtants a ſafe way to Salvation*, &c. 'Had he not made, *ſays that 'author* (10), ſo much haſt in running back from the 'Catolique, as though he had come thither only to 'fetch fire of faction, he might have acquainted 'himſelf better with the practice of the holy church, 'in this very point of miracles, and relations con-'cerning ſaints.' Again: 'Yet, had the man but 'ſtayed, *ſays he* (11), to have learned his catechiſme 'among us, he might have knowne the uſe and 'meaning of our ceremonies: now having come into 'the church, as Cato came unto the theater, only to 'go out againe; what meruaile if he returne a ridi-'culous cenſurer of what he only ſaw and underſtood 'not? Such poſt-haſt were hardly tolerable in a ſpie, 'much

(10) The Judgment of an Univerſity Man, &c. 1639, 4to. p. 39.

(11) *Ibid.* p. 40.

with the approbation of Biſhop Laud, he retired to Oxford, where he purſued his enquiries into religion with great care and diligence, reading the beſt books, and converſing with the moſt learned men of both perſuaſions; till, at laſt, the Proteſtant principles appearing to him the moſt agreeable to Scripture and reaſon, he declared for them; and, about the year 1634, wrote a paper [*E*] in confutation of the arguments by which he had been ſeduced; though ſuch was his love of truth, that, even after his return to Proteſtantiſm, he made no ſcruple to re-examine the grounds of it, as appears by a *letter* he wrote to Dr. Sheldon, *containing ſome ſcruples* he had *about leaving the Church of Rome, and returning to the Church of England* (*g*); which ſeems to have occaſioned the report, that he had turned Papiſt a ſecond time, and then Proteſtant again (*h*). Nor is it ſtrange, that this ſeeming inconſtancy of temper and judgment, for which our author has modeſtly apologized [*F*], ſhould expoſe him to the moſt malicious and ill-grounded calumnies [*G*], as well as to ſeveral diſputes with thoſe of the Romiſh religion. But,

(*g*) See the remark [*K*].

(*h*) M. Des Maizeaux's *Hiſtorical and Critical Account of the Life and Writings of William Chillingworth, Chancellor of the Church of Sarum*, Lond. 1725, 8vo. p. 13—18.

' much leſſe in one who comes to ſee and cenſure.' Elſewhere he ſays (12): ' Would any man think, ' that this man was never Catholique above two ' months at once, who knowes the Jeſuits ſo well?' That Mr. Chillingworth met with a kind and reſpectful treatment from the Jeſuits, during his ſhort ſtay among them, may be inferred from the above-cited author, who ſays (13): ' Indeed he loſt his fellowſhip ' by it (*by changing his religion*,) but I preſume the ' Catholique would have given him a better, had he ' but held out his yeares probation.' Some Proteſtant writers have indeed inſinuated the contrary; particularly Dr. Fuller, who, mentioning Mr. Chillingworth, tells us (14), ' He was an acute and ſubtil ' diſputant, but unſettled in his judgment, which ' made him go beyond the ſeas, and in ſome ſort was ' conciled to the church of Rome: but, whether ' becauſe he found not the reſpect he expected, ' (which ſome ſhrewdly ſuggeſt) or becauſe his con- ' ſcience could not cloſe with all the Romiſh corrup- ' tions (which more charitably believe) he returned ' into England, &c.' Beſides this groundleſs inſinuation, there are two faults in this narrative: for, firſt, Mr. Chillingworth's *going beyond the ſeas* was not occaſioned by his being *unſettled in his judgment*, but, on the contrary, by his being *ſettled* in his opinion in favour of the Romiſh church; and, ſecondly, he was *conciled to the church of Rome*, not *in ſome ſort*, but entirely and ſincerely. Anthony Wood has ſuggeſted the ſame thing in regard to Mr. Chillingworth's treatment by the Jeſuits, beſides ſome other miſtakes, and malicious reports, which we ſhall ſet down in his own words. ' About the ſame time, *ſays he* (15), ' being much unſettled in his thoughts, he became ' acquainted with one who went by the name of ' John Fiſher, a learned Jeſuit and ſophiſtical diſ- ' putant, who was often converſant in thoſe parts ' (*Oxford*). At length, by his perſuaſions, and the ' ſatisfaction of ſome doubts which he could not find ' among our great men at home, he went to the ' Jeſuits College at St. Omer, forſook his religion, ' and became a Roman Catholic.' But ' ſo it was, ' that finding not that ſatisfaction from the Jeſuits ' concerning various points of religion, or (as ſome ' ſay) not that reſpect, which he expected (for the ' common report among his contemporaries in ' Trinity College was, that the Jeſuits, to try his ' temper, and exerciſe his obedience, did put him ' upon ſervile duties far below him) he left them in ' the year 1631, returned to the church of England ' (though the Preſbyterians ſaid not, but that he was ' always a Papiſt in his heart, or, as we now ſay, in ' maſquerade) and was kindly received by his god- ' father Dr. Laud, then Biſhop of London.' Mr. Chillingworth did not retire to the college of St. Omer, as this writer aſſerts, but to that of Douay, if Archbiſhop Laud, who certainly knew it beſt, is to be believed (16). Neither is it at all probable, what the Preſbyterians ſaid, that Mr. Chillingworth continued ſtill a Papiſt in his heart, after his return to the church of England.

(12) *Ibid.* p. 13.

(13) *Ibid.* p. 18.

(14) Worthies of England, Oxfordſhire, p. 339.

(15) *Ubi ſupra.*

(16) See the remark [*C*].

[*E*] *A paper.*] This paper is now loſt. It is true, we have a paper of Mr. Chillingworth's on the ſame ſubject; but it ſeems to have been written on ſome other occaſion, probably at the deſire of his friends. It was firſt publiſhed, in 1687, in the *Additional Diſcourſes of Mr. Chillingworth* (17).

(17) See the remark [*I*].

[*F*] *His modeſt Apology for this ſeeming inconſtancy of temper and judgment.*] There are numberleſs paſſages in Mr. Chillingworth's works, wherein his religious conduct is ſtrongly juſtified. But we ſhall ſelect only the following from his celebrated piece, intitled *The Religion of Proteſtants*, &c. in anſwer to Mr. Knott's *Charity maintained by Catholics*, &c. ' I know a man, ' *ſays our author* (18), *ſpeaking of himſelf*, that of a ' moderate Proteſtant turned a Papiſt, and the day ' that he did ſo (as all things that are done are per- ' fected ſome day or other) was convicted in conſci- ' ence, that his yeſterdaies opinion was an error, and ' yet thinks hee was no ſchiſmatique for ſo doing, ' and deſires to be informed by you whether or no ' hee was miſtaken. The ſame man afterwards, ' upon better conſideration, became a doubting ' Papiſt, and of a doubting Papiſt a confirmed Pro- ' teſtant. And yet this man thinks himſelf no more ' to blame for all theſe changes, than a travailer, who ' uſing all diligence to find the right way to ſome ' remote citty, where he had never been (as the partie ' I ſpeak of had never been in Heaven) did yet ' miſtake it, and after find his error, and amend ' it. Nay, he ſtands upon his juſtification ſo farre, ' as to maintain that his alterations, not only to you, ' but alſo from you, by God's mercy, were the moſt ' ſatisfactory actions to himſelfe, that ever he did, ' and the greateſt victories that ever he obtained over ' himſelfe, and his affections to thoſe things which in ' this world are moſt precious; as wherein, for God's ' ſake, and (as he was verily perſuaded) out of love to ' the truth, he went upon a certain expectation of ' thoſe inconveniences, which to ingenuous natures ' are of all moſt terrible. So that though there were ' much weakneſſe in ſome of theſe alterations, yet ' certainly there was no wickedneſſe. Neither does ' he yeeld his weakneſs altogether without apologie, ' ſeeing his deductions were rational, and out of ' ſome principles commonly received by Proteſtants ' as well as Papiſts, and which by his education had ' got poſſeſſion of his underſtanding.' Here, we ſee, Mr. Chillingworth was ſo far from thinking ſuch changes of religion ſinful or diſreputable, that he glories in them, and makes them matter of triumph.

(18) Chap. v. § 103.

[*G*] *He was expoſed to the moſt malicious and ill-grounded calumnies.*] So, I think, we may very well call the following paſſage in one of Dr. Wood's controverſial *Letters* to Mr. Bulſtrode. ' Can there be ' any thing more notoriouſly falſe, *ſays he* (19), than ' the words of Chillingworth, cited by you; *I ſee* ' *plainly, and with my own eyes, Councils againſt* ' *Councils, a conſent of Fathers of one age, againſt a* ' *conſent of Fathers of another age; the church of one* ' *age, againſt the church of another age.* If I could ' find what he ſaid here to be true, I would ſoon ' diſcard all Revealed Religion, and would turn ' Deiſt: for I do not ſee any argument that can be ' more for a Deiſt's purpoſe than this; and, if the ' truth were known, he was one in maſquerade; for ' a confirmation of which I can give you a very good ' teſtimony, that at the bottom he was ſuch, notwith- ' ſtanding his book which he writ againſt us. Chill- ' ingworth having an intimate friendſhip with the ' gentleman of the Horſe to the grandfather (as I ' think) of the preſent Lord Montague of Coudrey, ' was aſked by this gentleman (who heard all the ' world extolling Chillingworth for his great learn- ' ing,

(19) *Letters between Dr. Wood, a Roman Catholick, the Pretender's Phyſician, and Whitelock Bulſtrode, Eſq; a Member of the Church of England*, &c. p. 136. This Letter is dated June 14, 1710.

[*H*]. But, in 1635, he was engaged in a work, which gave him a far greater opportunity to confute the principles of the Romiſh Church, and to vindicate the Proteſtant Religion: we mean his *Religion of Proteſtants, a ſafe way to Salvation* [*I*], which was

'ing, and particularly in controverſy) as a true and 'ſincere friend, to tell him his opinion freely and 'candidly, which was the true Religion: to which he 'anſwered in ſhort, that he (*the Enquirer*) ſhould 'keep to the Religion in which he was (which was 'the Roman Catholick) for if there were any reli-'gion, that it was the right, and that if there were 'none, that the worſt that could happen to him was 'but ſo much pains loſt. I do not ſay that theſe are 'the words of his letter, but I remember that they 'were much to this purpoſe. Now it is plain by this 'letter (which I do not doubt you will ſay it is 'feigned) that this great champion of your religion 'was but a ſceptick in religion at the beſt, and what 'moſt of your greateſt men are; for if they can be-'lieve that ſo many learned and holy men have been 'deceived for ſo many ages in matters of this conſe-'quence, have they not reaſon to doubt, that theſe 'latter ages have been deceived ſo too, and ſo conſe-'quently there muſt be very little or no ſecurity of 'the Chriſtian Faith.' Till the original of Mr. Chillingworth's letter, here referred to, is produced (which it has never yet been) we may fairly ſet down this ſtory as a malicious and ill-grounded calumny.

[*H*] *He had ſeveral diſputes with thoſe of the Romiſh Religion.*] One of theſe was Mr. John Lewgar, a great zealot for the church of Rome; who was a beneficed Clergyman in Eſſex, but quitted both his religion and preferment, to turn Roman Catholick (20). Anthony Wood pretends (21), he was converted by the force of Mr. Chillingworth's arguments, with whom he had ſeveral conferences, after that gentleman's return to England, about matters of religion. But, if Mr. Chillingworth induced Mr. Lewgar to turn Papiſt, it is ſtrange neither of them ſhould take any notice of it in the letters which paſſed between them. However, Mr. Lewgar, between whom and Mr. Chillingworth there had always been an intimate friendſhip, as ſoon as he heard that Mr. Chillingworth was returned to the church of England, ſent him a very angry and abuſive letter, to which Mr. Chillingworth returned an anſwer full of affection and charity (22). This letter was firſt printed in the year 1662, with this title: *Mr. Chillingworth's letter touching Infallibility*, 4°. In the laſt page is the *Imprimatur* of M. Frank, Chaplain to Dr. Sheldon, then Biſhop of London, dated the 5th of Auguſt 1662. It was afterwards inſerted in the fifth edition of Mr. Chillingworth's *Religion of Proteſtants*, &c. in the year 1684, with this title: *Reaſons againſt Popery, in a letter from Mr. William Chillingworth to his friend Mr. Lewgar, perſuading him to return to his mother the church of England from the corrupt church of Rome.* It was printed again at the end of the contracted edition of Mr. Chillingworth's *Religion of Proteſtants*, &c. in 1687, with this title: *Out of Mr. Chillingworth's Manuſcript, A Letter to Mr. Lewgar, concerning the church of Rome's being the guide of faith and judge of controverſies.* But, notwithſtanding all theſe ſeveral impreſſions, Mr. Graſcome, having met with an imperfect copy of it, inſerted it as a piece of Mr. Chillingworth's never before publiſhed, in the *Preface* of his book intitled *Certamen Religioſum* (23), &c. in which he tells us, it was communicated to him by Sir Thomas Fanſhaw, a curious collector of uncommon pieces. The famous Dr. Hickes, though a man of great knowledge in books, thought this piece had been firſt publiſhed by Mr. Graſcome, and as ſuch reprinted it in 1705, in the *Appendix* to a book intitled, *Several letters, which paſſed between Dr. George Hickes and a Popiſh prieſt*, &c. in the preface to which, ſpeaking of the *Appendix*, he ſays, 'The ſecond 'paper is a letter of Mr. Chillingworth, about the 'Infallibility of the church of Rome. I have pub-'liſhed it—becauſe I think it worthy to be read of 'all men, eſpecially by Proteſtants, who, when they 'happen to be aſſaulted publickly or privately by 'Popiſh prieſts, may make this uſe of it, to defy them 'to anſwer this letter, and in the mean time to for-'bear.' Mr. Lewgar could not help being touched with a letter, which ſhewed ſo much love, ſincerity, and moderation. He deſired to ſee his old friend again; and Mr. Chillingworth had a *Conference* with him about Religion before Mr. Skinner and Dr. Sheldon (24). There paſſed afterwards ſeveral papers between them concerning the pretended Infallibility and Catholicity of the Romiſh church; and we have a paper of Mr. Chillingworth's, intituled, *A Conference concerning the Infallibility of the Roman church*, &c. which ſeems to contain the abſtract or ſummary of their diſpute (25). We have, in the ſame manner, the ſubſtance of a diſpute he had with Mr. Daniel, or Dan à Jeſu, a Jeſuit, whoſe real name was John Floyd; wherein he diſproves the Infallibility of the church of Rome, by an argument taken from the contradictions which are contained in the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation (26). He had another with a gentleman, whom he does not name; in which he confutes the ſame Infallibility, by proving, that either the preſent church of Rome errs, in offering tapers and incenſe to the Virgin Mary, or that the antient church of Rome did err, in condemning as hereticks the Collyridians for offering a cake to her (27). Beſides the pieces already mentioned, Mr. Chillingworth wrote one to demonſtrate, that the doctrine of Infallibility is neither evident of itſelf, nor grounded upon certain and infallible reaſons, nor warranted by any paſſage of Scripture (28). And in two other papers, he ſhews, that the church of Rome hath formerly erred; firſt, by admitting Infants to the Euchariſt, and holding, that without it they could not be ſaved; and, ſecondly, by teaching the doctrine of the *Millenaries*; both which doctrines are condemned as falſe and heretical by the preſent church of Rome (29). He wrote alſo a ſhort *letter*, in anſwer to ſome objections put to him by one of his friends, wherein he ſhews, that neither the Fathers, nor the Councils, are infallible witneſſes of tradition, and that the Infallibility of the church of Rome muſt firſt of all be proved from the Scripture (30). We muſt not forget our author's *Anſwer* to ſome *Paſſages* in the *Dialogues*, publiſhed under the name of Mr. *Ruſhworth* (31). The occaſion was this: The Lord Digby deſired Mr. Chillingworth to meet Mr. *White*, the true author of thoſe dialogues, at the lodgings of Sir Kenelm Digby, a late convert to the Church of Rome. The Lord Digby himſelf was there. Their conference turned upon *Tradition*; and as Mr. White had treated the ſame matter in his Dialogues, which were not yet publiſhed, Mr. Chillingworth, probably at the requeſt of the Lord Digby, ſelected out of them ſome paſſages relating to that ſubject, and confuted them (32). The foregoing pieces were publiſhed together in the year 1687, under the title of *Additional Diſcourſes of Mr. Chillingworth, never before printed.*

[*I*] *His* Religion of Proteſtants, a ſafe way to Salvation.] The whole title is, *The Religion of Proteſtants a ſafe way to Salvation*; *or, An Anſwer to a Book intitled*, Mercy and Truth, or Charity maintained by Catholiques; *which pretends to prove the contrary. By William Chillingworth, Maſter of Arts of the Univerſity of Oxford.* Edward Knott (33), the Jeſuit, had put out, in 1630, a little book, intitled, *Charity miſtaken, with the want whereof Catholickes are unjuſtly charged, for affirming, as they do with grief, that Proteſtancy unrepented deſtroies ſalvation.* In 8vo. This book was anſwered by Dr. Potter, Provoſt of Queen's College in Oxford, in a piece, intitled, *Want of Charitie juſtly charged on all ſuch Romaniſts, as dare (without truth or modeſty) affirme, that Proteſtancie deſtroyeth Salvation. In anſwer to a late Popiſh pamphlet, intituled*, Charity miſtaken, &c. 1633. The Jeſuit replied in 1634, under this title: *Mercy and Truth, or Charity maintayned by Catholiques. By way of Reply upon an Anſwere lately framed by Dr. Potter, to a Treatiſe which had formerly proved, that* Charity *was* miſtaken *by Proteſtants: With the want whereof Catholiques are unjuſtly charged, for affirming, that Proteſtancy unrepented deſtroyes Salvation. Divided into two parts.* Mr. Chillingworth undertook to anſwer

(20) Wood, Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 354.

(21) *Ibid.*

(22) See a Letter to Mr. Lewgar, at the end of Mr. Chillingworth's Religion of Proteſtants, &c. Lond. 1687, 4to.

(23) Printed at Oxford in 1704, 8vo.

(24) See a Conference between Mr. Chillingworth and Mr. Lewgar, in the Additional Diſcourſes of Mr. Chillingworth, &c. Lond. 1687, 4°.

(25) See the Additional Diſcourſes, &c.

(26) *Ibid.* p. 91.

(27) *Ibid.* p. 41.

(28) *Ibid.* p. 26.

(29) *Ibid.* p. 80.

(30) *Ibid.* p 96.

(31) *Ibid.* p. 103.

(32) See M. Des Maizeaux, &c. *ubi ſup.* p. 41, 42. See alſo Letters between the Lord George Digby and Sir Kenelm Digby, Knt. concerning Religion, Lond. 1651, p. 84, 85.

(33) His true name was Matthias Wilſon.

was publiſhed about the latter end of the year 1637 (*i*). In the mean time, he had refuſed preferment, which was offered him by Sir Thomas Coventry, Keeper of the Great

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 141.

ſwer this Reply: which gave him frequent occaſions to reſort to his moſt ingenious and learned friend the Lord Falkland, at Great Tew, his Lordſhip's ſeat in Oxfordſhire; whoſe curious library, as well as converſation, was of great uſe to him on this occaſion (34). Mr. Knott, being informed that Mr. Chillingworth was preparing an anſwer to his book againſt Dr. Potter, came out with an abuſive piece againſt him, intituled, *A Direction to be obſerved by N. N. if hee meane to proceede in anſwering the Booke intitled*, Mercy and Truth, or Charity maintained by Catholicks, &c. 1636, 8vo. The Jeſuit's deſign in this pamphlet being to prejudice the publick againſt Mr. Chillingworth's anſwer, he charged him in it with Socinianiſm, the moſt odious imputation he could find, and the fitteſt for his purpoſe (35). Mr. Chillingworth's Anſwer to Mr. Knott was very nearly finiſhed by the beginning of the year 1637; when Archbiſhop Laud, who knew our author's freedom in delivering his thoughts, and was under ſome apprehenſion he might indulge it too much in his book, recommended the reviſal of it to Dr. Prideaux (36), Profeſſor of Divinity at Oxford; and deſired it might be publiſhed, with his approbation annexed to it (37). And to Dr. Prideaux were added Dr. Baylie, Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity, and Dr. Fell, Lady Margaret's Profeſſor in Divinity, for the examination of Mr. Chillingworth's book, which was ſoon after put to the preſs at Oxford. Mr. Knott was then lurking about that place, and found means, by bribery, to have the ſheets from the preſs, as they were wrought off (38). The impreſſion of our author's Anſwer to the firſt part of Mr. Knott's book being nearly finiſhed, he acquainted Dr. Baylie with his reaſons for not anſwering the ſecond part; and the Archbiſhop being conſulted thereupon (39), it was agreed, that Mr. Chillingworth, in the *Concluſion* of his work, ſhould give the reaſons he had for not publiſhing an anſwer to the ſecond part. Accordingly the book was publiſhed, and preſented by the author to the King, with a very elegant, modeſt, and pious dedication; in which we learn this remarkable circumſtance, that Dr. Potter's vindication of the Proteſtant Religion againſt Mr. Knott's book was *written by ſpecial order from* his *Majeſty*; and that, by giving ſuch an order, that moſt pious and religious Prince, beſides *the general good*, had alſo *ſome aime at the recovery of* Mr. Chillingworth *from* the *dangerous deviation* he happened then to be in, by the change of his religion (40). Next to the Dedication were printed, as the Archbiſhop had deſired, the approbations of Dr. Baylie, Dr. Prideaux, and Dr. Fell; who had examined Mr. Chillingworth's book with ſuch rigour and ſeverity, as made him ſay (41), it had *paſſed a fiery trial*. And Mr. Knott affirmed (42), that ſo many alterations had been made by the cenſors in Mr. Chillingworth's manuſcript, that the book was quite another thing from what it was when firſt drawn up by the author. Anthony Wood, upon the authority of Mr. Cheynell (43), tells us, that Dr. Prideaux, after the examination and correction of Mr. Chillingworth's book, uſed in private converſation to compare it to *an unwholeſome Lamprey, by having a poiſonous ſting of Socinianiſm throughout it, and tending in ſome places to plain infidelity and atheiſm* (44). Dr. Fuller takes notice of the ſame ſtory, but with this judicious remark (45): *A paſſage in my opinion inconſiſtent with the Doctor's approbation prefix'd in the beginning of the book*. This *Approbation* is as follows: *Perlegi hunc librum——in quo nihil reperio doctrinæ vel diſciplinæ Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ adverſum, ſed quam plurima quæ fidem orthodoxam egregie illuſtrant, & adverſantia gloſſemata acute, perſpicue, & modeſte diſſipant.* After ſo full and expreſs an atteſtation to the orthodoxy of Mr. Chillingworth's performance, is it probable, Dr. Prideaux ſhould afterwards repreſent it, among his friends, as a book full of Socinianiſm, and even Infidelity and Atheiſm? But Mr. Wood was fond of defamatory reports, however ill-grounded, when they concerned any adverſaries to Popery.—— Mr. Chillingworth's *Preface* is inſcribed 'To the 'author of *Charity maintained*; with an anſwer to 'his pamplet, entituled *A Direction to* N. N.' He expreſſes what care and diligence he had employed to make his anſwer unexceptionable; how earneſtly he deſired, before the printing of it, to confer with Mr. Knott, and hear what he could offer in vindication of any one argument in his book; and complains, that, inſtead of agreeing with this fair and reaſonable propoſal, he had uſed baſe and oblique means, in order to deter him from publiſhing his anſwer (46). Then he proceeds to vindicate, firſt, the Proteſtants in general; ſecondly, the Divines of the Church of England; and, laſtly, himſelf, from the calumnies and foul aſperſions caſt upon them in the Jeſuit's pamphlet (47). But, the Jeſuit having excepted againſt Mr. Chillingworth's being a fit champion for the Proteſtant cauſe, becauſe *he had often, and even not very long ſince, profeſs'd that he would never ſubſcribe to their thirty-nine Articles* (48); and, ſecondly, becauſe he *had ſet down in writing, motives, which induced him to forſake Proteſtantiſme*, and had never anſwered them: Mr. Chillingworth replies to theſe two objections in the cloſe of his preface (49). The book itſelf is divided into ſeven chapters, in anſwer to ſo many of which the Jeſuit's firſt part conſiſts, which are reprinted with our author's anſwers. In the firſt chapter Mr. Chillingworth aſſerts, that *Papiſts are uncharitable in condemning Proteſtants:* in the IId, that *the Scripture is the only rule, whereby to judge of controverſies:* in the IIId, that *no Church of one denomination is infallible:* in the IVth, that *the Creed of the Apoſtles contains all neceſſary points of meer belief:* in the Vth, that *the Religion of Proteſtants is a ſafer way to Salvation than the Religion of Papiſts:* in the VIth, that *Proteſtants are not Hereticks:* and, in the VIIth, that *they are not bound by the charity, which they owe to themſelves, to re-unite themſelves to the Roman Church.* This performance of our author's was received with uncommon applauſe; inſomuch that two editions of it were publiſhed within leſs than five months. It has been re-printed ſeveral times ſince the Reſtoration. The firſt edition of it was printed at Oxford in 1638: the ſecond, the ſame year, at London, with the *Imprimatur* of Dr. Samuel Baker, Chaplain to Dr. Juxon, then Biſhop of London. The third edition came out in 1664, with the licence of Dr. Stradling, Chaplain to Archbiſhop Sheldon. To this edition were added ſome other pieces of Mr. Chillingworth, *viz.* the *Apoſtolical Inſtitution of Epiſcopacy*, and *nine Sermons, the firſt preached before his Majeſty Charles* I. *the other upon ſpecial and eminent occaſions* (50). The fourth edition came out in 1674; and the fifth in 1684, with the addition of Mr. Chillingworth's *Letter to Mr. Lewgar*. In 1687, when the nation was in imminent danger of Popery, Mr. Chillingworth's book being looked upon as the moſt effectual preſervative againſt it, Dr. John Patrick, at the requeſt of the London Clergy, publiſhed an abridgment of it; with ſome additional pieces of Mr. Chillingworth againſt Popery, which had not been as yet printed. It came out with this title: *Mr. Chillingworth's book, called* The Religion of Proteſtants a ſafe way to Salvation, *made more generally uſeful, by omitting perſonal conteſts, but inſerting whatſoever concerns the common cauſe of Proteſtants, or defends the Church of England: with an addition of ſome genuine pieces of Mr. Chillingworth, never before printed.* In quarto. In the *Advertiſement* Dr. Patrick informs us, that the manuſcript, out of which moſt of the *additional pieces* were faithfully tranſcribed, was an original of Mr. Chillingworth's own hand-writing, in the cuſtody of the Reverend Dr. Tenniſon, to whom the reader was obliged for their publication. Theſe pieces were publiſhed with this title: *Additional Diſcourſes of Mr. Chillingworth, never before printed*; with the licence of William Needham, Chaplain to Archbiſhop Sancroft (51). The ſixth edition of Mr. Chillingworth's book was printed in 1704, with the *additional Diſcourſes*, and the *table of contents* of the contracted edition. But this impreſſion is very full of typographical errors. The ſeventh edition

(34) Genuine Remains of Dr. Thomas Barlow, &c. p. 329.

(35) See the ſubſtance of this piece, which is very ſcarce, in M. Des Maizeaux, *ubi ſupra*, p. 106—136.

(36) Afterwards Biſhop of Worceſter.

(37) Remains of Archbiſhop Laud, vol. ii. p. 128.

(38) *Ibid.* p. 141.

(39) *Ibid.* p. 142.

(40) See the Dedication.

(41) Preface, § 4.

(42) Chriſtianity maintained, &c. p. 79.

(43) In his Diſcuſſion of Mr. John Fry's Tenets, &c. p. 33.

(44) Athen. Oxon. *ibid.*

(45) Worthies of England, *ubi ſup.*

(46) Pref. § 3.

(47) *Ib.* § 9—38.

(48) See the next remark.

(49) *Ibid.* § 39, ad finem.

(50) See the remarks [*R*]-[*S*].

(51) See the remark [*U*].

Great Seal, becauſe his conſcience would not allow him to ſubſcribe the Thirty-nine Articles (*k*) [*K*]. But theſe ſcruples were not of long continuance, being, probably, removed

(*k*) *Ib.* p. 56—103.

edition came out in 1719; the eighth in ——; and the ninth in 1727. This laſt edition was prepared from that of 1664, carefully examined and compared with the two preceding editions. The various readings of theſe editions are taken notice of at the bottom of each page, with the words *Oxf.* or *Lond.* after them. The tenth and laſt edition is of the year 1742, with the *Life of Mr. Chillingworth*, by the Reverend Mr. Thomas Birch (52). In 1638, Mr. Knott publiſhed a pamphlet, intituled, *Chriſtianity maintained; or, A Diſcovery of ſundry Doctrines tending to the overthrowe of the Chriſtian Religion, contained in the Anſwere to a book entituled*, Mercy and Truth, &c. Printed at St. Omer, in 4to. This laſt pamphlet of Mr. Knott's is but a paraphraſe of the firſt: The ſame accuſations are brought over again, and little or no notice is taken of Mr. Chillingworth's anſwers. Mr. Knott himſelf was ſo ſenſible, that this piece could never be looked upon as a ſatisfactory anſwer to Mr. Chillingworth's book, that, in the preface, he promiſes a larger work. The *doctrines tending to the overthrowe of the Chriſtian Religion*, which he imputes to Mr. Chillingworth, are theſe: 1. *That fayth neceſſary to Salvation is not infallible, the grounds of which doctrine*, he ſays, *lead to Atheiſme*. 2. *That the aſſurance we have of Scriptures is but moral*. 3. *That the Apoſtles were not infallible in their writings, but erred with the whole Church of their time*. 4. *That* his *principles are injurious to the miracles of our Saviour and his Apoſtles*. 5. *That by reſolving faith into reaſon*, he *deſtroyes the nature of faith, and beliefe of all Chriſtian verities*. 6. *That* his *doctrine is deſtructive of the theologicall virtues of Chriſtian hope and charity*. 7. *That it takes away the grounds of rational diſcourſe*. 8. *That it opens a way to deny the bleſſed Trinity, and other high myſteries of the Chriſtian faith*. 9. *That it layes grounds to be conſtant in no religion*. 10. And laſtly, *That it provides for the impunity and preſervation of whatſoever damnable error againſt Chriſtian faith*. Mr. Knott dedicated this piece to the King. There is ſubjoined to it a little piece, printed the ſame year, and at the ſame place, under the title of, *Motives maintained, or, A Reply unto Mr. Chillingworth's Anſwere to his own motives of his converſion to Catholicke Religion*. Mr. Wood did not know, that Mr. Knott was the author of this pamphlet: if he had, he would undoubtedly have named him; whereas he only deſcribes the author by the letters I. H. (53), which are at the bottom of the dedication to the King. But Mr. Knott had uſed the ſame initials at the end of his dedication to that Prince, prefixed to his *Charity maintain'd*, &c. The next pamphlet againſt Mr. Chillingworth was printed likewiſe at St. Omer, with this title; *The Church conquerant over human wit, or, The Churches Authority demonſtrated by M.* William Chillingworth (*the proctour for wit againſt her*) *his perpetual contradictions, in his booke entituled* The Religion of Proteſtants, &c. 4to. The author was John Floyd the Jeſuit (54); who publiſhed, in 1639, by way of Appendix to this piece, another, intitled, *The totall Summe, or, No danger of Damnation unto Roman Catholiques for any errors in faith*, &c. 4to. The third and laſt pamphlet againſt Mr. Chillingworth's book was printed in 1639, (probably at St. Omer) under the title of *The Judgment of an Univerſity man concerning Mr. William Chillingworth his late pamphlet* (55), *in anſwer to* Charity maintain'd, 4to. The author of it was Mr. William Lacy, a Jeſuit, who, at the time of writing it, lived at Oxford (56). At the ſame time was printed a ſequel to this piece, by the ſame hand, under the title of *Heautomachia, Mr. Chillingworth againſt himſelf*. But our author's performance was not only attacked in his life-time, but even nine years after his death, by his old antagoniſt Mr. Knott, who, as, in his laſt pamphlet, he had charged him with *Socinianiſm*, ſo, in a book publiſhed in 1652, he charges him with *Infidelity:* for he entitled it, *Infidelity unmaſked: or, The Confutation of a Booke publiſhed by Mr. William Chillingworth, under this title:* The Religion of Proteſtants a ſafe way to Salvation. Printed at Ghent, in 4to (57).

(52) This Life is the ſame with that printed in the General Dict.

(53) Wood, *ubi ſupra*, col. 43.

(54) See his article.

(55) So he calls Mr. Ch's book.

(56) See his article.

(57) See the article KNOTT (EDWARD).

[*K*] *He refuſed to ſubſcribe the Thirty-nine Articles.*] Mr. Chillingworth, conſidering, that, by ſubſcribing the articles, he muſt not only declare *willingly* and *ex animo*, that every one of the *Articles* is *agreeable to the word of God*, but alſo that *the Book of Common Prayer contains nothing contrary to the word of God*; that *it may lawfully be uſed*; and that *he himſelf would uſe it*; and conceiving, at the ſame time, that, both in the *Articles*, and in the *Book of Common Prayer*, there were ſome things repugnant to the Scripture, or that were not lawful to be uſed, he fully reſolved to loſe for ever all hopes of preferment, rather than comply with the ſubſcription required (58). One of his chief objections to the *Common-Prayer* related to the *Athanaſian Creed*; the *damnatory clauſes* of which he looked upon as *contrary to the word of God*. Another objection concerned the *Fourth Commandment*; which, by the prayer ſubjoined to it, *Lord, have mercy upon us*, &c. appeared to him to be made a part of the Chriſtian Law, and conſequently to bind Chriſtians to the obſervation of the Jewiſh Sabbath (59). See, in Mr. Des Maizeaux (60), a letter, which he wrote upon this occaſion, to his good friend Dr. Sheldon, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury. It ſeems there paſſed ſeveral letters between our author and Dr. Sheldon upon this ſubject. For Mr. Chillingworth being now intent upon a full enquiry into the ſenſe of the Articles, every ſtep afforded him new ſcruples. Thus he objected, 1. To the XXth Article, importing, that *the Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controverſies of Faith*. 2. To the XIVth article, that *voluntary works, beſides over and above God's commandments, which they call works of ſupererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety*, &c. which ſeemed to him to condemn the doctrine of *Evangelical counſels*, maintained by the Fathers, and by ſeveral eminent Divines of the Church of England, as Biſhop Andrews, Biſhop Morton, Biſhop Mountague, &c. 3. To the XXXIſt Article, that *the offering of Chriſt once made*, &c. 4. To the XIIIth Article, that *works done before the grace of Chriſt*, &c. which ſeemed to him to confine God's grace within too narrow bounds, and to exclude from ſalvation the moſt virtuous among the Pagans. Laſtly, he objected to the Articles in general, as an impoſition on men's conſciences, much like the authority aſſumed by the Church of Rome (61). Theſe ſcruples of our author, about ſubſcribing the Articles, furniſhed his antagoniſt, the Jeſuit (62), with one objection againſt him, as an improper champion for the Proteſtant cauſe. To this Mr. Chillingworth anſwers, in the cloſe of his *Preface* to the *Religion of Proteſtants*, &c. that, 'though *he* does not hold the 'doctrine of all Proteſtants abſolutely true—yet *he* 'holds it free from all impiety, and from all error 'deſtructive of ſalvation, or in itſelf damnable. And 'this, *he* thinks, in reaſon, may ſufficiently qualify 'him for a maintainer of this aſſertion, that *Proteſtancy deſtroys not ſalvation.*' Then he adds this remarkable declaration: 'For the Church of England, 'I am perſuaded, that the conſtant doctrine of it is 'ſo pure and orthodox, that whoſoever believes it, 'and lives according to it, undoubtedly he ſhall be 'ſaved; and that there is no error in it, which may 'neceſſitate or warrant any man to diſturb the peace, 'or renounce the communion of it. This, in my 'opinion, is *all* intended by ſubſcription; and thus 'much if you conceive me not ready to ſubſcribe, 'your *charity*, I aſſure you, is much *miſtaken* (*).' Mr. Chillingworth expreſſes here, not only his readineſs to ſubſcribe, but alſo what he conceives to be the ſenſe and intent of ſuch a ſubſcription; which he now takes to be a ſubſcription of *peace* or *union*, and not of *belief* or *aſſent*, as he formerly thought it was. And, as he did, within a few months, actually ſubſcribe, we have reaſon to believe he did it in the ſame ſenſe; eſpecially if we conſider, that this was alſo the ſenſe of Archbiſhop Laud (63), with which Mr.

(58) M. Des Maizeaux, *ubi ſupra*, p. 78. 84.

(59) *Ibid.* p. 78—82.

(60) *Ibid.* p. 86.

(61) *Ib.* p. 99—101.

(62) Mr. Knott. See the preceding remark.

(*) Alluding to the title of the Jeſuit's book.

(63) Relation of a Conference between W. Laud, &c. and Mr. Fiſher, &c. Lond. 1639, p. 50—52.

removed by the arguments of his good friend Dr. Sheldon, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury (*l*): for, being promoted to the Chancellorſhip of Saliſbury, with the Prebend of Brixworth in Northamptonſhire annexed, the 20th of July, 1638, he complied with the uſual ſubſcription [*L*]. About the ſame time, he obtained the Maſterſhip of Wigſtan's Hoſpital, in Leiceſter (*m*). In 1640, Mr. Chillingworth was deputed, by the Chapter of Saliſbury, as their Proctor to the Convocation, which met with the Parliament, and was opened the 14th of April (*n*) [*M*]. He was likewiſe deputed to the Convocation, which met the ſame year with the new Parliament, and was opened the 4th of November (*o*). He was zealouſly attached to the Royal party; and, in Auguſt, 1643, was preſent, in the King's army, at the ſiege of Gloceſter, where he adviſed and directed the making certain engines for aſſaulting the town [*N*], after the manner of the Roman *Teſtudines cum pluteis* (*p*). Soon after, having accompanied the Lord Hopton, General of the King's forces in the weſt, to Arundel-Caſtle in Suſſex, and chuſing to repoſe himſelf in that garriſon, on account of an indiſpoſition occaſioned by the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, he was there taken priſoner, the 9th of December, 1643, by the Parliament forces under the command of Sir William Waller, who obliged the caſtle to ſurrender (*q*). But his illneſs increaſing, and not being able to go to London with the garriſon, he obtained leave to be conveyed to Chicheſter; where he was lodged in the Biſhop's palace, and, after a ſhort illneſs, died [*O*], ſome time in the month of January,

(*l*) See the remark [*K*].

(*m*) Wood, *ubi ſupra*.

(*n*) Nalſon's Impartial Collection of the great Affairs of State, &c. vol. i. p. 353, and vol. ii. p. 260.

(*o*) MS. H. Wharton. in Biblioth. Lambeth, vol. A. p. 264.

(*p*) Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, vol. ii. Part iii. an. 1643.

(*q*) Lord Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, B. viii. edit. Oxf. 8vo. 1720, p. 473.

Mr. Chillingworth could not be unacquainted; and of Dr. Sheldon (64), who laboured to convince him of it, and was, no doubt, the perſon that brought him at laſt into it. Dr. Bennet, indeed, in his *Eſſay on the* XXXIX *Articles* (65), undertakes to prove, from the foregoing paſſage of Mr. Chillingworth, that he was of opinion, that a ſubſcription of *belief* or *aſſent* to the articles is required of the Clergy. But, beſides the plain import of our author's words, it may be obſerved, that the Romiſh controverſiſts have always underſtood Mr. Chillingworth's ſenſe of ſubſcription to be as we have repreſented it, and have charged it upon him as a novelty he had introduced into the Church of England (66). Arbiſhop Sancroft, and ſeveral other Divines of the Church of England, have concurred in opinion with Mr. Chillingworth, that her articles are not articles of *belief* and *aſſent*, but of *peace* and *union*, and conſequently may be ſubſcribed as ſuch.

(64) See the copy of a Letter from Dr. Sheldon to Mr. Chillingworth, *apud* M. Des Maizeaux, *ubi ſupra*, p. 103.

(65) Ch. xxxiv. p. 429.

(66) See Mr. Lacy's Judgment of an Univerſity Man, &c. p. 156. Mr. Creſſy's Exomologeſis, &c. edit. 1647, p. 404; and Mr. Woodhead's humble Apology for the Nonconformiſts, &c. Pref.

[*L*] *He complied with the uſual ſubſcription.*] He did it in the following words, as appears from the ſubſcription-book of the Church of Saliſbury: *Ego Gulielmus Chillingworth, Clericus, in Artibus Magiſter, ad Cancellariatum Eccleſiæ Cathedralis beatæ Mariæ Sarum, una cum Præbenda de Brixworth alias Brickleſworth in comitatu Northampton, Petriburgenſis Diocæſeos in eadem Eccleſia fundata & eidem Cancellariatui annexa, admittendus & inſtituendus, omnibus hiſce articulis & ſingulis in iiſdem contentis volens & ex animo ſubſcribo, & conſenſum meum iiſdem præbeo*; 20 *die Julii* 1638. GULIELMUS CHILLINGWORTH. Hence it appears, that Mr. Chillingworth did actually ſubſcribe, and that in the legal form: both of which have been queſtioned by ſeveral perſons. Mr. Knott affirms (67), that Mr. Chillingworth never ſubſcribed the Articles; and the Biſhop of Bangor (afterwards (†) Biſhop of Wincheſter) concludes (68), upon the ſame falſe ſuppoſition, that Mr. Chillingworth's enjoying a preferment in the Church, *without ſubſcribing*, was an effect of the particular favour, which the churchmen of thoſe days had for him, as a convert from the Church of Rome.

(67) Infidelity Unmaſk'd, &c. c. i. § 24, p. 56.

(†) In 1748.

(68) A Letter to Dr. Snape, prefixed to Mr. Pilloniere's Reply to Dr. Snape's Vindication of a paſſage in his Second Letter, &c. Lond. 1718, p. 43, 44.

[*M*] *He was Proctor for the Chapter of Saliſbury to the Convocation which met——the 14th of April* 1640.] The proceedings of this Convocation (which ſat after the diſſolution of the Parliament, and made ſeveral Canons and Conſtitutions) being highly reſented in the next Parliament by the Houſe of Commons, who declared them to be againſt the right of Parliament, and the liberty of the ſubject (which votes were agreed to by the Houſe of Lords), a bill was brought in, and paſſed the Commons (but was thrown out by the Lords) for puniſhing and fining the Members of the Convocation; wherein Mr. Chillingworth, as Proctor for the Chapter of Saliſbury, was fined a thouſand pounds (69).

(69) Nalſon, *ubi ſupra*, p. 285, 286; and Ruſhworth's Hiſtorical Collections, vol. iv. ann. 1641, p. 236.

[*N*] *He adviſed and directed the making certain engines, for aſſaulting the town of* Gloceſter.] Mr. Ruſhworth's account of this matter is as follows (70):

(70) *Ibid.* vol. ii. ann. 1643.

'The King's forces, by the direction of Dr. Chilling-
'worth, had provided certain engines, after the man-
'ner of the Roman *Teſtudines cum pluteis*, wherewith
'they intended to aſſault the city between the ſouth
'and weſt gates: They ran upon cart-wheels, with a
'*blind* of planks muſket-proof, and holes for four
'muſqueteers to play out of, placed upon the axle-
'tree, to defend the muſqueteers, and thoſe that
'thruſt it forwards, and carrying a bridge before it:
'the wheels were to fall into the ditch, and the end
'of the bridge to reſt upon the town's breaſt-work, ſo
'making ſeveral compleat bridges to enter the city.'
But, before the effect of Mr. Chillingworth's machines could be proved, the ſiege was raiſed by the approach of the Earl of Eſſex's forces. That Mr. Chillingworth was preſent at the ſiege of Gloceſter, is farther confirmed by a letter of Biſhop Barlow's, in anſwer to one from a friend, who had quoted Mr. Corbet's (‖) *Relation of the ſiege of Gloceſter*, in which, that writer mentions Mr. Chillingworth very unworthily, calling him the *Jeſuitical Doctor Chillingworth*. The Biſhop's words are (71): 'For Mr. Chillingworth, none ever
'queſtioned his loyalty to his King. What Corbet
'(in his book you mention) writes of him, that he
'was in the ſiege of Gloceſter, in the King's army,
'aſſiſting it to take the city, is a great commendation
'of his loyalty and truth: for I know Mr. Chilling-
'worth was there in the ſiege (but whether as a Chap-
'lain, or Aſſiſtant only, I know not). For going
'thither to ſee Sir William Walter my good friend,
'who was a commander there, I did alſo ſee Mr.
'Chillingworth among the commanders there.'

(‖) Mr. Corbet was Chaplain to Col. Maſſey, Governor of Gloceſter.

(71) Genuine Remains of Dr. Thomas Barlow, &c. p. 346.

[*O*] *His death.*] We have a very particular account of Mr. Chillingworth's ſickneſs and death, written by his great adverſary Mr. Cheynel, who accidentally met him in Arundel-Caſtle, and frequently viſited him at Chicheſter till he died. It was at the requeſt of this gentleman, that our author was removed to Chicheſter. Here Mr. Cheynel attended him conſtantly, and behaved towards him with as much charity and compaſſion, as his rigid orthodoxy would permit. And no doubt, it was out of a deſire to ſhew his zeal in that reſpect, as well as his entire devotion to the Parliament, that he publiſhed his account of Mr. Chillingworth; which he intituled, *Chillingworthi Noviſſima: Or, The ſickneſſe, hereſy, death and buriall of William Chillingworth* (*in his own phraſe*) *Clerk of Oxford, and, in the conceit of his fellow-ſoldiers, the Queen's arch-engineer, and grand-intelligencer. Set forth in a letter to his eminent and learned friends: A relation of his apprehenſion at Arundel, a diſcovery of his errors in a briefe catechiſme, and a ſhort Oration at the buriall of his heretical book. By Francis Cheynell, late Fellow of Merton College. Publiſhed by Authority.* London, 1644, in *quarto*. He prefixed to it an epiſtle, or dedication, 'To the learned and eminent friends of Mr.
'Chillingworth, and in particular to Sir John Cul-
'pepper, Knight; Dr. John Prideaux, Biſhop of
'Worceſter; Fell, Dean of Chriſt-Church; Bayly,
'Dean

January [P], 1643-4, and was buried, according to his own desire, in the Cathedral Church of Chichester (r) [Q]. Besides our author's works already mentioned, there are extant *nine Sermons* [R], a Tract in defence of *Episcopacy* [S], and some other

(r) Chillingworthi Novissima, &c. See remark [Q].

'Dean of Sarum; Sheldon, Warden of All-Soules; 'Potter, Provost of Queene's; and Morley, Canon of 'Christ Church.' Then comes the *Relation* itself, with a new title, no less curious than the first: *A briefe and plaine Relation of Mr. Chillingworth's sicknesse, death, and buriall; together with a just censure of his work, by a discovery of his errors collected out of his book, and framed into a kind of atheisticall Catechisme, fit for Racovia or Cracovia; and may well serve for the instruction of the Irish, Welsh, Dutch, French, Spanish, Army in England, and especialy for the black Regiment at Oxford.* The whole piece is a most ludicrous, as well as melancholy, instance of fanaticism and religious madness. But, as we cannot reasonably suspect the truth of the most material passages it contains, we may learn from it, that Mr. Chillingworth was attended, during his sickness, and provided with all necessaries, by one Lieutenant Golledge, and his wife Christobel, at the command of the Governor of Chichester: that, at first, he refused the assistance of Sir William Waller's Physician, but afterwards was persuaded to admit his visits, though his distemper was too far gone to leave any hope of his recovery: that his indisposition was increased by the abusive treatment he met with from most of the officers, who were taken prisoners with him in Arundel Castle, and who looked upon him as a spy, set over them and their proceedings: and that, during his whole sickness, he was often teazed by Mr. Cheynell himself, and by an officer of the garrison of Chichester, with impertinent questions and disputes (72). If this be a true account, as most probably it is, the Earl of Clarendon was misinformed in relation to Mr. Chillingworth's death. For, after having observed, that he was taken prisoner in Arundel Castle, he adds (73): 'As soon as his 'person was known, which would have drawn reve- 'rence from any noble enemy, the Clergy that at- 'tended that army prosecuted him with all the 'inhumanity imaginable; so that, by their barbarous 'usage, he died within a few days; to the grief of all 'that knew him, and of many who knew him not, 'but by his book, and the reputation he had with 'learned men.' From whence it may be inferred, that the Noble Historian did not know, or had forgotten, that Mr. Chillingworth was sent to Chichester; but believed, that he died in Arundel Castle, within a few days after the taking of it by Sir William Waller. Mr. Wood, who had before him Mr. Cheynell's *Relation*, tells us (74), the Royal party in Chichester looked upon the impertinent discourses of Mr. Cheynell to our author as a shortning of his days.

(72) See large Extracts from this pamphlet in M. Des Maizeaux, *ubi supra*, p. 320—370.

(73) Hist. of the Rebellion, B. viii. edit. Oxford, 8vo. 1720, p. 473.

(74) *Ubi supra.*

[P] *He died some time in the month of January.*] It may be thought strange by those, who are unacquainted with the many defects in history, that no body as yet has settled the exact day of Mr. Chillingworth's death. Anthony Wood (75) says, *he gave way to fate on the 24th of January, or thereabouts,* but he quotes no authority for it. Dr. Walker, who has taken almost his whole account of our author from Wood, yet affirms (76), that *his death happened on the 20th of January:* but why he differs from the Oxford Antiquary, he does not tell us. Le Neve says (77), Mr. Chillingworth *died the 20th of January, or thereabouts.* But Mr. Des Maizeaux, from several circumstances in Mr. Cheynell's Narrative, has made it highly probable, that he died on Tuesday the 30th of January 1643 (78).

(75) *Ibid.*

(76) Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. Part ii. p. 63.

(77) Fasti Eccles. Anglic. p. 267.

(78) Des Maizeaux, *ubi supra*, p. 346.

[Q] *He was buried at Chichester.*] We learn from the author of the *Relation* above-mentioned (79), that the Presbyterian party were unwilling, at first, to allow Mr. Chillingworth Christian burial, but afterwards consented that he should be buried by those *of his own persuasion*; which was accordingly performed in the Cathedral Church, most of the Royal Party of that city attending his body to the grave. Here Mr. Cheynell gave a new and uncommon instance of his zeal and orthodoxy. For he met the *Malignants*, as he calls them, at the place of interment, with Mr. Chillingworth's book in his hand, which, after a ridiculous and fanatical speech, he flung into the grave, *to rot with* it's *author, and see corruption.* It may serve to amuse the reader, if we transcribe here Mr. Cheynell's whimsical lamentation over Mr. Chillingworth, in Scripture phrase. 'Howle ye firre 'trees, for a cedar is fallen: lament, ye sophisters, for 'the master of sentences (shall I say) or fallacies is 'vanished: wring your hands, and beat your breasts, 'yee Antichristian Engineers, for your arch-engineer 'is dead, and all his engines buried with him. Ye 'daughters of *Oxford*, weep over *Chillingworth*, for 'he had a considerable and hopeful project how to 'clothe you and himself *in scarlet and other delights.* 'I am distressed for thee, my brother Chillingworth '(may his executrix (*) say) *very pleasant hast thou* (*) His sister. 'been unto me, thy love to me was wonderful, passing 'the love of* father, husband, brother. *O how are the 'mighty fallen, and the weapons,* nay engines, *of 'warre perished!* O tell it not in *Gath*, that he who 'raised a battery against the Pope's chaire, that he 'might *place reason in the chaire instead of Antichrist,* 'is dead and gone: *publish it not in the streets of 'Askelon*, that he who did at once batter *Rome*, and 'undermine *England*, the reforming Church of 'England, that he might prevent a Reformation, is 'dead; lest if you publish it, you puzzle all the 'Conclave, and put them to consider, whether they 'should mourn or triumph.'

(79) Chillingworthi Novissima, &c.

[R] *His* Sermons.] They were printed together in the year 1664, with this title: *Nine Sermons: the first preached before his Majesty King Charles the First: the other eight upon special and eminent occasions.* The first of these discourses, preached before the King, at Oxford, on a publick fast day, was published at Oxford, by his Majesty's command, after the author's death in 1644; and was the first sermon of our author's printed before the Restoration. The publisher of these *Sermons* justly observes, that they were *fitted* by the author *to the congregations to which he was to speak*, and *intended only for the benefit of hearers, not of readers.* But yet a judicious reader will soon perceive, that they come from a masterly hand. He will find in them a noble simplicity, attended with sublime and exalted thoughts, with an unfeigned zeal for the glory of God, and the good of men's souls.

[S] *His Tract in defence of Episcopacy.*] The design of this piece was to shew, that *Episcopacy is not repugnant to the government settled in the Church for perpetuity by the Apostles.* The occasion was this: Dr. Morton, Bishop of Durham, having composed a treatise, intitled, *The Judgment of Protestant Divines, of remote Churches, as well such as were the first reformers of religion, as others after them, in behalfe of episcopal degree in the Church*; his manuscript was sent to Archbishop Usher, who was then at Oxford; and he published it *without* the author's *name to it, and knowledge of it* (80), under the title of *Confessions and Proofes of Protestant Divines of reformed Churches; that Episcopacy is in respect of the office according to the word of God, and in respect of the use the best.* The learned Primate added to it a *brief treatise* of his own, with his name prefixed to it, *touching the original of Bishops and Metropolitans.* And, in order to complete that collection, Mr. Chillingworth furnished him with the aforesaid tract; which being subjoined to the other two, as a conclusion, was intitled, *The Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy, deduced out of the premises by W. C.* This little piece was printed by itself in 1644, in 4to, with this title: *The Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy*; but without the author's name. It was again printed in 1660, with a *Speech* of my Lord Falkland *concerning Episcopacy:* and here our author's tract is intitled, *The Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy, demonstrated by Mr. William Chillingworth.* This performance of our author's was attacked in 1707, by Mr. Alexander Lauder, a Scotch Divine, in a book intitled, *The antient Bishops considered, both with respect to the extent of their jurisdiction, and nature of their power: In answer to Mr. Chillingworth and others.*

(80) Life of Thomas Lord Bishop of Duresme, by Dr. John Barwick, p. 173.

pieces,

pieces, in the cauſe of religion and loyalty, never yet printed [*T*]. The opinions of ſome eminent writers concerning this great man, will deſerve our notice in the remark [*U*].

[*T*] *His other pieces——never yet printed.*] They are in the library of Lambeth, among the manuſcripts of Mr. Henry Wharton, purchaſed by Archbiſhop Teniſon. Mr. Wharton, in the catalogue of thoſe manuſcripts, drawn up by himſelf, obſerves, that the volume marked M is *Volumen Chartaceum in fol.* containing, *A Collection of papers, formerly belonging to Archbiſhop Laud, many of them written with his own hand, but moſt of them endorſed with his hand, together with ſome papers of the Archbiſhops Sheldon and Sancroft, and many of Mr. Chillingworth:* and after having ſet down part of the contents of that volume, he adds: *Several Papers of Mr. William Chillingworth*, viz. 1. *Mr. Peake's five queſtions propoſed to Mr. Chillingworth, about the nature of faith, and the reſolution and conſequences of the faith of Proteſtants.* 2. *Mr. Chillingworth's anſwer to Mr. Peake's queſtions:* firſt draught imperfect. 3. *Mr. Chillingworth's anſwer to the ſame:* being complete and perfect. 4. The beginning of *A Treatiſe againſt the Scots: by Mr. Chillingworth.* 5. *Paſſages extracted out of the Declarations of the Scots; by Mr. Chillingworth.* 6. *Obſervations upon the Scottiſh Declaration; by Mr. Chillingworth.* 7. *A Treatiſe of the unlawfulneſſe of reſiſting the lawfull Prince, although moſt impious, tyrannical, and idolatrous; by Mr. Chillingworth.* 8. *A Letter of Mr. Chillingworth excuſing his writing againſt the rebels* (81). 9. *Notes of Mr. Chillingworth concerning God's univerſal mercy in calling men to repentance.* 10. *A problematical Tentamen of Mr. Chillingworth againſt puniſhing crimes with death in Chriſtian ſocieties:* cancelled. 11. *A Letter of Mr. J. to Mr. Chillingworth, of the imperfection of Natural Religion and Reaſon, without the aſſiſtance of Revelation:* wrote in 1637. 12. *A ſhort Diſcourſe of the Nature of Faith; by Mr. Chillingworth.* 13. *A larger Diſcourſe of the Nature of Faith; by Mr. Chillingworth.* 14. *Of the Abſurdity of departing from the Church of England, for want of a ſucceſſion of viſible profeſſors in all ages; by Mr. Chillingworth.* 15. *A briefe Anſwer to ſeveral texts of Scripture, alledged to prove the Church to be one, viſible, univerſal, perpetual, and infallible; by Mr. Chillingworth.* 16. *A Letter of Dr. Sheldon to Mr. Chillingworth, to ſatisfy his ſcruples about ſubſcribing* (82). 17. *Letter of Mr. Chillingworth to Dr. Sheldon, containing ſome ſcruples about leaving the Church of Rome, and returning to the Church of England.* 18. *Letter of Mr. Chillingworth to Dr. Sheldon, containing his ſcruples about Subſcription, and the reaſon of them* (83).

(81) It is printed in M. Des Maizeaux, *ubi ſupra*, p. 300.

(82) See the remark [*K*].

(83) Vide *ibid.*

[*U*] *The opinions of ſome eminent writers concerning* Mr. Chillingworth.] We begin with Archbiſhop Tillotſon, who, in his Sermon on *The Efficacy*, &c. *of Divine Faith* (84), ſays: 'I know not how it comes 'to paſs, whether through the artifice of the Popiſh 'party——or through the ignorance of too many 'well-meaning Proteſtants; I ſay, I know not how 'it comes to paſs, but ſo it is, that every one that of'fers to give a reaſonable account of his faith, and 'to eſtabliſh religion upon rational principles, is pre'ſently branded for a *Socinian*; of which we have 'a ſad inſtance in that incomparable perſon Mr. '*Chillingworth*, the glory of this Age and Nation; 'who, for no other cauſe, that I know of, but his 'worthy and ſucceſsful attempts to make the Chriſ'tian Religion reaſonable, and to diſcover thoſe firm 'and ſolid foundations, upon which our Faith is built, 'hath been requited with this black and odious cha'racter. But if this be *Socinianiſm*, for a man to 'enquire into the grounds and reaſons of the Chriſtian 'Religion, and to endeavour to give a ſatisfactory 'account why he believes it, I know no way but that 'all conſiderate inquiſitive men, that are above fancy 'and enthuſiaſm, muſt be either Socinians or Athe'iſts.' Mr. Locke had a high value for Mr. Chillingworth, and recommends the reading of his works, in ſeveral of his pieces. Particularly in his tract, containing *Some Thoughts concerning Reading and Study for a Gentleman*, after having obſerved, that the art of ſpeaking well conſiſts chiefly in two things, perſpicuity and right reaſoning, and propoſed Dr. Tillotſon as a pattern of the former, he adds (85): 'Be'ſides perſpicuity, there muſt be alſo right reaſon'ing; without which perſpicuity ſerves but to ex'poſe the ſpeaker. And for attaining of this, I 'ſhould propoſe the conſtant reading of *Chilling'worth*, who, by his example, will teach both per'ſpicuity, and the way of right reaſoning, better 'than any book that I know; and therefore will de'ſerve to be read upon that account over and over 'again; not to ſay any thing of his argument.' Biſhop Barlow, in a letter to one of his friends, who had written to him for his judgment, *wherein Mr. Chillingworth's peculiar excellency above other writers conſiſted*, returns the following anſwer (86): 'You deſire 'to know wherein Mr. Chillingworth's excellency, 'above other writers, did conſiſt? So that you ſeem 'to take it for granted, that he has an excellency (if 'not above all, yet) above many, or moſt writers; 'and I think ſo too. But then the caſe muſt be cau'tiouſly ſtated; for his excellency we ſpeak of, can'not conſiſt in any extraordinary knowledge he had 'of *Antiquity* (ſacred or civil) of *Councils* and *Fa'thers*, or learned men's animadverſions upon them; 'nor in any great ſkill he had in ſeveral *Tongues* and '*Languages*, &c. But his excellency, wherein he 'excelled many (if not moſt) writers, did ariſe from, 'and conſiſt in his *Logick*, both *natural*, and (by ex'ceeding great induſtry) *acquired*.—But that *Logick*, 'in which Mr. Chillingworth's excellency did prin'cipally conſiſt, was his *acquired Logick*: he induſ'triouſly ſtudied it, finding the exceeding uſe of it, 'eſpecially in controverſies of religion. *Logick* (and 'that only) makes a man to write ſo, that his argu'ments ſhall be, 1. *Conſequent*. 2. *Evident*. For 'that (and that only) enables a writer really to know, 'whether the premiſes do indeed infer the conclu'ſion; or otherwiſe are falſe, or fallacious, and ſo'phiſtical, and not truly logical and concluding ar'guments. And for this Mr. Chillingworth (after 'an induſtrious and diligent reading *Ariſtotle*'s and '*Crakenthorp*'s *Logick*, who were beſt able to inſtruct 'him) was of greater ability to judge truly, than moſt '(if not all) the writers I have yet met with. Be'ſides, Mr. Chillingworth, in all his diſputes againſt '*Popery*, draws his arguments, not from the *Fathers* 'or *Councils* (though in ſeveral things they may be 'of good uſe, though they be not infallible) but 'from the *ſacred Scriptures*; which being of divine 'authority and infallible, are a ſure and juſt ground 'of that confidence we are ſpeaking of.' We ſhall only add the following obſervation of Biſhop Hare, in relation to the reading of our author. 'Mr. 'Chillingworth, *ſays he* (87), is certainly a good rea'ſoner, and may be read with much advantage: but 'I fear the reading of him by young Divines hath 'had one great inconvenience: They ſee little ſhew 'of *reading* in him, and from thence are induced to 'think, there is no neceſſity of learning, to make a 'good Divine; nay, that if he had been more a 'ſcholar, he had been a worſe reaſoner; and there'fore not to ſtudy the antient writers of the Church, 'is one ſtep to the being *Chillingworths* themſelves: 'I fear, I ſay, the reading Mr. *Chillingworth* in their 'firſt years has had this influence, to make them 'think, that good parts and good ſenſe would do 'without learning, and that learning is rather a 'prejudice than an improvement of them. But 'tis 'a great miſtake to judge of a man's learning by the 'ſhew that is made of it. Mr. *Chillingworth* had 'ſtudied hard, and digeſted well what he read; and 'ſo muſt they who hope to write as well, and be as 'much eſteemed.' B.

(84) Vol. xii. Serm. vi. publiſhed by Dr. Barker, p. 167.

(85) A Collection of ſeveral pieces of Mr. John Lock, &c. p. 262.

(86) Genuine Remains of Dr. Thomas Barlow, &c. p. 347.

(87) Scripture Vindicated, &c. Pref. p. 32.

*** [There are few things which have been deemed more curious in Chillingworth's life than his letter to Dr. Sheldon, concerning ſubſcribing to the articles of the church of England, and of which ſome account is given in note [*K*]. This letter hath not unfrequently been referred to in the controverſies relative

lative to ſubſcription, and has been thought worthy of being inſerted at large, in the great General Dictionary. As it is not only our own opinion, but that of ſeveral literary friends, that it ſhould have been given entire by our predeceſſor, we ſhall here ſupply the defect.

" Good Dr. Sheldon,

" I do here ſend you news, as unto my beſt friend, of a great and happy victory, which at length with extream difficultie I have ſcarcely obtained over the onely enemie that can hurt me, that is, my ſelfe.

" Sir, ſo it is, that though I am in debt to your ſelfe and others of my friends above twenty pounds more than I know how to pay; though I am in want of many conveniencies; though in great danger of falling into a chronicall infirmitie of my body; though in another thing, which you perhaps gueſſe at what it is, but I will not tell you, which would make me more joyfull of preferment then all theſe (if I could come honeſtly by it;) though money comes to me from my father's purſe like blood from his veins, or from his heart; though I am very ſenſible that I have been too long already an unprofitable burden to my Lord, and muſt not ſtill continue ſo; though my refuſing preferment, may perhaps (which fear, I aſſure you, does much afflict me) be injurious to my friends and intimate acquaintance, and prejudicial to them in the way of theirs; though conſcience of my own good intention and deſire, ſuggeſts unto me many flattering hopes of great poſſibilitie of doing God and his Church ſervice, if I had that preferment which I may fairly hope for; though I may juſtly fear, that by refuſing thoſe preferments which I ſought for, I ſhall gain the reputation of weakneſſe and levity, and incur their diſpleaſure, whoſe good opinion of me, next to God's favour, and my own good opinion of my ſelfe, I do eſteem and deſire above all things; though all theſe and many other *terribiles viſu formæ* have repreſented themſelves to my imagination in the moſt hideous manner that may be; yet I am at length firmly and unmoveably reſolved, if I can have no preferment without *Subſcription*, that I neither can, nor will have any.

" For this reſolution I have but one reaſon againſt a thouſand temptations to the contrary, but it is ἓν μέγα, againſt which if all the little reaſons in the world were put in the ballance, they would be lighter than vanity. In brief, this it is: as long as I keep that modeſt and humble aſſurance of God's love and favour which I now enjoy, and wherein I hope I ſhall be daily more and more confirmed; ſo long, in deſpite of all the world, I may and ſhall and will be happy. But if I once loſe this; though all the world ſhould conſpire to make me happy, I ſhall and muſt be extremely miſerable. Now this ineſtimable jewel, if I ſubſcribe (without ſuch a Declaration as will make the Subſcription no Subſcription,) I ſhall wittingly and willingly and deliberately throw away. For though I am very well perſwaded of you and my other friends, who do ſo with a full perſwaſion that you may do it lawfully; yet the caſe ſtands ſo with me, and I can ſee no remedy but for ever it will do ſo, that if I ſubſcribe, I ſubſcribe my own Damnation. For though I do verily believe the Church of England a true member of the Church; that ſhe wants nothing neceſſary to ſalvation, and holds nothing repugnant to it; and had thought that to think ſo, had ſufficiently qualified me for a Subſcription: yet now I plainly ſee, if I will not juggle with my Conſcience, and play with God Almighty, I muſt forbear.

" For, to ſay nothing of other things, which I have ſo well conſidered as not to be in ſtate to ſign them, and yet not ſo well as to declare my ſelf againſt them; two points there are, wherein I am fully reſolved, and therefore care not who knows my mind. One is, that to ſay the fourth Commandment is a Law of God appertaining to Chriſtians, is falſe and unlawfull: the other, that the damning ſentences in St. Athanaſius's Creed (as we are made to ſubſcribe it) are moſt falſe, and alſo in a high degree preſumptuous and ſchiſmaticall. And therefore I can neither ſubſcribe that theſe things are *agreeable to the word of* God, ſeeing I believe they are certainly repugnant to it: nor that the whole *Common-Prayer* is *lawful to be uſed*, ſeeing I believe theſe parts of it certainly unlawfull; nor promiſe that *I my ſelf will uſe it*, ſeeing I never intend either to read theſe things which I have now excepted againſt, or to ſay Amen to them.

" I ſhall not need to intreat you, not to be offended with mee for this my moſt honeſt, and (as I verily believe) moſt wiſe Reſolution: hoping rather, you will do your endeavour, that I may neither be honeſt at ſo dear a rate, as the loſſe of preferment, nor buy preferment at ſo much dearer a rate, the loſſe of honeſty."

" I think my ſelfe happy that it pleaſed God, when I was reſolved to venture upon a ſubſcription without full aſſurance of the lawfulneſſe of it, to caſt in my way two unexpected impediments to divert me from accompliſhing my reſolution. For I profeſs unto you, ſince I entertained it, I have never enjoyed quiet day nor night, till now that I have rid my ſelf of it again; and I plainly perceive, that if I had ſwallowed this pill howſoever guilded over with gloſſes and reſervations, and wrapt up in conſerves of good intentions and purpoſes, yet it would never have agreed nor ſtay'd with me, but I would have caſt it up again, and with it whatſoever preferment I ſhould have gained with it as the wages of unrighteouſneſs; which would have been a great injury to you, and to my Lord Keeper: whereas now, *res eſt integra*; and he will not looſe the gift of any preferment by beſtowing it on mee, nor have any engagement to Mr. Andrewes for me.

" But however this would have ſucceeded in caſe I had then ſubſcribed, I thank God, I am now ſo reſolved, that I will never do, that while I am living and in health, which I would not do if I were dying; and this I am ſure I would not do. I would never do any thing for preferment, which I would not do but for preferment: and this, I am ſure, I ſhould not do. I will never undervalue the happineſs which Gods love brings to mee with it, as to put it to the leaſt adventure in the world, for the gaining of any worldly happineſſe. I remember very well, *quærite primum regnum Dei, & cætera omnia adjicientur tibi:* and therefore whenever I make ſuch a prepoſterous choice, I will give you leave to think I am out of my wits, or do not beleeve in God, or at leaſt am ſo unreaſonable as to do a thing in hope I ſhall be ſorry for it afterwards, and wiſh it undone.

" It cannot be avoided, but my Lord of Canterbury muſt come to know this my reſolution, and, I think, the ſooner the better. Let me entreat you to acquaint him with it, (if you think it expedient,) and let me hear from you as ſoon as poſſibly you can. But when you write, I pray remember, that my foregoing preferment (in this ſtate wherein I am) is grief enough to me; and do not you add to it, by being angry with mee for doing that, which I muſt do or be miſerable. I am your moſt loving and true Servant, *&c* (88)."

(88) Des Maizeaux's Hiſt. and Crit. Account of the Life and Writings of W. Chillingworth, p. 86—98.

It is ſomewhat remarkable, that Mr. Chillingworth, after having expreſſed himſelf in a manner ſo uncommonly ſtrong upon the ſubject, ſhould, in no long ſpace of time, ſubſcribe to the Articles of the Church. His ſubſcription to them as articles of peace and union, hath been animadverted upon by a worthy and ſenſible writer, the Rev. Dr. Robertſon, of Wolverhampton (89). However, whether Chillingworth's opinion upon this head was right or wrong, there can be no doubt, from the whole tenor of his life, but that he acted with perfect integrity.

(89) See the paſſage in the British Biography, vol. v. p. 149, 150.

There is, likewiſe, another letter of his, written to one of his friends, who had deſired to know what judgment might be made of Arianiſm from the ſenſe of antiquity, which is very celebrated, and which, therefore, ought not to have paſſed unnoticed by our learned predeceſſor. It ſtrongly marks the liberal and inquiſitive turn of mind of which Mr. Chillingworth was poſſeſſed; and certainly as well deſerves a place here as it did in the great General Dictionary.

" Deare Harry,

" I am very ſorry it was my ill fortune not to ſee thee the day that I went out of Oxford: otherwiſe I ſhould haue thanked thee very heartily for the fauour thou didſt the night before, eſpecially for Mr. Couentryes company and diſcourſe, whoſe excellent witt

witt I doe very much admire, and had I ſo much intereſt in h'm as you haue, I ſhould deſire him often (though I hope I need not) to remember what our Sauiour ſayes,——*To whom much is giuen, of them much ſhall be required.*

" Mr. Taylor did much confirme my opinion of his ſufficience; but let mee tell you in your eare—— meethinkes he wants much of the Ethicall part of a diſcourſer, and ſlights too much many times the arguments of thoſe he diſcourſes with: but this is a fault he would quickly leaue, if he had a friend that would diſcreetly tell him of it. If you or Mr. Couentry would tell him, that you heard one that knowes him, magnifye him exceedingly for other thinges, but cenſure him for this, you might doe him a very friendly office: and my writing to you thus much, giues you grownd enough to ſay ſo truely: but you muſt not giue the leaſt ſuſpicion that I am the man, and therefore not doe it yet a good while.

" When Dr. Sheldon comes to Oxford, I will be there againe, and then will be very ready to doe any ſeruice in the buſineſſe you imparted to mee.

" I was miſtaken in my directing you to Euſebius for the matter you wott of. You ſhall find it in a witneſſe much farther from exception herein, then Euſebius: euen Athanaſius himſelfe, the greateſt aduerſary of that doctrine; and Hilary who was his ſecond. See the firſt, in *Ep. de Synodis Arim. & Seleuc.* p. 917. *D. Tom.* 1. *edit. Pariſ.* 1627. See the ſecond, *de Synodis*, fol. 97. In the firſt, you ſhall find that the eighty Fathers which condemned Samoſatenus, affirmed expreſſely,——That *the Sonne is not of the ſame eſſence of the Father:* which is to contradict formally the Councell of Nice, which decreed *the Sonne Coeſſentiall to the Father.* In the ſecond, you ſhall find theſe wordes to the ſame purpoſe,——*Octoginta Epiſcopi olim reſpuerunt τὸ Homouſion.* See alſo, if you pleaſe, Juſtin. *cent. Tryph.* p. 283. 356, 357. Tertull. againſt Praxeas, c. 9. Novatian *de Trin. in fine*, who is joyned with Tertullian. Athanaſ. *Ep. de Fide Dion. Alex.* T. 1. p. 551. Baſil. T. 2. p. 802, 803. *edit. Pariſ.* 1618. See St. Hierom, *Apol.* 2. *cont. Ruffinum*, T. 2. p. 329. *Par.* 1579. See Petavius upon Epiph. his *Panar. ad Hær.* 69. *quæ eſt Arij.* p. 285. and conſider how well he cleares Lucian the Martyr from Arianiſme, and what he there confeſſes of all the Ancient Fathers.

" If you could underſtand French, I would referre to Perron, p. 633. of his Reply to K. James; where you ſhould find theſe wordes: *If a man ſhould demand of an Arrian, if he would ſubmitt to the judgment of the Church of the ages præcedent to that of Conſtantine and Marcian, he would make no difficulty of it, but would preſſe himſelfe that the Controverſye might be decided by that little which remaines to us of the Authors of that time. For an Arrian would find in Irenæus, Tertullian, and others, which remaine of thoſe ages,——That the Sonne is the inſtrument of the Father; That the Father commanded the Sonne in the works of creation; That the Father and the Sonne are*——aliud & aliud: *which thinges he that ſhould now hold, now when the Language of the Church is more examined, would be eſteemed a very Arrian.*

" If you reade Bellarmine touching this matter, you ſhould find that he is troubled exceedingly to find any tolerable gloſſes for the ſpeeches of the Fathers before the Councell of Nice which are againſt him; and yet he conceals the ſtrongeſt of them: and to counterpoyſe them, cites Authors that haue indeed ancient Names, but ſuch whom he himſelfe has ſtigmatized for ſpurious or doubtfull in his booke *de Script. Eccleſ.*

" Were I at leyſure, and had a little longer time, I could referre you to ſome that acknowledge Origens judgment to be alſo againſt them in this matter. And Fiſhar in his Anſweare to Dr. Whites Nine Quæſtions, has a place almoſt parallel to that aboue cited out of Perron.

" In a word, whoſoeuer ſhall freely and impartially conſider of this thing, and how on the other ſide the Ancient Fathers weapons againſt the Arrians, are in a manner onely places of Scripture, (and thoſe now for the moſt part diſcarded as impertinent and unconcluding,) and how in the argument drawne from the authority of the Ancient Fathers, they are almoſt alwayes defendants, and ſcarſe euer opponents; he ſhall not chooſe but confeſſe, or at leaſt be very inclinable to beleeue, that the Doctrine of Arrius is eyther a Truth, or at leaſt no damnable Hæreſy.

" But the Carryer ſtayes for my Le.ter, and I haue now no more time than to adde that I am, Thy very true and louing Friend, &c. (90).

The two letters inſerted above were ſubjoined to the eighth edition of Mr. Chillingworth's works, but were omitted in the ninth edition, publiſhed in 1727. This omiſſion excited ſome ſevere, but juſt, ſtrictures, from a very learned Divine of the Church of England (91). The letters have again found their proper place, in Dr. Birch's edition of 1742.

An account of Dr. Cheynel's behaviour at Mr. Chillingworth's funeral, was publiſhed, ſome years ſince, in a periodical work, entitled the Student; but we do not recollect that it contains any new information. Cheynel's conduct was replete with bigotry. He was one of thoſe violent Preſbyterians and Calviniſts of the laſt age, who knew but little of the true principles of toleration and candour. Yet it is univerſally acknowledged, that he treated Mr. Chillingworth with the greateſt perſonal compaſſion. The feelings of his heart roſe above the narrowneſs of his mind. Dr. Calamy relates, upon the evidence of an old Miniſter, who had been well acquainted with Cheynel, that he was diſordered in his brain ſome years before his death (*). " When ever " that is the caſe, ſays the Nonconformiſt Hiſtorian, " it is not at all to be wondered at, if a man's ac- " tions are unaccountable (92)." Could it be proved that Dr. Cheynel's inſanity had, in any reſpect, taken place at the time of Mr. Chillingworth's deceaſe, the remark would be juſt.

From the catalogue of Mr. Chillingworth's pieces in manuſcript, and from a paſſage in one of his ſermons, it appears, that he conſidered it as criminal to reſiſt a lawful Prince, though he might be in the higheſt degree impious and tyrannical. Strange as this opinion may now be thought, and juſtly as it is exploded, it was maintained in the laſt century by ſeveral wiſe and good men, who were otherwiſe of a rational and liberal turn of ſentiment.

It were to be wiſhed, that Mr. Chillingworth's " Problematical Tentamen againſt puniſhing Crimes with Death in Chriſtian Societies" had been preſerved and printed. The reflections of ſo thinking a man on ſuch a ſubject, and which hath not to this day been treated of with ſufficient extent, accuracy and preciſion, would probably have been found well worthy of attention.

In the Sidney Papers, there is a letter which imports, that Mr. Chillingworth defended Socinianiſm, and was therein utterly and immediately confuted by Lord Falkland (93). It is highly probable, that the writer of the letter did not underſtand the difference between Arianiſm and Socinianiſm; for with regard to the latter charge, he hath deciſively cleared himſelf of it, in the preface to his " Religion of Proteſtants the true Way to Salvation."

Many additional teſtimonies might be produced, were it neceſſary, to the excellency of this great work. We remember well, that Biſhop Warburton calls it an immortal book; and immortal indeed it will be, unleſs good ſenſe and ſound reaſoning ſhould be totally baniſhed from the world. It ought to be read by every man who wiſhes thoroughly to comprehend the true grounds of the Proteſtant reformation, and to ſee Popery fundamentally and effectually confuted. That ſection in which Mr. Chillingworth cries out, " The BIBLE, I ſay, the BIBLE only is the religion of Proteſtants," hath been quoted and referred to times without number. It is to the diſcredit of Dr. Hare, that he hath thrown ſome degree of contempt on this paſſage, and united with thoſe enemies of Chillingworth who have repreſented him as much abler in pulling down than in building up (94). On the contrary, upon the ruins of Popery he hath erected an edifice of Proteſtantiſm which will laſt for ever.

Mr. Chillingworth is the laſt of that groupe of intimate friends, whoſe characters have been ſo finely drawn by Lord Clarendon. With the noble Hiſtorian's repreſentation of him, we ſhall conclude this note, omitting two paſſages in which there are miſtakes in point of fact.

(90) Life of Chillingworth, *ubi ſupra*, p. 49—55. The letter is without date, and the cover being loſt, it is not known to whom it was written. The original is in the library of the Royal Society.

(91) Great General Dictionary, vol. iv. p. 321.

(*) Calamy's Abridgment, vol. ii. p. 676.

(92) Calamy's Continuation, vol. ii. p. 817.

(93) Memorials, Letters, and State Papers of the Sidney Family, vol. ii. p. 665.

(94) Des Maizeaux's Life of Chillingworth, p. 198, 199.

" Mr. Chillingworth was of a ſtature little ſuperior to Mr. Hales, (and it was an age in which there were many great and wonderful men of that ſize) and a man of ſo great a ſubtilty of underſtanding, and ſo rare a temper in debate; that as it was impoſſible to provoke him into any paſſion, ſo it was very difficult to keep a man's ſelf from being a little diſcompoſed by his ſharpneſs, and quickneſs of argument, and inſtances, in which he had a rare facility, and a great advantage over all the men I ever knew. He had ſpent all his younger time in diſputation; and had arrived to ſo great a maſtery, as he was inferiour to no man in thoſe ſkirmiſhes; but he had, with his notable perfection in this exerciſe, contracted ſuch an irreſolution, and habit of doubting, that by degrees he grew confident of nothing, and a ſceptick at leaſt, in the greateſt myſteries of faith.

" This made him from firſt wavering in Religion, and indulging to ſcruples, to reconcile himſelf too ſoon, and too eaſily to the Church of *Rome*; and carrying ſtill his own inquiſitiveneſs about him, without any reſignation to their authority (which is the only temper can make that Church ſure of its Proſelytes) having made a journey to *St. Omers**, purely to perfect his converſion, by the converſation of thoſe who had the greateſt name, he found as little ſatisfaction there, and returned with as much haſte from them; with a belief that an entire exemption from error was neither inherent in, nor neceſſary to any Church: which occaſioned that war, which was carried on by the Jeſuits with ſo great aſperity, and reproaches againſt him, and in which he defended himſelf, by ſuch an admirable eloquence of language, and clear and incomparable power of reaſon, that he not only made them appear unequal adverſaries, but carried the war into their own quarters; and made the Pope's infallibility to be as much ſhaken, and declined by their own doctors (and as great an acrimony amongſt themſelves upon that ſubject) and to be at leaſt as much doubted, as in the ſchools of the reformed or Proteſtant; and forced them ſince, to defend and maintain thoſe unhappy controverſies in religion, with arms and weapons of another nature, than were uſed, or known in the Church of *Rome*, when *Bellarmine* died; and which probably will in time undermine the very foundation that ſupports it.

" Such a levity, and propenſity to change is commonly attended with great infirmities in, and no leſs reproach and prejudice to the perſon; but the ſincerity of his heart was ſo conſpicuous and without the leaſt temptation of any corrupt end, and the innocence and candour in his nature ſo evident and without any perverſeneſs; that all who knew him, clearly diſcerned, that all thoſe reſtleſs motions and fluctuations proceeded only from the warmth and jealouſy of his own thoughts, in a too nice inquiſition for truth. Neither the books of the adverſary, nor any of their perſons, though he was acquainted with the beſt of both, had ever made great impreſſion upon him; all his doubts grew out of himſelf, when he aſſiſted his ſcruples with all the ſtrength of his own reaſon, and was then too hard for himſelf; but finding as little quiet and repoſe in thoſe victories, he quickly recovered, by a new appeal to his own judgment; ſo that he was in truth, upon the matter, in all his ſallies, and retreats, his own convert; though he was not ſo totally diveſted of all thoughts of this world, but that when he was ready for it, he admitted ſome great and conſiderable churchmen, to be ſharers with him in his public converſion.

" He did readily believe all war to be unlawful; and did not think that the parliament (whoſe proceedings he perfectly abhorred) did in truth intend to involve the Nation in a Civil War, till after the battle of *Edgehill*; and then he thought any expedient, or ſtratagem that was like to put a ſpeedy end to it, to be the moſt commendable.

" He was a man of excellent parts, and of a cheerful diſpoſition; void of all kind of vice, and endued with many notable virtues; of a very publick heart, and an indefatigable deſire to do good; his only unhappineſs proceeded from his ſleeping too little, and thinking too much; which ſometimes threw him into violent fevers (95)."] K.

(95) Clarendon's Life, vol. i. p. 55—59.

* It ſhould have been *Douay*.

*** [CHISHULL (EDMUND), a learned Divine and Antiquary, was born at Eyworth, in Bedfordſhire, and was the ſon of Paul Chiſhull, who is ſaid, by Anthony Wood, to have been formerly Bible Clerk of Queen's College, Cambridge, where he took his Bachelor's degree; and who afterwards, on the 18th of June, 1634, was admitted Maſter of Arts, as a Member of Pembroke College, Oxford (*a*). Where Edmund Chiſhull received his grammatical education we are not informed; but being intended for the church, he was removed, at a proper age, to Oxford, and became a ſcholar of Corpus Chriſti College in that Univerſity. Here he received the degree of Maſter of Arts, on the 27th of February, 1693 (*b*); and he was choſen, likewiſe, a Fellow of his College. Previouſly to his commencing Maſter of Arts, he had made his firſt appearance in the world as an author, by publiſhing, in 1692, a Latin poem, in quarto, on occaſion of the famous battle of La Hogue. It was entitled, " *Gulielmo* " Tertio Terræ Marique Principi invictiſſimo in *Gallos* Pugna navali nuperrime devictos, Carmen heroicum." Oxon (*c*). When Queen Mary died, on the 28th of December, 1694, Mr. Chiſhull was one of the Oxford gentlemen who exerted their poetical talents in deploring that melancholy event. His tribute of loyalty and regard to her Majeſty's memory, the title of which is, " In Obitum Auguſtiſſimæ & Deſideratiſſimæ Reginæ MARIÆ, Paſtorale Carmen," hath been thought worthy of being preſerved in the third volume of the Muſæ Anglicanæ (*d*). As to the production itſelf, it is evidently more the reſult of claſſical taſte and imitation, than of a native genius for poetry; nor doth it derive any peculiar advantage from being written in the form of a paſtoral. In 1698, Mr. Chiſhull, having obtained a grant of the Traveller's place, from the Society of Corpus Chriſti College, ſailed from England on the 12th of September, and arrived on the 19th of November following at Smyrna. Before he ſet out on his voyage, he preached a ſermon to the Levant Company, which was publiſhed (*e*), and the text of which was taken from Pſalm cvii. 23, 24. " They that go down " to the ſea in ſhips, that do buſineſs in great waters; theſe ſee the works of the LORD, " and his wonders in the deep." This diſcourſe was probably delivered by Mr. Chiſhull, with a view of recommending himſelf to the Company; and it appears to have had its effect, for he was appointed Chaplain to the Engliſh factory at Smyrna, in which ſtation he continued till the 12th of February, 1701-2 (*f*). On the 16th of June, 1705, he was admitted to the degree of Bachelor in Divinity (*g*). In the next year he engaged in a controverſy, which, at that time, excited conſiderable attention, by

(*a*) Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. col. 1034, 1035.

(*b*) *Ibid.* Catalogue of Oxford Graduates, p. 69. Edition of 1772.

(*c*) Athenæ Oxon. *ubi ſupra.*

(*d*) Muſarum Anglicanarum Analecta, vol. iii. p. 234—237.

(*e*) In quarto.

(*f*) Nichols's Anecdotes of Bowyer, p. 35, 36.

(*g*) Catal. of Oxford Graduates, *ubi ſupra.*

by publiſhing "A Charge of Hereſy maintained againſt Mr. Dodwell's late Epiſtolary "Diſcourſe concerning the Mortality of the Soul, by Way of Addreſs to the Clergy "of the Church of England; laying open his Oppoſition to the received Creeds, and "his Falſification of all ſacred and profane Antiquity." London, 8vo (*b*). This is reckoned one of the principal books that were written in anſwer to Mr. Dodwell's famous epiſtolary diſcourſe. In 1707, Mr. Chiſhull exerted his endeavours in oppoſing the abſurdities and enthuſiaſm of the French prophets, and their followers. For this purpoſe he preached a ſermon, on the 23d of November, at Serjeant's-Inn Chapel, in Chancery Lane, which was publiſhed (*i*) in the beginning of 1708, and was entitled, "The great Danger and Miſtake of all new uninſpired Prophecies relating to the End "of the World." An Appendix was added, of Hiſtorical Collections applicable to all ſuch Prophecies as were condemned in the Diſcourſe, and to thoſe which were then venting abroad. On the 1ſt of September, in the ſame year, Mr. Chiſhull was preſented, on the deceaſe of Mr. James Barker, to the Vicarage of Walthamſtow, in Eſſex; and in 1711, he had the honour of being appointed one of the Chaplains in Ordinary to the Queen. About the ſame time (*k*), he preached a viſitation ſermon, in the chapel of Rumford, before the Rev. Dr. Alſton, Archdeacon of Eſſex, and printed it under the title of "The Orthodoxy of an Engliſh Clergyman conſidered, as to four "Heads, viz. the received Creeds; the thirty-nine Articles; the Supremacy of the "Crown; the eſtabliſhed Liturgy of the Church." 4to. In 1712, he gave three ſeparate diſcourſes to the public. The two former ones were delivered at the aſſizes at Hertford, on the 3d of March, and the 11th of Auguſt. The firſt was on modeſty and moderation, or the true relative duty of the tolerated or eſtabliſhed parties in any ſociety of men; and the ſecond on the duty of good ſubjects, in relation to public peace. The third ſermon, which was againſt duelling, was preached before the Queen, at the Royal Chapel at Windſor Caſtle, on the 23d of November, and was publiſhed by her Majeſty's ſpecial command (*l*). In 1714, Mr. Chiſhull was again called upon to exert his abilities, in the pulpit and from the preſs, by recommending that valuable object, the Corporation for the Sons of the Clergy (*m*). His next printed diſcourſe was, "The Subject reminded of his Duty, from Tit. iii. 1. 1716," 8vo. Two farther aſſize ſermons (*n*) were publiſhed by him in the year 1718 (*o*).

(*b*) See the article DODWELL.

(*i*) In quarto.

(*k*) On the 4th of May, 1711.

(*l*) Theſe three ſermons were printed in 8vo.

(*m*) "The Excellency of a proper charitable Relief," 4to.

(*n*) In octavo.

(*o*) Nichols's Anecdotes of Bowyer, *ubi ſupra*.

Having mentioned Mr. Chiſhull's writings as a Divine, we proceed to thoſe with which he favoured the learned world as an Antiquary. One of his firſt publications in antiquities was in 1721, and was entitled, "Inſcriptio *Sigæa* antiquiſſima ΒΟΥΣΤΡΟ-"ΦΗΔΟΝ exarata. Commentario eam Hiſtorico-Grammatico-Critico illuſtravit *Ed-*"*mundus Chiſhull*, S. T. B. Regiæ Majeſtati à Sacris." Folio. This was followed by "Notarum ad Inſcriptionem *Sigæam* Appendicula; additâ à *Sigæo* alterâ *Antiochi So-*"*teris* Inſcriptione," folio, in fifteen pages, without a date. Both theſe pieces were afterwards incorporated in his Antiquitates *Aſiaticæ*. When Dr. Mead, in 1724, publiſhed his *Harveian* oration, which had been delivered, in the preceding year, at the Royal College of Phyſicians, Mr. Chiſull added to it, by way of Appendix, "Diſſer-"tatio de Nummis quibuſdam à *Smyrnæis* in Medicorum Honorem percuſſis." This diſſertation became, for a time, not a little celebrated, on account of its having given riſe to a controverſy very intereſting to the profeſſors of the medical art, and amuſing to the learned world in general. The queſtion was, whether the Phyſicians of ancient Rome were not uſually vile and deſpicable ſlaves, or whether there were not ſome, at leaſt, among them, who enjoyed the privileges of a free condition, and the reſpect due to their ſervices (*p*). The hiſtory of this controverſy will be found in the articles of Mead and Middleton; and, therefore, we ſhall take no farther notice of it at preſent, than to obſerve, that Mr. Chiſhull has not been deemed happy in all his explanations of the Smyrnæan inſcriptions, and to inſert below a letter written by him, containing ſome proofs of the honour paid to phyſicians by the Grecians [*A*]. In 1728, appeared, in

(*p*) *Ibid.* p. 36, 37

[*A*] *A letter written by him, containing ſome proofs of the honour paid to Phyſicians by the Grecians.*] This letter was copied, by Mr. Bowyer, from a rough draught in Mr. Chiſhull's own hand. It was addreſſed to Dr. Mead, and is as follows:

"Honoured Sir,

"It is with the greateſt pleaſure that I find myſelf honoured with any command of your's; and I ſhall be truly glad if any thing noted under the following heads may fall in with your deſign.

"I. The chief honours and rewards given to ſome eminent *Greek* Phyſicians are at once noted by *Pliny*, l. vii. c. 37.

"II. Thoſe beſtowed on *Hippocrates* may more particularly be noted in the Δόγμα Αθηναίων among his Epiſtles, and his life from *Serranus*; and the hiſtory as to that matter is the ſame whether thoſe pieces be genuine or not.

"III. Beſides theſe, *Eraſiſtratus* was in great honour in the court of *Seleucus* and *Antiochus Soter*, upon his diſcovering the diſtemper of the latter: which ſee in *Plutarch*, Life of *Demetrius*, and *Appian* in *Syriacis*. The reward of a hundred talents mentioned by *Pliny*, l. xxvi. c. 1. was for curing the ſame *Antiochus* of another dangerous illneſs. The ſcarcity of inſtances of this ſort has been owing to this, that Phyſic was not anciently profeſſed as now-a-days in the nature of a liberal ſcience, but was always joined with Pharmacy and Chirurgery, and ſo practiſed in great meaſure by illiterate perſons.

"IV. From hence a ready anſwer may be given to thoſe ſevere ſatires of *Cato* and *Pliny* againſt *Medici* and *Medicina*, l. xxvi. c. 1. as alſo from the virtuous and

in folio, his great work, " Antiquitates *Aſiaticæ* Chriſtianam Æram antecedentes; ex " Primariis Monumentis *Græcis* deſcriptæ, Latinè verſæ, Notiſque & Commentariis " illuſtratæ. Accedit Monumentum *Latinum Ancyranum.*" Dr. Mead contributed fifty-one guineas, Dr. William Sherard twenty, and Dr. Liſle five guineas, towards the printing of this book. It was publiſhed by ſubſcription, at one guinea for a common copy, and two guineas for thoſe which were upon royal paper. The work contains a collection of inſcriptions made by Conſul Sherard, Dr. Picenini, and Dr. Liſle, afterwards Biſhop of St. Aſaph. This collection was depoſited in the Earl of Oxford's library, and is now preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum. Mr. Chiſhull added to the Antiquitates *Aſiaticæ* two ſmall pieces which he had before publiſhed, viz. " Conjectanea " de Nummo CKΩIII inſcripto," and " Iter Aſiæ Poeticum," addreſſed to the Rev. John Horn. Our author not having ſucceeded in his explication of an inſcription to Jupiter *Ourios*, afterwards cancelled it, and ſubſtituted (*q*) a different interpretation by Dr. Aſhton, which compleatly ſettled the matter. Mr. Chiſhull did not ſubmit, in this caſe, with ſo good a grace as might have been wiſhed, and ought to have been expected. He added alſo, at the ſame time, another half ſheet, with a head of Homer, of which only fifty copies were printed. He had formed the deſign of publiſhing a ſecond volume, under the title of " Antiquitates *Aſiaticæ*; Pars altera diverſa, diverſarum Urbium in- " ſcripta Marmora complectens." The printing of this work was begun; but the author's death put a ſtop to the progreſs of it, and it does not appear what became of his manuſcripts (*r*). In 1731, Mr. Chiſhull was preſented to the Rectory of *South-Church* in Eſſex. This preferment he did not long live to enjoy; for he departed the preſent life, at Walthamſtow, on the 18th of May, 1733. Mr. Clarke, of Chicheſter, writing to Mr. Bowyer, ſays, " I was very ſorry for Mr. Chiſhull's death as a public " loſs." That our author ſuſtained an excellent character, as a Clergyman and a Divine, cannot be doubted. Two letters, written by him to his friend Mr. Bowyer, and which Mr. Nichols hath preſerved, are evident proofs both of the piety and ſympathy of his diſpoſition (*s*). With reſpect to his literary abilities, Dr. Taylor ſtiles him " Vir celeberrimus Ingenii Acumine & Literarum Peritia, quibus excellebat maxime;"

(q) In 1731.

(r) Nichols, *ubi ſupra*, p. 35, 36.

(s) *Ibid.* p. 53, 54. 57.

and pious principles of the oath of *Hippocrates*, particularly the obligation to teach ἄνευ μισθοῦ, and ἁγνῶς καὶ ὁσίως διατηρῆσαι βίον, κ. τ. λ.

" V. The ſame calumny may be anſwered from the contrary character of *Pliny*, l. xxv. c. 2.—— *Pythagoras* and *Ariſtotle* were both much addicted to this noble ſtudy. The former was the firſt that wrote of the virtue of herbs, *Plin.* xxv. 2. He kept it a ſecret, as he did his other attainments. But the latter, ſays *Ælian*, l. v. c. 9. *Athen.* l. viii. c. 13. φαρμακοπώλης ἀνεφάνη, was a profeſſed apothecary. If he condeſcended to a ſhop according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, he yet ſhewed himſelf above it by his work, entitled Ἰατρικὰ, beſides what he wrote concerning Plants and Anatomy.

" VI. It was this character that firſt endeared *Ariſtotle* ſo much to *Alexander the Great*, whom, upon his firſt coming to him, he cured of a great illneſs; and becauſe he enjoined him to uſe much ambulation for the confirming of his cure, this by ſome has been taken to be the reaſon of *Ariſtotle*'s being ſurnamed the *Peripatetic*. *Laertius*.

" VII. *Alexander* himſelf learned of *Ariſtotle* to ſtudy and even to practiſe Phyſic (*Plut.* in vit. *Alex.* c. 13. p. m. 668.) δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τὸ φιλιατρεῖν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προσγένεσθαι μᾶλλον ἑτέρων Ἀριστοτέλης· ὲ γὰρ μόνον τὴν θεωρίαν ἠγάπησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ νοσοῦσιν ἐβοήθει τοῖς φίλοις, καὶ συνέτατλε θεραπείας τινὰς καὶ διαίτας.

" VIII. The hiſtorian has well expreſſed it μᾶλλον ἑτέρων: for it was uſual with *Alexander* to beſtow the greateſt marks of eſteem and honour on other Phyſicians: Witneſs the ſtory of his cure by *Philip* of *Acarnania*, and the ſignal honour paid to that Phyſician, as by the King himſelf, ſo by his whole army. *Alexander* ſhewed him, ſays *Arrian*, (l. ii. c. 4.) ὅτι πιστός ἐστιν αὐτῳ φίλος· and the whole army, ſays *Curtius*, l. iii. c. 6. *grates habebant tanquam præſenti Deo.*

" IX. *Herophilus* and *Eraſiſtratus*, l. xxix. c. 1. where thoſe who firſt made learning neceſſary to Phyſic; which being a thing of great expence and pains, *Pliny* tells us, the ſchool of *Herophilus* did not long ſubſiſt. *Deſerta deinde & hæc ſecta, quoniam neceſſe erat in ea ſcire literas.* Of his ſchool, ſee *Plin.* l. xxvi. c. 2.

" X. But we learn from *Strabo*, at the end of Book xii. that the ſchool both of the one and the other flouriſhed till about his time in *Aſia*, the one near *Laodicea*, and the other at *Smyrna*. He there names as maſters of theſe, *Zeuxes*, *Alexander*, and *Hiceſius*. And *Athenæus* often mentions the ſame Ἰκέσιος as an author, and l. ii. c. 18. Μιθόδωρος Ἐρασιστρατείας Ἰκεσίου φίλος. *Pliny*, *Hiceſio non parvæ authoritatis medico.* The faces and characters of all theſe we have ſtill preſerved in coins at *Smyrna*, with many others brought by Mr. *Sherard*, and now repoſited in the Duke of *Devonſhire*'s cabinet; which city allowed that particular honour to thoſe profeſſors. They are found with their faces ſtampt on one ſide, and their profeſſion noted on the other, by figures in a fitting poſture, with the finger advanced to their lips in token of that ſilence which the profeſſion was enjoined by the oath of *Hippocrates*. And before the face of ſome is an Aſteriſk, of others a Thunderbolt; the meaning of which marks is told us by *Laertius* in the life of *Plato*, viz. κεραύνιον implying τὴν ἀγωγὴν τῆς φιλοσοφίας, and ἀστέρισκος τὴν συμφωνίαν τῶν δογμάτων.

" This Phyſic School at *Smyrna* was adjoining moſt probably to the temple of *Æſculapius*, the ruins of which are ſtill extant near a large fountain of extreme cold water, called *Arco-baſcar*, ſituate, as is mentioned by *Pauſanias*, near the ſea, (*Pauſan.* l. ii. c. 26.) In this place was dug up about thirty years ago, and ſold by Sir *Philip Jackſon* then reſident at *Smyrna* to Monſ. *Galland*, and by him repoſited in the gallery of *Verſailles*, a fine buſt inſcribed,

" ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΜΟΔΙΟΣ ΙΑΤΡΟΣ ΜΕΘΟΔΙΚΟΣ.

The word Μεθόδικος intimating the ſect of *Modius*, as ἰήτης Μεθόδῳ does the like in another printed inſcription. What it was is explained by *Celſus*, l. i. c. 1. *Harum obſervationem medicinam eſſe . . . . . quam* μέθοδον *Græci nominant*, &c. Among the Δειπνοσοφισταὶ of *Athenæus*, *in argumento operis*, are regiſtered with great honour the characters of *Daphnus* of *Epheſus*, as well as the renowned *Galen*, ἱερὸς τὴν τέχνην, κ. λ.

" XII. Another inſcription found in the ſame place and engraven under a head, now loſt, is as follows:

" ΗΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΧΑΡΙΔΗΜΟΥ κ. τ. λ (1)."

(1) Nichols's Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer, p. 39—43.

Mr. Nichols hath added another letter, from Mr. Chiſhull to Dr. Mead, dated Nov. 13, 1723, and relative to the Smyrnæan Inſcriptions which are more fully treated of in the diſſertation mentioned above (2).

(2) *Ibid.* p. 43, 44.

and

and Dr. Mead hath beſtowed a high encomium upon him, in the preface which introduces Mr. Chiſhull's Diſſertation on the Smyrnæan Coins. The ſame eminent Phyſician teſtified his regard to the memory of his learned friend, by publiſhing, in 1747 (*t*), our author's "Travels in Turkey, and back to England (*u*)."] K.

(*t*) In folio.

(*u*) Mr. Chiſhull was the author of the Latin inſcription on the monument erected in the church of Stowe, Northamptonſhire, to the memory of Dr. Tho. Turner, Preſident of Corpus Chriſti College, Oxford, and the great benefactor to the charity for the relief of clergymen's widows and children.

*** [CHUBB (THOMAS) *, a noted controverſial writer, was born at Eaſt-Harnham, a ſmall village near Saliſbury, on the 29th of September, in the year 1679. His father, who was a maltſter, died in 1688, leaving a widow, with four children, of whom Thomas was the youngeſt. As his mother laboured hard to procure a maintenance for herſelf and family, ſo ſhe obliged her children to contribute their parts towards it; and accordingly, Thomas was required very early to perform ſuch work and ſervice as ſuited his age and capacity. Being thus circumſtanced, the whole education he received was the being taught to read, to write an ordinary hand, and to underſtand the common rules of arithmetick. Furniſhed with this inſtruction, which was ſufficient for his views in life, he was put apprentice, in the year 1694, to Mr. Thomas Rawlings, a glover in Saliſbury; and when he had ſerved his apprenticeſhip, was under the neceſſity of working as a journeyman to his maſter, though the buſineſs was improper for him, on account of a weakneſs he had in his ſight. He continued in this ſituation till about the year 1705, when he removed to Mr. John Lawrence's, a tallow-chandler in the ſame city; after which he ſupported himſelf, partly by making gloves, and partly by aſſiſting Mr. Lawrence in his buſineſs (*a*). All theſe diſadvantages of ſtation and employment, could not prevent Mr. Chubb from riſing to conſiderable intellectual improvements. Being poſſeſſed of uncommon natural abilities, and having a very ſtudious turn of mind, he ſpent his leiſure hours in the acquiſition of ſuch knowledge as could be obtained from Engliſh authors; to whom his reading was neceſſarily confined through his whole life, as he never underſtood any other language than his mother-tongue. In this way, however, he acquired a competent ſkill in Mathematics, Geography, and other branches of Science; but his inclination led him chiefly to the ſtudy of divinity. Whilſt he was thus endeavouring to improve his underſtanding, he faithfully and contentedly diſcharged the duties of his humble ſituation, and appeared to have no deſire of emerging from the obſcurity in which he was born and educated, when an unexpected event drew upon him the notice of the world, and laid the foundation of his future eminence.

* For the materials of this article, we are principally indebted to Mr. Cooper, of Saliſbury, and to the Rev. Charles Toogood, of Sherborne, Dorſetſhire.

(*a*) Britiſh Biography, vol. viii. p. 372. Chubb's Account of himſelf, prefixed to his Poſthumous Works, p. ii—iv.

In the latter end of the year 1710, the upright and learned Mr. Whiſton publiſhed the "Hiſtorical Preface" to his "Primitive Chriſtianity revived;" which performance ſoon fell into the hands of Mr. Chubb, and ſome of his acquaintance who intereſted themſelves in reſearches of this kind. The principal point diſcuſſed in this preface being the *ſupremacy* of the one God and Father of all, ſeveral of Chubb's friends embraced Mr. Whiſton's ſentiments, whilſt others adhered to the contrary opinion, the reſult of which was a paper controverſy. As the diſputants ſeemed ſhy of expreſſing themſelves plainly and fully upon the queſtion, and choſe rather to oppoſe each other by interrogations, Mr. Chubb, who was perſuaded that their method of conducting the debate was altogether unlikely to bring it to an iſſue, drew up, for that reaſon, his thoughts on the ſubject in a way which appeared to him better adapted for clearing and deciding the point in conteſt. This he did merely for his own ſatisfaction, and for that of his friends at Saliſbury, without the leaſt view to publication. Having collected and arranged his ſentiments on the ſubject, his manuſcript was ſubmitted to the examination of his acquaintance and others; and this produced a farther controverſy between Mr. Chubb and ſeveral perſons who did not agree with him in opinion. Whilſt matters were thus ſituated, one of the author's friends, who intended to take a journey to London, requeſted that he might carry the treatiſe thither, and put it into the hands of Mr. Whiſton. Some of Mr. Chubb's other acquaintance concurring in the ſame requeſt, he was prevailed upon to comply with their deſire. The manuſcript was accordingly carried to Mr. Whiſton, who was ſo well pleaſed with it, as to ſignify, by a letter to the author, his approbation of the performance, and his wiſh that it might be publiſhed. Mr. Whiſton, at the ſame time, offered himſelf to undertake the care of the publication, provided Mr. Chubb would permit him to make a few alterations, in expreſſing the ſenſe of ſome texts of Scripture, which would not at all affect the grand point in queſtion. This propoſal being accepted, the manuſcript was publiſhed without delay; and thus Mr. Chubb made his firſt appearance in the world as a writer (*b*). His Treatiſe was entitled, "The Supremacy of the Father aſſerted: or eight Arguments from Scripture to prove, that the Son is a Being inferiour and ſubordinate to the Father, and that the Father is the ſupreme God." It was firſt printed in the year 1715, and was introduced with a dedication "To the Reverend the Clergy, and in Particular to the Right Reverend Gilbert Lord Biſhop of Sarum, our vigilant and laborious Dioceſan." In this dedication the author obſerves, that what he had attempted in his work, was "to vindicate and reſtore the *firſt* great article of primitive Chriſtian Faith, *viz.* that there is *but one ſupreme God*; and that the *God* and *Father* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and *He only*, excluſively of all other beings, ſubſiſtences, perſon, and perſons whatſo-

(*b*) Britiſh Biog. *ubi ſupra*, p. 373, 374. The author's Account of himſelf, p. v—viii.

" ever, is the one ſupreme God."—" This and this only, ſays he, is what I have prin-
" cipally deſigned to make good; and therefore whatever elſe I may have happened to
" touch upon, is only occaſionally, and as it has a relation to this important point (c)."
The perſpicuity and ability with which this tract was written, procured Mr. Chubb a
great reputation. His extraordinary talents were acknowledged by thoſe who did not
concur with him in opinion; and many perſons, of diſtinguiſhed knowledge and judg-
ment, thought that the Scriptures were ſo clearly and explicitly in his favour, that he
had proved what he undertook to maintain, beyond all poſſible contradiction. It was
not, however, to be expected that an attack upon the commonly received doctrine of
the Trinity would be paſſed over without animadverſion and cenſure. Our author's
publication gave great offence to many angry ſpirits; and though he had treated the
ſubject with the utmoſt decency, had manifeſted a ſincere reſpect for the ſacred writings,
and had expreſſed himſelf in the temper and language of Chriſtianity, he was expoſed to
a variety of rude, inſolent, and groundleſs aſperſions. He ſoon found himſelf, therefore,
under a neceſſity of vindicating both his work and his character; which he did in a very
powerful and convincing manner, in a Tract the title of which was, " The Supremacy
" of the Father vindicated: Or, obſervations on Mr. Claggett's book, entitled, *Aria-*
" *niſm anatomized*. Wherein is ſhewn, that what Mr. Claggett, and others, call Chriſt's
" *divine Nature*, is ſo far from being the real and very *Son* of *God*, that, on the contrary
it is the *very Father* of God's Son (d)[*A*]. By this performance Mr. Chubb increaſed
the reputation he had already gained. It was conſidered as a matter of great admiration,
that productions diſtinguiſhed by ſo much ſtrength of reaſon, and perſpicuity of expreſ-
ſion, ſhould come from a perſon of low birth and mean education; and he was generally
conſidered as an uncommon literary phænomenon. Being thus encouraged by the ap-
probation of the public, he continued to employ his thoughts and his pen upon a variety
of ſubjects, with ſuch diligence and ſucceſs, that, in the year 1730, he publiſhed a large
collection of tracts [*B*], in a very handſome quarto volume. Theſe tracts added greatly
to the ſurpriſe and pleaſure of the world (e). " By the way," ſays Mr. Pope, in a letter
to Mr. Gay, written ſoon after their publication, " have you ſeen or converſed with Mr.
" Chubb, who is a wonderful phænomenon in Wiltſhire? I have read through his
" whole volume with admiration of the writer, though not always with approbation
" of the doctrine (f)." It cannot be denied that Mr. Chubb, in this collection of

(c) Brit. Biog. *ubi ſupra*. Chubb's Tracts. Second edition. Dedication.

(d) Britiſh Biog. *ubi ſupra*.

(e) *Ibid.* p. 375.

(f) Pope's Works, vol. vi. p. 30. Edition of 1776, 12mo.

[*A*] *The ſupremacy of the Father vindicated*, &c.] In this defence of his former treatiſe, our author ſhews, that though Mr. Claggett had undertaken to confute his arguments, he had been wholly unſucceſsful in the attempt. Mr. Chubb, at the ſame time, obſerves, that his adverſary had proſecuted his deſign in a very unbecoming and unchriſtian manner; the example of which he did not chooſe to imitate. " Though, ſays he, by *baſe inſinuations*, *falſhood*, and " *ſlander*, he (Claggett) hath given occaſion for the " raiſing of men's anger againſt me; yet I ſhall purſue " him with no other revenge, than barely to remind " him of his *faults*, and deſire God to give him " *repentance*, and a *better* mind (1)." The pamphlet is concluded with the following words. " Though " he has been pleaſed to ſit in judgment upon me, " and condemn me, yet I can ſee no juſt ground for " uneaſineſs upon this account; becauſe as he is not " commended, whom men commend, but whom the " Lord commendeth, ſo neither is he condemned, " whom men condemn, but whom the Lord con-
demneth (2)."

(1) Britiſh Biography, vol. viii. p. 374, 375. Chubb's Tracts, vol. i. p. 62. Second edition.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 116.

[*B*] *He publiſhed a large collection of tracts.*] The tracts contained in this collection, beſides the two pieces particularly mentioned above, are the following. " An appendix, being an enquiry concerning " the *perſonal character* of the Son of God, and what " is neceſſary to be believed concerning him; and " likewiſe into the ſenſe and meaning of our Lord's " words, *viz. Except ye believe that I am he, ye ſhall die* " *in your ſins*; as in John viii. 24." " An enquiry " concerning property, wherein is conſidered liberty " of conſcience." " An enquiry concerning ſin, in " which is conſidered original ſin." " An enquiry con-" cerning juſtification." " An enquiry concerning the " ſenſe and meaning of our Lord's words, *viz. Son, thy* " *ſins be forgiven thee*;" as in Mark ii. 5. " An en-" quiry concerning ſinners deliverance from condem-" nation; wherein the caſe of Chriſt's ſatisfaction " is conſidered, and impartially ſtated, according " to the Scripture account of it." " An enquiry con-" cerning the juſtice of God." " An enquiry con-" cerning infinite juſtice, and infinite ſatisfaction." " An enquiry concerning faith and myſteries." " An enquiry concerning the uſe of reaſon in mat-" ters of revelation." " An enquiry concerning " prayer." " An enquiry concerning the unity, " or oneneſs of the Church, or body of Chriſt." " An enquiry into that important queſtion, whether " Chriſt is ſole King in his own kingdom.——In a " letter to a gentleman." " Part of a letter to " another gentleman, relative to the foregoing " enquiry." " The previous queſtion, with regard " to religion." " A ſupplement to the previous " queſtion, with regard to religion." " The caſe " of Abraham, with regard to offering up Iſaac in " ſacrifice, re-examined." " A vindication of " God's moral character, as to the cauſe and origin " of evil, both natural and moral." " A ſupple-" ment to the vindication of God's moral character." " A diſcourſe concerning perſecution." " An exa-" mination of Mr. Barclay's principles, with regard " to man's natural ability ſince the fall." " Hu-" man nature vindicated." " Some ſhort remarks " upon Dr. Morgan's tract, entitled, A Letter to " Mr. Chubb." " Scripture evidence conſidered." " Reflections on natural liberty." " Some farther " reflections on natural liberty." " The glory of " Chriſt." " A letter of thanks to the author of " the Tract, entitled, *A friendly Admonition to Mr.* " *Chubb*." " A few things humbly offered to the " conſideration both of believers and unbelievers, in " theſe happy days of liberty of enquiry." " Some " ſhort reflections on virtue and happineſs." " Some " ſhort reflections on virtue and vice." " Some " ſhort reflections on the grounds and extent of " authority and liberty, with reſpect to civil go-" vernment: wherein the authority of civil govern-" ours, in matters of religion, is particularly con-" ſidered." " Reflections on national puniſhments" Theſe Tracts, being thirty-five in number, were publiſhed a ſecond time, in 1754, in two volumes, octavo. We ſhould ſuppoſe, from a peruſal of the Tracts themſelves, that a conſiderable number of them muſt have been ſeparately printed, before their appearance in 1730. But in what degree this was the caſe, we are not now able to determine; nor is the aſcertainment of it an object of any great importance.

Tracts,

Tracts, hath treated a variety of important points in a maſterly manner; and that, whilſt his reflections diſcover a mind inquiſitive after truth, and a heart devoted to the ſacred cauſe of civil and religious liberty, he writes with a temper and moderation truly chriſtian. His ſentiments, with regard to certain controverted queſtions in divinity, are, in many reſpects, conformable to thoſe of the moſt judicious expoſitors of the ſacred writings; and his obſervations on ſubjects of a different nature are, in general, ſuch as do honour to his diſcernment (*g*). But though his work, upon the whole, may well excite the admiration of every attentive and unprejudiced reader, the praiſes it is entitled to muſt be admitted with conſiderable abatement. From want of rightly underſtanding the phraſeology of ſcripture, and from other cauſes, he ſometimes deviates into error (*h*). He was deſtitute of that learning and critical ſkill which are neceſſary to the right explanation of a variety of paſſages in the ſacred writings; nor will his philoſophical and moral language and reaſoning be ſo much admired at preſent, as they were at the time in which he wrote. Dr. Clarke's metaphyſical and ethical Syſtem was then in the higheſt eſtimation. From that ſyſtem Mr. Chubb's modes of expreſſion are uſually borrowed, and upon that ſyſtem his arguments are generally built. But other hypotheſes are now prevalent, and other forms of ſpeaking are adopted; whether rightly or not, we do not here intend to enquire. However, if Mr. Chubb had ſtopped at this publication, or, at leaſt, ſooner than in fact he did, he would have left a great reputation behind him, and would juſtly have been eſteemed one of the wonders of the age. Thus much may be collected from the teſtimony of thoſe who afterwards viewed him in the moſt unfavourable light. Dr. Warburton, in a note on the paſſage concerning Mr. Chubb, in Mr. Pope's letter above cited, and in which letter Stephen Duck was alſo mentioned, expreſſes himſelf as follows. "This was "his (Chubb's) quarto volume, written before he had given any ſigns of thoſe extra-"vagances, which have ſince rendered him ſo famous. As the court ſet up Mr. Duck "for the rival of Mr. Pope, the city, at the ſame time, conſidered Chubb, as one "who would eclipſe Locke. The modeſty of the Court Poet kept him ſober in a "very intoxicating ſituation; while the vanity of this new-fangled Philoſopher aſſiſted "his ſage admirers in turning his head (*i*)"

(*g*) British Biography, *ubi ſupra*.

(*h*) *Ibid.*

(*i*) Pope's Works, *ubi ſupra*.

Many of Mr. Chubb's pieces were evidently occaſioned either by ſuch queſtions as were then warmly debated among Divines, or by ſuch other works as came within the courſe of his reading. Agreeably to this diſpoſition of offering his thoughts to the public on diſputed points, and eſpecially on matters of theological controverſy, we find him, not long after the appearance of his quarto volume, committing to the preſs, "A Diſcourſe concerning Reaſon, with regard to Religion and divine Revelation: "Wherein is ſhewn, that Reaſon either *is*, or elſe that *it ought to be*, a ſufficient Guide "in Matters of Religion."—This tract was occaſioned by the Biſhop of London's ſecond paſtoral letter; and there were added to it, "Some Reflections upon the com-"parative Excellency and Uſefulneſs of moral and poſitive Duties;" a diſpute having ariſen on the ſubject, in conſequence of the publication of Dr. Clarke's Expoſition of the Church Catechiſm. In this treatiſe our author obſerves, that as, in the controverſy which occaſioned theſe reflections, moral and poſitive duties had been put in competition in reſpect of their excellency, and as it was a point in diſpute, to which of theſe the preference ought to be given, ſo he was induced to offer his ſentiments upon the queſtion, becauſe he thought it was a matter very intereſting to mankind. Having, accordingly, firſt ſhewn what he underſtood by *moral*, and what by *poſitive* duties, and what are the true grounds of our obligation in either caſe; and having alſo conſidered in what reſpects theſe may be compared, in order thereby to form a judgment to which of them the preference is due upon that compariſon; he concludes, that *moral* duties are highly preferable to *poſitive* duties, in all the ways in which they are capable of being compared; and that when they come in competition with regard to their excellency, then the difference is ſo great betwixt them, that they ſcarcely admit of a compariſon. Theſe ſentiments he ſhews to be agreeable to the authority and declarations of many of the writers of the Old and New Teſtament; and he juſtly inſiſts upon it, that the preſervation of the diſtinction, between the different obligation of moral and poſitives duties, is of no ſmall importance to mankind; becauſe our not forming right views concerning the ſubject, may occaſion our final miſcarriage (*k*) [*C*]. The poſi-tions

(*k*) British Biog. *ubi ſupra*, p. 376, 377.

[*C*] *May occaſion our final miſcarriage.*] It may not be amiſs to inſert his own explanation of his ideas. "Poſitive Duties," ſays he, (by which he underſtands the performance of ſuch actions, as, in reaſon, we are not obliged to perform, when conſidered abſtractedly from, and antecedently to any promulged law that requires our performance of them) "are appointed as a means towards the attaining ſome wiſe and good end; and they are no farther valuable, than as they are ſubſervient to that end, *viz.* to lead us to the practice of moral duties, which, in truth, is the perfection of our nature. Now if we aſcribe to poſitive duties which are the means, that valuableneſs which only belongeth to the end, then we are in danger of relying upon the bare external compliance with a poſitive law, without regarding the end to which that law was directed, and ſo to deceive ourſelves to our undoing. This is that fatal rock upon which many religious profeſſions have ſplit: for when men conſider the externals of religion, (if I may ſo call them) as the

tions advanced by our author, in the former part of this tract, having been objected to, he proceeded to an additional vindication of them, in a piece publiſhed in 1732, entitled, "The Sufficiency of Reaſon in Matters of Religion farther conſidered. Wherein "is ſhewn, that *Reaſon*, when carefully uſed and followed, is to every Man, who is "anſwerable to God for his Actions, under any or all the moſt diſadvantageous Circumſtances he can poſſibly fall into, whether he reſides in *China*, or at the *Cape of Good Hope*, a ſufficient Guide in Matters of Religion; that is, it is ſufficient to guide "him to God's Favour, and the Happineſs of another World [*D*]." This publication

the principal and moſt valuable parts of it, then they are too apt to rely upon theſe, as what will render them moſt acceptable to God, and ſo to neglect to have that rectitude of mind and life, which will only render them pleaſing in the eyes of their Maker.

"This was the caſe of the *Jews* of old; for as the particular circumſtances and temper of that people required, that a greater number and variety of poſitive duties ſhould be practiſed by them, than otherwiſe there would have been occaſion for; ſo they raiſed the worth of theſe greatly above their true value; and then they thought that the bare external compliance with thoſe poſitive laws, would ſufficiently ſecure to them God's favour. Whereas, if thoſe *Jews* had preſerved a juſt ſenſe of the worth and value of poſitive duties, and had conſidered them only as means to an end, and that they were no farther valuable than as they become ſubſervient to that end, then they could not have thus erred, and deceived themſelves in a point of ſuch importance, as it is manifeſt they did. And,

"This has been too much the caſe amongſt Chriſtians. They have raiſed the value of poſitive duties above what is meet, which has laid a foundation for a multitude of thoſe ſuperſtitious practices that have prevailed in the chriſtian world, and which has eat out, as it were, the life and ſpirit of Chriſtianity. So that in ſome parts of *Chriſtendom* there is little elſe remaining, but a blind and ungoverned zeal for poſitive duties, and for ſuch ſuperſtitious practices, as education and cuſtom has rendered ſacred to them. And indeed this evil is apt to ſpread and take root in all places, and at all times. For when men are unwilling to part with their vices, then they are glad to lay hold of any principle which will render the practice of thoſe vices eaſy to themſelves. And nothing ſeems better to anſwer this purpoſe, than to raiſe up the value of poſitive duties to be equal, or perhaps ſuperior to moral duties; and then it is eaſy to ſuppoſe, that to abound in the former, will ſupply the want of the latter; and thus men deceive themſelves to their own deſtruction. Have we not therefore good reaſon to take heed to ourſelves, when ſuch principles are advanced as are not only manifeſtly falſe, but alſo are likely to prove very hurtful to mankind, and, which, I think, is the preſent caſe? The repreſenting poſitive duties, as of equal or ſuperior value with moral duties, is not only a falſe principle, but it has alſo a ſad tendency to miſlead mankind in a point of the utmoſt concern to them.

"To conclude; let me intreat thoſe men, who are for the raiſing the value of poſitive duties much above their true worth, and are for making the uſe of theſe the ground and foundation of Chriſtian perfection, and of our acceptance with God, to conſider what they are doing. Sirs, Are you not by this ſending us back to Popery? That being ſuch a religious conſtitution as abounds with a greater number and variety of poſitive duties, than any religious conſtitution amongſt *Proteſtants*, and therefore is the more ſure way to Chriſtian perfection. Are you not pointing out to men a way to deceive themſelves, in a caſe wherein their higheſt intereſt is at ſtake, by ſpeaking peace to them, or rather by leading them to view themſelves in a falſe glaſs, and thereby to ſpeak peace unto themſelves, whilſt their hands are full of fraud and violence, and their hearts run after their covetouſneſs? whereas, in truth, there is no *peace to the wicked*, ſaith our God. For if poſitive duties are repreſented as of equal or ſuperior excellency and value to moral duties, then men are very eaſily led to think, that a conſtant attendance on, and a warm zeal for poſitive duties, will render them moſt acceptable to their Maker, tho' they are deſtitute of that rectitude of mind and life, which the chriſtian religion recommends, and which the reaſon of things requires, as the only ground of divine acceptance. And this has too often been the caſe, as the experience of almoſt all ages hath ſhewn; ſo that, by this means, men have deceived themſelves to their undoing. Theſe, I think, are conſequences which may very eaſily follow the principle I have now been oppoſing the advancing of, which looks as if we were ſetting our faces towards *Rome*, and were longing to return again to the *fleſh-pots of Egypt*: but how ſubſervient ſoever this may be to anſwer the purpoſes of a deſigning clergy, yet ſurely it is highly injurious to the religion of Chriſt (3)."

(3) Chubb's Tracts, vol. iii. p. 55—58.

[*D*] *Sufficient to guide him to God's Favour, and the Happineſs of another World.*] When our author firſt aſſerted the ſufficiency of reaſon in matters of religion, he expreſsly declared that he did not intend, by any thing he ſaid, to injure divine revelation, or to ſerve the cauſe of infidelity; and he offered ſome conſiderations to ſhew, that what he had advanced could not any way contribute to ſuch an end. Still, however, an outcry was made, that this *exalting* of reaſon (as it was called) was certainly deſigned to anſwer the purpoſes which he had diſavowed; and, therefore, he thought it expedient to explain himſelf more particularly in the preſent treatiſe. Accordingly, he begins with ſtating the point in debate. "The ſufficiency of reaſon," ſays he "is now controverted; and the queſtion is, what it is, that reaſon is ſufficient for; or what is meant, by thoſe who maintain the ſufficiency of reaſon; or that reaſon, is a ſufficient guide in matters of religion. And the anſwer in ſhort is this, *viz.* That reaſon (where divine revelation is not) when carefully uſed and followed, is ſufficient to guide men to God's favour, and the happineſs of another world: in oppoſition to that abſolute neceſſity of a divine revelation, which ſuppoſes, that it is impoſſible, or at leaſt that it is exceeding difficult, and next to impoſſible, for a man to obtain God's favour, and the happineſs of another world, who has only his reaſoning faculty to guide him, and who has not the help of a divine revelation. Whether reaſon be ſufficient to diſcover a compleat ſyſtem of morality, or whether it be ſufficient to any other purpoſe, is not the preſent queſtion: if it be ſufficient to guide men to God's favour, and the happineſs of another world; then, it anſwers the moſt valuable purpoſes to them; and this is all that I am concerned to make good." That reaſon, (where there is no divine revelation) when carefully uſed and followed, is ſufficient to anſwer the purpoſes aforeſaid, appeared to Mr. Chubb very plain and evident. That he tells us it was which diſpoſed him to endeavour to make it plain and evident to others; and he declares that he did this with a kind intention, and from a regard to truth. In the proſecution of his deſign, he firſt ſhews what thoſe principles are from which he reaſons, and, in his own opinion, proves them to be well grounded. Having laid this foundation, he next points out the conſequences which naturally and neceſſarily follow from theſe principles; and hence he preſumes it will appear, that reaſon is ſufficient to anſwer the purpoſes of religion. From the whole he deduces the three following obſervations.

"*Firſt*, When I ſay, that reaſon is, or may be, to every man who is not wanting to himſelf, a ſufficient guide in matters of religion; I mean, that it is, or may be ſo to every individual of our ſpecies, who is *anſwerable to God for his actions*. For, if any of our ſpecies, thro' a defect in their conſtitutions, or thro' any

tion did not appear by itself, but was subjoined to an "Enquiry concerning the "Grounds and Reasons, or what those Principles are, on which two of our anniversary "Solemnities are founded, viz. That on the 30th of January, being the Day of the "Martyrdom of King Charles the First, appointed to be kept as a Day of fasting; "and that on the 5th of November, being the Day of our Deliverance from Popery "and Slavery, by the happy Arrival of his late Majesty King William the Third, ap-"pointed to be kept as a Day of Thansgiving." This piece was occasioned by a sermon of Dr. Croxall's, preached before the House of Commons, on the 30th of January, 1729; and the design of Mr. Chubb was to shew, that the two anniversaries are founded upon two contradictory and incompatible principles; principles, which are as opposite and contrary to each other as light is to darkness. Our author's next publication, which was in 1734, was a work consisting of four tracts, viz. I. "An Enquiry "concerning the Books of the New Testament, whether they were written by divine "Inspiration, according to the vulgar Use of that Expression; that is, whether the "Minds of the Writers were under such a divine Direction, as that Almighty God "immediately revealed to, and impressed upon them the subject Matter therein con-"tained [*E*]." II. "Some short Remarks on Britannicus's Letters, published in the "London

any disadvantageous circumstances they may be in, are uncapable of discerning the preferableness of one thing or action to another; or if their constitutions or circumstances are such, as render it unreasonable to expect that they should; to such persons, I do not say, that reason is a sufficient guide in matters of religion, or indeed any guide at all. But then, as these men's understandings cannot, or at least it is not reasonable to expect that they should, be of any advantage to them, as to the favour of God, and their souls happiness in another world: so on the other side, it is unreasonable to suppose that they will be any disadvantage to them in these respects; and if so, then such persons are not accountable, and will not be the subjects of a future judgment. The case is the same, with respect to any particular branch of duty. If through any defect in the constitution, or any bad circumstances a person may be in, he is rendered uncapable of discerning the fitness or unfitness of this, or that action; or if it be unreasonable to expect that he should; then, under those circumstances, he is most certainly excusable; because the reason of the thing requires that he should be excused: and consequently, in these instances he is not accountable. As to those motives to action, arising from our future existence, and a future judgment, supposing these were not discoverable by our reasoning faculties, (which I have shewn they are, and that the certainty of these points is founded in reason;) yet, reason would be a sufficient guide in matters of religion; because the reasonableness of an action, is a proper ground of action to a reasonable being, and ought to determine his will to the choice of that action, supposing no other motive intervened to invite him to it, and it ought to determine his will, in opposition to all temptations to the contrary; because the reasonableness of an action is more than a balance to all temptations. I say, this ought in reason to be the case; but whether it will be so in fact or not, depends upon the pleasure of each individual. And if the reasonableness of an action, be the sole ground and reason of a man's performing that action; then, in that instance, he will be highly pleasing and most acceptable to his Maker; because in such a case, he acts from the best and most noble principle, even from that which is the sole ground and reason of action to God. Again,

"*Secondly*, When I say, that reason is a sufficient guide in matters of religion, I do not intend by this to exclude the use of divine revelation. The use and design of a divine revelation, is to rouse up men from their sloth and security; to bring them to consideration and reflection; to assist their enquiries, and to facilitate that work; to present to their view that rule of action, which the reason of things requires they should govern their behaviour by; to awaken in men a just sense of the trust that is reposed in them, and the obligations they are under both to God and to each other; to call those who live viciously, to repentance and reformation of their evil ways; and to represent to them the certain consequences of a good and a bad life, with regard to divine favour or displeasure: these and the like, are the gracious purposes which a divine revelation is intended to serve; and these are the manifest designs of the Christian revelation. And when such a divine revelation is given, it is a very great favour and advantage to those who enjoy it; but what has this to do with those who have it not? Are they to be considered as accountable creatures, and yet destitute of ability sufficient to render them pleasing to their Maker? No, surely. The very supposition is monstrous, and carries with it a most horrid reflection upon the moral character of Almighty God.

"*Thirdly*, When I say reason is a sufficient guide in matters of religion, I mean reason called into use and exercise, and not reason neglected or set aside in that respect. Reason, when it is rightly used, and duly applied, and when men direct and govern their affections and actions according to it, must needs be a sufficient guide in matters of religion, as I have shewn above. But, if a man does not carefully and duly exercise and apply his reasoning faculty to the subject of religion, but on the contrary neglects it, or sets it aside, and takes upon him to follow other guides, *viz.* the tradition of his fathers, the custom of the age and country in which he lives, and the like; then, and in that case, I am so far from affirming that reason is practically a sufficient guide in matters of religion, that on the contrary, I allow, that in fact, it may not be any guide at all. And, supposing this to be the case, with much the greater part, or even all our species, what is it to the purpose? Is reason the less a guide, or is it less sufficient to answer the purpose of a guide to mankind; because much the greater part, or even all our species does not, or will not make use of it, to answer that end? No, surely. A means, though never so well adapted to attain its end, is yet not proximately and practically sufficient to obtain that end, except it be properly and carefully used to answer that purpose. Suppose, for instance, that the Christian revelation, when carefully attended to and followed, be excellently adapted to guide men to happiness: yet, it is not in fact sufficient for this purpose, except men attend to it, and make it a rule of action to themselves (4)."

[*E*] *And impressed upon them the subject matter therein contained.*] Concerning the books of the New Testament, Mr. Chubb was of opinion, that they were not written by divine inspiration, according to the vulgar use of that expression. He did not think that the minds of the writers were under such a divine direction in drawing up their histories and epistles, (the book of St. John's Revelation excepted) as that God immediately revealed to, and impressed upon them the subject matter therein contained; but only that they were under a firm belief and expectation of a future judgment and retribution, and so were disposed, at their utmost peril, to give, (as accordingly they did) to the best of their ability, an honest and faithful account of matters of fact, which in the main were strictly true, according to what they themselves had heard and seen, or upon the best information they could receive from others, who were eye witnesses, and ministers or attendants on the Messiah, allowing

(4) British Biog. vol. viii. p. 377—379. Chubb's Works, vol. iii. Second Tract on Reason, p. 35, 36. 55—60.

" London Journal of the 4th and 11th of April, 1724; and republiſhed in the Journals " of the 5th and 12th of April, 1729; containing an Argument drawn from the ſingle " Fact of Chriſt's Reſurrection, to prove the Divinity of his Miſſion. Wherein is " ſhewn, that Britannicus's Argument does not anſwer the Purpoſe for which it was " intended: And in which is likewiſe ſhewn, what was the great and main End that " the Reſurrection of Chriſt was intended to be ſubſervient to; *viz.* not to prove the " Divinity of his Miſſion, for that was ſufficiently done before, but to gather together " his Diſciples, to commiſſion, and qualify, and ſend them forth to preach his Goſpel " to all Nations." III. " The Caſe of Abraham, with regard to his being commanded " by God, to offer his Son Iſaac in Sacrifice, farther conſidered. In Anſwer to Mr. " Stone's Remarks. In a Letter to the Rev. Mr. Stone [*F*]." IV. " The Equity and " Reaſonableneſs of a future Judgment exemplified: or a Diſcourſe on the Parable of " the unmerciful Servant, as it is related in Matthew xviii. verſe 23, to the End of " the Chapter." With reſpect to the firſt of theſe four pieces, however different Mr. Chubb's ideas, concerning the inſpiration of the New Teſtament, might be from thoſe generally admitted by Chriſtian Divines, his views were by no means inconſiſtent with a firm belief in our holy religion. Similar ſentiments have been entertained by men who have been the moſt eminently diſtinguiſhed for their attachment to our Saviour's ſupernatural authority. Mr. Chubb, in his ſecond tract, appears to have manifeſted a farther ſymptom than he had hitherto done of that ſceptical diſpoſition, which afterwards carried him to ſtill greater lengths. For ſurely it was a ſtrange doctrine, to allow the truth of the reſurrection of Chriſt, and, at the ſame time, to deny that it was intended to prove the divinity of his miſſion. It is not eaſy to conceive of an aſſertion that can be more contrary to reaſon, or to ſcripture. To a mind not bewildered in ſophiſtry, the fact of our Lord's reſurrection, if ſincerely believed, muſt ever be conſidered as the moſt indubitable evidence of his commiſſion from above; and in this light it is invariably repreſented throughout the writings of the New Teſtament.

In the following year, our author produced another performance, the title of which was, " Some Obſervations offered to public Conſideration: occaſioned by the Oppoſi- " tion made to Dr. Rundle's Election to the See of Glouceſter. In which the Credit of " the Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament is particularly conſidered." To which are added three Tracts, viz. I. " An Anſwer to Mr. Stone's ſecond Remarks on the Caſe of " Abraham, with regard to his being commanded by God to offer up his Son Iſaac in " Sacrifice: In a ſecond Letter to the Rev. Mr. Stone, Fellow of the learned Society " of Wadham College, in Oxford." II. " A Diſcourſe on Sincerity: Wherein is " ſhewn, that Sincerity affords juſt Ground for Peace and Satisfaction in a Man's own " Mind, and renders his Conduct juſtly approvable to every other intelligent Being. " Occaſioned by what Dr. Waterland has lately written on the Subject." III. " A " Supplement to the Tract, entitled, The Equity and Reaſonableneſs of a future " Judgment and Retribution exemplified: in which the Doctrine of the eternal Dura- " tion of Puniſhment to the Wicked is more particularly and fully conſidered [*G*]." The

(m) *Ibid.* p. 388.

allowing a poſſibility of miſtake in ſmaller circumſtances. The doctrines they delivered, and the duties they required, were ſuch as they themſelves had verbally received from the mouth of Chriſt; or by thoſe who had thus received them from him; or by a ſpecial revelation from God; or by inferences drawn from the writings of the Old Teſtament; or from the reaſon of things, and the like. Such was our Author's opinion; and in this tract, he lays before his readers the grounds and reaſons upon which it was founded (5).

(5) Brit. Biog. *ubi ſupra*, p. 379, 380. See the Tract on Inſpiration, paſſim.

[*F*] *In a letter to the Rev. Mr. Stone.*] Mr. Chubb, in his " Caſe of Abraham conſidered," had obſerved, that as Abraham ſtood to Iſaac in the relation of a father, he became hence naturally obliged to guard and protect that life which, by a voluntary act, he had been the inſtrument of introducing; or it was *right* and *fit*, in the nature of the thing, that Abraham ſhould guard and protect it. This obligation being thus founded iu nature; and it being alſo *independent* of, and *antecedent* to any divine command, our author thought it would unavoidably follow, that no *ſubſequent divine command* could poſſibly *cancel* or take off the aforeſaid natural obligation. It was, he aſſerted, a manifeſt abſurdity, and a contradiction in terms, to ſay that a natural obligation *ariſes from*, or is *deſtroyed* by a divine command; for if it depends upon a divine command, then it is not a *natural* obligation in the ſenſe in which that term is here uſed. And, if the divine command could not make void the natural obligation which Abraham was under, then Mr. Chubb thinks it will follow, that the *giving* of ſuch a command, with an intent that it ſhould be obeyed, muſt be *wrong*; and conſequently, that *obedience* to ſuch a command muſt be wrong alſo. But he concludes, that God did not intend that the command to Abraham ſhould be obeyed, as is evident by his recalling it;—and this our Author takes to be the ſtate of the caſe.

" Theſe and other obſervations had given occaſion to a " Sermon and Remarks" on the ſubject, by the Rev. Mr. Stone, Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford; a copy of which he preſented to Mr. Chubb, who, in return, addreſſed the letter mentioned above, to his Reverend Adverſary, with a view of reſtoring the caſe of Abraham to its native plainneſs and ſimplicity, by removing that cloud which he apprehended Mr. Stone had drawn over it (6).

(6) Britiſh Biog. *ubi ſupra*, p. 380, 381.

[*G*] *The eternal duration of puniſhment to the wicked is particularly conſidered.*] Our Author, in his diſcourſe on the equity and reaſonableneſs of a future judgment, had offered ſome remarks on the doctrine of a perpetual and endleſs duration to the puniſhment of the wicked; which doctrine ſeemed to him to undermine, or at leaſt to weaken the certainty of a future judgment and retribution. That, however, not being the chief deſign which he had then in view, he did not enter fully into the queſtion; for which reaſon, as well as becauſe his obſervations had not given general ſatisfaction, he now reaſſumed the ſubject; and having more particularly examined it, he ſubmitted his ſentiments to public conſideration, by way

The caſe of Dr. Rundle was this: He was accuſed, and, as we ſhall ſee when we come to his article, falſely accuſed of having, in a private converſation, fifteen years before it was propoſed to make him Biſhop of Glouceſter, declared his diſbelief of that branch of Hiſtory in which God is ſaid to tempt Abraham, by requiring him to offer up his ſon Iſaac for a burnt-offering. Mr. Chubb, however, did not enter into the queſtion whether Dr. Rundle did or did not believe the hiſtory, or whether he had made the declaration with which he was charged. His only deſign is to ſhew, that ſuppoſing any man's election to the office of a Chriſtian Biſhop ſhould be oppoſed on the ground now mentioned, ſuch an oppoſition would be very weak and unjuſtifiable (*l*). Our author's next publication, which appeared in 1737, was, "The Equity and Reaſonableneſs of the divine Conduct in pardoning Sinners upon their Repentance exemplified: Or a Diſcourſe on the Parable of the Prodigal Son. In which thoſe Doctrines, *viz.* that Men are rendered acceptable to God, and that Sinners are recommended to Mercy, either by the perfect Obedience, or the meritorious Sufferings, or by the prevailing Interceſſion of Chriſt, or by one, or other, or all of theſe, are particularly conſidered, and refuted. Occaſioned by Dr. Butler's late Book, entitled, *The Analogy of Religion natural and revealed to the Conſtitution and Courſe of Nature.* Offered to the Conſideration of the Clergy, among all Denominations of Chriſtians [*H*]. To which are added two Diſſertations, *viz.* I. Concerning the Senſe and Meaning of St. Paul's Words, Titus iii. 10, 11. *A Man that is an Heretic, after the firſt and ſecond Admonition, reject: Knowing that he that is ſuch, is ſubverted, and ſinneth, being condemned of himſelf.* II. Concerning the Time for keeping a Sabbath. Offered to the Conſideration of the Sabbatarians. In a Letter to Mr. Ellwall. To which is likewiſe added, The Caſe of pecuniary Mulcts, with regard to Diſſenters, particularly conſidered. In a ſecond Letter to the Rev. Dr. Stebbing."

(*l*) Brit. Biog. *ubi ſupra*, p. 381.

Mr. Chubb, in the courſe of his various publications, had frequently taken occaſion to return to what he calls "the delightful employment of vindicating the moral character of ALMIGHTY GOD; and he had exerted himſelf in the ſupport of what he "eſteemed the true dignity of human nature." But though he always expreſſed a becoming concern for the juſt rights of that reaſon and underſtanding which the gracious Author of our exiſtence has been pleaſed to beſtow upon us, he did not intend, in ſo doing, to exclude the uſe of divine revelation. Indeed, whatever may be thought of his ſentiments concerning various diſputed points in theology, he appears to have had very much at heart the intereſts of our holy religion, and to have been deſirous of ſeeing it fairly exhibited to the world, in its original purity (*m*). With this profeſſed view it was, that he publiſhed, in 1738, a treatiſe, entitled, "The true Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt aſſerted: "Wherein is ſhewn, what is and what is not that Goſpel; what was the great and good "End it was intended to ſerve; how it is excellently ſuited to anſwer that Purpoſe, and "how, or by what Means, that End has in a great Meaſure been fruſtrated. Humbly "offered to public Conſideration, and in particular to all thoſe who eſteem themſelves, "or are eſteemed by others, to be Miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt, and Preachers of his "Goſpel; and more eſpecially to all thoſe who have obtained the Reputation of being "the great Defenders of Chriſtianity. To which is added, A ſhort Diſſertation on "Providence." The principal points which fell under our author's examination, in this performance, are evidently of the greateſt importance to mankind; and, accordingly, he proteſts, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he had purſued his ſubject with all poſſible fairneſs and freedom, with a ſtrict adherence to truth, and with a ſerious regard to a future judgment and retribution. Theſe diſpoſitions he wiſhed to ſee prevailing in ſuch perſons as ſhould think fit to examine his work; in which caſe he did not doubt that what was offered by him would appear in a different light, and have a different effect upon their minds than it would otherwiſe have [*I*]. He was alſo of opinion,

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 387, 388.

way of Supplement to that Tract. His opinion, with regard to this important object, is, that the eternal duration of the torments of the wicked is neither required by the grounds nor the ends of puniſhment; and, therefore, that ſuch a diſtribution of it would not be a juſt, wiſe, or good adminiſtration of government. This opinion he gives fairly, freely, and fully; and having ſet forth the reaſons on which it is founded, he modeſtly ſubmits the whole to the judgment of his readers (7).

(7) Brit. Biog. *ubi ſupra*, p. 384, 385.

[*H*] *Offered to the conſideration of the clergy.*] The uſe which our Author makes of this diſcourſe is, to deſire and entreat the clergy among all the denominations of Chriſtians, that they would take the matter into their moſt ſerious conſideration, it being a point of the utmoſt concern. "I have here ſhewn, ſays "he, what it is which Chriſt hath declared to be the "true and only ground upon which ſinners will obtain God's mercy, viz. by repentance and reformation of their evil ways, or the being ſo changed, "as to ceaſe to be the objects of God's diſpleaſure, "and to become perſonally and in themſelves the "proper objects of his mercy and kindneſs. This is "the only way declared by Jeſus Chriſt, by which "ſinners can be ſaved. Whoever, therefore, points "out to ſinners any other way to God's mercy than "this way declared by Jeſus Chriſt, ſuch a one in "effect preaches another goſpel than what Chriſt "hath preached, and points out to ſinners another "way to God's mercy and life eternal, than what "Chriſt hath pointed out unto them; which as it "muſt be greatly wrong in itſelf, ſo it may be "greatly injurious to the ſouls of men (8)."

(8) Brit. Biog. *ubi ſupra.*

[*I*] *And have a different effect upon their minds than it would otherwiſe have.*] In this famous treatiſe, Mr. Chubb firſt ſhews, "that the great and profeſſed deſign of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, as to his coming into the world, and with reſpect to what he "has revealed to it, performed in it, and ſuffered "from it and for it, is manifeſtly this, *viz.* to *ſave* "*men's*

nion, that by ſeparating the goſpel of Chriſt from thoſe things which have been blended with it, and which have laid a foundation for moſt of the difficulties and objections that have been urged againſt it, he had rendered it defenſible upon rational principles. Indeed, however objectionable his treatiſe may be in certain reſpects, it can ſcarcely be denied that it contains many juſt remarks and admirable reflections; particularly, on the genuine ſpirit of our holy religion, the nature of our Saviour's kingdom, and the various corruptions of Chriſtianity (*n*). It was not to be expected that Mr. Chubb's "True Goſpel" ſhould eſcape animadverſion and cenſure. It was attacked from various quarters; in ſome caſes with great aſperity, in others with moderation and candour. It was chiefly to the latter kind of theſe antagoniſts, who, without uſing reproachful language, thought that he had brought our holy religion into a much narrower compaſs than he ought to have done, that he judged fit to reply without delay, in a piece, entitled, "The true Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt vindicated. And alſo a "Vindication of the Author's ſhort Diſſertation on Providence." In the former part of this publication, Mr. Chubb, having recapitulated what he had advanced in his "True Goſpel," and ſhewn the reaſons on which it was founded, replies to various objections of his opponents. This he doth with candour and ſimplicity, profeſſing the moſt ſincere attachment to truth, and earneſtly diſclaiming every thought and intention of miſleading the reader in a matter of ſuch vaſt importance (*o*). Still, however, his adverſaries multiplied againſt him. He determined, therefore, to reſume his examination of ſome of the moſt important points which he had diſcuſſed in his "True Goſpel."

(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 389, 390.

(*o*) *Ibid.* p. 393.

"*men's ſouls*, that is, to prepare men for, and to enſure to them the favour of God, and their happineſs in another world, and to prevent them from bringing great and laſting miſery upon themſelves." He then proceeds to obſerve, that "this was an end moſt excellent in itſelf, and moſt worthy of him who undertook the proſecution of it; and conſequently, that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt is, under God, the greateſt benefactor to our ſpecies, provided the means made uſe of by him are ſuitable and proper to obtain the end propoſed." This leads him to enquire, "how, or in what way, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt propoſes to ſave men's ſouls; that is, what method he hath taken to prepare men for, and to enſure to them the favour of God, and their happineſs in another world." In the courſe of this enquiry, having, as he ſuppoſes, clearly aſcertained what is the true goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, he points out, by the *way*, in one or two inſtances, what is *not* that goſpel; and then, conſidering farther the ſteps which Jeſus took, in order to render the goſpel effectual for the gracious purpoſe it was intended to ſerve, he fully ſhews that the means made uſe of were all ſuitable and proper to obtain the end propoſed. Hence he is naturally led to examine, how it comes to paſs, that when the Chriſtian revelation was firſt publiſhed to the world, it was not univerſally received; and alſo how it happens, that where it is received, it does not generally have its proper effect upon the minds and lives of men. He concludes the whole with recommending to his readers a ſerious and practical regard to a future retribution; with a view to promote which good end, he lays before them the principles upon which the certainty of a judgment to come is founded (*p*).

(*p*) Brit. Biog. *ubi ſupra*, p. 389, 390.

The ingenious and ſingular Author of the "Life of John Buncle," and of the "Memoirs of ſeveral Ladies of Great Britain," hath repreſented one of his beautiful female characters (Miſs Maria Howel) as making the following ſtrictures on Mr. Chubb's "True Goſpel."

"Another day, during my ſtay at her mother's houſe, at this time, 1741, I found her reading Chubb's *true Goſpel aſſerted*, and aſked her, how ſhe liked that book? I think, Sir, Maria replied, that he writes beautifully, and I take him to be a wiſe and good man: but in ſome things I apprehend he has gone too far, and aſſerted, what he could not prove.

"What is it, *Miſs*, I ſaid, that you diſlike in Mr. Chubb? He is greatly eſteemed in England by the wiſeſt men: they think this book has done ſome ſervice to true religion.

"It is valuable, this charming young creature anſwered, in many reſpects. But, Sir, is he not wrong in confining the *good tidings* to a ſmall part of the goſpel only, without regarding the prophecies of the Old Teſtament; and in order to a right underſtanding of the writings of the Apoſtles, ſhould he not take in the whole canon of the New Teſtament? Our Lord ſays, the Spirit ſhould abide with the holy penmen, lead them into all truth, and teach them things they were not able to bear in his life-time, but would be able to bear after his reſurrection, and the effuſion of the Spirit; when their underſtanding was enlightened, and their faith eſtabliſhed; and after this, to doubt the credit of the apoſtles in ſome things, and ſuppoſe they might any where write their own fancies inſtead of the doctrines of heaven; does it not tend to a ſubverſion of our religion? It appears ſo to me. It makes Mr. Chubb ſeem an inconſiſtent Chriſtian. I likewiſe think, that this gentleman does not lay ſtreſs enough on the *Meſſiah's being come*, and that *Jeſus is the Meſſiah*. To be a Chriſtian, is it ſufficient to have a perſuaſion of this writer's doctrinal propoſitions? ——Is not ſomething more required from us, than to believe we are obliged by the goſpel, to conform our minds and lives to the eternal and unalterable rule of action, which is founded in the reaſon of things; to repent and reform, if we have violated this law; and to expect a day of judgment, for rewards and puniſhments, in proportion to our having, or not having conformed to this rule of righteouſneſs? Theſe propoſitions are, to be ſure, the main part of the true goſpel. They are not the whole of it, as I apprehend.

"Theſe juſt remarks on Mr. Chubb's book, made by this fine young creature, amazed and charmed me, as her mother aſſured me, ſhe had never hinted any thing of the kind to her daughter; and I then proceeded to aſk her, what ſhe thought of this gentleman's other writings, as I ſaw they were all lying about the houſe? Think, Sir, Maria replied; as I conceive, he was a bright man, but as often out as in. What he ſays, in his other writings, of *inſpiration*, the *reſurrection of Chriſt*, and the *caſe of Abraham*, in being commanded of God to offer his ſon, I cannot aſſent to. He is wrong, if I think right. Here ſhe proceeded to lay before me his notion and her notion of *inſpiration*; what he ſaid of the *reſurrection*, and what ſhe thought of that matter: She came to Abraham and Iſaac next, and to my admiring mind, not only confuted my ſage friend, the excellent Mr. Chubb, but, laid before me many new and fine things upon the occaſions (10)."

(10) Memoirs of ſeveral Ladies of Great-Britain, vol. i. p. 123—126. Edition of 1769.

In the diſſertation on Providence, annexed to the "True Goſpel," Mr. Chubb admits, that God, upon ſome extraordinary occaſions, to anſwer ſome great and good ends, may immediately interpoſe to bring about ſuch events as are neceſſary to anſwer thoſe purpoſes; which events would not have been brought about in the courſe of his *general* Providence. But that the ſupreme Being ſhould be *frequently* and almoſt *perpetually* immediately be interpoſing in the affairs of the world, our author thinks is unlikely in itſelf, and, therefore, juſtly to be diſputed.

pel." But, to avoid entering into a wrangling controverſy with the numerous writers who appeared againſt him, he choſe to repreſent to them the ſolid grounds on which true religion is founded. This was the deſign of his tract, which was publiſhed in 1740, under the title of "An Enquiry into the Ground and Foundation of Religion. "Wherein is ſhewn, that Religion is founded in Nature. That is, that there is a Right "and Wrong, a true and falſe Religion in Nature: And that Nature or Reaſon af- "fords plain, obvious, certain Principles, by which a Man may diſtinguiſh theſe, and "form a proper Judgment in the Caſe; and which an honeſt upright Man may ſafely "and ſecurely ſtay his Mind upon; amidſt the various and contrary Opinions that "prevail in the World, with regard to this Subject. To which are added, I. A Poſt- "ſcript, occaſioned by the Publication of Dr. Stebbing's Viſitation Charge, that had "been delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Wilts. II. A ſhort Diſſerta- "tion on Matt. xix. 21.—Occaſioned by Dr. Stebbing's unjuſt and groundleſs Reflexion "on the Author, with regard to this Text, in the aforeſaid Charge. III. An Anſwer "to a private Letter, from a Stranger to the Author, on the Subject of God's Fore- "knowledge." There are three things which Mr. Chubb endeavours to eſtabliſh in this performance; firſt, that nature points out the reaſonableneſs of piety and devotion; ſecondly, that it makes known the true grounds of men's acceptance with God; and thirdly, that it aſcertains the means by which they may render themſelves the proper objects of his mercy and kindneſs. Our author's next publication, which was in 1741, was "A Diſcourſe on Miracles, conſidered as Evidences to prove the divine "Original of a Revelation. Wherein is ſhewn, what Kind and Degree of Evidence "ariſes from them, and in which the various Reaſonings on thoſe Queſtions that relate "to the Subject are fairly repreſented. To which is added an Appendix, containing an "Enquiry into this Queſtion, *viz.* Whether the Doctrines of a future State of Exiſ- "tence to Men, and a future Retribution, were plainly and clearly taught by Moſes "and the Prophets. Humbly offered to the Conſideration of the Rev. Dr. * War- "burton, and all others that particularly intereſt themſelves in this Queſtion." In this diſcourſe Mr. Chubb profeſſes to take a view of the ſubject conſidered ſimply in itſelf, without regard to any particular revelation, or to any particular miracle; and his concluſion, upon the whole, is, that miracles, under the moſt advantageous circumſtances, cannot, in the nature of the thing, afford *certain*, but only *probable* proof, that a revelation is divine (*p*). It might juſtly be expected, that many of our author's readers would diſſent from this concluſion. Mr. Le Moine publiſhed an anſwer, in 1747, which Dr. Leland conſiders as a ſolid and full confutation of Mr. Chubb's diſcourſe (*q*). We believe there are few intelligent men, that have impartially examined the matter, who will not acknowledge that the principles of that diſcourſe (though without any particular reference to it) are clearly refuted in two excellent works, Dr. Douglas's "Criterion," and Mr. Farmer's Treatiſe on Miracles.

* He was at that time only Mr. Warburton.

(*p*) Brit. Biog. *ubi ſupra*, p 392—394.

(*q*) *Ibid.*

In 1743, our author again appeared from the preſs, in "An Enquiry concerning "Redemption. Wherein the Chriſtian Redemption is particularly conſidered. To "which is prefixed a Preface; wherein is ſhewn, That if Chriſtianity be not founded "in Argument, but on thoſe divine Impreſſions that are made on Men's Minds con- "cerning it, (as a late ingenious author has attempted to prove) then it is moſt uncer- "tain and precarious, and cannot be reduced to any ſtandard. And in which is alſo "ſhewn, that Chriſt's Kingdom has been ſo far from being ſupported, and eſtabliſhed "by the Interpoſition of Civil Power; that, on the contrary, it has rather been an- "nihilated thereby." In the concluſion of his preface, Mr. Chubb makes ſome ſtrictures (*r*) on Mr. Warburton, who had ranked him, with other freethinkers, among the mortal foes both of reaſon and religion, injured wit as well as virtue. To a charge ſo ſevere, he anſwers with due ſpirit; and declares, that he had ſincerely and uprightly endeavoured to promote the cauſe of reaſon, religion, and virtue; and that with regard to injured wit, if he had done nothing for it, he had done nothing againſt it. In the enquiry concerning redemption, the principal points inſiſted upon by him are theſe: that penitence is the only ground of God's mercy to ſinners; and that this doctrine is true chriſtianity, ſo far as the evangelical diſpenſation is concerned with the grounds of men's acceptance with God, and of ſinners obtaining the divine mercy (*s*).

(*r*) P. 31—34.

(*s*) Brit. Biog. *ubi ſupra*, p. 395.

The tracts that Mr. Chubb had printed ſince the publication of his firſt collection, in quarto, having now become pretty numerous, he had formed a deſign of collecting them into a ſecond volume; which he intended to cloſe with a diſcourſe, entitled, "The Author's Farewell to his Readers;" wherein he propoſed to take his leave of the world as a writer. But having been diverted, by his friends, from executing the latter part of this ſcheme, he purpoſed to conclude the volume with the Treatiſe on Redemption (*t*). For what reaſons we know not, the deſign was never accompliſhed. Mr. Chubb's next publication (*u*) was "The Ground and Foundation of Morality "conſidered. Wherein is ſhewn, That a diſintereſted Benevolence is a proper and a "worthy Principle of Action to intelligent Beings. And in which is alſo ſhewn, What "ſome of thoſe abſurd and bad Conſequences are, which naturally and obviouſly fol-

(*t*) Preface to the Enquiry concerning Redemption, p. 3.

(*u*) In 1745.

" low the Doctrine of abſolute Selfiſhneſs; or, that Self-good is the ſole and univerſal " Principle of Action in Nature: Occaſioned by the Rev. Mr. Rutherforth's Eſſay on " Morality. To which is added, The firſt Section of the Author's Farewell to his " Readers; namely, The Introduction."—If all Mr. Chubb's writings had been as unexceptionable as his anſwer to Dr. Rutherforth, he would have been entitled to every degree of praiſe. But it was his misfortune that he grew more and more unſettled in his religious opinions, the farther he advanced in life. This diſpoſition was too apparent in the laſt work publiſhed by himſelf, which came out in 1746, under the title of " Four Diſſertations, viz. I. On the Hiſtory of Melchizedek. From which it appears, that Abraham did not give Tithes to Melchizedek, but Melchizedek to " Abraham. II. On the Temper and Behaviour of Eſau and Jacob, the two Sons of " the Patriarch Iſaac. Whereby it appears, that Eſau was much the better Man. " III. On the Conduct of Balaam. In which that Prophet's Character is cleared of " thoſe Reproaches and Imputations wherewith it has been ſtained. IV. On Dr. Sherlock, Lord Biſhop of Saliſbury's Aſſertion, *Thus far all is well:* as grounded upon, " or as an Inference or Concluſion drawn from the following Premiſes, namely, *And* " *the People* (of Izrael) *ſerved the Lord all the Days of* Joſhua, *and all the Days of the* " *Elders that outlived* Joſhua, *who had ſeen all the great Works of the Lord that he did* " *for* Izrael; which Premiſes are the Text to his Lordſhip's Sermon, lately publiſhed. " Inſcribed to Mr. Samuel Dicker, of Walton, in Surrey." Perhaps there was no treatiſe of our author, his poſthumous works excepted, which gave ſuch great and general offence as theſe four diſſertations. They were particularly exceptionable in the eyes of the clergy, who conſidered them as an irreverent attack upon the ſacred writings, which could ſerve only to excite doubts and ſuſpicions, with reſpect to the divine authority of thoſe ineſtimable records. Mr. Chubb hath certainly, in ſome inſtances, laid himſelf open to a cenſure of this kind; and, in others, the captious pertneſs of his remarks can only be equalled by the ignorance which gave them birth. Nevertheleſs, he declares, that truth is the only point at which he aimed; and it is but juſtice to take notice, that the grounds of his enquiry into ſeveral queſtions he has here diſcuſſed, and the obſervations he has made upon them, ſeem evidently to have been a profound veneration of the SUPREME MIND, and an ardent deſire, as he himſelf expreſſes it, " to take off thoſe groundleſs imputations, wherewith men have ſtained the " beautiful and ſpotleſs character of God moſt high (*w*)."

(*w*) Brit. Biog. *ubi ſupra*, p. 397.

(*v*) Brit. B *ubi ſupra.*

Among other charges which the adverſaries of Mr. Chubb alledged againſt him, one was, that his works were the productions of a needy ſcribbler, who wrote for bread. To this accuſation he modeſtly anſwered, that he was under no ſuch neceſſity; for though he had, for ſome time paſt, lived independently of labour, he was principally indebted for it to the bounty of his friends, whoſe kindneſs, he tells us, had enabled him to procure thoſe neceſſaries of ſubſiſtence, which were ſuitable to that rank in the world, wherein he was placed (*x*). His demands muſt have been exceedingly moderate, ſince he never affected to appear in any other than a very humble ſtation. To the laſt period of his life, he delighted in giving aſſiſtance in the trade, which, by Mr. Lawrence's death, devolved on a nephew; not indeed in the making of candles, which muſt be a diſagreeable employment, but in weighing and ſelling them. Our author had the honour of reckoning ſeveral eminent perſons in the liſt of his generous benefactors. Soon after his appearance in the world as a writer, he was introduced into the favour and family of Sir Joſeph Jekyl [*K*], who made him his companion at his intervals of leiſure. Mr. Whiſton had recommended him to Sir Joſeph (*y*), who was particularly ſtruck with his " Previous Queſtion with regard to Religion." In this ſituation, Mr. Chubb had an opportunity of becoming known to many of his patron's acquaintance, by whom he was treated with the reſpect which was due to his genius and his virtues, and whoſe liberality he experienced on various occaſions. He did not, however, continue above a year or two in Sir Joſeph Jekyl's family. Being ſtrongly inclined by nature to retirement and contemplation, he ſoon grew weary of converſing much in the world; and though tempted to remain in town by the offer of a genteel ſettlement for life, he choſe rather to return to Saliſbury. The generoſity of his friends, and particularly of Sir Joſeph Jekyl, followed him into his retreat; and their number increaſing, as his reputation extended, he employed the leiſure which their beneficence afforded him, in the purſuit of his favourite ſtudies, being no longer under a neceſſity of having recourſe to his former occupation for a ſubſiſtence (*z*). Mr. Cheſelden, the eminent Surgeon, was one of his benefactors. That gentleman frequently ſent him ſmall

(*x*) Brit. Biog. *ubi ſupra*, p. 396.

(*y*) Whiſton's Memoirs of his own Life, p. 236, 237.

(*z*) Brit. Biog. *ubi ſupra.*

[*K*] *He was introduced into the favour and family of Sir Joſeph Jekyl.*] What particular department Mr. Chubb occupied in Sir Joſeph's houſe, is now difficult to aſcertain. Mr. Whiſton ſays, that this gentleman allowed him an annual ſalary. There is reaſon to believe, that, at leaſt on extraordinary occaſions, he ſometimes waited at his patron's table, as a ſervant out of livery. The writer of this article well remembers being told by an old Clergyman, nearly forty years ago, that an acquaintance of his, who had dined with Sir Joſeph Jekyl, ſaw Mr. Chubb aſſiſting in that capacity, and was grieved to be thus attended upon, by a man of ſuch ſuperior abilities and underſtanding.

preſents,

preſents, and ſome times ſuits of clothes, which had been little worn, and which Mr. Chubb was well pleaſed to accept, not being in affluent circumſtances. In the latter part of his life, he had an eminent friend in Mr. Samuel Dicker, who offered to ſettle fifty pounds a year upon him, on condition of removing from Saliſbury. But this offer he declined, as he did not at that time ſpend the income of his fortune (*a*).

(*a*) *Ibid.* p. 397. Short Account of Mr. Chubb, p. 10.

The diſapprobation which had been excited by our author's four diſſertations being very great, he ſet himſelf to prepare a vindication of his ſentiments, and of the manner in which he had propoſed them. Whilſt he was thus employed, his health declined ſo faſt, that he did not live to commit what he had written to the preſs. By too intenſe an application to ſtudy, he had not only impaired his ſight, which was always weak; but, as he advanced in years, he brought on frequent complaints in his head; and, at the ſame time, by a diſuſe of his accuſtomed exerciſe, which was much walking, and by an imprudent indulgence of milk-diet, at an improper ſeaſon, he haſtened the decay of a conſtitution that was naturally vigorous. His life, however, was prolonged to his ſixty-eighth year; and, agreeably to the wiſh he had frequently expreſſed, he was happily exempted from many of thoſe evils, which too often aggravate the bitterneſs of death. On the eighth of February, 1746-7, after a ſhort complaint of an unuſual pain in his ſtomach, he ſuddenly breathed his laſt, as he ſat in his chair, having been ſo well, on the ſame day, as to dine abroad with one of his friends (*b*) *. According to his own direction, he was buried on the right hand of the chancel of St. Edmund's church, in Saliſbury, near the remains of Mr. Lawrence, for whoſe memory he had always entertained the moſt affectionate regard. The eminence of Mr. Chubb's intellectual abilities is generally allowed; and on this account he was not only admired by the reſpectable perſons we have already mentioned, but by Dr. Samuel Clarke, Biſhop Hoadly, Dr. John Hoadly, Arch-deacon Rolleſton, and Mr. Harris. Several of his tracts, when in manuſcript, were ſeen by theſe gentlemen; but they never made the leaſt correction in them, even with regard to orthography, in which our author was deficient. With reſpect to his moral character, he was uniformly diſtinguiſhed by the integrity, ſimplicity, and ſobriety of his manners. Divine worſhip was conſtantly frequented by him, in his own pariſh church, to the time of his death. His deportment was grave, and his aſpect thoughtful; but his converſation was extremely affable and engaging. As to the form of his body, he was of a low ſtature, and inclined to corpulency (*c*). Soon after Mr. Chubb's deceaſe, a ſhort and faithful account of his life and character was written by a gentleman of Saliſbury. This being much in our author's favour, provoked one Mr. Horler, a Clergyman, to publiſh a pamphlet, entitled, "Memoirs of Mr. Thomas Chubb, late of Saliſbury: or, a fuller and more "faithful Account of his Life, Writings, Character, and Death." The bigotry and malignity of this pamphlet can ſcarcely be equalled, and have never been exceeded. Mr. Horler's falſe and virulent charges were properly expoſed, in a "Vindication of "the Memory of Mr. Chubb, from the ſcurrilous and groundleſs Calumnies ſuggeſted "by a late infamous Libel."

(*b*) Brit. Biog. *ubi ſupra*, p. 397, 398.

* Dying without a will, his fortune, which amounted to about eleven hundred pounds, devolved to a brother.

(*c*) Brit. Biog. *ubi ſupra.*

Though we have given ſo full a detail of our Author's writings, the reader's judgment of them cannot properly be formed, without taking into the account his celebrated "Poſthumous Works," which were publiſhed in two volumes, octavo, in 1748, the year after his death. Theſe works have the advantage of having been deliberately finiſhed, tranſcribed, and, for the moſt part, corrected for the preſs, by Mr. Chubb's own hand. Indeed, he ſeems to have expected that they would have appeared in the world during his life; and accordingly, he repreſents them as containing his laſt and moſt mature thoughts on the various points which came under his examination. The firſt of theſe poſthumous volumes begins with a ſhort tract, the title of which is "Remarks on the Scriptures;" and is followed by another tract, ſtill ſhorter, comprizing ſome "Obſervations on the Reverend Mr. Warburton's divine Legation of Moſes." But the greater part of the firſt, and the entire ſecond volume, are taken up with what is called "The Author's Farewell to his Readers;" comprehending a number of treatiſes on the moſt important points of Religion. Theſe are divided into eleven large ſections, and contain a great variety of matter, relative to divine impreſſions, the exiſtence of a Deity; religion, taken in all its views; a future ſtate of exiſtence, a future judgment and retribution, divine revelation in general, prophecy, miracles, the perſonal character of Jeſus Chriſt, and the writings of the Apoſtles. In diſcuſſing theſe momentous ſubjects, Mr. Chubb is juſtly chargeable with frequent inconſiſtency, and ſelf-contradiction. But his poſthumous works, notwithſtanding their evident defects, were much extolled by many perſons; and it muſt be confeſſed, that he diſcovers, through the whole, a ſerious concern for the preſent and future happineſs of mankind, and that ſeveral topics are treated of by him with equal force and propriety. At the ſame time, however, by labouring to ſhew, that we cannot arrive at certainty with regard to the divine original of any external revelation; by arraigning the wiſdom and equity of the Jewiſh diſpenſation; and by endeavouring to invalidate the evidences of Chriſtianity, he hath done what in him lay to unſettle the minds of his readers. After all, he allows

it

it to be probable, that the miſſion of Chriſt was divine. From a general view of the Chriſtian revelation, he thinks this concluſion follows, that Jeſus was probably ſent by God to be an inſtructor to mankind. Thus far he profeſſes to be a believer and a Chriſtian; and as to diſcipleſhip to Chriſt, he thought himſelf concerned to imitate his excellent example, and to follow the wholeſome counſels or precepts, which he had given or recommended to the world (*d*).

(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 398—400.

Notwithſtanding theſe declarations, Mr. Chubb is uſually ranked among the deiſtical writers. In this view he is conſidered by Dr. Leland, who hath employed two long letters on his poſthumous works, and hath made upon them many judicious and important obſervations (*e*). The excellent and learned Biſhop of Carliſle, (Dr. Edmund Law) beſides making ſeveral incidental ſtrictures on our Author's productions, hath deſcribed him in the following terms. "On this occaſion, I ſhall take the liberty of "offering a few general hints to the admirers of a late diſtinguiſhed writer of this rank, "the celebrated Mr. Chubb; who, notwithſtanding a tolerably clear head, and ſtrong "natural parts; yet by ever aiming at things far beyond his reach; by attempting a "variety of ſubjects, for which his narrow circumſtances, and ſmall compaſs of reading "and knowledge had in a great meaſure diſqualified him; from a faſhionable, but a fal-"lacious, kind of philoſophy, (with which he ſet out, and by which one of his education "might very eaſily be miſled) he fell by degrees to ſuch confuſion in divinity, to ſuch "low quibbling on ſome obſcure paſſages in our tranſlation of the bible, and was re-"duced to ſuch wretched cavils as to ſeveral hiſtorical facts and circumſtances, wherein "a ſmall ſkill either in the languages, or ſciences, might have ſet him right; or a ſmall "ſhare of real modeſty would have ſupplied the want of them, by putting him upon "conſulting thoſe who could, and would have given him proper aſſiſtance;——that he "ſeems to have fallen at laſt into an almoſt univerſal ſcepticiſm; and quitting that former "ſerious and ſedate ſobriety, which gave him credit, contents himſelf with carrying "on a mere farce for ſome time; acts the part of a ſolemn grave buffoon; ſneers at "all things he does not underſtand; and after all his fair profeſſions, and the *cæveat* he "has entered againſt ſuch a charge, muſt unavoidably be ſet down in the ſeat of the "ſcorner (*f*)." A more favourable character is drawn of our Author, in the poſtilla to the memoirs of ſeveral ladies of Great-Britain. A reſpectable divine having deſcribed his works, by the language, of *the poor endeavours of this honeſt man*; his advocate (*g*) thus ſtands up in his defence. "One might imagine from this, if a ſtranger to Mr. "Chubb's writings, that he was a poor creature, without abilities, and a malicious "writer againſt the Chriſtian religion. Mr. Chubb was no ſuch man. If he had no "learning, he had the gift of a moſt extraordinary underſtanding, and in his writings "has ſhewn very great abilities. There is a beauty and ſtrength in many of his "thoughts, and in all his language, which render him, as a writer, ſuperior in thoſe "reſpects to every one who hath written againſt him: and though he is *wrong* in ſome "caſes; yet his heart, to my knowledge, was right honeſt, and his pen expreſſed only "the dictates of his conſcience. He was a ſincere good man as ever lived. He really "believed that the ſcheme he had given of the goſpel was true. His notions of *In-"ſpiration*, the *Reſurrection*, *Abraham*, &c. he thought very juſt; and excluſively of "ſuch ſpeculative faults which he could not help, was as good a Chriſtian as any of "his contemporaries; if the eſſence of chriſtianity conſiſts in *an exact rectitude of mind "and life*, and the *worſhip of the ſupreme God, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord*. This is "the truth of Mr. Chubb's caſe. I knew him well (*h*)." Whether this encomium may not be carried, in ſome degree, too far; and whether full credit is to be given to ſo romantic a writer as Mr. Amory, (for ſuch was the real name of the author of the Memoirs of ſeveral Ladies, and of John Buncle) we leave to the determination of our judicious and impartial readers.] K.

(*e*) Leland's View of Deiſtical Writers, vol. i. p. 293—376.

(*f*) Conſiderations on the Theory of Religion, &c. p. 304, 305. Sixth edition.

(*g*) The Author of the Life of John Buncle.

(*h*) Memoirs of ſeveral Ladies of Great-Britain, vol. ii. p. 286, 287. Edit. of 1769.

CHUDLEIGH (Lady MARY), a philoſophic and poetic lady, was the daughter of Richard Lee, Eſq; of Winſlover, in Devonſhire, and born in 1656. She had an education in which literature ſeemed but little regarded, being taught no other than her native language (*a*); but her fondneſs for books, great application, and uncommon abilities, enabled her to make a conſiderable figure among the literari of her time. She became raviſhed particularly with the charms of poetry, and being married to Sir George Chudleigh, Bart. ſhe had by him, among ſeveral other children, one daughter named Elizabeth Maria, who, dying in the bloom of life, to the great grief of her mother, this lady ſacrificed to her memory in a poem, intituled, *A Dialogue between Larinda and Mariſſa*. Some time after appeared another evidence of her poetic talent, called, *The Ladies Defence*, occaſioned by an angry ſermon preached againſt the fair ſex (*b*). Though ſhe was indeed perfectly in love with the charms of poetry, yet ſhe dedicated ſome part of her time to the ſeverer ſtudies of philoſophy, as appears in the excellent eſſays which ſhe publiſhed in verſe and proſe, in 1710, with a dedication to her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs Sophia, then heir apparent to the Britiſh crown; upon which occaſion the Princeſs,

(*a*) Ballard's Lives of eminent Women, in her article.

(*b*) Theſe, with many others, were collected into a volume, and printed in 1722.

Princeſs, in her eightieth year, honoured her with a very polite epiſtle in French [*A*]. Lady Chudleigh ſurvived this addreſs but a very ſhort time, being tranſlated into another world the ſame year, 1710, in the fifty-fifth year of her age. She is ſaid to have written, beſide her works in print, ſeveral other things, as tragedies, operas, maſques, &c. of which the manuſcripts are preſerved in the family. She was a lady of great virtue as well as underſtanding, and made the latter ſubſervient to the former.

[*A*] *The Princeſs honoured her with an epiſtle in French.*] It runs thus in Engliſh:

Hanover, June 25, 1710.

'Lady Chudleigh,

'You have done me a very great pleaſure in letting 'me know, by your agreeable book, that there is 'ſuch a one as you in England, who has ſo improved 'herſelf, that ſhe can communicate her ſentiments 'in a fine manner to the world. As for me, I do 'not pretend to deſerve the commendations you give 'me; but by the eſteem which I have of your merit 'and good ſenſe, which will always induce me to 'perfectly regard you; and to be, upon all occa-'ſions,

'Your affectionate friend to ſerve you,

'SOPHIA, Electreſs.'

The ſubjects of Lady Chudleigh's eſſays are *knowledge, pride, humility, life, death, fear, grief, riches, ſelf-love, juſtice, anger, calumny, friendſhip, love, avarice, ſolitude*; in all which (to ſay nothing of the purity and elegance of her pen) ſhe diſcovers an uncommon degree of piety and knowledge, and a noble contempt of thoſe vanities which the generality of her ſex ſo much regard, and ſo eagerly purſue; in which reſpect, ſhe deſerves to be recorded as a worthy benefactor to the cauſe of religion. N.

*** [In the collection of Poems, by the moſt eminent Ladies of Great-Britain and Ireland, are ſeveral of Lady Chudleigh's. From a peruſal of them, we are clearly of opinion, that ſhe had not much of that fine fancy which is neceſſary to a truely poetical genius. She was only a woman endued with ſtrong powers of underſtanding, who was capable of expreſſing her ideas in verſe, with a conſiderable degree of force. How great an advocate ſhe was for female knowledge, and how much ſhe preferred the beauties of the mind to thoſe of the body, are particularly apparent from her "Ladies Defence," which paſſed through various editions. As a ſpecimen of her talents, and of her mode of thinking, we ſhall inſert one or two paſſages from this poem.

"Thoſe gen'rous few, whom kinder thoughts inſpire,
And who the happineſs of all deſire;
Who wiſh we were from barb'rous uſage free,
Exempt from toils, and ſhameful ſlavery,
Yet let us, unreprov'd, miſ-ſpend our hours,
And to mean purpoſes employ our nobler pow'rs.
They think, if we our thoughts can but expreſs,
And know but how to work, to dance and dreſs,
It is enough, as much as we ſhou'd mind,
As if we were for nothing elſe deſign'd,
But made, like puppets, to divert mankind.
O that my ſex wou'd all ſuch toys deſpiſe;
And only ſtudy to be good and wiſe;
Inſpect themſelves, and every blemiſh find,
Search all the cloſe receſſes of the mind,
And leave no vice, no ruling paſſion there,
Nothing to raiſe a bluſh, or cauſe a fear:
Their memories with ſolid notions fill,
And let their reaſon dictate to their will;
Inſtead of novels, hiſtories peruſe,
And for their guides the wiſer antients chuſe,
Through all the labyrinths of learning go,
And grow more humble, as they more do know.
By doing this they will reſpect procure,
Silence the men, and laſting fame ſecure;
And to themſelves the beſt companions prove,
And neither fear their malice, nor deſire their love (1)."

(1) Poems by eminent Ladies, vol. i. p. 215, 216.

"Beauty's a trifle merits not my care,
I'd rather Æſop's ugly viſage wear,
Join'd with his mind, than be a fool and fair.
Brightneſs of thought, and an extenſive view
Of all the wonders nature has to ſhew;
So clear, ſo ſtrong, and ſo enlarg'd a ſight
As can pierce through the gloomy ſhades of night,
Trace the firſt heroes to their dark abodes,
And find the origin of men and Gods:
See empires riſe, and monarchies decay,
And all the changes of the world ſurvey:
The antient and the modern fate of Kings,
From whence their glory, or misfortune ſprings;
Wou'd pleaſe me more, than if in one combin'd,
I'd all the graces of the female kind.
But do not think 'tis an ambitious heat;
To you I'll leave the being rich and great:
Yours be the fame, the profit, and the praiſe;
We'll neither rob you of your vines, nor bays:
Nor will we to dominion once aſpire;
You ſhall be chief, and ſtill yourſelves admire:
The tyrant man may ſtill poſſeſs the throne,
'Tis in our minds that we wou'd rule alone:
Thoſe unſeen empires give us leave to ſway,
And to our reaſon private homage pay:
Our ſtruggling paſſions within bounds confine,
And to our thoughts their proper taſks aſſign.
This is the uſe we wou'd of knowledge make;
You quickly wou'd the good effects partake.
Our converſations it wou'd ſoon refine,
And in our words, and in our actions ſhine:
And by a pow'rful influence on our lives,
Make us good friends, good neighbours, and good wives.
Of this ſome great examples have been ſhown,
Women remarkable for virtue known:
Jealous of honour, and upright of life,
Serene in dangers, and averſe to ſtrife:
Patient when wrong'd, from pride and envy free,
Strangers to falſehood and to calumny;
Of every noble quality poſſeſt:
Well ſkill'd in ſcience, and with wiſdom bleſt.
In antient Greece, where merit ſtill was crown'd,
Some ſuch as theſe in her records were found.
Rome her Lucretia, and her Portia ſhow,
And we to her the fam'd Cornelia owe:
A place with them does great Zenobia claim;
With theſe I cou'd ſome modern ladies name,
Who help to fill the bulky liſts of fame:
Women renown'd for knowledge, and for ſenſe,
For ſparkling wit, and charming eloquence (2)."

(2) *Ibid.* p. 219, 220.

From the ſeverity which Lady Chudleigh, in ſome parts of her poem, diſplays againſt the men, we are induced to conjecture, that ſhe was not very happy in marriage.] K.

CHURCHILL (SIR WINSTON), a gentleman of diſtinguiſhed loyalty, and an eminent Hiſtorian in the reign of Charles II. He was deſcended from an antient and very honourable family in Dorſetſhire, who had been owners of land in that county, from a very little after the Norman Conqueſt, down to the time of his birth (*a*); ſo that in point of deſcent, there was no need of having recourſe to art, in order to give luſtre to a family, which, in itſelf, had all the genuine marks of ſplendor that conſtitute true nobility, *viz.* a known lineage of worthy perſons through a long ſeries of years, whoſe

(*a*) Baronage, by Collins, vol. i. p. 191.

names are to be found in our records, the only certain evidences of Engliſh gentility [*A*]. He was the ſon of John Churchill, Eſq; of Minthorn, in Dorſetſhire, a very eminent Lawyer, who added that and other eſtates to thoſe which deſcended to him from his anceſtors, by his ſucceſs in his profeſſion (*b*), by Sarah, daughter and coheireſs of Sir Henry Winſton, of Standiſton, in Glouceſterſhire, Knt (*c*). He was born at Wooton Glanvile in Dorſetſhire, ſome time in the year 1620, as ſome ſay (*d*); but Anthony Wood tells us, that he was born at London, but fixes his birth in the ſame year (*e*). He was diſtinguiſhed in his youth by the mildneſs and modeſty of his diſpoſition, as well as by a natural turn to learning, which occaſioned his being ſent to St. John's College at Oxford, when he had ſcarcely attained the age of ſixteen (*f*). He ſtudied there with great induſtry and application, and would probably have betaken himſelf to ſome learned profeſſion, if the diſorders of the times, and the circumſtances of his family, had not obliged him to leave the univerſity ſooner than he intended, and before he had taken a degree (*g*). He engaged, from principles of loyalty, in the cauſe of his unfortunate Sovereign King Charles I. for which he ſuffered ſeverely in his fortune, and having married while young, Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir John Drake, of Aſhe, in Devonſhire, ſhe was forced to ſeek a refuge in her father's houſe, when Mr. Churchill's undeſerved misfortunes left him none that he could call his own, and there moſt of his children were born, and conſequently were, by the mother's ſide, allied to ſome of the beſt and nobleſt families in this kingdom [*B*]. At the King's return, Mr. Churchill's

(*b*) Genealogical Notes relating to the Family of Churchill.

(*c*) Lediard's Life of John Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 6. Edit. 1743.

(*d*) Peerage of England, vol. i. p. 193.

(*e*) Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 820.

(*f*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 6.

(*g*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 820.

[*A*] *The only certain evidences of Engliſh gentility.*] A certain German writer, after the battle of Hochſtedt, drew up an account of this family, in the manner of that country, without authorities (1); and therefore, little or no regard ought to be paid to it. The higheſt that, with any appearance of truth, and hiſtorical certainty, can be traced of this line, is Gitto de Leon, a Norman, who flouriſhed, *Anno Domini* 1055, under William the Baſtard, Duke of Normandy. His ſecond ſon, Wandrill took the ſurname of Courcil from a Lordſhip of that name, of which he was the owner. He had two ſons, Roger and Rowland. From the latter, deſcend the family of Courcils, who have large poſſeſſions in ſeveral provinces of France, at this day. Roger de Courcil attended Duke William in his expedition into this kingdom, and as a reward for his ſervices had lands given him in Wiltſhire, Dorſetſhire, Somerſetſhire, and Shropſhire, among which was the Lordſhip of Churchill, as it was afterwards called in the county of Somerſet, the place of his abode (2). This Roger, by his wife Gertrude, daughter to Sir Guy de Torbay, had John his ſon and heir, whoſe wife was Joan de Kilrington, by whom he had Sir Bartholomew de Chercile, who held the Caſtle of Briſtol for King Stephen; in whoſe ſervice he was killed, and in honour of him, the ſmall town of Churchill, was ſo called (3). He married Agnes, daughter to Ralph Fitz Ralph, Lord of Tiverton, and by her had Pagan de Chercile, whoſe ſon Roger had free warren in his lands in Chercile in the reign of Edward I. To this Roger ſucceeded Elias de Churchelle, whoſe wife was Dorothy, a daughter of the ancient family of Columbiers, and by her had three ſons, John, who married Joan, daughter and coheir to Roger Dawney of Norton, and left only two daughters his coheirs, Margaret, the wife of Andrew Hilberſon of the county of Devon, and Agnes, married to Thomas Gifford of Theuborough in Cornwall, whereby the Lordſhip of Churchill and other lands devolved on them. Giles, ſecond ſon, had the Lordſhip of Yampton and Lineham in Devonſhire, which eſtates, by a female heir, deſcended to the family of Croker of the ſame county, ſo that William, the third ſon of Elias, was the chief heir-male (4). This William was ſeated at Rockbear in the county of Devon, and left iſſue, Giles Churchill, Eſq; father of Charles Churchill, Eſq; who, for his firm adherence to the Houſe of York, was in great favour with King Edward IV. who advanced him to the marriage of Margaret, only daughter of Sir William Wodvile, by whom he had Thomas Churchill, Eſq; whoſe wife was Grace, daughter and coheir to Thomas Tylle of Tylle-houſe in the county of Cornwall, and by her he had William Churchill, his heir and ſucceſſor, who married Mary, eldeſt daughter to Richard Creuſe of Wicroft-caſtle in the county of Devon, Eſq; and by her he had three ſons, Roger of Catherſton, William of Corton, and John, who was ſeated at Muſton, all in the county of Dorſet. The ſaid Roger marrying Jane, relict of Nicholas Mogg, and daughter to William Peverell of Bradford, by her had Matthew Churchill of Bradford, who marrying Elizabeth, daughter to John Chaplet of Herringſton in the county of Dorſet, had John, his heir, grandfather of Sir Winſton, and another ſon, named Jaſper, father of Sir John Churchill, an eminent Counſel in the reign of King Charles II. who marrying Suſan, daughter to Edmund Prideaux, Eſq; by her, left only four daughters, who were his coheirs (5).

(1) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 1, 2.

(2) In Libro Dom. Dei, fo. 47. 58. 80.

(3) MS. Remarks upon Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle. See alſo his epitaph in the Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 3.

(4) Collins's Peerage of England, vol. i. p. 191.

(5) Remarks on the Genealogy of the Family of Churchill.

[*B*] *To ſome of the beſt and nobleſt families in this kingdom.*] The family of the Drakes of Aſhe in the county of Devon, were very ancient and honourable, and were firſt ſeated at Exmouth in the ſame county, where there had been no leſs than ten ſucceſſions, all of the name of John (6). Sir Bernard Drake, grandfather of Sir Winſton Churchill, by his mother's ſide, was a great Courtier, and a famous ſea Captain in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and was a perſon of ſo high ſpirit, that he gave the famous Sir Francis Drake a box on the ear for aſſuming his Arms, which were a Wivern diſplayed, Gules; and this provoked the Queen to ſuch a degree, that ſhe gave a new Coat to Sir Francis Drake, and for his creſt, a ſhip on a Globe held by a cable with a hand out of the clouds, and in the rigging hung up by the heels a Wivern with wings diſplayed, Gules; of which, when ſhe aſked Sir Bernard his opinion, he boldly anſwered, *Madam, though you could give him a finer, yet you could not give him an ancienter Coat than mine* (7) This gentleman, who deceaſed *Anno Dom.* 1585, by Gertrude his wife, daughter of Bartholomew Forteſcue of Fillegh in the ſame county, anceſtor to the late Earl of Clinton (8), had iſſue, Sir John Drake, Knt. who married Eleanor, ſecond daughter, and one of the coheireſſes of John, Lord Boteler of Brampfield (9) in the county of Hertford, a perſon of very illuſtrious deſcent, and who eſpouſed Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir George Villiers of Brokeſby in the county of Leiceſter, Knt. ſiſter to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, the great favourite of the Kings, James and Charles I (10). The ſon of this gentleman, and the brother of Lady Churchill was Knighted by King Charles II. and afterwards created a Baronet by the ſame Prince, Auguſt 31, 1660 (11): he was alſo intended among the reſt of the loyal Gentlemen of Devonſhire to have been made a Knight of the Royal Oak, if the King, for very good reaſons, had not thought fit to deſiſt from that deſign; but his name ſtill remains in the liſt of thoſe who were propoſed for that honour, from whence it appears, that he was then eſteemed to have an eſtate of eight hundred pounds a year (12). This family is now extinct, but in honour of his deſcent from it, his Grace, the late Duke of Marlborough, took for his ſupporters, two Wiverns, Gules (13); and the preſent Duke has for his ſiniſter ſupporter, a Wivern, Argent, wings expanded (14).

(6) Sir William Pole's Deſcents of Devon, MS.

(7) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 245.

(8) Collins's Peerage, vol. iv. p. 29.

(9) Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 465.

(10) See the article VILLIERS (GEORGE), Duke of Buckingham, in this Dictionary.

(11) Dugdale's Cat. of Baronets.

(12) Liſt of the intended Knights of the Royal Oak, MS. belonging to the late Peter Le Neve, Eſq;

(13) Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 203.

(14) See the Coats of Arms at the head of the fourth volume of the Peerage, N°7.

affairs wore another aſpect: he removed to his ſeat at Minthorn in Dorſetſhire, and was elected a Burgeſs for the borough of Weymouth in that county, for that Parliament which met May 8, 1661 (*i*); and ſoon after, *viz.* in the latter end of 1663, his Majeſty was pleaſed to confer upon him the honour of Knighthood (*k*). The ſecurity and quiet of the times reviving in his breaſt that love of literature which had poſſeſſed him in his youth, he aſſociated himſelf much with men of learning, and with ſuch as were remarkable for being the patrons of learning, which induced the Members of the Royal Society, ſoon after its foundation, to elect him a Fellow of that noble eſtabliſhment for the promoting of uſeful knowledge (*l*). In the year 1664, Sir Winſton Churchill, together with Sir Richard Rainsford, Sir Thomas Beverly, Sir Edward Deering, Sir Edward Smith, Sir Allen Broderick, and Colonel Cook, were appointed Commiſſioners of the Court of Claims in Ireland (*m*), with power to hear and adjudge the qualifications of thoſe who had forfeited their eſtates; in which office he did very great ſervice, by contributing, in conjunction with his colleagues, to ſettle that nation in a ſtate of tranquillity, which, at the time of their coming over, was in very great diſtraction (*n*) [*C*]. Upon his return from thence, he was conſtituted one of the Clerks Comptrollers of the Green Cloth, an office of conſideration and credit at court, and received alſo other marks of his Majeſty's kind acceptance of his ſervices. But, as his attendance at court did not take up any great portion of his time, he had leiſure enough to reſume his ſtudies, and this led him to review and publiſh a kind of Political Eſſay upon the Hiſtory of England, in which having treated many points, and more eſpecially one, according to thoſe high notions of loyalty which he had imbibed in his youth, and upon which he always acted (*o*), they drew a cenſure upon his book by men of different principles, who likewiſe attacked his conduct in Parliament with great virulence. It is perhaps owing to the notions then conceived to its prejudice, that, notwithſtanding the reading and learning ſhewn therein, very little regard is now paid to his work [*D*]. The

(*i*) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, vol. ii. p. 445.

(*k*) Alphabetical Liſt of Knights made by Charles II.

(*l*) Sprat's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, p. 432.

(*m*) Sir Richard Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland.

(*n*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, vol. ii. p. 297.

(*o*) He publiſhed this work in 1675.

[*C*] *Was in very great diſtraction.*] The deſign of this Court, which was erected in virtue of the Act of Settlement, was to diſtinguiſh, among the old Iriſh, between the innocent and the guilty. The period aſſigned by the King's Declaration, was the 2d of May 1661, which the Iriſh Parliament enlarged to the 1ſt of Auguſt 1662, and prolonged it afterwards to July 2, 1663. The place in which they ſat was at the King's Inn in Dublin, and out of about four thouſand Claims, they determined before their commiſſion expired, about ſix hundred and thirty, by which, numbers of perſons and their heirs were reſtored, who would otherwiſe have loſt their eſtates (15). This certainly contributed not a little to calm the minds of the native Iriſh; but at the ſame time it occaſioned a very high clamour amongſt Cromwell's ſoldiers, and all thoſe to whom theſe lands had been diſpoſed of, by the powers that were then lately in being; and to this, we are to impute that reſentment with which ſome writers ſpeak of this Court of Claims, and of thoſe who ſat therein (16).

(15) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, P. ii. p. 6.

(16) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, vol. ii. p. 297.

[*D*] *Very little regard is now paid to his work.*] The title of this book at large, runs thus: DIVI BRITANNICI, *being a Remark upon the Lives of all the Kings of this Iſle, from the year of the world* 2855, *unto the year of Grace* 1660, by Sir *Winſton Churchill*, Knt. London 1675, fol. It is dedicated to King Charles II. and in the Dedication, the author takes notice, that having ſerved his Majeſty's father as long as he could with his ſword, he ſpent a great part of thoſe leiſure hours, which were forced upon him by his misfortunes, in defending that Prince's cauſe, and, indeed, the cauſe of Monarchy itſelf, with his pen; and he very clearly avows, that he looked upon his work as the funeral Oration of that deceaſed government, or rather as his title ſpeaks it, the Apotheoſes of departed Kings. This being the nature of his work, it was natural to expect, that the ſtile ſhould correſpond therewith, that it ſhould be raiſed and florid, and not ſubjected to the rules of Hiſtory, for which the author never meant it. But notwithſtanding this, the dates are generally very exact, the facts are well ſupported by authorities, there are abundance of curious and judicious obſervations interſperſed through it, and if it were not for that flaming zeal, that Enthuſiaſm of Loyalty which runs through it, and which, if it was a weakneſs in the author, was alſo the foible of thoſe times, and the more excuſable in a perſon who had fought and ſuffered for his principles, it might be conſidered as a very extraordinary performance. In order to juſtify in ſome meaſure this account, it may not be amiſs to cite a very curious paſſage from his Introduction. Thus it runs; 'What the number 'and ſtrength of the Norman was, may be nearly 'computed by what he did abroad in that holy, and 'what he ſuffered at home in that unholy war, commonly called the Barons War: the firſt, for religion; 'the laſt, for liberty. The one having conſumed as 'many lives as there were ſtones in the walls of the 'Holy City they fought for; the other not ſo fatal, 'becauſe poiſed with a more equal force, but altogether as formidable; there being at leaſt 50,000 'always ready to do execution on either ſide. So 'ſtood the caſe for the firſt two hundred and fifty 'years after the entrance of William the Firſt. The 'computation of the middle times, muſt be taken 'from the preparation of Edward the Third, when 'he took two Kings, and miſſed but little of taking 'two kingdoms at once, engaging himſelf in a double edged war, that ended not with his own 'life or theirs; wherein, though it is ſuppoſed he 'exhauſted as much of the force as the treaſure of 'the kingdom, yet he did not ſo weaken his ſucceſſor 'Richard II. but that he was able to take the field 'with 300,000 foot, and 100,000 horſe attending 'him (as Walſingham tells us) whoſe teſtimony has 'the more credit, by how much it is ſeconded by 'Emilius, the French Hiſtorian, who had no cauſe 'to magnify the number of the Engliſh at that time. 'Later computations may be taken from the preparations of Henry the Eighth, at Bullen, Queen 'Elizabeth, at Tilbury, at either, not ſo little, as '185,000 foot, and 40,000 horſe in readineſs for 'preſent ſervice; for I am willing to paſs by the conſideration of thoſe vaſt numbers which ſupported 'that unnatural quarrel betwixt the two fatal Houſes 'of York and Lancaſter, as likewiſe the late war betwixt King Charles the Firſt and the Republican 'Faction, when it is believed there were no leſs than 'three hundred thouſand foot, and ſixty thouſand 'horſe actually engaged in arms; and from thoſe 'parades at the reception of King James, when he 'made his firſt entry into England, and more eſpecially at the happy Reſtauration of our Sovereign, 'that now is, whoſe Life-guard at his landing, were 'no leſs than fifty thouſand of perhaps the beſt horſe 'in the world: not reckoning thoſe appointed for the 'defence of the Realm. However, all the computations of our land forces fall ſo ſhort of our Maritime, that, as there is no compariſon to be made 'betwixt

The diſlike of the party did not ſtop here, but followed him ſo cloſely, that after the diſſolution of that which was ſtiled the Long Parliament, he was, in 1678, diſmiſſed from his poſt of Clerk of the Green Cloth (*p*), though much againſt his Maſter's will, who, as ſoon as he delivered himſelf from the reſtraint which the ſituation of his affairs had put him under, reſtored him again to his office, which, during the reſt of that reign, he held, and was the oldeſt Clerk of the Green Cloth at King Charles's death (*q*). He remained in his office, and enjoyed the ſame if not a greater degree of favour from court, during the ſhort reign of King James II. and having had the pleaſure to ſee his eldeſt ſurviving ſon raiſed to the Peerage, and the reſt of his children in a fair way of promotion, he departed this life the twenty-ſixth of March, 1688 (*r*); and three days after was buried in the pariſh church of St. Martin in the Fields, leaving iſſue by his Lady before-mentioned ſeveral children, both ſons and daughters, as the reader may ſee in the notes [*E*]; beſides three ſons and as many daughters that died in their infancy, and of whom therefore it was not neceſſary to give any farther account.

(*p*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 7.

(*q*) Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 821.

(*r*) Peerage of England, by Collins, vol. i. p. 193.

' betwixt them; ſo we may ſay, that we have rendred ' ourſelves more formidable by our Cannon Law at ' ſea, than any other people by any Law of Arms ' whatſoever.' We are told by Anthony Wood (17), that there being ſome paſſages in this work about the King's power of raiſing money without Parliament; this gave ſuch offence to the Members of the Parliament then ſitting, that the leaf in which this occurred being cancelled, and reprinted without that offenſive paſſage in a great part of the edition, the author hoped thereby to pleaſe and to give content. If Mr. Wood had been pleaſed to inform us, which page this was, it would have ſhewn more accuracy and better acquaintance with a work that he has cenſured very ſeverely. *In the ſaid book*, ſays he, *which is very thin and trite, are the Arms of all the Kings of England, which made it ſell among Novices, rather than from the matter therein.* Another critical Hiſtorian, who ſeems to have had Mr. Wood in his eye, ſpeaks alſo very ſlightly of our author's performance (18). ' There are, *ſays he*, ſome later Hiſtories, which are ' ſo well known to all that are any thing curious in ' theſe matters, that I need do little more than ' mention them; ſuch are Sir Winſtone Churchill's ' *Divi Britainnici*, which gives the reader a diverting ' view of the Arms and exploits of our Kings down ' to the Reſtoration in 1660, *&c.*' Another writer treats our author's character as well as book with leſs decency; for he charges him (19) not only with aſſerting that the King might raiſe money without a Parliament, but with conſenting to his daughter's kindneſs for the Duke of York, and receiving in gratifications from the Crown ten thouſand pounds. But conſidering this as a political pamphlet written to ſerve a particular turn, and written at a time when the preſs being under reſtraint, that which was intended for the cure, proved really the cauſe of libels, we are not bound to receive all the author of it ſays for Goſpel.

(17) Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 821.

(18) Nicholſon's Hiſtorical Library, p. 74.

(19) A ſeaſonable Argument to perſuade all Grand Juries to petition for a new Parliament, &c. 4to. 1677, p. 19.

[*E*] *As the reader may ſee in the notes.*] The eldeſt of his ſons that lived to man's eſtate, was John, afterwards Duke of Marlborough, *&c.* of whom in the next article. The next, George Churchill, of whom we ſhall alſo ſpeak hereafter. Charles Churchill, the Duke's ſecond brother was born at Aſhe the 2d of February 1656. He was likewiſe bred to arms, and was noted for ſeveral brave actions. At thirteen years of age, he was made Page of Honour to Chriſtian King of Denmark; and at ſixteen, Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to his brother Prince George. At the Revolution, he ſucceeded Major-General Oglethorpe in his regiment of foot; and in 1692, at the battle of Steenkirk, Auguſt 23, he was Brigadier-General. The Brigade under his command behaved bravely, as they did, likewiſe the year following, at the battle of Landen, where he himſelf gave the greateſt proofs of his courage and conduct in the defence of the villages of Lare and Neder Winden, and where he took his nephew the Duke of Berwick priſoner. He was made Major-General of Foot, and Governor of Kinſale in Ireland, by King William, and after many battles fought with great bravery and conduct was eſteemed one of the beſt Commanders of Foot in Europe. By his gracious Miſtreſs, Queen Anne, he was made Governor of the Tower of London, General of the army, and General in Chief of Foot, and had a great and honourable ſhare in the ever memorable battle of Blenheim: after which, for his many and great ſervices, he was made Governor of Bruſſels, Colonel of the Coldſtream regiment of Foot-guards, and Governor of her Majeſty's iſland of Guernſey. In the year 1702, he married Mary, daughter and ſole heireſs of James Goulde of Dorcheſter, Eſq; by whom he had no iſſue. He died much lamented, December 29, 1714; and his widow about three years after his deceaſe, married the Right Honourable the Earl of Abington. Theobald Churchill, Sir Winſton's youngeſt ſon, had his academical education in Queen's College in Oxford, where he commenced Maſter of Arts, June 13, 1683; and entering into Holy Orders, died unmarried, December 3, 1685, and was buried in the pariſh-church of St. Martin in the Fields in Weſtminſter. Arabella Churchill, the eldeſt of Sir Winſton's children, was born in March 1648, was Maid of Honour to the Ducheſs of York, and beloved by the Duke, afterwards King James II. by whom ſhe had two ſons and two daughters. The eldeſt, James Fitz-James, was created by his father, Duke of Berwick; he was alſo Knight of the Garter and of the Golden-Fleece, Marſhal of France, and Grandee of Spain of the firſt claſs. He was juſtly reputed one of the greateſt officers of his time, and being Generaliſſimo of the armies of France, fell by a cannon-ſhot at the ſiege of Philipſburgh in 1734. Henry Fitz-James, Grand Prior of France, Lieutenant-General and Admiral of the French gallies, was born in 1673, and died in 1702. Henrietta, born in 1670, married Sir Henry Waldgrave of Cheuton, grandfather to the preſent Earl of Waldgrave, and died in 1730: the younger daughter was a Nun. This Lady afterwards married Colonel Godfrey, by whom ſhe had two daughters; the eldeſt, Charlotte, married the late Lord Viſcount Falmouth; and the younger, Elizabeth, eſpouſed Edmund Dunch, Eſq; C.

*** [Dr. Campbell hath carried his candour to the utmoſt exceſs, in calling Sir Winſton Churchill an eminent Hiſtorian; for certainly he has no juſt pretenſions to that character. His book is now almoſt totally unknown: it never was much read; and it never had any degree of reputation, excepting for the amuſement which its cuts might afford. It is plain from the learned Biographer's own account of it, and from the extract he has given, though intended in its favour, that the work is of little value in point of compoſition, and that its principles are hoſtile to liberty. It was honour enough to Sir Winſton Churchill, that he was father to the illuſtrious Duke of Marlborough. It was leſs to the honour of his family, that his daughter was mother to the Duke of Berwick, though he, alſo, was a great man. An account of the laſt Duke has lately been publiſhed; but, notwithſtanding his having been born in England, his hiſtory belongs to that of another country.] K.

CHURCHILL (JOHN), Duke of Marlborough, and Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, one of the ableſt Stateſmen and moſt polite Courtiers, as well as one of the greateſt Captains and moſt illuſtrious Heroes, that our nation, or indeed any other, has produced. He was born at Aſhe, the ſeat of his grandfather by the mother's ſide, in Devonſhire, on Midſummer day 1650, a little before noon, and two days after was baptized by Mr. Matthew Drake, Rector of that pariſh (*a*). We have already ſhewn that his father's circumſtances were far from being eaſy, either at this time, or for ſeveral years afterwards; and, therefore, we need not at all wonder, that his ſon had not thoſe advantages in his education which were due to his birth (*b*). Yet there is reaſon to believe, that a learned father would not, in any degree, neglect the care of a ſon, who was the firſt hopes of his family; for though he had an elder brother, Winſton Churchill, yet he ſoon died, and therefore John, while a child, was conſidered as the heir, and treated accordingly. A worthy Clergyman in the neighbourhood inſtructed him in the firſt principles of literature, under the eye of his father, and from them both he received ſuch a tincture of true religion and zeal for the church of England, as continued to manifeſt itſelf throughout his whole life; and though no man was leſs a bigot, yet never any perſon of his rank ſhewed either greater reſpect for, or firmer belief in, the Chriſtian faith, than he (*c*). His father carried him very early to court, where the beauty of his perſon, the pregnancy of his parts, and the modeſty of his behaviour, recommended him, when but twelve years of age, to the peculiar notice of James Duke of York, to whom he ſoon afterwards became a Page, and at the ſame time a favourite (*d*). It is generally agreed, that he had a pair of colours given him in the Guards during the firſt Dutch war, that is, about the year 1666, but the manner in which he obtained them is ſomewhat differently reported [*A*]. That war ending ſoon after, and Mr. Churchill being impatient to gain ſome practical knowledge in the trade of arms, which he now conſidered as his profeſſion, he obtained leave to go over to Tangier, then in our hands, and beſieged by the Moors (*e*), where he reſided for ſome ſhort time, and where he had the firſt opportunity of ſhewing his courage, and of acquiring experience, which never any did in leſs time than he; for, as we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to obſerve, his very firſt actions were in their nature as great as any in his whole life; and the firſt time he was honoured with a command in chief, he appeared as much a General as in the laſt of his moſt glorious actions. Upon his return to England, he continued his attendance at court, and received, as well from the King as from the Duke, daily marks of kindneſs and favour, notwithſtanding the ſlanderous tales that flew about the court as to his amorous adventures (*f*). In 1672, the Duke of Monmouth commanding a body of Engliſh auxiliaries in the ſervice of France, Mr. Churchill, who was always for ſeeing action, attended him, and was very ſoon after made Captain of Grenadiers in his Grace's own regiment. He had a ſhare in all the actions that were performed in that famous campaign, which brought the Republick of Holland lower in a few months, than the Spaniards were able to bring her in many years. At the ſiege of Nimeguen, Captain Churchill diſtinguiſhed himſelf particularly, inſomuch that he was taken notice of by the celebrated Marſhal Turenne, who beſtowed on him the name of the handſome Engliſhman, by which he was generally known while he continued in the French army; more eſpecially after a very gallant action he performed, in recovering a poſt of importance from the Dutch, with half the number of men that had been under a French Lieutenant-Colonel, who was entruſted with the defence of it, and who quitted it upon the enemy's approach (*g*). But the moſt ſoldier-like action of this war was the reduction of the ſtrong fortreſs of Maeſtricht, which had in it a garriſon of ten thouſand men at that time, and thoſe, too, well provided and well commanded. In the night of the fourteenth of June, the Duke of Monmouth, being Lieu-

(*a*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 17. Edit. 1743.

(*b*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 765.

(*c*) Memoirs of John Duke of Marlborough.

(*d*) Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 193.

(*e*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*f*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 19.

(*g*) Military Hiſt. of the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene.

[*A*] *Is ſomewhat differently reported.*] It is ſaid by ſome, that Sir Winſton Churchill perceiving his ſon's inclination to Arms, and being deſirous to gratify it, applied to the Duke of York, and by his intereſt with that Prince, procured him an Enſign's commiſſion (1). Another account is given, which is the more probable, and which I have heard confirmed by perſons that had a relation to the Duke of Marlborough's family. He was firſt Page to the Duke, and in that quality attended his Royal Highneſs frequently when the Guards were exerciſed and muſtered before him, to which the youth being extremely attentive, and upon being aſked ſome queſtions relating to their exerciſe, anſwering with an unexpected degree of penetration and ſagacity, the Duke, who, in the judgment of Marſhal Turenne, had a very good military genius, and was to the laſt degree fond of troops, ſhewed himſelf highly pleaſed, as well with his capacity as his inclination; and thereupon, to encourage and enter him in the world, gave him the next pair of Colours that fell (2). Thoſe who are fond of ſecret Hiſtory and marvellous adventures, have reported, that the Duke gave him this commiſſion, that he might have an opportunity of ſending him to Tangier out of the way of the Ducheſs of York, who was thought to look upon him with an air of tenderneſs, that made his Royal Highneſs not a little uneaſy (3). But whoever conſiders, not only the great difference of rank, but the vaſt diſproportion in age between them, for Mr. Churchill could not be above fifteen, when this is ſuppoſed to have happened, the ſeveral eaſy and natural motives excluſively of the young Gentleman's merit, that might induce the Duke to have a more than ordinary affection for him, and the conſtancy of that Prince's favour towards him through all the different changes of both their circumſtances, will ſee no cauſe whatever to recur to any ſuch ſlight anecdotes as theſe, which tarniſh ſo many reputations, and, at the ſame time, are not ſo much as reported by any who could be ſuppoſed to have a juſt knowledge of the truth of them, if, which is very improbable, they had been really facts.

(1) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 18.

(2) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(3) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 18, 19.

tenant-General of the trenches, attacked, and made himself master of a half-moon; but the Dutch before day sprang a mine to the right with so good effect, that the French troops, though the best in the whole army, were beaten out of those posts; nor could the forces ordered for that service recover them, till the Duke of Monmouth, with ten or twelve English volunteers, threw himself into the hottest fire, and thereby inspired the forces with such ardour that they again drove out the Dutch, and became a second time masters of all the posts which they had attacked the day before (*b*). The share Captain Churchill had in this business was so very remarkable, that the French King thanked him for it at the head of the line, and assured him that he would acquaint his Sovereign with the particulars of his gallant behaviour, which he did; and his Grace the Duke of Monmouth, on their return to England, in relating what happened at the attack, told the King his father, that he was indebted to Captain Churchill for much of his glory, and for his safety altogether, since by his bravery he had preserved his life (*i*). This good fortune which began in the twenty-second year of our hero's life, attended all his succeeding undertakings, so that his sword was never drawn but victory pursued. The laurels he brought from France very justly entitled him to preferment at home, and his Majesty having made him Lieutenant-Colonel of Littleton's regiment, the Duke made him Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, and soon after Master of the Robes (*k*). The second Dutch war being over, Colonel Churchill found himself again obliged to pass his days at Court, where he was no less distinguished as a fine gentleman, than he had been admired for his military qualities in the camp [*B*]. He behaved with great prudence and circumspection in those troublesome times that ensued, and gave frequent demonstrations of his inflexible attachment to the Protestant Religion, as well as of an inviolable fidelity to his most gracious Master. In the beginning of the year 1679, when the King's pleasure was signified to the Duke of York, that he should pass some time in the Low-Countries, Colonel Churchill attended his Royal Highness and his family, first to the Hague and then to Brussels, waited upon him in his short trip to England, and in his journey to Windsor, and returned with him upon the King's recovering from that illness, which brought over the Duke a second time to Brussels (*l*). He likewise accompanied him the next year in travelling by land into Scotland, where the King his brother gave him not only leave to reside, but in some measure put the management of that kingdom into his hands, which has not been numbered amongst the wisest actions of that Monarch's reign. His Royal Highness arrived at Edinburgh on the fourth of December 1680, whither Colonel Churchill attended him; and being then considered as a favourite, he was very respectfully treated, and generally applied to by the Nobility of Scotland (*m*). He returned with his Master to London, and went down with him a second time by sea, when he had the misfortune to be obliged to retire thither again, upon the heats raised against him in the House of Commons. While he waited upon the Duke, he had a regiment of dragoons given him, and thinking it now time to settle himself in the world, he made his addresses to Mrs. Sarah Jennings, who then

(*b*) An Account of the Siege of Maestricht, printed by authority, in fol. 1673.

(*i*) Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 194.

(*k*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*l*) Temple's Memoirs.

(*m*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

[*B*] *For his military qualities in the camp.*] It may be reasonably looked upon as a thing not a little strange, that, considering the great figure the Duke of Marlborough made for so many years, there should be so few materials preserved of the earlier part of his life; and that those we have, are much fitter to adorn Novels, than to enrich Histories. It is for this reason, that all one can say upon this subject, must be borrowed from tradition, and from the reports of those, who were well acquainted with this great man in the dawn of his life. On this, which is the best authority that can be had, I may venture to acquaint the reader, that very few people of his rank, were either so much or so generally esteemed, as Colonel Churchill; and I dare assure him, that at a time when the Court of England was considered in all respects, as the most splendid and the most polite in Europe, that of France only excepted, Colonel Churchill was distinguished by the general reputation of being one of the best natured and best bred men in it. It is very certain, that his amours are much talked of; and in so gallant a Court, as that of King Charles II. a very young, a very handsome, and a very rising man, might be excused, if he fell into some errors of this kind. But it is on all hands allowed, that even at this time, his prudence had so much the better of his passions, that he never suffered himself to be carried away by any of them, to such a degree, as to be in any respect wanting, either to his duty or his interests; which, whoever is well acquainted with human nature, will look upon to be a very extraordinary thing at his time of life; since experience, as well as reason, will inform us, that though commanding armies and gaining victories are great things, yet in respect to the powers of the human mind, it is a still greater, with faculties capable of commanding and conquering, to be able to controul desires, and to keep every appetite in due subjection. This he did in a very great degree; and yet in his youth, he was thought for a Courtier somewhat too free a speaker. He had wit, and indeed a great deal of wit; but his supreme excellency was his penetration, for which he was highly distinguished long before the great rise of his fortunes; for by the natural strength of his judgment, he would pronounce so clearly, both of men and things, that his remarks were frequently talked of; and as they were almost always justified by the event, he was admired as one of the shrewdest men of those times; but, together with this admiration, there went no small mixture of envy. He was so sensible of the inconveniencies that might arise from the liberty that was natural to him in discourse, that he declined, as much as he could, all political subjects, and never had any notion of becoming a Member of the House of Commons, but contented himself with pushing his fortune in his own way; or, as the gamesters say, he would bowl only upon the ground that he perfectly understood. In short, his affability gained him a general good report, for which he had a just esteem. His application to the profession of arms, secured to him the character he truly deserved, of being, in its most extensive sense, a good officer; and his steady zeal for the person and cause of the Duke, which at that juncture was very conspicuous, procured him that interest and influence, which no man in the world knew better how to direct or to apply.

waited on the Lady Anne, afterwards Queen of Great-Britain. This young Lady, who was then about twenty-one, and juſtly eſteemed both for her perſon and her parts one of the fineſt women in this iſland, he married in 1681, and thereby added very conſiderably to the intereſt he had already had at Court (*n*). In the ſpring of the year 1682 the Duke of York returned to London, and having procured his Majeſty's leave to quit that kingdom, and to reſide as formerly at Court, he reſolved to return to Scotland by ſea to bring up his family, and for that purpoſe embarked on board the Glouceſter frigate, commanded by Sir John Berry, May 4, 1682, but unluckily ran upon the Lemon-oar, a dangerous ſand that lies about ſixteen leagues from the mouth of the Humber, where his ſhip was loſt with ſome perſons of quality, and upwards of one hundred and twenty perſons on board her (*o*). This melancholy accident afforded his Royal Highneſs an opportunity of ſhewing the tender affection that he had for Colonel Churchill, of whoſe ſafety he was particularly careful, by taking him with him in the boat in which himſelf eſcaped the danger. The circumſtances of this ſhipwreck are very differently reported; but with regard to the Duke's concern for Colonel Churchill all writers are agreed, though hardly in any other point [*C*]. The ſtay of his Royal Highneſs in that kingdom was but very ſhort; for as he ſailed from England in the beginning, ſo he arrived with his family in the river of Thames from Scotland, before the end of the month of May 1682, and was received with the utmoſt marks of brotherly affection by the King. The firſt uſe made by his Royal Highneſs of this ſun-ſhine of favour, was to obtain a title for his favourite, Colonel Churchill, who, by Letters Patents bearing date December 1, 1682, was created Baron of Eymouth in the kingdom of Scotland (*p*), and was alſo appointed Colonel of the third troop of Guards. Theſe were the laſt favours he received from that King, and no doubt his Lordſhip would have much more regretted the loſs of ſo kind and good a Prince, had he not been ſucceeded by the Duke of York, to whom the Lord Churchill was ſtill dear. This appeared plainly upon the firſt acceſſion of King James, who not only continued him in his poſt in the Bed-chamber, and in his command in the Guards, but ſent him alſo his Ambaſſador to France to notify his acceſſion, which high office he diſcharged with much advantage to his reputation (*q*) [*D*]. On

(*n*) Chauncy's Hiſt. of Hertfordſhire, p. 560.

(*o*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 29.

(*p*) Crawford's Peerage, p. 141.

(*q*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, p. 623.

[*C*] *Though hardly in any other point.*] This buſineſs of the Duke's ſhipwreck in going to Scotland has exerciſed many pens, and has been tranſmitted to poſterity in very different lights; but with reſpect to the ſaving Colonel Churchill, it is agreed, that when the ſhip was loſt, the Duke was aſleep; and that upon his being awaked, and finding nothing to truſt to but the long-boat, he named ſome particular perſons who ſhould go into her with him, and amongſt others Colonel Churchill (4); though a certain author turns the tables, and ſays, the Colonel was very inſtrumental in ſaving his Royal Highneſs's life (5), which very poſſibly might, and if there was any room for it, muſt be true. A certain reverend Prelate (6) gives us the following account of it, which, conſidering the reſpect paid to his authority, deſerves, if poſſible, to be explained and corrected. 'The Duke 'had leave given him to come to the King at New-'market: and there he prevailed for leave to come 'up and live again at court. As he was going back 'to bring the Ducheſs, the Glouceſter frigate that 'carried him ſtruck on a bank of ſand. The Duke 'got into a boat: and took care of his dogs, and 'ſome unknown perſons, who were taken from that 'earneſt care of his to be his Prieſts. The long-'boat went off with very few in her, though ſhe 'might have carried off above eighty more 'than ſhe did. One hundred and fifty perſons pe-'riſhed: ſome of them, men of great quality. But 'the Duke took no notice of this cruel neglect, which 'was laid chiefly to Legge's charge.' Another writer, who penned his accounts of things at this time, and without any view of publiſhing them, tells this ſtory thus (7): 'May the 10, 1682, this day 'came news, that his Highneſs had been in great 'danger of being caſt away in his voyage back to the 'North, the ſhip he was in having ſtruck upon Yar-'mouth Sands, and that a great number of the paſ-'ſengers had been loſt; a piece of news, that was at 'firſt contradicted, but in a day or two confirmed by 'a particular account, that the Glouceſter, a third 'rate, in which the Duke of York had embarked 'for Scotland, had actually ſuffered ſhipwreck upon 'one of Yarmouth Sands, called the Lemon-Oar; 'and that the Duke with about an hundred and 'ſixty perſons were ſaved: among thoſe that periſhed 'were the Lords O'Brian and Roxborough, and Mr. 'Hyde, Lord Clarendon's brother.' This account agrees very well with that given us by another writer, of there being above three hundred perſons aboard the ſhip, of which the major part were ſaved, and amongſt thoſe who were drowned was the Duke's brother-in-law, Mr. Hyde, which did not argue any great reſpect of perſons in thoſe who were ſuffered to go into the long-boat (8). What blame fell upon Legge, or who this Legge was, is not eaſy to determine; for as to Colonel Legge, then Maſter of the Ordnance, and a Privy-Counſellor, afterwards Lord Dartmouth, and Admiral of the fleet, he was viſiting the fortreſſes of the kingdom, at this time, by his Majeſty's command (9). What there was of ſeverity in the caſe, ſeems to have been no more than this; that two perſons, one in the boat, the other on board the ſhip, ſtood with their ſwords drawn, to prevent that irregular crowding, which might have endangered the boat as well as the ſhip; and if the reader is curious to know who thoſe perſons were, we ſhall endeavour to ſatisfy him. He on board the ſhip was Sir John Berry, who after performing this ſervice, eſcaped very narrowly himſelf, by ſwimming to a rope that was thrown over the ſtern of Capt. Wybourn's ſhip (10); and he in the boat was Colonel Churchill (11), who for this ſervice is very juſtly ſaid to have contributed to the preſervation of the Duke his maſter's life.

(4) Life of King James II. p. 33.

(5) Churchill's Annals.

(6) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 623.

(7) Memoirs of Sir John Reresby, p. 144, 145.

(8) Hiſtorian's Guide, p. 144.

(9) Collins's Peerage, vol. iii. p. 107.

(10) Compleat Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 404.

(11) Churchill's Annals.

[*D*] *Which high office he diſcharged with much advantage to his reputation.*] We have an account of this matter from a reverend Prelate, who ſeems to be better acquainted with it than any writer of thoſe times, and therefore upon his authority we muſt in this caſe wholly rely. His words upon the ſubject are theſe (12). 'In one thing only the King ſeemed 'to comply with the genius of the nation, though it 'proved in the end to be only a ſhew. He ſeemed 'reſolved not to be governed by French counſels, but 'to act on an equality with that haughty Monarch in 'all things. And as he entertained all the other fo-'reign Miniſters with aſſurances, that he would 'maintain the balance of Europe with a more ſteady 'hand than had been done formerly, ſo when he 'ſent over the Lord Churchill to the court of France, 'with the notice of his brother's death, he ordered 'him

(12) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 623.

On his Lordſhip's return from France he was conſtituted High-Steward of the borough of St. Alban's, on the ſixteenth of March 1685, an honour ſeldom conferred but upon perſons of the higheſt quality (*r*). He aſſiſted at the coronation of King James on the twenty-third of April following, and on the fourteenth of May the ſame year he was created a Peer of England, by the title of Baron Churchill of Sandridge in the county of Hertford, a manor that belonged to him in right of his wife, into whoſe family it came a little before by marriage (*s*) In the month of June, his Lordſhip being then Lieutenant-General of the King's forces, was ordered into the Weſt, upon the Duke of Monmouth's making a bold but very inconſiderate attempt, in which, amongſt many other errors, his greateſt was that of aſſuming the lofty title of King, and ſetting a price upon his uncle's head, which afterwards became fatal to his own (*t*). His forces were, from the beginning, harraſſed by a very inconſiderable body of horſe commanded by Lord Churchill, which was one great reaſon that compelled him to venture all upon a battle; and knowing that his irregular troops would be very unequally matched, though ſomewhat ſuperior in number to the King's forces, he laboured to remedy that inconvenience by attacking in the dark (*u*), which might probably have been attended with ſucceſs, if Lord Churchill, who was more vigilant than other officers, had not ſat up all night, and with part of Dunbarton's regiment kept the rebels in play till the infantry was formed, and then charging the Duke's horſe that were commanded by Lord Gray, they were either broken or betrayed into immediate flight, which decided the fortune of the day and that early; for the battle of Sedgmore was over between four and five o'clock in the morning, on the ſixth of July 1685 (*w*). This was a deciſive ſtroke, and would have been ſo which ever ſide prevailed, for a great part of the nation, from the fear of Popery, were inclined to the Duke; but his army being defeated, and himſelf taken, the danger of the rebellion was entirely over. It is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that Lord Churchill was extreamly well received by the King upon his return; but it was not long before his Lordſhip diſcerned that this victory had bad as well as good effects, that it confirmed the King in his opinion of his ſtanding forces, and miſ-led him into a belief, that at the head of an Engliſh army he might trample upon Engliſh liberty; but he ſoon found his miſtake (*x*). Whatever ſhare his Lordſhip had in the Royal favour, and whatever advantage accrued to him from his poſts and preferments, it is a truth notorious, that he was never guilty of any mean compliance, nor had any concern in ſuggeſting, or in executing any of the violent counſels in that unhappy reign. Thoſe came from other men, and men of other principles, or rather of no principles at all, who hurried their maſter to his ruin, while Lord Churchill very prudently declined meddling much in buſineſs, ſpoke little excepting when his advice was aſked, and then always recommended moderate meaſures (*y*). It is ſaid that he declared very early to Lord Galway, that if his maſter attempted to overturn the eſtabliſhed religion he would leave him; and this is the more probable, becauſe during that whole reign, and indeed during his whole life, he never diſſembled his zeal for the Church of England, on what ſide ſoever that Church was attacked. It is alſo ſaid that he ſigned the Memorial tranſmitted to the Prince and Princeſs of Orange, by which they were invited to reſcue this nation from Popery and ſlavery (*z*); but be that as it will, it is very certain that he remained with, and was entruſted by, the King, after the Prince of Orange was landed, November 5, 1688. He attended King James when he marched with his forces to oppoſe, and even to fight, the Prince, and had the command of a brigade of five thouſand men; yet the Earl of Feverſham ſuſpecting his inclinations, adviſed the King to ſeize him; but his Majeſty's affection to him was ſo great, that he rejected that motion, which gave his Lordſhip an opportunity of executing his deſign of retiring to the Prince; but he betrayed no poſt, carried off no troops, but with the Duke of Grafton, Colonel Berkeley, and four or five officers, withdrew from the King's quarters, and joined the Prince of Orange at Axminſter, which is about twenty miles from Exeter, leaving a letter for the King, expreſſing the reaſons of his conduct, and the grief of mind he was under from the part that he was

(*r*) Chauncy's Hiſt. of Hertfordſhire, p. 465.

(*s*) Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 294.

(*t*) Life of King James, p. 135.

(*u*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 38.

(*w*) Reresby's Memoirs, p. 210.

(*x*) Compleat Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 438, 439.

(*y*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, p. 765.

(*z*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 50, 51

'him to obſerve exactly the ceremony and ſtate with 'which he was received, that he might treat him 'who ſhould be ſent over, with the compliment in 'return to that in the ſame manner. And this he 'obſerved very punctually, when the Marſhal de 'Lorge came over. This was ſet about by the courtiers, as a ſign of another ſpirit, that might be 'looked for in a reign ſo begun. And this made 'ſome impreſſion on the court of France, and put 'them to a ſtand. But not long after this the French 'King ſaid to the Duke of Villeroy, who told it to 'young Rouvigny, now Earl of Galway, (from 'whom I had it) that the King of England, after all 'the high things given out in his name, was willing 'to take his money, as well as his brother had done.'

It may not be amiſs to annex here, another piece of ſecret hiſtory from a writer, who was very well acquainted with theſe times, and yet he will be a bold man that ſhould deſire implicit credit to be given to either author (13): 'At this time,' ſays my author, 'the favourites at court began to be at ſtrife with 'each other: the Lord Sunderland was made Preſident of the Council, and continued Secretary of 'State; his Lordſhip having artfully inſinuated to 'the Queen, (he had then a miſunderſtanding with 'the Treaſurer) that the friends and relations of the 'King's firſt wife, as Rocheſter, Clarendon, Dartmouth, and others, were in greateſt favour, and in 'poſſeſſion of the beſt places; while her friends, 'though ſhe was Queen conſort, were but ſlenderly 'provided for; and her friends being reckoned to 'be Lord Sunderland, the Lord Chancellor, and 'the Lord Churchill, they began to play their private batteries againſt each other.'

(13) Sir John Reresby's Memoirs, p. 223.

obliged to take (a) [E]. It has, indeed, been ſaid by a French Jeſuit, and from him copied by ſome other ſpiteful writers, that he not only left the King, but alſo laid a deſign for betraying his Majeſty, which was concerted with Colonel Kirke, who commanded at Warminſter (b); and that it was prevented by the King's being taken with a bleeding at the noſe, which was not ſtopped till a vein was opened. Some of theſe writers afterwards aſſerted, that he was concerned in Sir John Fenwicke's plot for reſtoring King James (c). It is impoſſible to believe both theſe ſtories to be true; but we may rationally conclude them to be both abſolutely falſe, as Yonge's contrivance was proved to be, who laboured to fix a conſpiracy of the ſame nature upon his Lordſhip, and Dr. Sprat Biſhop of Rocheſter (d). It is ſuppoſed to have been in conſequence of his Lordſhip's ſolicitation, that Prince George of Denmark took the ſame ſtep, as ſoon after his conſort the Princeſs Anne likewiſe did, by the advice of Lady Churchill (e). His Lordſhip was received with great marks of eſteem and reſpect by the Prince of Orange, who when he advanced with his army as far as Henley, ſent Lord Churchill to London to re-aſſemble his troop of guards; which ſervice he readily performed, and concurred in the application of the Lords to the Prince, at the cloſe of the year, deſiring him to take upon him the adminiſtration (f). But it is very remarkable, that in all the delicate conjunctures of thoſe diſturbed times, he acted not only with caution and circumſpection, but with ſo true a ſpirit of moderation, that, notwithſtanding the malice of one party, and the envy of the other, for he was very early expoſed to both, he maintained his intereſt as well with the Prince of Orange as with Prince George and the Princeſs Anne, and was extremely ſerviceable in compoſing thoſe jars, which had otherwiſe prevented that ſettlement that was afterwards made by the Convention (g). But notwithſtanding his influence and even activity in thoſe important affairs, he carried every thing with ſo much ſilence and ſecrecy, that his ſentiments were never to be collected otherwiſe than by the event; for he was ever an enemy to the noiſe and buſtle, as well as to the heats and fury of a party, taking his meaſures after mature deliberation with ſteadineſs, and behaving to perſons of all ranks and of all ſentiments, with a ſmoothneſs and civility that contented them, and made things eaſy to himſelf. He was entruſted in that critical conjuncture by the Prince of Orange, who gave him the rank of Lieutenant-General, with the care of new modelling the army, and reducing ſome new raiſed regiments, which he performed (h); and the Prince and Princeſs of Orange being declared King and Queen of England, the ſixth of February 1689, Lord Churchill went immediately to congratulate them, and on the fourteenth of the ſame month was ſworn of their Privy-Council, and one of the Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber to the new King (i). On the ninth of April following he was raiſed to the dignity of Earl of Marlborough (k) in the county of Wilts; but though a certain writer poſitively ſays, that he was made Viſcount Churchill by King James (l), yet it may be looked upon as a thing out of doubt, that he never had that title either in England or in Scotland. He aſſiſted at the coronation of their Majeſties, and was very ſoon after appointed to command in chief the Engliſh forces that were ſent over to Holland, in order to make a part of the army of the Allies; and according to his uſual cuſtom haſtened early to his command, arriving at Rotterdam the ſeventeenth of May, from whence he proceeded immediately to the army, which was then commanded by the famous Prince of Waldeck. The Earl of Marlborough was at the head of thoſe forces at the battle of Walcourt, which was fought Auguſt 15, 1689 (m), wherein the Engliſh troops diſtinguiſhed themſelves in ſo extraordinary a man-

(a) Compl. Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 497.

(b) Father Orleans's Revolutions of England, p. 312.

(c) Hiſt. of the Proceedings againſt Sir John Fenwicke, p. 95.

(d) See an Account of this, written and publiſhed by the Biſhop himſelf.

(e) Reresby's Memoirs, p. 293.

(f) Compl. Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 500, 501.

(g) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 58, 59.

(h) Life of King William III. p. 159.

(i) Compl. Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 515.

(k) Collins's Peerage of England, vol. i. p. 195.

(l) Reresby's Memoirs, p. 293.

(m) Supplement to Rapin's Hiſt. p. 41.

[E] *From the part that he was obliged to take.*] Whoever conſiders the great obligations that Lord Churchill lay under to King James, muſt naturally conclude, that he could not take the reſolution of leaving him, and withdrawing to the Prince of Orange, but with infinite concern and regret; and that this was really the caſe, appears very plainly from the letter which follows; and which has ſo ſtrict a relation to the hiſtory of this illuſtrious perſon, that it is abſolutely neceſſary to give it a place here; the very language in which it is conceived, being, perhaps, the beſt proof of its ſincerity: for if any man will but conſider with himſelf, what under ſuch circumſtances he would have wiſhed to have ſaid, he cannot help ſeeing, that this is what the Lord Churchill has ſaid, in the ſhorteſt and moſt pathetic terms poſſible (14).

(14) Compl. Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 407.

'SIR,

'Since men are ſeldom ſuſpected of ſincerity when 'they act contrary to their intereſts: and though my 'dutiful behaviour to your Majeſty, in the worſt of 'times, (for which I acknowledge my poor ſervices 'much over-paid) may not be ſufficient to incline 'you to a charitable interpretation of my actions; 'yet I hope the great advantage I enjoy under your 'Majeſty, which I can never expect in any other 'change of government, may reaſonably convince 'your Majeſty and the world, that I am acted by an 'higher principle, when I offered that violence to 'my inclination and intereſt, as to deſert your Ma'jeſty at a time, when your affairs ſeem to challenge 'the ſtricteſt obedience from all your ſubjects, much 'more from one, who lies under the greateſt obli'gations imaginable to your Majeſty. This, Sir, 'could proceed from nothing but the inviolable dic'tates of my conſcience, and a neceſſary concern 'for my religion, which no good man can oppoſe, 'and with which I am inſtructed nothing ought to 'come in competition. Heaven knows with what 'partiality my dutiful opinion of your Majeſty has 'hitherto repreſented thoſe unhappy deſigns, which 'inconſiderate and ſelf-intereſted men have framed 'againſt your Majeſty's true intereſt and the Proteſ'tant Religion; but as I can no longer join with 'ſuch, to give a pretence by conqueſt to bring them 'to effect; ſo I will always, with the hazard of my 'life and fortune, (ſo much your Majeſty's due) en'deavour to preſerve your royal perſon and lawful 'rights, with all the tender concern and dutiful re'ſpect, that becomes, &c.'

ner, that we find it both acknowledged and applauded even by the French Hiſtorians; and the Earl of Marlborough gave ſuch extraordinary proofs of his conduct upon this occaſion, that Prince Waldeck, ſpeaking in his commendation to King William, ſaid, *That he ſaw more into the art of war in a day, than ſome Generals in many years* (n). It is to be obſerved that King William commanded this year in Ireland, which was the reaſon that the Earl of Marlborough was at the head of the Engliſh troops abroad, and gave him an opportunity of laying the foundation of that fame amongſt Foreigners, which he extended afterwards to the utmoſt bounds of Europe [F]. It doth not appear that his Lordſhip was employed any where in the beginning of the next campaign; but towards the cloſe of it he propoſed a ſcheme for reducing Cork, a place of great conſequence in Ireland, and thought to be well fortified, with a ſmall body of troops in the winter when they could be of no uſe elſewhere, to which King William aſſented (o). He landed near Cork in the latter end of the month of September, and though ſome ſmall delay was occaſioned by the Duke of Wirtemberg's diſputing with him the command, yet he very ſoon reduced the place, having obſerved what thoſe who were employed to fortify it had never diſcerned, that it was commanded by an adjacent eminence, upon which erecting a battery, the garriſon capitulated and were made priſoners of war (p). The very important port of Kinſale, and two ſtrong forts that were erected to cover it, ſoon ſhared the ſame fate, all the troops in them being made priſoners likewiſe; and the Earl having thus gloriouſly compleated the deſign which he had ſo wiſely contrived, returned to England before the cloſe of November; and on his firſt appearance at Court, King William was pleaſed to ſay of him (q), *That he knew no man ſo fit for a General who had ſeen ſo few compaigns.* It was thought proper, and much for the King's ſervice, that the Earl ſhould return to Ireland, which he accordingly did, notwithſtanding the lateneſs of the ſeaſon; and by his prudent management, and directing proper forts to be erected, he kept the Iriſh in cloſe quarters, and yet returned early enough to be ready to attend King William the next ſpring into the field (r). His Majeſty ſhewed the entire confidence which at that time he placed in his Lordſhip, by ſending him with Count Solmes before him to the army, in order to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions for opening the campaign (s); and very certain it is, that his behaviour on receiving and in diſcharging this commiſſion, could not but raiſe his credit with ſo wiſe a Prince, ſince it was ſuch as deſerved the applauſe of one of the beſt officers, and moſt experienced Generals of that age, and this not grounded at all upon events; for the great ſcheme the Earl of Marlborough had formed, was actually laid aſide from the oppoſition of the Dutch (t) [G]. His Lordſhip

(n) Life of King William III. p. 246.

(o) Burchet's Naval Hiſt. p. 430.

(p) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(q) Compl. Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 572.

(r) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 69.

(s) Collin's Peerage, vol. i. p. 195.

(t) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

[F] *Which he extended afterwards to the utmoſt bounds of Europe.*] It is the fault of almoſt all our hiſtorians, that they do not take pains enough in looking for foreign materials, in reference even to thoſe parts of their hiſtories, which relate to foreign parts; and which therefore it is impoſſible to treat clearly, from the materials that are to be met with at home. In reference to our hero's future exploits, this is very ſeldom the caſe: in reſpect to this campaign it is apparently ſo; for though Prince Waldeck's character of the Earl of Marlborough, has been over and over repeated, yet in our hiſtories it ſeems to be a compliment rather than a character, becauſe we are not ſufficiently acquainted with the facts upon which it was founded. We will endeavour to relate theſe, in as narrow a compaſs as it is poſſible (15). The French army was commanded by the Marſhal de Humieres, and was very little, if at all ſuperior to that of the Allies, commanded by the Prince of Waldeck; and the true deſign of both Generals was the ſame, *viz.* each intended to hinder the other from paſſing the Sambre. At length however, Prince Waldeck after many marches and countermarches, found means to paſs at Fontaine le Evêque. This alarmed the French Marſhal, who though he pretended to ſeek nothing ſo much as an action, yet was really rather inclined to avoid it (16); and the Allies on the other hand, had no temptation to fight, unleſs they had ſome conſiderable advantage. But on the 15th of Auguſt, N. S. the cavalry of the Allies being for the moſt part abroad for forage, the Duke de Joyeuſe, Lieutenant-General of the day, fell upon and defeated them; and either he or the Marſhal himſelf, were ſo heated by this ſmall ſucceſs, that they reſolved to puſh the affair as far as it would go (17), and at length attacked the little town of Valcourt; which though not regularly fortified, had a very good wall, and was ſtrong by ſituation, lying at the diſtance of about half a league from the Prince of Waldeck's camp, having a ſharp rugged aſcent on the one ſide, and a flat open plain on the other (18). A numerous body of infantry in the town, kept a ſmart fire on the enemy in front, who were alſo galled by a battery of twelve pieces of cannon, Prince Waldeck cauſed to be erected on the eminence before-mentioned. The Earl of Marlborough, at the head of two regiments of horſe and the guards, kept poſſeſſion of the plain, and was a very calm ſpectator of the attack; for ſeeing the infantry of the Allies well covered by the wall, he would give the enemy no diſturbance; but when, after a furious attack which laſted an hour and a half, the enemy found it was impoſſible to prevail, and the Marſhal ſent orders for a retreat; the Earl, as ſoon as they began to move, fell in upon their flank, and as the French themſelves allow, did terrible execution; ſo that this affair coſt them two thouſand killed and wounded, and the loſs of the Allies did not exceed three hundred (19). One of the beſt French writers on the art of war, having given a very ſuccinct account of this action, concludes with this remark, that he mentioned it only as a caution to prevent any General from making ſuch another miſtake, as Marſhal de Humieres made here (20).

[G] *From the oppoſition of the Dutch.*] To explain this matter a little, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that the reaſon of the King's ſtaying in Holland, was on the ſcore of that famous Congreſs at the Hague, which was one of the moſt illuſtrious ſcenes in his whole reign (21). To have the more leiſure to confer with ſo many great Princes that repaired thither, purely to pay their reſpects to his Majeſty, he ſent the Earl of Marlborough to the army, who, upon his arrival, and receiving an account of the contents of two magazines, one of fire-wood and the other of dry forage, immediately pronounced that the deſign of Louis XIV. was againſt Mons and not Charleroy; upon which he propoſed to the Deputies of the States-General in the army taking ſuch a camp, as would have fruſtrated that deſign; but they depended ſo much upon their own intelligence, and looked upon a ſiege at that time of the year

(15) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. ii. p. 185.

(16) Rancourt, tom. iii. p. 165.

(17) Limiers, tom. ii. p. 507.

(18) Larrey, tom. ii. p. 104.

(19) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(20) Memoirs de Marquis Feuquieres, tom. iii. p. 195.

(21) Life of King William III. p. 297.

Lordſhip returned into England in the beginning of the winter, attended the ſervice of Parliament very aſſiduouſly, and his duty at Court as the nature of his office required, for in things of this kind there was no man in the world more punctual; and yet all this attention, all his paſt ſervices, and all the knowledge King William had of the great abilities he had for his ſervice, did not hinder his being diſgraced, and that in a manner ſo ſudden, ſo publick, and with ſuch extraordinary circumſtances, that it was as much the wonder of thoſe times, as the real cauſe of it remains a ſecret even in theſe (*u*)[*H*]. The Earl being in waiting at Court, as a Lord of the Bed-chamber, and having in that quality introduced to his Majeſty Lord George Hamilton, a younger ſon of Duke Hamilton, afterwards Earl of Orkney and Field-Marſhal of Great-Britain, and returned from Court to his own houſe without receiving from the King any marks of coldneſs or diſpleaſure, he was followed not long after, by the ſame Lord George Hamilton, with a very ſhort and ſurprizing meſſage, *That the King had no farther occaſion for his ſervice* (*w*). As he had been named to attend the King in the next campaign, in quality of Lieutenant-General of Foot, Lionel Talmaſh, Eſq; was appointed in his ſtead; his troop of Guards was given to the Lord Colcheſter; and Lord George Hamilton, who brought him the meſſage, had his regiment of Fuzileers; but his poſt in the Bed-chamber remained vacant ſome time after (*x*). This ſtrange and unexpected blow was followed by one much ſtranger; for not long after, the Earl, by a warrant under the hand and ſeal of the Lord Viſcount Sydney, then Secretary of State, was committed to the Tower for high-treaſon; which was the effect of a vile conſpiracy formed by ſome deſperate and profligate perſons, who for their juſt deſerts were at the time of framing it priſoners in Newgate, and ſupported by a horrid ſcene of forgery and perjury (*y*). His Lordſhip was ſoon after bailed, and the whole contrivance being fully and indiſputably detected, a proſecution was commenced againſt the principal author of it, who was tried, convicted (*z*), and puniſhed. Thus ended this ſtrange affair, which had in all probability rendered a man of a leſs ſettled and ſedate temper a malecontent; but it had no ſuch effect upon the Earl of Marlborough, whoſe behaviour afterwards was as free from circumſpection as from

(*u*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 90.

(*w*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 75.

(*x*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*y*) Ducheſs of Marlborough's Account of her own Conduct.

(*z*) Supplement to Rapin, p. 93, 94.

year as a thing ſo impracticable, that they would not yield to his repreſentations; and when Marſhal Boufflers on the 4th of March inveſted Mons on the ſide neareſt the Allies, their aſtoniſhment was ſo great, that they could hardly believe it (22). All precautions, however, were then too late; for the French King beſieged and took the place in much leſs time than could have been expected. Prince Vaudemont being ſome time after with the King at Loo, is ſaid to have ſpoken to him in this manner. 'There is ſomewhat in the Earl of 'Marlborough, that I want words to expreſs; he has 'the fierceneſs of Kirk, the judgment of Laniere, the 'conduct of Mackay, and the intrepidity of Colcheſter 'altogether; and either my ſkill in faces deceives me, 'which yet it never did, or he will make a greater 'figure as a General, than any ſubject your Majeſty 'has.' The King ſmiled and ſaid, Marlborough *is obliged to you, but I really believe you will loſe no credit by your prediction* (23).

(22) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(23) Military Hiſtory of the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene.

[*H*] *As the real cauſe of it remains a ſecret even in theſe.*] It is natural to ſuppoſe, that upon the happening of an event of ſuch conſequence in it's nature, and ſo unexpected in it's manner, as the diſgrace of this noble Peer, abundance of ſtories were told, which however eaſily refuted, from the knowledge of the inconſiſtency of their circumſtances at that time, cannot be ſo well diſtinguiſhed at this diſtance. If the reader has a mind to take a view of theſe and judge for himſelf, he may find them recapitulated in a work, to which he is directed in the margin (24). But as he will probably expect to have ſome reaſon aſſigned here, or at leaſt our thoughts upon the ſubject, we ſhall give them with that freedom and impartiality, which a work of this kind demands; and in which there is nothing farther from our deſign, than either to flatter or to excuſe, except it be to calumniate or defame. It is certain that King William took it much amiſs, that upon ſettling the revenue, an independent proviſion was inſiſted upon for the Princeſs of Denmark, of fifty thouſand pounds per ann. and there were ſome circumſtances that rendered this ſtill more diſagreeable to his conſort. As the whole of this tranſaction was attributed to the advice of the Counteſs of Marlborough, in whom the Princeſs of Denmark was known to have an entire confidence; and as the ſucceſs of this meaſure in both Houſes of Parliament, was aſcribed to the extenſive influence and indefatigable induſtry of the Earl of Marlborough; it ſeems highly reaſonable to imagine, that though he was not immediately diſgraced, yet from this time forward, he could not ſtand upon very favourable terms with the King, and much leſs with the Queen (25). He had alſo the misfortune to be envied and hated by all the King's perſonal favourites, and more eſpecially by the Lord Sydney and Mrs. Villers, afterwards Counteſs of Orkney; who no doubt were not wanting in their endeavours, to add credit to any informations, that were given to his Lordſhip's prejudice. It is no leſs certain, that at this juncture the King's counſels were moſt ſtrangely betrayed; and from thence it has been ſuggeſted, not without ſome degree of probability, that it was inſinuated the Counteſs of Marlborough being miſtreſs of her huſband's ſecrets, which were alſo thoſe of the King; and being intimate alſo with a certain Lady warm in the intereſts of King James, there might poſſibly be a canal of intelligence this way eſtabliſhed; and as the managers of this intrigue might lay hold, as it is ſaid they did, of any remarkable inſtance of diſcovery, it might eaſily produce ſuch a ſudden diſgrace as this of the Earl's, and that too without any explanation. It was immediately followed by forbidding the Counteſs of Marlborough the court, as that was by the retiring of the Princeſs of Denmark from it, and in leſs than ſix weeks the ſham plot followed this. We have an account of the laſt event, from the pen of Lady Marlborough herſelf, which the reader may peruſe, and will from thence judge of the probability of the account that has been given (26). 'Soon after the 'Princeſs going to Sion, a dreadful plot broke out, 'which was ſaid to have been hid ſome where, I don't 'know where, in a flower-pot, and my Lord Marlborough was ſent to the Tower. To commit a Peer 'to priſon, it was neceſſary there ſhould be an affidavit from ſome body of the treaſon. My Lord 'R——y, therefore, S———y of State, had ſent to 'one Young, who was then in gaol for perjury and 'forgery, and paid his fine, in order to make him 'what they call a *legal evidence:* for as the C——rt 'L——rs ſaid, Young, not having loſt his ears, was 'an irreproachable witneſs. I ſhall not dwell on the 'ſtory of this fellow's villainy, the B——p of R——r 'having given a full account of it in print.' It is very apparent, from all our hiſtories, but more eſpecially from the Journals of the Houſe of Lords, and the Reſolutions that they came to, that theſe accuſations never gained the leaſt degree of credit, excepting amongſt thoſe who were diſpoſed to believe any thing of one, againſt whom they were prejudiced (27).

(24) Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 71.

(25) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 90.

(26) Conduct of her Grace the Ducheſs of Marlborough.

(27) See the libels publiſhed againſt the Duke of Marlborough after his diſgrace.

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any colour of guilt. He behaved in Parliament as became an Engliſh Nobleman: he never failed to join with the Courtiers when he thought them in the right, and never oppoſed them from any other principle than a conviction in his own mind that they were in the wrong. His own and his Lady's intereſt with the Princeſs Anne of Denmark, made them ſtill very conſiderable; nor was it in the power of their enemies, who had ſo much influence at one Court, to affect them even in the ſmalleſt degree in the other; and to the honour of both this noble pair it may be truly ſaid, and now they are both dead it may be ſurely ſaid without the leaſt imputation of flattery, that never any perſons appear to have deſerved Court favour better than they did, ſince the greater meaſure they had of it, the better were the affairs of that Court managed in which they enjoyed it (*a*); ſo that, at this very time, the Earl of Marlborough and his Counteſs merited all things from King William, by the pains they took to keep the Princeſs of Denmark within thoſe bounds of duty and reſpect, from which ſhe wanted not either provocations or ſolicitations to digreſs; and to how great a degree this might have diſtreſſed the Court, the Hiſtory of thoſe times will thoroughly inform the reader (*b*). The attempt made to repreſent the Earl as embarked in the Aſſaſſination Plot, failed through it's great improbability, which made an extraordinary degree of evidence neceſſary to ſupport it; and yet it came with none at all, excepting the aſſurance given by an unhappy man, who ſaid what he did purely to ſave his life (*c*). It is certain that the Earl of Marlborough acted very cooly upon this occaſion, ſhewed very little concern, and no degree of warmth. After Queen Mary's death, when their reſpective intereſts brought the two Courts to better agreement, King William thought fit to re-call the Earl of Marlborough to his Privy-Council, and June 19, 1698, appointed him Governor to the Duke of Glouceſter with this extraordinary compliment (*d*), *My Lord, make him but what you are, and my nephew will be all I wiſh to ſee him.* His Lordſhip continued from this time forward in his Majeſty's favour to the time of his death, as appears from his having been three times appointed one of the Lords Juſtices during his abſence, *viz.* July 16, 1698, May 31, 1699, and June 27, 1700 (*e*). As ſoon as it was diſcerned that the death of Charles II. of Spain would become the occaſion of another general war, the King endeavoured to provide for it early, by ſending over a body of troops to Holland; and on the firſt of June the ſame year, he declared the Earl of Marlborough General of Foot, and Commander in chief of thoſe forces; and on the twenty-eighth of the ſame month, he was alſo pleaſed to appoint him Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Miniſter Plenipotentiary to their High Mightineſſes; upon which he went immediately over to Holland, where, as a particular mark of their reſpect, the States lodged him in the houſe of Prince Maurice, that he might with more conveniency confer with foreign Miniſters (*f*). Upon the King's coming over and taking a view of the forces, he dined with the Earl of Marlborough at his quarters on the 30th of September, which was one of the laſt marks of honour and favour he received from that great Prince, who died on the eighth of March following, unleſs we reckon his recommendation of his Lordſhip to the Princeſs of Denmark a little before his death, as the propereſt perſon to be entruſted with the command of the army which was to protect the liberties of Europe (*g*) [*I*]. About a week after the King's death, he was elected one of the Knights Companions of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, and ſoon after declared Captain General of all her Majeſty's forces in England and abroad, and was immediately ſent over to the Hague with the ſame character that he had the year before (*h*). At his firſt audience of the States-General, on the twentieth of March, he made a ſhort, ſolid, and ſenſible ſpeech, in which, without

(*a*) Kennet, Burnet, &c.

(*b*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 103.

(*c*) Compl. Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 278.

(*d*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 82. Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*e*) Compl. Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 755. 768. 784.

(*f*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 86.

(*g*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*h*) Hiſtory of Europe for the year 1702, p. 86.

[*I*] *Which was to protect the liberties of Europe.*] There has been a doubt raiſed, as to the high marks of favour ſhewn to the Earl of Marlborough in the laſt years, and even the laſt hours of King William's life and reign; for ſome have attributed them merely to policy. Mr. Hornby, if he was really the author of the book cited in the margin, would perſuade us, that it was not out of affection to the common cauſe, or a ſenſe of the Earl of Marlborough's merit, but from his love to his own country, and his kindneſs to the Earl of Albemarle, that the King took theſe ſteps (28). His words are theſe: 'The late King, 'who was as well acquainted with his qualifications 'as his intereſt, had foreſeen theſe effects of her Ma'jeſty's favour; and his own ſtate of health giving 'him cauſe to apprehend a ſhort continuance in this 'world, he had recommended him to his country'men, as the man on whom they were chiefly to de'pend after his deceaſe; when that he might be leſs 'a ſtranger to them, William reſolves to ſacrifice 'his reſentments to their intereſt, and procure a re'conciliation with the Earl, in order to introduce 'him into their acquaintance; and at the ſame time 'finding that his deluge of bounty to his new fa'vourite, unlike the old one, had been only poured 'like water through a ſieve, and that therefore he 'might ſtand in need of a friend, after the loſs of ſo 'kind a maſter, the King, to kill two birds with one 'ſtone, employed him to manage this affair, as if it 'were entirely of his own motion.' This has been eſteemed a ſevere ſatire upon the memory of King William, but it appears to me in quite another light; for, granting it to be true, it ſhews a high command over his paſſions, and a ſtrong affection for his country; and if theſe are faults, what are virtues! Yet the fact ſeems to be, that with the death of Queen Mary, the King's diſlike to the Earl of Marlborough vaniſhed; and there is no doubt that he was convinced, that all the ſtories told of him were falſe; and as to his parts and abilities, he was acquainted with them long before. In ſhort, his conduct in this reſpect was perfectly right; and as it was the laſt, it was the greateſt action of his life; the cleareſt proof of his having a ſoul ſuperior to little and narrow notions, and entirely taken up with the great view of ſaving England and Holland, and indeed all Europe, from being ſwallowed up by an overgrown power, conducted by a Prince, whoſe ambition was without bounds (29), and who could know no quiet, while his neighbours were free and independent.

(28) Caveat againſt the Whigs, P. iii. p. 50, 51.

(29) Life of King William III. p. 622.

making uſe of many fine-turned periods, he gave them ſuch plain and hearty aſſurances of his Miſtreſs's ſincere intention to purſue the plan that had been formerly ſettled, as fully convinced them of her ſincerity and of his own. His ſtay in Holland was very ſhort, and it was his peculiar felicity to diſpatch much, and even the moſt important buſineſs, in a very little time, of which he gave the ſtrongeſt inſtance here; for the States not only concurred in all that he propoſed, but of their own motive did what he could neither propoſe or expect; for they declared him Captain-General alſo of their forces, with an appointment of one hundred thouſand florins *per annum*, and left to him the ſettling the rank of General officers, which he did in ſuch a manner as was very honourable for his Sovereign, and entirely to their ſatisfaction (*i*). On his return to England he found the Queen's Council already divided, ſome being for carrying the war on as auxiliaries only, and others for declaring againſt France and Spain immediately, and ſo becoming principals at once: with theſe the Earl joined, and they carrying their point, war was declared the fourth of May, 1702, which was afterwards approved by Parliament, notwithſtanding the Dutch at that time had not declared (*k*) [*K*]. The campaign was opened but with indifferent ſucceſs, which was chiefly owing to the extraordinary caution of the Earl of Athlone, a very brave man, but either a little too circumſpect, or, which is more probable, too much limited in his command. However that matter may be, certain it is, that the army had retired with ſome precipitation under the walls of Nimeguen, before the Earl of Marlborough took the command, which was on the twentieth of June (*l*). His preſence and his activity ſoon changed the face of affairs; for though his army did not conſiſt of above ſixty thouſand horſe and foot, and that of the enemy was ſuperior in number, commanded by the Duke of Burgundy, whoſe firſt campaign it was, yet the Earl never declined any opportunity of coming to action, but on the contrary preſſed it all he could, and would have forced the French to a battle three ſeveral times, if he had not been hindered by the Dutch Deputies (*m*). Yet thoſe who blame them do it without reaſon, for the very ſpirit of the army, and their offering the enemy battle, was of great uſe to their affairs; whereas any check would have deſtroyed them, the party which had oppoſed King William beginning to ſhew itſelf in ſeveral cities and provinces, ſo that they had reaſon to be cautious. On the other hand the Earl of Marlborough, far from complaining of their conduct, contented himſelf with ſhewing them clearly what advantages they loſt, by which he gained their confidence highly, as he ſecured the affection of all their officers by his condeſcenſion and politeneſs (*n*). He very ſoon diſcerned that the States were made uneaſy by the places which the enemy held on their frontiers, and therefore he readily conſented to attack and reduce them; and accordingly, in this ſingle campaign, he made himſelf maſter of the caſtles of Gravenbroeck and Waerts, the towns of Venlo, Ruremond, and Stevenſwaert, together with the city and citadel of Liege, which laſt was taken ſword in hand, and the States, as they had reaſon, teſtified the higheſt ſatisfaction with regard to his Lordſhip's conduct and ſucceſs (*o*). The Earl of Athlone did a gallant thing upon this occaſion: he wrote to the States, that their thanks were due entirely to the Earl of Marlborough, whoſe meaſures he had oppoſed during the whole campaign, but was not at all leſs pleaſed with the advantages he had obtained. Theſe had like to have been of very ſhort date; for the army ſeparating in the neighbourhood of Liege on the third of November, his Lordſhip was taken the next day in his paſſage by water, by a ſmall party of thirty men from the enemies garriſon at Gueldres; but it being towards night, and the Earl inſiſting upon an old paſs given to his brother, and out of date, he was ſuffered to proceed, and arrived at the Hague, when they were in the utmoſt conſternation on the news of the accident that had befallen him (*p*). His calmneſs of mind upon this occaſion, and the dexterity with which he extricated himſelf in ſo unexpected a diſaſter, raiſed his credit prodigiouſly, and the Grand Penſionary made him a compliment upon that occaſion, which did him more honour than all his victories; and the modeſty of his Lordſhip's anſwer at leaſt

(*i*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*k*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 315.

(*l*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. iii. p. 551.

(*m*) Rapin Thoyras Continué, tom. xi. p. 647.

(*n*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*o*) Hiſtory of Europe for 1702, p. 415.

(*p*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 133.

[*K*] *Notwithſtanding the Dutch at that time had not declared.*] This was a point of very great importance, and it cannot but be allowed, that the arguments which were offered in favour of an auxiliary war, were many of them very plauſible; but the Earl of Marlborough oppoſed it by unanſwerable reaſons, and thoſe conceived, as his always were, in very few words (30). He ſaid, the war took riſe from injuries received heretofore, and the want of ſecurity for the future; that England was as much intereſted in both as any other nation, and was therefore as much bound to act as a principal as they; that war was an evil in itſelf, conſidered in any other light than as an inſtrument, neceſſary to procure a ſafe and ſolid peace; which end the war could never anſwer, if England was not a principal: that a favourable opportunity now offered for reducing France, which, let ſlip, might in all probability never return; and that the true queſtion was, whether conſidering the power of France, England could be ſafe? for if ſhe might, it was better to maintain peace; if not, that kind of war was beſt, that would make her ſafe. The majority of the council concurred with him in opinion, and upon this the declaration of war was drawn, agreeably to the prerogative of the Crown; but it was not actually proclaimed, till the ſentiments of the Parliament were known, and conſequently the ſenſe of the nation. The Earl of Marlborough procured alſo Lord Godolphin's being made High-Treaſurer, which was a thing diſagreeable to many, and not at all pleaſing to that Lord himſelf; but the Earl inſiſted upon it as a meaſure abſolutely requiſite, ſince without it he could not depend upon the Treaſury, or the punctuality of remittances ſo neceſſary to an army in the field, where a ſlip of this kind might, in a ſingle inſtance, prove fatal (31).

(30) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(31) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 313.

equalled the dignity of that compliment (*q*). On his return to England, he received the higheſt teſtimonies of the ſenſe that his Sovereign and the nation had of his ſervices, expreſſed in the thanks of the two Houſes, and in his being created a Duke, which ſerved only to encourage and confirm him in his noble reſolution of continuing to render them ſtill greater and more important ſervices. A few of the moſt remarkable particulars during his ſtay in the winter, are taken notice of at the bottom of the page [*L*]. He was on the point of returning to Holland, when, on Feb. 20, 1702-3, his only ſon, the Marquis of Blandford, died at Cambridge at the age of eighteen. This afflicting accident did not however long retard his Grace, who was too wiſe a man to ſuffer even the neareſt of his private concerns to prejudice the publick affairs, now almoſt wholly entruſted to his care; and therefore, after allowing a very ſhort ſeaſon to grief, he paſſed over to Holland, and arrived at the Hague on the ſixth of March. It very ſoon appeared how much the common cauſe was aſſiſted by the wiſe precautions, and judicious foreſight, of the Duke of Marlborough; for he was very careful in obliging the Princes of the Empire, whoſe troops were in the Britiſh pay, to bring them early into the field, and perfectly compleat; and yet in his repreſentations upon this head, though his remarks were very ſmart and ſtrong, they were expreſſed in a language ſo decent and full of reſpect, that they were kindly received, and punctually complied with (*r*). The French had a great army this year in Flanders, in the Low-Countries, and in that part of Germany which the Elector of Cologne had put into their hands; and the Marſhals Villeroy and Boufflers were ſent to command there, aſſiſted by Prince Tſerclaes de Tilly, the Marquis de Bedmar, and other experienced officers in the Spaniſh ſervice, who, depending entirely upon that promptneſs with which the abſolute power of the French King enabled him to execute all his projects, intended to act offenſively, and to open the campaign with the ſiege of Liege on the eighteenth of April, for which prodigious preparations were made, and all the neceſſary meaſures taken (*s*). Yet theſe were all broken by the vigilance and activity of the Duke of Marlborough, who, with the army of the Allies, was in the field before them, and on the thirteenth of April inveſted Bonn, the uſual reſidence of the Elector of Cologne (*t*). This ſiege was carried on with ſo much ſpirit, and with a train of artillery ſo much ſuperior to any thing that had been ſeen, as advanced it's progreſs beyond expectation. The French, in order to create a diverſion, made a haſty march towards Maeſtricht, with a view to have ſurprized the army of the States under Marſhal D'Averquerque, and in their way ſurrounded two battalions that lay in Tongeren; but though theſe were made priſoners of war, yet it was after ſo obſtinate a defence, that the Dutch army had all the time requiſite to provide againſt the ſurprize, ſo that the enemy's deſign miſcarried (*u*); and after the ſurrender of Bonn on the fourth of May, the Duke of Marlborough re-joined the army of the Allies, and obliged the enemy to retire before him, and to ſhelter themſelves behind their lines, which were ſoon after forced in two places (*w*) The Duke, upon this, formed a project of making himſelf maſter of Antwerp, which was fruſtrated by Marſhal Boufflers attacking the Dutch General Opdam at Eckeren, on the nineteenth day of June, in which action both ſides claimed the victory (*x*). The truth is that there were two actions, in the former of which the French were entirely ſucceſsful, but loſt all they obtained in the firſt by the ſecond, and were obliged to abandon the paſſes they had taken, through which the Dutch, under the command of General Schlangenburgh, for Opdam in the beginning of the battle was obliged to fly with a few horſe, made (*y*) not a ſafe only, but a glorious retreat. The Duke of Marlborough, after this, would have attacked the French lines, but being hindered by the Dutch Deputies, Huy was inveſted and taken. His Grace propoſed again attacking the lines, in a grand Council of War held the fourteenth of Auguſt, in which he was again reſtrained by the Dutch, and the ſiege of Limburgh reſolved upon (*z*), which was very ſoon taken, as by the cloſe of the year was the city of Gueldres, which left the Dutch ſecure on every ſide except that of Brabant (*a*). When the campaign was

(*q*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*r*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 347. Memoires de Lamberty, vol. ii. p. 345.

(*s*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. iv. p. 8.

(*t*) Hiſtoire de Louis XIV. p. 318.

(*u*) Memoires de Lamberty, tom. ii. p. 440.

(*w*) See Baron Spar's Letter to the States, dated June 27, N. S.

(*x*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. iv. p. 21. Memoires de Marquis Feuquieres, tom. iv. p. 195.

(*y*) Memoires de Lamberty, tom. ii. p. 456.

(*z*) See thoſe Reſolutions tranſlated from the French, and publiſhed in Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*a*) Memoires de Lamberty, tom. ii. p. 467.

[*L*] *At the bottom of the page.*] The Earl of Marlborough arrived in London on the 28th of November, ſome time after the Queen had been complimented by both Houſes of Parliament, on the ſucceſs of her arms in Flanders; in conſequence of which there had been a publick Thankſgiving on the 4th of November, when her Majeſty went in great ſtate to St. Paul's (32). Soon after, a Committee of the Houſe of Commons, of which Sir Edward Seymour was Chairman, attended him with the thanks of the Houſe. On the 2d of December, her Majeſty declared her intention in Council, of creating his Lordſhip a Duke; which ſhe ſoon after did, by the title of Marquis of Blandford, and Duke of Marlborough. She likewiſe added a penſion of five thouſand pounds a year out of the Poſt-Office during her own life (33), and ſent a meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, ſignifying her deſire that it might attend the honour ſhe had lately conferred; but with this the Houſe would not comply, contenting themſelves in their addreſs to the Queen upon this occaſion, to applaud her manner of rewarding publick ſervice; but declaring their inability to make ſuch a precedent, for alienating the revenue of the Crown (34). The Houſe did not ſhew the leſs reſpect for this to another motion, that was made in conſequence as they very well knew of his advice, viz. that an additional number of troops might be employed in Flanders, to fruſtrate the deſigns of France, as ſhe was then preparing to take the field early, and with a ſuperior force (35). It was with this view, that a vote paſſed for taking ten thouſand foreign troops into Engliſh pay, which was a very ſeaſonable meaſure, and what indeed could not be avoided as things ſtood at that time; and there is no doubt that this raiſed his Grace's reputation not a little with the States-General, as it was an equal proof of his ſincerity and intereſt.

(32) Hiſt. of Europe for the year 1702, p. 441.

(33) Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 196.

(34) See the Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons preſented Dec. 21, 1702, in anſwer to her Majeſty's meſſage.

(35) Memoires de Lamberty, tom. ii. p. 312, 313.

over, his Grace went to Duſſeldorp, to meet the late Emperor, then ſtiled Charles III. King of Spain, who made him a preſent of a very rich ſword from his ſide, with a compliment more glorious than the preſent; and then returning to the Hague, after a very ſhort ſtay he came over to England (*b*) [*M*]. When meaſures were properly ſettled at home, the Duke, on the eighth of April 1704, embarked at Harwich for Holland, where he ſpent near a month, in adjuſting all the neceſſary ſteps for executing the greateſt deſign that had been formed within this century; which he covered ſo effectually, that when in the beginning of May he began his march for Germany, the French imagined that he intended to act upon the Moſelle; and the whole of the expedition was conducted with ſuch addreſs, that he paſſed both the Maine and the Neckar before the French had any juſt notion of his intention, and indeed before it was known in it's full extent in Holland (*c*). After this, he took ſome ſteps that looked as if his deſign tended to the recovery of Landau, which put all the enemy's troops in motion on that ſide, while his Grace continued his march into the heart of the Empire, and had a conference with the Princes Eugene of Savoy, and Lewis of Baden, who complimented him in the higheſt terms on the generoſity of his deſign, and the great prudence he had ſhown in the conduct of it (*d*). His Grace continued to preſs the march of his troops, and of the reinforcements ſent him from Holland, with the utmoſt vigour, ſo that he arrived before the ſtrong intrenchments of the enemy at Schellenburgh very unexpectedly on the twenty-firſt of June; and though there were in them twenty thouſand men, and it was afternoon when they arrived, yet he could not be perſuaded to delay the attack, but began it with the Engliſh and Dutch infantry, before the Imperialiſts, under Prince Lewis of Baden, could come up (*e*). The diſpute was very obſtinate and bloody, the Allies were twice repulſed, but at the third attack the Imperialiſts forced the intrenchment on the right, and ſoon after the Engliſh and Dutch did the ſame on the left, ſo that the enemy were obliged to retire very precipitately, after loſing one third of their troops at leaſt (*f*). It was upon this occaſion that the Emperor wrote the Duke a letter with his own hand, acknowledging his ſervices in the moſt obliging manner, and offering him the title of a Prince of the Empire, which he modeſtly declined (*g*), till the Queen afterwards commanded him to accept of it. This great ſtroke, by which a way was opened for the relief of the Empire, was, by the Germans themſelves, juſtly and univerſally aſcribed to the Duke [*N*]. He proſecuted

(*b*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 184.

(*c*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 381.

(*d*) Memoires de Lamberty, tom. iii. p. 80.

(*e*) See the Duke of Marlborough's Letter to the States, dated July 3, N. S. 1704, as alſo his Letter of the next day.

(*f*) Memoires de Lamberty, tom. ii. p. 85.

(*g*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 223.

[*M*] *Came over to England.*] His Grace arrived here on the 13th of October 1703, and ſoon after King Charles III. of Spain, whom he had accompanied to the Hague, came likewiſe over to England, and arrived at Spithead the day after Chriſtmas. His Grace the Duke of Somerſet, and his Grace of Marlborough, were immediately ſent down to receive and to conduct him to Windſor (36). On the 28th he lay at Petworth, and on the 29th in the evening, he arrived in company of the two Dukes at Windſor. Upon this occaſion, I muſt mention what moſt of our Hiſtorians have overlooked, *viz.* that on the 30th the Duke of Marlborough introduced to his Catholick Majeſty the Spaniſh Merchants, and procured for them the ſtrongeſt aſſurance of protection and favour, that the King could give (37). In the beginning of the month of January, the States-General deſired her Majeſty to give leave to his Grace of Marlborough to come to the Hague, which her Majeſty granted, and his Grace embarked on the 15th of the ſame month on board the Mary Yacht, in which he paſſed over to Rotterdam (38), and went from thence immediately to the Hague, where he communicated to the Penſionary, his ſenſe of the neceſſity there was, of attempting ſomething the next campaign for the relief of the Emperor, whoſe affairs at this time were in the utmoſt diſtreſs; having the Bavarians on one ſide, and the Hungarian malecontents on the other, making incurſions to the very gates of Vienna, while his whole force ſcarcely enabled him to maintain a defenſive war; which unleſs ſpeedily relieved, would certainly exhauſt him. The Penſionary approved ſo much of the Duke's ſcheme as he opened to him, but it was agreed that he ſhould not explain himſelf to the States: only meaſures were concerted, as if the next campaign was to open upon the Moſelle; and even in this an air of ſecrecy was obſerved, which had very good effects. Matters being thus adjuſted, and the Generals named who were to command on the frontiers of the State's dominions, the Duke returned to England (39) on the 14th of February following.

(36) London Gazette, Monday, January 3, 1703.

(37) Hiſt. of Europe for 1703, p. 485.

(38) Memoires de Lamberty, tom. iii. p. 45.

(39) London Gazette, Feb. 17, 1703.

[*N*] *Was by the Germans themſelves juſtly and univerſally aſcribed to the Duke.*] The tranſactions of this campaign are ſo peculiarly glorious in reſpect to the memory of this noble perſon, that we are under an indiſpenſable neceſſity of detaining the reader, upon ſome few of the moſt remarkable circumſtances, that demonſtrate the veracity of what is aſſerted in the text. In the firſt place, the great *capacity* of the Duke is viſible, in forming ſo vaſt a deſign in his own mind, with reſpect to which he could not either aſk or receive advice, but was obliged to lay the whole plan, and to contrive the means of overcoming the many difficulties, excluſively of all the hazards of war that lay in the way of it's execution, without the leaſt aſſiſtance. We are next to advert to the great *ſecrecy* and wonderful *addreſs*, with which he managed it. At home it was entruſted only to the Queen, the Prince of Denmark, and the Lord Treaſurer Godolphin; abroad, only the Penſionary and another perſon had any intimation of it, neither was it communicated to them in it's full extent. But what is ſtill more admirable, there was no intimation given of it to the Imperial Court, as appears from the memorial of the Imperial Miniſter, preſented to the Queen in the middle of April, when the Duke was actually on his march, beſeeching her aſſiſtance. It is no wonder therefore, that with all their intelligence, the French were deceived to the very laſt, and did not apprehend the Duke's true deſign, till he was within ſight of the Danube. His Grace's *dexterity*, in opening his deſign to the States by degrees, and thereby obtaining their conſent, not only to carry their troops with him to ſuch a diſtance, but alſo to have them augmented by conſiderable reinforcements, from the nature of their conſtitution at all times, and the ſituation they were in at this critical conjuncture, will to future ages ſeem incredible. His *celerity* in performing ſo extraordinary a march, as from the frontiers of Holland to the Danube, in about fifty days, without prejudice to his troops, is aſtoniſhing; but the moſt ſurprizing ſtroke of all was, the *firmneſs* the Duke expreſſed in attacking the enemy the ſame day that he arrived, when their entrenchments were not half finiſhed, and before they were recovered from the confuſion into which he had thrown them, by his unexpected arrival; to which, and to his perſiſting in making the laſt effort, the ſucceſs of this affair (with the aſſiſtance of the divine favour)

profecuted this ſucceſs with all the diligence imaginable, and laboured to bring the enemy to a deciſive battle, which the Elector of Bavaria declined, by retiring under the walls of Augſburgh. At length, being joined by a new French army under the command of Marſhal Tallard, he advanced to Hochſtet, where, on the ſecond of Auguſt, he was attacked by the Allies (*b*). Prince Lewis of Baden being detached with part of the army to make the ſiege of Ingoldſtat, the remainder conſiſted of about fifty-two thouſand men, commanded on the right by Prince Eugene, and on the left by the Duke of Marlborough; the French and Bavarians were about ſixty thouſand, commanded by Marſhal Tallard on the right, and on the left by the Elector of Bavaria and Marſhal Marſin: the attack, though bold and hazardous, was conducted with all the caution imaginable; and the Duke receiving the ſacrament the evening before, went to the field with a reſolution to conquer or to die (*i*). The diſpute was for ſome hours bloody and doubtful; but at length victory declared on the ſide of the Allies, the enemy loſing at leaſt half, ſome accounts ſay two-thirds, of their army, of whom thirteen thouſand, and amongſt them Marſhal Tallard, with twelve hundred officers, were made priſoners, and fourteen thouſand killed or drowned, beſides a vaſt number that were loſt in their precipitate retreat (*k*). After this glorious action, by which the empire was ſaved, and the whole electorate of Bavaria conquered, the Duke continued his purſuit till he forced the French to re-paſs the Rhine, and then Prince Lewis of Baden laid ſiege to Landau, while the Duke and Prince Eugene covered it; and if, through the ſlowneſs of the Germans, that ſiege had not laſted too long, his Grace had projected an expedition on the Moſelle, in order to have forced a paſſage that way into France: as it was, he took poſſeſſion of Homburgh, Treves, *&c.* and had the pleaſure of ſeeing Landau taken on the twelfth of November, after ſixty-ſix days open trenches (*l*). He made a tour alſo to Berlin, and by a ſhort negotiation ſuſpended the diſputes between the King of Pruſſia and the Dutch, by which he gained the good-will of both parties. When the campaign was over, he returned to Holland, where he received the publick thanks of the States for his ſervices in the field and in the cabinet, and on the fourteenth of December he arrived in England, laden with the trophies of his victories (*m*), by which he gained a reputation truly immortal [*O*]. As the Duke's deſigns coſt him much greater pains than the execution of them, ſo when they were once formed he was unwilling to part with them, what obſtacles ſoever lay in the way of compleating them. He meditated therefore all the winter the project he had formed of penetrating from the Moſelle, which project, by the way, is the original after which many have been copied ſince; and upon his going over to Holland, in the latter end of March, he laboured to put every thing in order for this favourite expedition, which might poſſibly have ended the war that campaign, but muſt have reduced the enemy to the greateſt extremity in the next. The raiſing of magazines, which was the greateſt obſtacle apprehended in the execution of the Duke's ſcheme, he had wiſely provided for, by cauſing them to be erected the winter before at Triers, and under various pretences keeping them there to this time (*n*).

(*b*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XV. tom. iv. p. 31. Memoires de Marquis Feuquieres, tom. iii. p. 266.

(*i*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 236.

(*k*) Memoires de Lamberty, tom. iii. p. 98.

(*l*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. iv. p. 315. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 505.

(*m*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 303. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 507.

(*n*) Memoires de Lamberty, tom. iii. p. 456.

vour) was abſolutely due. The ſame thing happened again at Hochſtet, where moſt of the Generals would have diſſuaded his Grace from fighting; but he was inflexible, well knowing that to do nothing was the ſureſt way to be undone, and that delay would have made the hazard greater; ſo that we may truly ſay, the fortune of the Duke of Marlborough aroſe from his conduct; and that he was victorious, in conſequence of his chuſing the fitteſt times for actions; being always cool and compoſed, obſerving and making the moſt of every advantage, and rendering his forces ſuperior to the enemy, by that confidence which he placed in them, and which through the whole war they never failed to juſtify, by ſhewing that ſpirit, which Prince Eugene frankly ſaid, he never ſaw in any other troops.

[*O*] *By which he gained a reputation truly immortal.*] It is impoſſible within the narrow compaſs to which we are confined, to mention all the honours this hero received; and it is the leſs neceſſary, as not our own hiſtories only, but thoſe of foreign nations alſo, will always preſerve them. We ſhall content ourſelves, therefore, with remarking, that, excluſively of the medals ſtruck, and the Poems written in honour of this victory, of which Mr. Addiſon's was really worthy of it, all the other teſtimonies of a juſt ſenſe of his ſervices were given, that even thoſe ſervices could merit. He brought over with him Marſhal Tallard, and twenty-ſix other officers of diſtinction, one hundred twenty-one ſtandards, and a hundred and ſeventy-nine colours, which by her Majeſty's order, were put up in Weſtminſter-Hall (40): he was received by the Queen and her Royal Conſort, with the higheſt marks of eſteem, and had the ſolemn thanks of both Houſes of Parliament (41). Beſides this, the Commons addreſſed her Majeſty to perpetuate the memory of this victory, which ſhe did, by granting him the honour of Woodſtock, with the Hundred of Wotton, that was veſted in him and his heirs for ever by act of Parliament, which paſſed on the 14th of March following, with this remarkable clauſe, that they ſhould be held by rendering to the Queen, her heirs and ſucceſſors, on the 2d of Auguſt, every year for ever, at the Caſtle of Windſor, a ſtandard, with three fleurs de lys painted thereon (42). On the ſixth of January, the Duke was feaſted by the City; and on the 8th of February, the Commons addreſſed the Queen to teſtify their thanks for the wiſe treaty which the Duke had concluded with the Court of Berlin, by which a large body of Pruſſian troops were ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Duke of Savoy (43); ſo equal was this great man to all things, and ſo great was his dexterity in managing the moſt arduous negotiations; which he concluded in leſs time, than moſt miniſters would have taken to enter upon buſineſs; and at the ſame time ſo extenſive were his views, that every ſcene of action was alike the object of his care; and he had no ſooner freed Germany from her fears, than he provided effectually for the relief of Italy, by engaging Prince Eugene to take upon him the command there, and by procuring for him this neceſſary and effectual aſſiſtance; ſo that in reality he was the very ſoul of the war, animating and directing it every where for the ſervice of the common cauſe, and for the glory of his country.

(40) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 306. London Gazette, Jan. 4, 1704.

(41) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(42) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 308, 309.

(43) London Gazette, Jan. 8, 1704. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 310.

The States-General, upon his laying before them the great advantages that would follow from a ſucceſsful campaign on the Moſelle, conſented, without much difficulty, to his leading their troops thither; and Prince Lewis of Baden alſo, without whoſe concurrence he could do nothing, promiſed him an interview at Creutznach. His Grace having done every thing at the Hague, and having marched part of the troops with a view to his great deſign, went in perſon to Coblentz, where he arrived on the ſixth of May; and propoſed two days after to have had an interview with Prince Lewis; but the next morning his Highneſs excuſed himſelf by a meſſage, on account of his ill ſtate of health (*o*). Upon this his Grace ſet out for Raſtadt, the place of his Highneſs's reſidence, where he had a long conference with him, in a manner againſt his will, in which it is ſaid his Highneſs promiſed him to concur as far as in him lay to the execution of his deſigns; upon which the Duke returned to the army, paſſed the Moſelle, and diſpoſed every thing for the ſiege of Saar Lewis; but Prince Lewis of Baden falling ſick again, and the Germans failing in every thing, the Duke was able to do nothing (*p*). On the other hand, the French, inſtead of reinforcing the army that ſhould have oppoſed the Duke of Marlborough, purſued their plan of operations in the Low-Countries, as if they had depended upon this diſappointment, and taking the advantage of the weakneſs of Marſhal D'Averquerque's army, recovered Huy, and laid ſiege to Liege (*q*). His Grace, upon this, decamped on the ſixth of June, and made ſo quick a march with his cavalry, that he obliged the enemy to raiſe the ſiege of the citadel of Liege, and ſoon changed the face of affairs on that ſide. But his back was no ſooner turned, than Monſ. d'Aubach, the Palatine General, who was left to act upon the defenſive on the Moſelle, retired precipitately, and, as if he meant to put it out of his Grace's power ever to reſume his deſign of penetrating into France that way, burnt all his magazines at Triers, upon the firſt motion of the French towards him, without waiting for orders (*r*). The Duke, having recovered Huy, reſolved to force the French lines, which ſome of the Dutch Generals oppoſed; but Marſhal D'Averquerque, and the preſent King of Sweden, declaring poſitively in favour of the Duke's propoſition, it was carried into execution with all the eaſe imaginable; by which, excluſively of the glory of the action, the French ſuffered a very conſiderable loſs, and the Elector of Bavaria, and Marſhal Villeroy, were obliged to retire with precipitation (*s*). Yet the Duke miſſed his principal deſign, which was recovering Lorrain, Bruſſels, and Antwerp, by the ſlowneſs of ſome of the Dutch Generals. He was, in like manner, diſappointed in two other deſigns; in one, by the obſtinacy of General Schlangenburg; in the other, by the oppoſition of the Dutch deputies, which occaſioned pretty warm diſputes with the States, who at laſt gave him ſome kind of ſatisfaction. The campaign ended ſoon after with ſome ſucceſſes, which would have made a conſiderable figure in a campaign under any other General, but are ſcarcely worth mentioning where the Duke of Marlborough commanded, who, though he bore them with admirable patience, yet was infinitely chagrined with ſuch a train of diſappointments (*t*). The ſeaſon for action being over, he made a tour to the courts of Vienna, Berlin, and Hanover. At the firſt of theſe he acquired the entire confidence of the new Emperor Joſeph, who made him a preſent of the principality of Mindelheim; at the ſecond he renewed the contract for the Pruſſian forces, and obtained every thing he aſked from a Prince, with whom all other Miniſters could do nothing; and, at the laſt, he reſtored a perfect harmony, and adjuſted every thing to the Elector's ſatisfaction; after which he returned to the Hague, where, in a ſingle conference, he induced the States to agree to their proportion of the pay of ten thouſand men that were to be ſent into Italy, and towards the cloſe of the year, embarked for, and arrived ſafely in, England (*u*) [*P*]. All things being concerted for rendering the next campaign more ſucceſsful than the former,

(*o*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 313. Memoires de Lamberty, tom. iii. p. 469.

(*p*) Limiers, tom. iii. p. 183. Memoires de Lamberty, tom. iii. p. 471. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 316.

(*q*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. iv. p. 497. Memoires de Lamberty, tom. iii. p. 471. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 516.

(*r*) Memoires de Lamberty, tom. iii. p. 471.

(*s*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. iv. p. 506. Memoires de Lamberty, tom. iii. p. 472.

(*t*) Memoires de Lamberty, tom. iii. p. 477. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 331.

(*u*) Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 592.

[*P*] *Embarked for, and arrived ſafely in, England.*] A new Parliament had been called this year, and great expectations were formed of their conduct, and it ſoon appeared with very good reaſon (44). Upon the 7th of January, the Houſe of Commons, came to a reſolution to thank his Grace of Marlborough, as well for his prudent negotiations, as for his great ſervices. But notwithſtanding this, it very ſoon appeared, that there was a ſtrong party formed againſt the war; and a pamphlet was publiſhed, in which the conduct of his Grace of Marlborough was directly attacked; but the author ſoon after thought proper to write a letter (45) to the Duke by way of recantation. An attempt was alſo made in the Houſe of Lords, to have procured from her Majeſty all the papers relating to the laſt campaign, in hopes that ſomething might have been found in them, which might have proved a ground for cenſuring his Grace's conduct; which, in the mean time, to take off all ſuſpicion, they very highly commended, and ſpoke with the utmoſt bitterneſs of Prince Lewis of Baden and the Dutch (46). But this alſo was ſeen through and defeated, chiefly through the prudence of the Duke, who ſpoke always with much moderation of what had happened abroad; and having ſeen Prince Lewis of Baden after the campaign was over, in the tour he made through Germany, he treated him with the utmoſt deference and reſpect (47). Her Majeſty at this time had ſome overtures made to her by the Duke of Savoy, in reference to the attempt upon Toulon, which were referred to the Duke of Marlborough, ſuch was the entire confidence the Queen repoſed in him at that time (48); and as to the plan of the enſuing campaign, it was alſo entirely referred to his Grace; who at that time was very apprehenſive that the French would act as they had done the year before, entirely on the defenſive; and had therefore fixed on ſeveral ſteps proper to have forced them to change that ſcheme, if their own politicks (49) had not, very fatally for them, had that effect, as the reader will ſee in the text.

(44) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 426.

(45) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 348.

(46) See Lord Haverſham's Speech upon that occaſion.

(47) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(48) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 350.

(49) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

mer, his Grace, in the beginning of April 1706, embarked for Holland. He remained at the Hague about three weeks, and found the States very well diſpoſed to perform the promiſe they had given him, of making him eaſy in his command; which was not only a thing very reaſonable in itſelf, but highly conducive to their intereſts, and very ſuitable to the inclinations of the people. In order to this General Schlangenburg was laid aſide, which was a thing of great conſequence with reſpect to other officers, and the Field Deputies were given to underſtand, that a very high deference was on all occaſions to be paid to his Grace's ſentiments (*w*). On his arriving in the army, which was in the neighbourhood of Liege, he found new difficulties to ſtruggle with. He had intelligence that the French army under Marſhal Villeroy was perfectly compleat, while, as to that of the Allies, the Daniſh horſe abſolutely inſiſted upon being paid their arrears before they left their winter quarters; and as for the Pruſſian troops that were ordered to join them, they were at a great diſtance. While things were in this ſituation the French paſſed the Deule, whence the Duke very eaſily diſcerned that they hoped to treat him as they had done the laſt year, and placed their whole confidence in his diſappointments. To prevent this his Grace applied himſelf to the Duke of Wirtembergh, with whom, ever ſince the little diſpute they had in Ireland, he had a ſtrict friendſhip; and having given him his own, and procured the Dutch Field Deputies to engage their promiſe, that all arrears ſhould be duly paid, his Serene Highneſs generouſly declared that he thought it was all his Daniſh Majeſty could expect, and that he would march his troops immediately without waiting for that Monarch's orders (*x*). This was a thing of the utmoſt conſequence; for the French relied upon the obſtinacy of the Danes, which induced them to hurry on an action in ſuch a manner, that the Elector of Bavaria was forced to ride poſt to it, and ſcarcely arrived in time. They were deceived in their expectations, for the Daniſh horſe joined the Confederates on Saturday the eleventh of May, and the next morning, being Whitſunday, was fought the battle of Ramillies. The French muſt be allowed the honour of having offered the Allies battle, which, if they had not done, the Duke would have forced them to an action the next day (*y*). It began about one, and the Duke ſoon obſerving that his right wing would not be able to act an account of a moraſs, drew twenty ſquadrons from thence to the aſſiſtance of the left (*z*), where the Dutch cavalry had been broken by the French houſhold troops; but the Daniſh horſe, ſupported by this reinforcement, and encouraged by the preſence of the Duke, broke them in their turn, and carried all before them. The Duke was twice in the utmoſt danger, once by a fall from his horſe, and a ſecond time by a cannon ſhot, that took off the head of Colonel Bringfield as he was holding the ſtirrup for his Grace to re-mount (*a*). The diſpute was indeed but very ſhort; ſome of the beſt accounts ſay not above half an hour, others two hours, and then the French began every where to give way; ſo that the rout ſoon became total, and their baggage being placed between the two lines of the army, not only rendered the day irrecoverable, but hindered all regularity in the retreat (*b*). The loſs of the enemy was very great; about ſix thouſand killed, nearly the ſame number taken, and not many fewer than theſe deſerted: their whole train, conſiſting of fifty pieces of cannon, ſeveral kettle-drums, one hundred and twenty ſtandards and colours, demonſtrated the entireneſs of the victory (*c*). If any farther proof of this was neceſſary, it was given by their retreat, or rather by the precipitation of their flight, by which they abandoned a great part of Brabant without any apparent neceſſity; and this was ſo far improved by the vigilance and wiſdom of the Duke, that Louvain, Bruſſels, Mechlin, and even Ghent and Bruges, ſubmitted to King Charles III. of Spain without a ſtroke, and Oudenard ſurrendered upon the firſt ſummons. The city of Antwerp followed this example, and thus, in the ſhort ſpace of a fortnight, the Duke reduced all Brabant, and the marquiſate of the Holy Empire, to the obedience of King Charles (*d*). He gave, upon this occaſion, ſuch extraordinary marks of diſintereſtedneſs, as deſerved more regard than have been hitherto paid them. Inſtead of making thoſe advantages to which his victory entitled him, he received and protected the inhabitants of theſe places as the King of Spain's ſubjects; and when the government of the Auſtrian Netherlands was offered him with the uſual appointments, he generouſly refuſed it, put the adminiſtration into the hands of the States of the province, and by various other inſtances gave inconteſtible proofs, that he did all for the Common Cauſe, and nothing for himſelf (*e*). In the latter end of May he made a ſhort tour to the Hague, in order to prevail upon the States to have conſented to certain meaſures, particularly the ſiege of Dunkirk, by which he hoped to have ſhortened the war; but not being able to prevail, he was obliged to purſue his ſucceſſes in the way moſt agreeable to them, and accordingly ordered Oſtend to be inveſted, before which the trenches were opened on the eighteenth of June (*f*). It was during this ſiege, that, in my poor judgment, his Grace committed the greateſt overſight in his whole life; for going to viſit this ſiege, he expoſed his perſon for more than an hour in the trenches, during as warm a fire as ever was ſeen; and this notwithſtanding a letter the Queen did him the honour to write him on his victory, with her own hand, in which the only command ſhe gave him was, *Be careful of yourſelf* (*g*). The ſiege was conducted with ſo much vigour that the place ſurrendered on the twenty-ſeventh.

(*w*) Memoires de Lamberty, tom. iii. p. 495. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 337.

(*x*) Memoires de Lamberty, tom. iv. p. 56. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 354.

(*y*) Memoires de Feuquieres, tom. iv. p. 12.

(*z*) Memoires de Lamberty, tom. iv. p. 56. Hiſtoire de Louis XIV. tom. iv. p. 408.

(*a*) London Gazette, for May 20, 1706.

(*b*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. v. p. 6. Memoires de Feuquieres, tom. iv. p. 12. Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*c*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 300. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 537.

(*d*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. ii p. 452. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 538.

(*e*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 394. Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*f*) Hiſtoire Chronologique de dernier Siecle, p. 273. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 540.

(*g*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

ſeventh. The ſtrong fortreſs of Menin, eſteemed the maſter-piece of Marſhal Vauban, defended by a numerous garriſon under the command of one of the beſt officers in France, was inveſted next, the trenches opened before it on the twenty-fourth of July, and the ſiege being carried on with extraordinary diligence and warmth, the place ſurrendered on the eleventh of Auguſt (*b*). Dendermonde, which had been blocked up ſoon after the battle of Ramillies, ſurrendered, after a ſhort ſiege, on the twenty-fifth of the ſame month; and on the fifth of September Aeth was inveſted, and the trenches opened before it upon the eleventh. It was expected that this place would have made a pretty long defence, but, following the example of the reſt, it ſurrendered on the twenty-firſt. The Duke de Vendoſme had been ſent to command in Flanders inſtead of Marſhal Villeroy, and though without doubt he was as good an officer, and as brave a man, as any ſubject the French King had, and notwithſtanding his army was reinforced to an equality at leaſt with that of the Allies, he remained a calm ſpectator of the Duke's conqueſts, not daring to undertake any enterprize of importance, with an army that had quite loſt their ſpirits (*i*). The forces of the Allies after this glorious campaign being about to ſeparate, his Grace, on the ſixteenth of October, went to the Hague, where the propoſals which France had made for a peace, contained in a letter from the Elector of Bavaria to the Duke of Marlborough, were communicated to the Miniſters of the Allies; after which his Grace embarked on the fifteenth of November for England, where he arrived the day following (*k*) [Q]. The meaſures neceſſary for promoting the ſucceſs of the enſuing campaign being very early ſettled at home, and it being found abſolutely neceſſary that his Grace ſhould make a tour to Germany before the army entered upon action, he propoſed to have been at the Hague before the end of March; but being hindered by contrary winds, he did not arrive there before the fifth of April, 1707 (*l*). He explained to the States the motives of his journey to Saxony, whither he went to confer with the King of Sweden, whoſe ſituation was at that time ſuch as enabled him to have given law to Europe. His grace accordingly made a journey to his Swediſh Majeſty's head quarters, preſented him with the Queen his Miſtreſs's letters, and after a very ſucceſsful negotiation, in which it is certain that he made very favourable impreſſions on the mind of that Prince, and gained a perfect acquaintance with his deſigns (*m*), he returned by Hanover to the Hague, and having acquainted the States with the iſſue of his journey, he ſet out for Bruſſels, where he arrived on the ſecond of May (*n*). The army of France was commanded this year by two great Princes, who were alſo great officers, the Elector of Bavaria, and the Duke of Vendoſme. They were both eſteemed enterprizing in their conduct, as they were indiſputably very gallant in their perſons; yet the higheſt honour to which they aſpired, with a ſuperior army, was to move about a little from camp to camp without being obliged to fight, to which the Duke of Vendoſme would never conſent (*o*). His Grace of Marlborough was a little deceived in the beginning of the campaign: he knew the ſtrength of the French army, and was well acquainted with the character of the Princes before-mentioned, and therefore when he knew they had aſſembled their army without the lines, he took it for granted they intended to give him battle; upon which he advanced towards them, who were then encamped on the plains of Flerus, but, upon the approach of the Allies, the Duke de Vendoſme occupied the paſs at Ronquiers by ſo ſtrong a detachment, that the Duke of Marlborough ſaw plainly, his intention was neither to offer battle nor to be forced to fight, upon which he was obliged

(*b*) Memoires de Lamberty, tom. iv. p. 91. Hiſtoire Chronologique du dernier Siecle, p. 274. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 540.

(*i*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. v. p. 16.

(*k*) London Gazette, for Monday, November 18, 1706.

(*l*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 452.

(*m*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough. Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 473, 474.

(*n*) Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 563.

(*o*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. v. p. 276. Limieres, tom. iii. p. 230.

[Q] *Where he arrived the day following.*] His Grace of Marlborough arrived at London on the eighteenth of November 1706 (50), and though at this time there was a faction forming againſt him at Court, yet the great ſervices he had done the nation, and the perſonal eſteem the Queen always had for him, procured him an univerſal good reception, in which it ſeemed as if there was a competition who ſhould oblige him moſt. The Houſe of Commons, in their Addreſs in anſwer to her Majeſty's Speech from the throne, ſpoke of the ſucceſs of the campaign in general, and the Duke of Marlborough's ſhare in particular, in the ſtrongeſt terms poſſible; and the very next day after they preſented this Addreſs, unanimouſly voted him their thanks (51). The Lords did the ſame with reſpect both to the Addreſs and their thanks, which were given his Grace by William Cowper, Eſq; then Lord Keeper of the Great-Seal (52). They went ſtill farther, for on the ſeventeenth of December they addreſſed the Queen for leave to bring in a bill, to ſettle the Duke's honours upon the male and female iſſue of his daughters, which was granted, and Blenheim-houſe, and the manor of Woodſtock, were, after the deceaſe of the Ducheſs, upon whom they were ſettled in jointure, entailed in the ſame manner with the honours (53). Two days after this, the ſtandards and colours taken at Ramillies being carried in ſtate through the city, in order to be hung up in Guild-Hall, his Grace of Marlborough was invited to dine with the Lord Mayor, which he accordingly did. The laſt day of the year was appointed for a General Thankſgiving, and her Majeſty went in State to St. Paul's, in which there was this ſingularity obſerved, that it was the ſecond Thankſgiving within the year (54). On the ſeventeenth of January, the Houſe of Commons addreſſed the Queen, ſignifying, that as her Majeſty had built the houſe of Blenheim to perpetuate the memory of the Duke of Marlborough's ſervices, and the Houſe of Lords ordered a bill for continuing his honours, ſo they were deſirous to make ſome proviſion for the more honourable ſupport of his dignity (55). In conſequence of this, and of the Queen's anſwer, the penſion of five thouſand pounds a year from the Poſt-Office, was ſettled in the manner the Queen had formerly deſired of another Houſe of Commons, who happened not to be in quite ſo good a temper. Theſe points being adjuſted, his Grace made haſte to return to his charge, it being thought more eſpecially neceſſary, that he ſhould give the foreign Miniſters at the Hague to underſtand (as he did) that the Queen of Great-Britain would hearken to no propoſals for a peace, but what would firmly ſecure the general tranquillity of Europe (56).

(50) London Gazette, Nov. 18, 1706.

(51) See the Journal of the Houſe of Commons.

(52) See the Journal of the Houſe of Peers.

(53) Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 551.

(54) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 449.

(55) Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 553.

(56) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

to retire towards Bruſſels (*p*). His intention at the beginning of the campaign was to have beſieged either Mons or Charleroy, in caſe the enemy declined fighting, and this the Dutch Deputies did not in the leaſt oppoſe; but the Duke de Vendoſme having ſeized the ſtrong camp of Gemblours, his Grace of Marlborough ſaw plainly that there was no venturing to make a ſiege, without expoſing all the great open towns of Brabant to be re-taken by the French; and this kept him in a kind of inaction during the remaining part of the campaign, excepting that, upon his receiving advice of the enemy's having detached a few ſquadrons and thirteen battalions into Provence, he advanced with a reſolution of attacking Vendoſme, even in the ſtrong camp of Gemblours (*q*). But upon his approach Vendoſme decamped, and by very quick marches gained a ſtronger poſt at Peiton, whither his Grace followed, and puſhed him ſo cloſe, that they were obliged to decamp again; and at laſt, after ſhifting from place to place, retired within their lines; where, having the Schelde and ſtrong entrenchments before them, the army of the Duke of Vendoſme could bear the approach of the Allies, without deſiring to get out of their way (*r*). The Duke, finding all his endeavours to no purpoſe, and the weather being grown very bad, quitted the army on the twenty-third of September, and went to the Hague, from whence he ſet out again ſoon after for Franckfort, where he laboured to have infuſed ſome degree of warmth into the Princes of the Empire, and to have drawn his Imperial Majeſty to have ſhewn more punctuality to his engagements than he had done hitherto ſince the war began; in which, not meeting with his uſual ſucceſs, he returned again to the Hague (*s*); and after encouraging the States to perſiſt in the reſolutions they had taken for the ſupport of the Common Cauſe, he embarked for England, without ſhewing any apparent concern at the cloſe of the moſt barren campaign he ever made [*R*]. The very unexpected diſtaſtes the Duke had met with through the whole courſe of the winter, as well as the repeated applications of the States-General, induced him to go to Holland early in the ſpring; and arriving at the Hague on the nineteenth of March, he found there Prince Eugene of Savoy, who had been at infinite pains to engage the Court of Vienna, and ſome of the Princes of the Empire, to come into a ſcheme which he knew would be grateful to the Duke, as well as of high conſequence to the Common Cauſe (*t*). In order to compleat this, however, it was abſolutely neceſſary to engage the Elector of Hanover, afterwards King George I. to part with ſome regiments that were to have compoſed the army that he was to command on the Rhine; and this the Duke of Marlborough was to undertake, which he did, and ſucceeded in his commiſſion (*u*). Prince Eugene, who made a tour through the Empire, met his Grace at Hanover, and concerted with him there the operations of the campaign; after which he returned to Vienna, giving out that he was to command a ſeparate body upon the Moſelle, which was underſtood to be avoiding a junction with the Duke of Marlborough (*w*). The giving credit to this circumſtance, trifling as it ſeemed, proved the ruin of the French affairs; for at the ſame time the Duke of Burgundy was ſent to command in Flanders, Marſhal Berwick was ſent to oppoſe Prince Eugene upon the Rhine; but he having ſeveral days march of him, moved with ſuch unuſual celerity, that his forces preſerved the advantages they had acquired till they had joined the Allies. The French, under the Dukes of Burgundy and Vendoſme, had a very fine army of one hundred thouſand men (*x*); whereas, after draining all his garriſons, the Duke of Marlborough could not take the field with full fourſcore. The enemy might have preſerved this ſuperiority through the campaign, if they had taken care to facilitate their junction with Marſhal Berwick; but the Duke of Burgundy, miſled by the advice of a few favourites, croſſed the Duke of Vendoſme in every thing, and having ſucceeded in his deſign of ſurprizing Ghent and Bruges, fancied he was able to act by his own lights, and thereupon

(*p*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 474.

(*q*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*r*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 494, 495.

(*s*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 485. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 499.

(*t*) Memoires de Lamberty, vol. ii. p. 345.

(*u*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. ii. p. 12.

(*w*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*x*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. v. p. 487.

[*R*] *Of the moſt barren campaign he ever made.*] After the fatigue of ſo diſſatisfactory a negotiation as that of Franckfort, the troubleſome appendix of his labours in the field, which this year only repaid him not with laurels, his Grace no doubt hoped for ſome quiet at his return. His hopes, however, were diſappointed: that fire which had been ſuſpected the laſt year, had broken out in his abſence; and it was known that the Queen had a female favourite who was in a fair way of gaining ground of the Ducheſs, and that ſhe liſtened to the inſinuations of a Stateſman who was no friend to the Duke (57). He bore this with an unſhaken ſerenity; but when he found not himſelf only but the common cauſe attacked, though in a very dark and ſiniſter way, in the Houſe of Lords, his patience was ſomewhat moved, and he could not help ſhewing his enemies for once, that however great in the field, or wiſe in the cabinet, he had ſtill the like paſſions with themſelves (58). His ſpeech, however, had a good effect, and prevented that project from taking place, which had done the French King more ſervice than even the cautious conduct of the Duke of Vendoſme in the laſt campaign; I mean the ſcheme for leſſening the army in Flanders on the colour of augmenting that in Spain, where, for reaſons known only to themſelves, the very allies for whom we fought ſeemed not very anxious about our ſucceſs. He gained likewiſe a compleat victory at court, where his antagoniſt was forced to quit the field; but it was in ſuch a manner, and with ſo viſible a reluctance in the Queen, that the Duke, who was a man of the utmoſt penetration, eaſily foreſaw the inconveniencies that were like to follow; to prevent which, his only hopes lay in the ſucceſs of the next campaign; for now, and indeed throughout the war, his perſonal intereſt was bound up in the common cauſe: for he had no enemies but thoſe who were likewiſe no friends to that, and who might have been eaſily reconciled, if his Grace would have detached himſelf from that ſyſtem, which he took to be the only one that could effectually provide for the independency of Europe, the Queen his miſtreſs's ſecurity, and the ſafety and glory of Great-Britain.

(57) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 457.

(58) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

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caused the little town of Oudenard (*y*) to be invested, which brought on a battle, contrary to that Prince's design, who, to avoid it, would have retired towards Ghent, and by this means the French army were attacked on the thirtieth of June 1708, when they were in great disorder, and without any difficulty defeated, with the loss of four thousand killed, and seven thousand taken prisoners, and about one hundred standards and colours; and would have suffered still more in their retreat, if the Duke of Vendosme had not commanded the rear guard (*z*). But, as it was, the consequences of the defeat were very fatal, and made way for the siege of Lisle, which was invested by the Prince of Nassau, father to the late hereditary Stadtholder of the United Provinces, on the second of August (*a*). This was by far the boldest undertaking of the kind during the war, and many have not scrupled to stile it a very rash attempt. It is very probable, that the Duke of Marlborough depended on the vigour and spirit with which Prince Eugene would carry on the siege on one side, and the misunderstandings that reigned amongst the French Generals on the other, and the event shewed that he was not mistaken in his conjecture; for notwithstanding the French had, according to their own accounts, an army superior to the Duke's by above a fourth, commanded by the Dukes of Burgundy, Vendosme, and Berwick, yet they did nothing; so that October 12, the town of Lisle surrendered, and Marshal Boufflers retired into the citadel (*b*). To relieve this important place, the Elector of Bavaria, on the fifteenth of December, made a very brisk attempt upon Brussels, in which he was disappointed by the vigilance of the Duke of Marlborough, and by his passing the Schelde with the army under his command, which was looked upon as a thing impracticable (*c*); and the Duke of Marlborough himself considered it as so high a providence, that he caused a General Thanksgiving to be religiously observed throughout the whole army, on the second of December N. S. (*d*) and on the ninth the citadel of Lisle surrendered, which was one of the greatest blows the French received during the war (*e*). His Grace, to compleat the success of this campaign, caused Ghent to be invested, which was very soon surrendered; in consequence of which the French abandoned Bruges, and the rest of the places they had surprized in the beginning of the campaign (*f*); so that the Duke returned to the Hague, and from thence to England, as usual, crowned with laurels, and the universal acclamations of his countrymen and their Allies [*S*]. The French King thought fit, in the beginning of the year 1709, to set on foot a negotiation for peace, in which it is thought he had three principal points in view, and failed in them all (*g*). The first was, to quiet the minds of his own subjects, labouring under the deepest distress, and afflicted with calamities the most grievous that a nation can sustain, war, sickness, and famine; the second, sowing jealousies and suspicions amongst the Confederates, in hopes of bringing some of them either to desert the Common Cause, or to prosecute it with less vigour; the third, to amuse the Allies with false hopes of peace, and thereby retard their military preparations. These negotiations induced the Queen to send his Grace back to Holland, in the latter end of the month of March, with the character of her Plenipotentiary, which was a point of very great consequence, and contributed not a little to the enemy's disappointment. After his Grace's return to England, the French King made another attempt, by sending the Marquis de Torcy, his Minister for foreign affairs, into Holland. This measure proved also without effect; for the Duke of Marlborough had contrived to have the preliminaries for a peace, that were not only proposed, but signed and ratified by the Queen his mistress, so drawn, that the concerns of all the Allies were equally and effectually provided for; by which means the French arts, instead of disturbing the

(*y*) Memoires de Feuquieres, tom. iv. p. 26.

(*z*) Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. v. p. 496. Memoires de Lamberty, tom. v. p. 106. Memoires de Feuquieres, tom. iv. p. 26. Pointer's Chronological Historian, p. 595.

(*a*) Memoires de la Torse, tom. v. p. 145. Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. iv. p. 510. Memoires de Lamberty, tom. v. p. 118.

(*b*) Histoire Chronologique du dernier Siecle, p. 284. Pointer's Chronological Historian, p. 596.

(*c*) Rapin Thoyras Continué, tom. xii. p. 228.

(*d*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. ii. p. 106.

(*e*) Histoire Chronologique, p. 286. Pointer's Chronological Historian, p. 596.

(*f*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. ii. p. 111.

(*g*) Memoires de Lamberty, tom. v. p. 263.

[*S*] *And the universal acclamations of his countrymen and their Allies.*] The House of Commons this year gave a very uncommon testimony of their respect for the Duke of Marlborough; for, besides addressing the Queen, they, on the twenty-second of January, voted thanks to his Grace unanimously, and ordered them to be transmitted to him abroad by the Speaker (59). His Grace returned to England on the twenty-fifth of February, and on his first appearance in the House of Lords, the thanks of that august assembly were given him by the Lord Chancellor Cowper, to which, as upon all other occasions, the Duke gave an answer full of modesty, gratitude, and deep respect (60). His stay was so very short, that we have no need to dwell long upon what passed here in the winter: it is sufficient to say, that those who were apprehensive of the dangerous effects that might attend the artificial proposals that France made for the conclusion of a general peace, were also of opinion, that nobody was so capable of setting their danger in a true light in Holland as his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, which was the reason of his going thither (61). We have had occasion to shew, in some instances before, that whatever might be said from party resentment, the Duke was far enough from desiring to protract the war; and that the steps which his enemies had mentioned as instances of his inclination that way, were in reality taken from no other motive than that of necessity: he would have acted with more vigour, and have brought things sooner to a conclusion, if he could; but not being able to do this, he did all in his power abroad, and bore, with great temper, the groundless reflections that were made upon his conduct at home. In respect to peace, his sentiments were the same: he was far from being averse to it, but then he was desirous that this peace should be safe and solid, which he thought it could not be if the power of France was not greatly reduced; and as he had the satisfaction of seeing that the war was in a fair way of doing this effectually, he was loth to lose a certainty, though attended with many inconveniencies, for an uncertainty that he foresaw must be attended with more. He had the good fortune to bring the States-General entirely into his sentiments, and thereby defeated the French in their negotiations, as clearly as he had ever done their forces; so that he might be truly said to triumph over them in the cabinet as well as in the field, and to have done equal honour to his country as a Statesman and a Soldier.

(59) See the Journal of the House of Commons.

(60) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. ii. p. 126.

(61) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

Confederates, or detaching any of them from the Grand Alliance, only united them more firmly, by procuring them this deciſive proof, that perſeverance would procure them all that they could deſire (*b*). The Marſhal Villars commanded the French army, which was very numerous, and in good condition. Lewis XIV. expreſſed his hopes, by ſaying a little before the opening of the campaign, *Villars was never beaten* (*i*). Indeed, that General ſeemed very deſirous of preſerving that reputation; for upon his taking the field he entrenched his army at Lens in ſuch a manner, that though the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene were very willing to have come to a battle, they found it not in their power. As their army was conſiderable enough to form a ſiege and to cover it againſt the enemy, that was reſolved upon. M. Villars foreſaw this, and believed that Ypres would be the place, for which reaſon he had taken ſuch a camp as covered it (*k*). The Duke of Marlborough having ſent his heavy baggage to Liſle, and made all the neceſſary diſpoſitions for attacking the enemy, marched in the night towards their camp without ſound of trumpet or beat of drum, and ſuddenly turning off to the left, to the ſurprize of his own troops as much as thoſe of the enemy's, inveſted Tournay on the ſixteenth of June (*l*). This place was but indifferently provided in reſpect to a garriſon; but Lieutenant-General de Surville, who commanded in the town, was a very able and gallant officer, and M. de Megrigni, Governor of the citadel, was the beſt Engineer in France: beſides, the place was looked upon as one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in the Low-Countries, and the citadel eſteemed the maſter-piece of the officer appointed to defend it (*m*). The trenches were opened in the night of the twenty-ſeventh, and though Marſhal Villars made ſeveral attempts, either to ſuccour the place, or to raiſe the ſiege, they proved all ineffectual, ſo that on the twentieth of July it was ſurrendered, and the garriſon retired into the citadel (*n*). Upon this a negotiation was ſet on foot for the ſurrender of that place alſo, with a view only to gain time; in reſentment of which the Duke of Marlborough would grant no other terms, than the garriſon ſurrendering priſoners of war, as they did on the twentieth of Auguſt (*o*). After this conqueſt the army of the Allies advanced to the enemy's lines, which they abandoned in order to take ſuch a poſt as might prevent the ſiege of Mons, and a very ſtrong camp they took: however, even in that it was reſolved to attack them, and this brought on the famous battle of Blaregnies, Malpalquet, Taniers, or the Wood, which was fought Auguſt 31, 1709, in which the French were clearly defeated, after a moſt bloody and obſtinate engagement, notwithſtanding all the advantages they had from the ſituation of ground, and entrenchments raiſed with incredible labour, diſpoſed with great ſkill, and defended by a numerous artillery, with the loſs of fifteen thouſand men to the enemy, and about eighteen thouſand killed and wounded of the Allies (*p*). This victory made way for the ſiege of Mons, before which the trenches were opened on the fifteenth of September: the garriſon was but weak, which was the true reaſon the French ran the hazard of a battle to protect it; and the Governor, deſirous of ſaving his garriſon, ſigned an honourable capitulation on the tenth of October following (*q*); after which the army went into winter quarters, and his Grace of Marlborough, after regulating ſome matters of importance at the Hague, returned to England [*T*]. The entertainment the Duke met with here at home during the winter did not render it very agreeable to him, and he would very probably have gone abroad earlier if things could have been properly ſettled for that purpoſe, which at laſt they were; and towards the latter end of February his Grace went to the Hague, where he met with Prince Eugene, and ſoon after ſet out with him for the army which aſſembled in the neighbourhood of Tournay (*r*). The firſt thing done of importance was the entering of the French lines, and this was performed without any loſs. The ſiege of Douay was next reſolved upon,

(*b*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. vi. p. 136. Memoires de Lamberty, tom. v. p. 288. Rapin Thoyras Continue, tom. xii. p. 251.

(*i*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 531.

(*k*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. vi. p. 150. Limiers, tom. iii. p. 293.

(*l*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*m*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. vi. p. 158. Memoires de Feuquieres, tom. iv. p. 152.

(*n*) Memoires Hiſtoriques & Chronologiques. Rapin Thoyras Continué, tom. xii. p. 266.

(*o*) Hiſtoire Chronologique du dernier Siecle, p. 289. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 612.

(*p*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. vi. p. 193. Memoires de Lamberty, tom. v. p. 306. Rapin Thoyras Continue, tom. xii. p. 271. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. ii. p. 166.

(*q*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. vi. p. 207. Hiſtoire Chronologique du dernier Siecle, p. 290. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 613.

(*r*) Larrey, tom. iii. p. 794. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. ii. p. 240.

[*T*] *Returned to England.*] Upon the firſt news of the glorious victory gained at Malplaquet, the city of London addreſſed the Queen in terms the moſt expreſſive, the moſt loyal, and the moſt reſpectful, which the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, carried to Windſor, and preſented on the tenth of September (62). The Queen in Council, on the third of October following, ordered a Proclamation for a General Thankſgiving (63). The Duke of Marlborough came to St. James's on the tenth of November; on the fifteenth the Parliament of Great-Britain aſſembled, and, on the very firſt day of their ſitting, appointed a Committee, conſiſting of thirteen of their moſt diſtinguiſhed members, to carry their thanks to the Duke (64). The Lord Chancellor Cowper gave him the thanks of the Houſe of Peers on his firſt coming thither (65). The Addreſſes to the Crown were conceived even in ſtronger terms than formerly; and the Queen, as if ſhe was deſirous of taking any occaſion that preſented itſelf of ſhewing her kindneſs for his Grace, appointed him Lord Lieutenant, and Cuſtos Rotulorum of the county of Oxford (66). In the beginning of the year 1710, the French ſet on foot a new negotiation for a peace, which was commonly diſtinguiſhed by the title of the treaty of Gertrudenburgh. The States-General upon this having ſhewn an inclination to enter into conferences with the French Plenipotentiaries, the Houſe of Commons, being made acquainted with it by Sir Gilbert Heathcoate, immediately framed an Addreſs to the Queen, that ſhe would be pleaſed to ſend the Duke of Marlborough over to the Hague without delay; with which Addreſs the Houſe of Lords having concurred, it was preſented on the eighteenth of February, and immediately complied with (67). But amidſt theſe ſeeming honours, preferments, and favours, the Duke was really chagrined to the laſt degree. He perceived that the French intrigues began to prevail both in England and Holland; the affair of Dr. Sacheverell had thrown the nation into a ferment; and the Queen was not only eſtranged from the Ducheſs of Marlborough, but had taken ſuch a diſlike to her that ſhe very ſeldom appeared at Court (68). The friends of the Duke, therefore, were glad of an opportunity to divert his uneaſineſs, by ſending him abroad again in ſo honourable a manner.

(62) Hiſtory of Europe for 1709, p. 310.

(63) Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 625.

(64) See the Journal of the Houſe of Commons.

(65) See the Journal of the Houſe of Peers.

(66) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. ii. p. 217.

(67) Hiſtory of Europe for the year 1710, p. 143.

(68) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 547.

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and the place inveſted on the twelfth of April: it was naturally ſtrong, had been fortified with great ſkill, well provided with every thing in the winter, had a garriſon of eight thouſand good troops commanded by the Marquis de Albergotti, an Italian Nobleman of great merit and of long ſervice: there was no place better defended during the war; and yet, notwithſtanding the ſiege was often interrupted by a ſuperior army under the command of Marſhal Villars, the place was forced to ſurrender (*s*) on the 22d of June 1710, though upon very honourable terms: but an attempt that was concerted for ſurprizing Ypres, during this ſiege, miſcarried. After the ſurrender of Douay, the French army under the command of Marſhal Villars retired within their new lines, and the forces of the Allies, under Prince Eugene, inveſted Bethune on the fourth of July: the place was ſtrong, the garriſon numerous, and the Governor a man of experience and valour, who defended it to the ſeventeenth of Auguſt, and then ſurrendered upon honourable terms (*t*). The enemy ſtill continuing to decline an engagement, the army of the Allies inveſted Aire and St. Venant in one day. The trenches were opened before the latter on the fifth of September, and though the place was remarkably ſtrong by nature, as lying in the midſt of a moraſs, and for it's ſize defended by a numerous garriſon, yet it ſurrendered on the eighteenth (*u*). The ſiege of Aire was a work of greater difficulty: the garriſon was commanded by Lieutenant-General Goeſbriant, who had under him a Major-General, ſeven Brigadiers, and a garriſon of at leaſt eight thouſand men: the place was defended with much obſtinacy, and did not ſurrender till the thirtieth of October, and then upon honourable conditions (*w*). The Confederate army ſoon after going into winter quarters, the Duke and Prince Eugene went together to the Hague, and the former about the middle of December returned to England [*U*]. An exterior civility, which in the Court language was ſtiled a good underſtanding, being eſtabliſhed between the Duke and the new Miniſtry, and the Queen having written to the States-General in very gracious terms in relation to her confidence in him, he went over ſoon after to the Hague, and there met with Prince Eugene, with whom he went to the army, reſolved to convince all Europe, that no perſonal reſentment ſhould reſtrain him from ſupporting the Common Cauſe, and proſecuting the war with ſucceſs while he continued at the head of the Allies (*x*). Villars, who had undergone a kind of diſgrace at the latter end of the laſt campaign, for ſpeaking his mind a little too freely of the Ducheſs of Burgundy, was again at the head of the French army, which, by the care he had taken of it, was one of the fineſt that had been ſent into the field during the war, and not at all inferior to that of the Allies. His Grace, from the time that he opened the campaign, propoſed to himſelf getting within the French lines, which Villars had over and over declared to be impenetrable: he propoſed alſo to offer the enemy battle, and if it was found impoſſible to force him to fight, he then reſolved to reduce by ſiege that fortreſs, which would contribute moſt to open a paſſage into France (*y*). It was with this intention that he attacked and made himſelf maſter of the little poſt of Arleux, marching the Confederate army through the plains of Lens, that if they had any intention of fighting, the enemy might have a fair opportunity of ſhewing it. But finding both ſchemes diſappointed, for Villars would not hazard a battle, nor did the poſſeſſion of Arleux anſwer what was expected from it; one muſt naturally ſuppoſe that this ſtrongly affected the Duke's mind, who knew that the eyes of the whole world were upon him, and that a diſappointment would tarniſh all the glory he had acquired: he made therefore a great effort, and ſince Villars would not run the riſk of being beaten in the field, he contrived to beat him in his own way, by ſtratagem: in other campaigns he had excelled all other Generals, but foreſeeing it would be his laſt, in this he excelled himſelf (*z*). He made ſuch a diſpoſition

(*s*) Memoires de Lamberty, tom. vi. p. 378. Limieres, tom. iii. p. 336. Hiſtoire Chronologique du dernier Siecle, p. 291.

(*t*) Rapin Thoyras Continué, tom. xii. p. 312. Hiſtoire Chronologique du dernier Siecle, p. 293. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 653.

(*u*) Memoires de Lamberty, tom. vi. p. 378. Hiſtoire Chronologique du dernier Siecle, p. 293. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 653.

(*w*) Rapin Thoyras Continué, tom. xii. p. 314. Limiers, tom. iii. p. 343. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 653.

(*x*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*y*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 576. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. ii. p. 307.

(*z*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

[*U*] *And the former about the middle of December returned to England.*] The negotiations mentioned in the laſt note, were carried on during a great part of the ſummer, but ended at laſt in nothing (69). In the midſt of the ſummer the Queen began the great change in her Miniſtry, by removing the Earl of Sunderland from being Secretary of State; and on the 8th of Auguſt following, the Lord Treaſurer was likewiſe removed (70). Upon the meeting of the Parliament, no notice was taken in the addreſſes of the Duke of Marlborough's ſucceſs. An attempt was made to procure him the thanks of the Houſe of Peers, but it was very eagerly thwarted by the Duke of Argyle (71). After his Grace came over, he was kindly received by the Queen, who ſeemed to be deſirous that he ſhould live well with her new Miniſtry, which the world in general looked upon as a thing impracticable; and it was every day expected, that his Grace would have laid down his commiſſion. There is not, however, the leaſt appearance that he had any ſuch intention: for the ſervice of his country he had long commanded armies, and the ſame principle now required that he ſhould command his paſſions. Faithful to that in both, he carried the Gold Key, the enſign of the Ducheſs of Marlborough's dignity, on the 19th of January to the Queen, and reſigned all her employments with that duty and ſubmiſſion which became him (72). With the ſame firmneſs of mind, he conſulted the neceſſary meaſures for the next campaign, with thoſe whom he knew to be no friends of his; but the candour of his behaviour, and the generous concern he expreſſed for the common cauſe, moved even theſe men, while he was preſent, to treat him with decency and reſpect; and as it was phraſed in thoſe days, to take ſuch meaſures as made him eaſy in his command (73). There is no doubt that the Duke felt ſome inward diſquiet, though he ſhewed no outward concern, at leaſt for himſelf; but when the Earl of Galway was very indecently treated in the Houſe of Lords, the Duke of Marlborough could not help ſaying (74), 'It was ſomewhat ſtrange, 'that Generals who had acted according to the beſt 'of their underſtandings, and had loſt their limbs 'in the ſervice, ſhould be examined like offenders, 'about inſignificant things.'

(69) Memoires de Lamberty.

(70) Hiſt. of Europe for the year 1710, p. 556.

(71) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. ii. p. 279.

(72) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(73) Hiſt. of the four laſt Years of Queen Anne.

(74) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. ii. p. 287.

of

of his troops that Arleux was attacked; but he took care to ſupport that poſt in ſuch a manner that the French were repulſed. He made another motion by which it was again expoſed, and ſix hundred men only left to defend it: it was then attacked by Marſhal Monteſquiou at the head of a whole army, and before the great detachment the Duke ſent to ſave it could come up, was taken. His Grace ſeemed then to abandon his deſign, and moved ſtill farther; and, at laſt, as if he was grown impatient, he ordered faſcines to be cut, went himſelf with all the General Officers to view the enemy's diſpoſitions, and made his own in ſuch a manner, that there was not a man in his army who did not expect a battle the next morning: but at the cloſe of the evening on the twenty-fourth of July, he marched off without beat of drum or ſound of trumpet, having ordered Lieutenant-General Cadogan, and Count Hompeſch, to paſs the Senſett at Arleux, with twenty-three battalions and ſeventeen ſquadrons, which were ſo placed as that they were able to aſſemble them in a little time; for his Grace foreſaw they would find that place ſlighted, and no troops near enough to oppoſe them, which indeed happened; for Marſhal Villars recalled all his detachments, from an apprehenſion of being attacked in his camp as at Malplaquet (*a*). But as ſoon as he was informed of the march of the Confederates, he perceived the deceit, and taking a ſhorter rout to Arleux with his horſe and dragoons, arrived within ſight of the Senſett, as the Duke of Marlborough in perſon, and the cavalry of his left wing, joined the troops under General Cadogan, and advanced in order to attack him (*b*). Aſhamed of being out-done in that point of conduct which he beſt underſtood, the Marſhal gave out that he would fight the next day; but he was wiſer; and the Duke of Marlborough, who in the beginning of the war had been ſo often hindered from fighting by the Dutch Deputies, now declined fighting when they preſſed him to it, becauſe the troops were exceſſively fatigued with marching all night, becauſe, if any accident happened, their being within the enemy's lines might have been fatal (*c*): he reſolved, therefore, to beſiege Bouchain, contrary to the ſentiments of all that were about him, who thought it impoſſible that he ſhould take a fortreſs, ſtrong by ſituation, well garriſoned as well as excellently fortified, and with which it was hardly poſſible to cut off the enemy's communication. The Duke, however, was determined, and the place was inveſted on the firſt of Auguſt (*d*). This ſiege was apparently a trial of ſkill between the two Generals, and it muſt be allowed that Marſhal Villars gave the cleareſt proofs of his capacity in the courſe of it; but the bravery of the troops of the Allies, animated by the preſence of the Duke, who was every where in perſon, carried all before them, and, contrary to the expectation both of friends and enemies, the place was ſurrendered on the ſeventeenth of September, and that too upon the worſt terms poſſible, for the Duke would grant no other (*e*). After this the army ſeparated, though the Duke would willingly have beſieged Queſnoy, to which the Dutch refuſed their conſent (*f*). On his return to the Hague he was received with the higheſt marks of reſpect poſſible, and having adjuſted all things with the States, he embarked for England, and came to London on the eighteenth of November [*W*]. As his Grace had always declared, that no ill uſage that he met with from his enemies ſhould drive him to revenge himſelf on his country, or on the Common Cauſe, by reſigning his commiſſion; ſo thoſe who were reſolved that he ſhould keep it no longer, found themſelves under a neceſſity of engaging the Queen to take it from him: this neceſſity chiefly aroſe from Prince Eugene's being expected to come over with a commiſſion from the Emperor; and to give ſome kind of colour for it, an enquiry was promoted in the Houſe of Commons to fix a very high imputation upon the Duke, as if he had put very large ſums of publick money into his own pocket. When a queſtion to this purpoſe had been carried, the Queen, by a letter conceived in very obſcure terms, acquainted him with her having no farther occaſion for his ſervice, and diſmiſſed him from all his employments, to which he returned a dutiful and ſubmiſſive anſwer (*g*). He was from this time expoſed to the moſt painful perſecution that a great and good man could endure. On the one hand he ſtood expoſed to the clamour of the populace, and to the outrages of thoſe licentious pens, which are ever ready to eſpouſe

(*a*) Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. vi. p. 517.

(*b*) Memoires de Lamberty, tom. vi. p. 544.

(*c*) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 576.

(*d*) Memoires de Lamberty, tom. vi. p. 549.

(*e*) Hiſtoire Chronologique du dernier Siecle, p. 299. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, p. 682.

(*f*) Memoires de Lamberty, tom. vi. p. 551.

(*g*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. ii. p. 367.

[*W*] *He embarked for England, and came to London on the* 18*th of November.*] Upon his Grace's return to England, he acted with all the caution imaginable; for happening to land the very night of Queen Elizabeth's inauguration, when great rejoicings were intended by the populace, he continued very prudently at Greenwich, and the next day waited upon the Queen at Hampton-Court, who received him graciouſly (75). He was viſited by the Miniſters, and viſited them; but he did not go to Council, becauſe a negotiation for peace was then on the carpet, upon a baſis which he did by no means approve. He acquainted her Majeſty in the audience he had at his arrival, that as he could not concur in the meaſures of thoſe who directed her councils, he would not diſtract them by a fruitleſs oppoſition (76). Yet finding himſelf attacked in the Houſe of Lords, and loaded with the imputation of having protracted the war, he vindicated his conduct and his character, with great dignity and ſpirit; and in a moſt pathetic ſpeech, appealed to the Queen his Miſtreſs, who was there incognito, for the falſhood of that imputation; declaring, that he was as much for a peace as any man, provided it was ſuch a peace as might be expected from a war undertaken on ſo juſt motives, and carried on with continual ſucceſs (77). This had a very great effect on that moſt auguſt aſſembly, and perhaps made ſome impreſſion on the Queen; but at the ſame time it gave ſuch an edge to the reſentment of his enemies, who were then poſſeſſed of power, that they reſolved to remove him, and to be rid of him, which was ſoon after put in execution (78).

(75) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(76) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. ii. p. 353.

(77) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(78) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. ii. p. 358, 359.

the quarrels of a Miniſtry, and to inſult without mercy whatever characters they know they may inſult with impunity: on the other hand, a proſecution was commenced againſt him by the Attorney-General, for applying publick money to his private uſe, and the workmen employed in building Blenheim-houſe, though ſet at work by the Crown, were encouraged to ſue his Grace for the money that was due to them: all his actions alſo were ſcandalouſly miſrepreſented (*h*). Theſe uneaſineſſes, added to his grief for the death of the Earl of Godolphin, induced his Grace to gratify his enemies by going into a voluntary exile, and accordingly he embarked at Dover, Nov. 14, 1712, and landing at Oſtend, went from thence to Antwerp, and ſo to Aix la Chapelle, being every where received with the honours due to his high rank, and with the applauſe juſtly paid to his merit (*i*). At home, as if their end had been anſwered, thoſe proſecutions were ſuſpended, which were as ſcandalous in their nature, as they were falſe and groundleſs in point of fact (*k*). The Ducheſs of Marlborough alſo, as ſhe ſhared the glory, took likewiſe her part in her Lord's diſgrace, and attended him in all his journies, and particularly in his viſit to the principality of Mindelheim, that was given him by the Emperor, and exchanged for another at the peace which was made while the Duke was abroad; though all the advantages that were derived from it, as well as many more that might have been derived from it, were the fruits of his victories. The concluſion of that peace was ſo far from reſtoring harmony amongſt the ſeveral parties in Great-Britain, that it widened their differences exceedingly; inſomuch that the Chiefs, deſpairing of ſafety in the way they were in, began to think of a retreat, and are ſaid to have ſecretly invited the Duke of Marlborough back to England. However that matter may be, it is very certain that he took a reſolution of returning a little before the Queen's death, and, landing at Dover, came to London Auguſt 4, 1714 (*l*). His Grace was received with the utmoſt joy and reſpect poſſible, by thoſe who, upon the demiſe of the Queen, were entruſted with the government; and upon the arrival of his late Majeſty King George I. the Duke was particularly diſtinguiſhed by the moſt remarkable acts of royal favour; for he was again declared Captain-General, and Commander in Chief, of all his Majeſty's land forces, Colonel of the firſt regiment of foot guards, and Maſter of the Ordnance (*m*). His advice was of great uſe in concerting thoſe meaſures by which the rebellion was defeated; and it has been particularly remarked, that the Duke had the ſagacity to foreſee that raſh attempt would be cruſhed at Preſton. The advice he gave upon this occaſion was his laſt effort in reſpect to publick affairs (*n*); for his infirmities increaſing with his years, he retired from buſineſs, and ſpent the greateſt part of his time, during the remainder of his life, at one or other of his houſes in the country. His death happened June 16, 1722, in his ſeventy-third year (*o*), at Windſor-lodge, leaving behind him a very numerous poſterity, allied to the nobleſt and greateſt families in theſe kingdoms [*X*]. Upon his demiſe all parties united in doing honour or rather juſtice to his merit, and his corpſe was interred the ninth of Auguſt following, with all the ſolemnity due to a perſon who had deſerved ſo highly of his country, in Weſtminſter-Abbey (*p*). The noble pile near Woodſtock, which bears the name of Blenheim-houſe, may be juſtly ſtiled his monument: but without pretending to the gift of prophecy one may venture to foretel, that his glory will long ſurvive that ſtructure; and that ſo long as our Hiſtories remain, or indeed the Hiſtories of Europe, his memory will live and be the boaſt of Britain, who by his labours was raiſed to be the firſt of nations, as during the age in which he lived he was deſervedly eſteemed the firſt of men [*Y*]. C.

(*h*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*i*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. ii. p. 402.

(*k*) Hiſt. of the four laſt Years of the Queen.

(*l*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. ii. p. 443.

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 458.

(*n*) Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.

(*o*) Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 202.

(*p*) Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. ii. p. 471.

[*X*] *Leaving behind him a very numerous poſterity, allied to the nobleſt and greateſt families in theſe kingdoms.*] His Grace had four daughters, upon whom in ſucceſſion his honours were entailed; firſt in the male, and failing that, in the female line. *Firſt*, Henrietta, born July 19, 1682, married in 1698, to the late Earl of Godolphin: ſhe had the title of the junior Ducheſs of Marlborough, and died in 1733. Her Grace had iſſue William, Marquis of Blandford, who was born in February 1699, and died without iſſue in 1731; Henrietta, born April 12, 1701, married to his Grace the late Duke of Newcaſtle, by whom he had no children; and Mary, who married June 26, 1740, his Grace the preſent Duke of Leeds. His Grace's *ſecond* daughter Anne, married Charles Earl of Sunderland, by whom ſhe had Robert Earl of Sunderland, who died in 1729; Charles, born November 22, 1706, who, on the demiſe of his brother, became Earl of Sunderland; and on the death of the Marquis of Blandford, ſucceeded him in title and eſtate, as he did to all the honours of this entail upon the demiſe of Henrietta, Ducheſs of Marlborough. His Grace married Elizabeth, daughter to Thomas Lord Trevor, and after his deceaſe was ſucceeded by the preſent Duke of Marlborough. John, the ſecond ſon of Charles Earl of Sunderland, married the third daughter of John Lord Carteret, by whom he left iſſue. Charles Earl of Sunderland left alſo two daughters; Anne, married to the late Lord Viſcount Bateman, of the kingdom of Ireland; and Diana, late Ducheſs of Bedford, who died without iſſue. The *third* daughter of the great Duke of Marlborough, Elizabeth, born in 1687, married Scroop, firſt Duke of Bridgwater, by whom ſhe had two ſons that died young, and a daughter Anne, married firſt to Wriotheſeley, third Duke of Bedford, and afterwards the wife of William Earl of Jerſey. Her Grace the Ducheſs of Bridgwater died March 22, 1713-14. His Grace's *youngeſt* daughter, Mary, was born in 1689, and married the late Duke of Montague, by whom ſhe had two ſons, who died young, and two daughters ſtill living; Iſabella, who married William the ſecond Duke of Mancheſter, by whom ſhe had no iſſue, and ſince the wife of Mr. Huſſey, by whom ſhe had iſſue; Mary, married to George Earl of Cardigan, now Duke of Montague (79).

[*Y*] *Firſt of men.*] He was, in his private life, remarkable for an eaſineſs of behaviour, which gave an inimitable propriety to every thing he ſaid and did; a calmneſs of temper no accident could move; a temperance in all things, which neither a court life, or court favours, could corrupt; a great tenderneſs for his family, a moſt ſincere attachment to his friends, and a ſtrong ſenſe of religion, without any tincture of bigotry. He was the moſt accompliſhed Courtier of his time, diſtinguiſhed by the favour of five Princes

(79) Collins's Peerage, vol. i. p. 203. Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 12.

at home, and by particular marks of reſpect from the greateſt Princes abroad; more eſpecially thoſe two great rivals for fame, Charles XII. and Peter the Great, who ſent a Captain of his guards expreſs, to carry the Duke the news of his victory at Pultowa. He was an able Stateſman, as appears from his ſucceſs in many negotiations; a ſtrong and clear ſpeaker, and one who, from the pathetic manner of his delivery, never failed to move the paſſions of others, as it did his own. He was a conſummate General, for he gained every battle he fought, took every town he beſieged, and had the better of all the great Generals that were employed againſt him. But, above all, he was a true Patriot, and followed what he took to be the intereſt of this nation at home and abroad, without reſpect of perſons or of conſequences. In fine, he was equally amiable and great; and if he had foibles, as theſe are inſeparable from human nature, they were ſo hidden by the glare of his virtues, that they were ſcarcely perceived in his own time; and one has reaſon to hope, that envy will hardly find a ſecretary, capable of tranſmitting them to poſterity.

*** [Upon the whole, we cannot avoid expreſſing our agreement with the encomium paſſed on the Duke of Marlborough, at the concluſion of our learned predeceſſor's article. The Duke was indeed a moſt illuſtrious man; and his abilities, military and political, will tranſmit his name with eminent renown to poſterity. But our admiration of him is not to preclude any farther enquiries into his character, or to prevent our ſtating what is recorded of him with an appearance of authority, even though it ſhould be ſomewhat to his diſadvantage. In doing this we ſhall not pay a regard to every ebullition of party prejudice, but recite ſuch hiſtorical circumſtances as ſeem to be of too much conſequence to be overlooked. With reſpect to the validity and weight of evidence, our readers will judge for themſelves.

Mrs. Macaulay Graham hath made a ſevere reflection on Lord Churchill's reaſon for deſerting King James to go over to the Prince of Orange. She obſerves, that his Lordſhip "left an apology for his "conduct, in which he pleaded that attachment to "religious principle was the ſole motive by which he "had been induced to violate the laws of gratitude: "and to oppoſe the force of perſonal attachment, he "promiſed warmly to preſerve his duty to the rights "of the King: yet, by ſaying that he could not ex-"pect ſo great favours under any other government, "he ſeemed to acknowledge that another govern-"ment than the King's was in proſpect.

"As Lord Churchill," continues our celebrated female hiſtorian, "had been raiſed from the rank of "a Page to the degree of a Viſcount; had been in-"veſted with a high command in the army; and had "owed a large fortune to the King's bounty, his de-"ſerting his patron in ſuch a critical ſtate of his "affairs, has been cenſured as an act of the moſt "flagitious kind. Burnet takes great care to excul-"pate him from the charges of treachery and ingra-"titude, and aſcribes his conduct to the mere im-"pulſe of religious principle; which unfortunately "does not appear to have highly actuated the gene-"ral tenor of his conduct. It is obſervable, that "Churchill, in his apology, has made no mention of "the duties of a good citizen, or that inviolable at-"tachment to the laws and liberties of one's coun-"try, which, in every judicious mind, will be found "inſeparable from the obligations of religion. But "theſe are ſentiments which indeed are little to be "expected in a courtier, in times when the church "had been ſo ſucceſsful in eradicating every rational "idea of religion and morality from the minds of "men: yet it would have been a fortunate circum-"ſtance towards a favourable illuſtration of Lord "Churchill's conduct, if he had not voluntarily ab-"ſented himſelf at the time of the Queen's deli-"very; if he had not made a merit with William of "carrying over the Princeſs Anne and her huſband; "if he had not prompted this Princeſs to an act of "unneceſſary cruelty to an indulgent father; and, "laſtly, if his having been treated with neglect by "his new maſter had not occaſioned him to conſider "his former conduct in ſuch a very different light "from what he repreſents it in his apology, as to "aſk pardon for it to James, and to avail himſelf "again of the aſcendancy he had gained over the "Princeſs Anne, by engaging her, who was irri-"tated by ſimilar provocations, to join in the ſame "ſtrain of penitence (80)."

(80) Hiſtory of England, vol. viii. p. 245—247.

Not adverting, at preſent, to the facts mentioned in the latter part of this paſſage, which ſufficiently diſplays Mrs. Macaulay Graham's unfavourable diſpoſition to the memory of Lord Churchill, and ſome of which are taken from Mr. Macpherſon's Hiſtory and original Papers, we ſhall offer a remark or two concerning her inſinuation againſt his Lordſhip's being actuated by a religious motive, in his deſertion of King James. It is, indeed, probable, that he might not act upon ſufficiently large grounds with reſpect to public liberty; but there is no reaſon to call in queſtion the ſincerity of his attachment to the Proteſtant religion. His attachment to it might be very great, even if it be true, as Mrs. Graham aſſerts, that religious principle does not appear highly to have actuated the general tenor of his conduct. Many who do not fully conform to the obligations of piety and virtue, may have an ardent zeal for the ſupport of particular ſyſtems of doctrine and worſhip: and this was eminently the caſe in the laſt century, when the diſputes between the Proteſtants and the Papiſts were carried on with the utmoſt warmth, and when the return of Popery was juſtly dreaded as the heavieſt of national calamities. We may add, that the re-eſtabliſhment of ſo abſurd and antichriſtian a ſcheme will always be regarded with deteſtation, by every enlightened friend to the happineſs of mankind. It requires but little knowledge of the world to diſcover, that, though a perſon may not be ſtrictly virtuous in every part of his life, he may, from the conviction of his underſtanding, from the influence of education, from the feelings of humanity, from the love of his country, and even from a ſenſe of duty, vigorouſly oppoſe the deſtruction of the Proteſtant religion. Lord Churchill's ſincerity in this reſpect is ſupported by the additional evidence of two of his letters, which have been preſerved by Sir John Dalrymple. On the 4th of Auguſt, 1688, his Lordſhip wrote to the Prince of Orange, in the following terms:

"Sir, Mr. Sidney will let you know how I intend "to behave myſelf: I think it is what I owe to God "and my country. My honour I take leave to put "into your Royal Highneſs's hands, in which I "think it ſafe. If you think there is any thing elſe "that I ought to do, you have but to command me, "and I ſhall pay an entire obedience to it, being "reſolved to die in that religion that it has pleaſed "God to give you both the will and power to pro-"teſt (81)." In a letter which he addreſſed to the Prince nearly a year before, he had expreſſed himſelf in language equally ſtrong. He declared, in this letter, that his places and the King's favour he ſet at naught, in compariſon of the being true to his religion; that in all things but this the King might command him; and he calls God to witneſs, that even with joy he ſhould expoſe his life for his ſervice, ſo ſenſible he was of his favours; but he adds, that he was reſolved, although he could not live the life of a Saint, if ever there was occaſion for it, to ſhew the reſolution of a Martyr (82). Sir John Dalrymple has printed five more letters, written by Lord Churchill, when become Earl of Marlborough, to King William the Third, but they do not contain any thing which is peculiarly worthy of being noticed (83).

(81) Memoirs of Great-Brit in and Ireland. Part the firſt, p. 239.

(82) *Ibid.* p. 190, 191.

(83) *Ibid.* Part the ſecond, p. 222—225.

The diſgrace of the Earl of Marlborough in 1692, and his commitment to the Tower, have always been eſteemed among the extraordinary events of his life; and the cauſes of them have not been ſufficiently explained by the generality of hiſtorians. If full credit is to be given to Mr. Macpherſon's account of his Lordſhip's conduct, the affair can no longer be regarded as a ſecret. The narration is too intereſting to be omitted. "The Earl of Marlborough and the Lord "Godolphin were among the firſt who offered their "ſervices for the reſtoration of a Prince whom they "contributed to expel from his kingdom. The late "King doubted their profeſſions of affection for his "perſon; but he aſcribed their conduct to their "prudence. 'The repentance of Churchill,' ſays "James

(84) Jan. and May 1691.

" James himſelf, ' aſſumed the appearance of ſince-
" rity.' He gave, without heſitation, an account
" of all the forces, preparations, and deſigns of the
" Engliſh government. He laid open the ſecret
" councils of the Prince of Orange; and his report
" concurring with undoubted intelligence received
" from other quarters, the King was induced to be-
" lieve that he was ſincere. He carried daily intel-
" ligence of all incidents in the Secretary's office to
" the Jacobites, by which they avoided many incon-
" veniencies and troubles. He deſired inſtructions,
" without being admitted into the King's ſecrets;
" owning, that his former conduct ought juſtly to
" debar him from all confidence. He doubted not,
" he ſaid, but he could bring over many great men
" to the King's party. He deſired to know whether
" he ſhould gain the Earl of Danby, or join with
" the party who were contriving his ruin. He of-
" fered to bring over the troops in Flanders. But he
" rather propoſed to act in concert with thoſe who
" were, the next ſeſſion, to endeavour to expel all
" foreigners from the kingdom. He adviſed the
" King not to invade the kingdom with a great force:
" that a French power was too terrifying to the peo-
" ple: that twenty thouſand men were ſufficient
" to place him again on the throne.

" Churchill deſired the King," continues James,
" to enjoin the Lord Godolphin not to lay down his
" place in the Treaſury, as he muſt be made ſervice-
" able in that poſt. He ſaid, for himſelf, it would
" be impoſſible for him to enjoy any peace of mind,
" till he had made an atonement for his crimes, by
" endeavouring, though at the utmoſt peril of his
" life, to reſtore his injured Prince and beloved
" Maſter. His comportment, upon the whole,
" ſeemed candid, and his penitence ſincere. He
(84) Jan. 20th, and May 30th, 1691. " confirmed, by letters to James (84), the aſſurances
" which he made in perſon to his friends. He aſſured
" the King, that, upon the leaſt command, he would
" abandon wife, children, and country, to regain
" and preſerve his eſteem. But he declined to bring
" over the troops in Flanders. The King ſent him
" a letter, on the twentieth of April, 1691. He
" wrote to him in the moſt good-natured manner in
" the world. The Queen inſerted a few words, with
" her own hand, teſtifying, that ſhe was perfectly
" reconciled to Churchill.——

" The Earl of Marlborough, as a proof of his
" own ſincerity, induced the Princeſs of Denmark
" to enter, with great zeal, into the views of her
" father. A letter, which ſhe wrote, ſoon after this
" period, to that Prince, bears all the marks of com-
" punction and affection. She told him, ' that ſhe
" was truly concerned for the misfortune of his con-
" dition; and ſenſible, as ſhe ought to be, of her
" own unhappineſs, in having contributed to the ruin
" of a father. If wiſhes could recall the paſt, I had
" long ſince,' ſhe ſaid, ' redeemed my fault. My
" mind, however, would have been greatly relieved,
" had I found more early means to communicate my
" repenting thoughts. But I hope they will derive
" one advantage from being late, and that is, that
" they will be deemed ſincere. This plain confeſ-
" ſion ſhall bring relief to my mind, if I ſhall be ſo
" happy as to find that it carries any real ſatisfaction
" to your's; and that you are as indulgent and eaſy
" to receive my humble ſubmiſſions, as I am truly
" deſirous to make them, in a free, diſintereſted ac-
" knowledgment of my fault, for no other end but
" to deſerve and receive the pardon of an injured
" father. I could wiſh that one compliment ſhould
" be made in my name. But the expreſſions moſt
" proper for me would be leaſt convenient for a let-
" ter. I muſt leave it to the bearer to expreſs my
" reſpect for the Queen (85)."

(85) Macpherſon's Hiſtory of Great-Britain, vol. i. p. 680—682.

The authority on which this account of the Earl of Marlborough's conduct is founded, is that of King James the Second, in his own life, written by himſelf, and which is prefixed to the firſt volume of Mr. Macpherſon's original Papers. The letters mentioned to have been written by the Earl to the exiled monarch, are not inſerted; ſo that the truth of the narration principally depends upon the veracity of thoſe by whom it was communicated to James. There is, however, the leſs reaſon to diſpute their veracity, as the Princeſs of Denmark's letter to her father is given in her own words (86).

(86) Macpherſon's original Papers, vol. i. p. 236—238. 241—242.

A farther, and ſtill more diſhonourable proof of the Earl of Marlborough's attachment to the cauſe of his late royal Maſter, is exhibited in the collections of the hiſtorian already quoted. We there find that the Earl revealed to James a deſign which King William's adminiſtration had formed, in 1694, of attacking the harbour of Breſt, and of deſtroying the French ſhips of war in that harbour. The letter he is ſaid to have written upon this occaſion, was as follows: " It is only to-day I have learned the news I
" now write to you; which is, that the bomb-
" ketches, and the twelve regiments encamped at
" Portſmouth, with the two regiments of marines,
" all commanded by Talmaſh, are deſtined for burn-
" ing the harbour of Breſt, and deſtroying all the
" men of war, which are there. This will be a
" great advantage to England. But no conſideration
" can prevent, or ever ſhall prevent me, from inform-
" ing you of all that I believe to be for your ſervice.
" Therefore you may make your own uſe of this
" intelligence, which you may depend upon being
" exactly true. But I muſt conjure you, for your
" own intereſt, to let no one know it but the Queen,
" and the bearer of this letter.

" Ruſſell ſails tomorrow, with forty ſhips, the reſt
" being not yet paid; but it is ſaid, that in ten days
" the reſt of the fleet will follow; and, at the ſame
" time, the land forces. I have endeavoured to
" learn this ſome time ago from Admiral Ruſſell.
" But he always denied it to me, though I am very
" ſure, that he knew the deſign for more than ſix
" weeks. This gives me a bad ſign of this man's
" intentions. I ſhall be very well pleaſed to learn,
" that this letter comes ſafe to your hands (87)." (87) *Ibid.* p. 487.

If the above letter, which is extracted from Nairn's Papers, be authentic, and we know not of any ſufficient reaſons for determining againſt its authenticity, it reflects great diſgrace on the memory of the Earl of Marlborough. It was an act of treachery to his country, which no attachment to James, no ill uſage he might think that he had received from King William, could juſtify. To whatever cauſes it was owing, the enterprize againſt Breſt was defeated.

The Duke of Marlborough's intrigues, in general, with the Stuart family, make no ſmall figure in Mr. Macpherſon's Collection of State Papers. The repreſentation which that gentleman hath given of them, in his Hiſtory of Great-Britain, is to the following purpoſe. Mr. Macpherſon, ſpeaking of the Duke's conduct in 1702, obſerves, that, though he
" had been raiſed by King William, in the preceding
" year, to the command of the Britiſh troops in
" Flanders, he liſtened, after the death of James the
" Second, to the ſolicitations made in favour of the
" ſon of that unfortunate Prince. A kind of prin-
" ciple, in favour of the family of Stuart, had been
" mixed with this nobleman's averſion to William;
" and there is ſcarcely any doubt, that had their
" reſtoration to the throne ſuited equally with his
" own private intereſt, but he would have preferred
" them to any other race of ſovereigns (88)." The Duke's intrigues with the Pretender's agents, in the year 1704, are thus repreſented: " The Whigs, de-
" ſpairing of any ſucceſs from an oppoſition to
" Marlborough, ſeem, at this time, to have formed
" deſigns of inducing him to embark in their own
" cauſe. They had long obſerved, that neither the
" Duke nor the Lord Treaſurer had ever yet, even
" in appearance, renounced the pretenſions of the
" Prince of Wales. Their object, therefore, was
" to gain the Duke to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, by
" a marriage between his daughter and the Electoral
" Prince. But this, with other ſchemes of the like
" kind, were dropt as difficult and uncertain. The
" truth is, that though Marlborough and Godolphin
" had not lately appeared warm in the cauſe of the
" excluded family, they ſtill maintained a ſecret
" connection, and encouraged private interviews
" with the agents of the court of St. Germains.
" The Duke, though, perhaps, not ſo ſincere in his
" profeſſions as the Treaſurer, was leſs guarded in
" his conduct. In the month of April, when he was
" preparing to break the power of the French in
" Germany, he regretted the abſence of his nephew,
" the Duke of Berwick, in Portugal; as he ought
" to be nearer Britain, to take advantage of ſuch
" events as might ariſe in favour of the exiled Prince.

(88) Hiſtory of Great-Britain, *ubi ſupra*, vol. ii. p. 232, 233.

" He

" He gave, at the ſame time, the moſt ſolemn aſ-
" ſurances of his unalterable fidelity and attachment
" to the excluded family; and directed their agents
" to apply to the Lord Godolphin, upon any emer-
" gency that might ariſe during his own abſence in
(89) *Ibid.* p. 302, 303. " the campaign (89)." The account of his Grace's conduct, at the beginning of the year 1705, is to the like purport. " While the Duke of Marlborough
" was thus publicly gratified by the two parties, and
" favoured by the Whigs, he continued to make ſe-
" cret profeſſions and proteſtations of zeal for the in-
" tereſts of the excluded family. A few days after
" his arrival from Holland, he invited himſelf to
" ſupper with the Ducheſs of Tyrconnel, who hap-
" pened to be then in London. Her attachment to
" the court of St. Germains, and her knowledge
" of the Duke's connexions with the ſervants of the
" Prince of Wales, encouraged her to remind him
" of his former promiſes, and to ſuggeſt her expec-
" tations from his future ſervices. He anſwered her
" in general terms. But when ſhe urged him to
" agree to particulars, he ſolemnly aſſured her, that
" without deſcending to circumſtances, or fixing the
" time, he would do every thing which honour and
(90) *Ibid.* p. 315. " juſtice demanded at his hands (90)." We ſhall tranſcribe one more paſſage, belonging to the year 1707, concerning this not very pleaſing ſubject.
" Godolphin—and the Duke of Marlborough con-
" tinued to make their uſual aſſurances of fidelity
" and attachment to the court of St. Germains.
" The Duke, in particular, ſeemed to inſinuate to
" their agents, that one cauſe of rejecting the pro-
" poſals of peace offered by France, was their not
" comprehending any ſtipulations in favour of the
" exiled family. The conduct of Marlborough, with
" regard to that unfortunate race is unaccountable,
" except on the footing of principle. Neglected by
" the French, and without reſources themſelves, they
" were ſcarcely worthy of being deceived, ſhould
" they even have the weakneſs to place any confi-
" dence in promiſes ſo often and ſo ineffectually
" made. Had their conviction of Marlborough's
" ſincerity been equal to the opinion which the world
" had formed of his power, they might, at leaſt,
" ſuppoſe, that their own misfortunes were drawing
" to an end. The Queen was in poſſeſſion of his
" Ducheſs. The affairs of the nation were either
" in the hands of his friends, or in his own. The
" Lord Treaſurer, who guided the whole line of in-
" ternal buſineſs, was inſeparably connected with the
" fortunes of his family. The Earl of Sunderland,
" his ſon-in-law, as Secretary of State, was poſſeſſed
" of the ſecrets of the kingdom; and either the
" ſplendour of his own actions, or the art of his
" conduct, had rendered Parliament, in a manner,
(91) *Ibid.* p. 378. " ſubſervient to his views (91)."

The authorities on which the preceding paſſages,
(92) *Ibid.* p. 453, 454. 502—504. 623. and others of a like nature (92), in Mr. Macpherſon's Hiſtory, are founded, may be ſeen, at large, in the Stuart Papers publiſhed by that gentleman. If full credit is to be given to theſe papers, it is evident that the Duke of Marlborough made, from time to time, great profeſſions of attachment to the cauſe of the Pretender. After examining the documents with attention, it appears to us that the language uſed by the Duke was often little more than complimental, and that the zeal of the agents for the exiled family ſometimes induced them to put as ſtrong a ſenſe as poſſible, upon any expreſſions of his Grace which were favourable to that family. Nevertheleſs, they were not ſo far deceived, but that they frequently intimated their diſtruſt of his ſincerity. On the whole, it ſeems to be clearly proved, that the Duke of Marlborough was deſirous of keeping upon good terms with the houſe of Stuart. To this he might partly be led, as Mr. Macpherſon obſerves, by principle; having been educated in the higheſt ſentiments of loyalty and prerogative, and having received the greateſt perſonal obligations from King James the Second. There is, indeed, nothing unreaſonable in ſuppoſing, that the Duke, though he had ſupported the Revolution from a zeal for the Proteſtant religion and from other conſiderations, might ſtill retain an affection for the family of the excluded monarch. Beſides this, the regard which he always maintained for his own ſafety and intereſt, will farther account for the attention he paid to the court of St. Germains. Almoſt equally balanced as political parties at that time were, it was difficult to judge, whether the houſe of Stuart or the houſe of Hanover would finally prevail. In ſuch a ſituation, and conſidering the nature of mankind, it is not very ſurprizing, that many public men, from a deſire of being ſecure, whatever event took place, ſhould fall into a duplicity of conduct. This we do not ſay with a view to vindicate, or even to apologize for ſuch a conduct, but to ſtate and explain an evident matter of fact.

There is a paſſage in the Marquis of Torcy's Memoirs, which remarkably accords with the account Mr. Macpherſon has given, under the year 1709, of a correſpondence carried on by the Duke of Marlborough with his nephew, the Duke of Berwick. The paſſage we mean, is in a letter to the French King, written from the Hague, on the 22d of May, in the year juſt mentioned. " I have the honour of ac-
" quainting you, ſays Torcy, that, as ſoon as the
" Duke of Marlborough arrived, I deſired M. Pet-
" tekum to aſk him when I might wait on him.
" After he had conſulted the Penſionary, and made
" a number of excuſes and compliments, for the li-
" berty he took in appointing me an hour, and not
" paying the firſt viſit, I went to him after dinner.
" Were I to relate all the proteſtations he made, of
" his profound reſpect and attachment to your Ma-
" jeſty, and of the deſire he has of one day meriting
" your protection, I ſhould fill my letter with things
" leſs eſſential, than thoſe I am going to mention.
" His ſpeeches are florid. I obſerved in what he
" ſaid to me a great deal of art, in naming the
" Duke of Berwick, and the Marquis of Alegre. I
" availed myſelf, Sir, of this circumſtance, to make
" him ſenſible, in the courſe of our converſation,
" that I was not ignorant of the particulars of their
" correſpondence with him, and that your ſentiments
" were not changed. He bluſhed, and proceeded
" to the propoſals of peace.—Lord Marlborough told
" me that we ſhould enter into farther particulars
" with Townſhend, in regard to the affair of New-
" foundland. He added, that this ſame Lord had
" orders concerning the King of England, whom he
" ſtiled the Prince of Wales. He expreſſed a ſtrong
" deſire of being in a capacity to ſerve him, as the
" ſon of a King, for whom, he told me afterwards,
" he would have ſpilt the laſt drop of his blood.
" That he believed it was his intereſt to remove out
" of France; and when I aſked him to what country
" he ſhould retire, and in what manner he was to
" ſubſiſt, he agreed in reſpect to the firſt article, that
" this Prince ſhould be at liberty to fix his reſidence
" wherever he choſe; ſhould enjoy perfect ſecurity;
" and be his own maſter to go wherever he judged
" proper. The article of his ſubſiſtence met with
" greater obſtacles. I propoſed to him the expedient
" of the Queen's dowry. He ſaid that the laws of
" England, rendered the payment of that ſum ex-
" tremely difficult: however he begged of me to in-
" ſiſt ſtrenuouſly on this article, when my Lord
" Townſhend and he came to ſpeak to me about it
" in the conferences. This Lord, ſaid he, is a kind
" of inſpector over me, though he is a very honeſt
" man, who has been choſen through my means, and
" of the Whig party. Before him I muſt ſpeak like
" an obſtinate Engliſhman; but I wiſh with all my
" heart I was able to ſerve the Prince of Wales, and
" that your ſolicitations afforded me an opportunity
" of doing it (93)."

(93) Torcy's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 303—305. Engliſh tranſlation.

Whatever may be thought of the expreſſions here made uſe of by the Duke of Marlborough, or of the perſonal regard he might retain for the Stuart family, it is certain, from the whole of the Marquis of Torcy's Memoirs, that his Grace, during the courſe of the negotiations for peace, was never induced to betray the intereſts of his country. Though, from an opinion that was entertained of his avaricious diſpoſition, the Ambaſſadors of the French King were inſtructed to make the Duke the largeſt offers in the way of bribes, he did not accede to them; but ſteadily adhered to the cauſe of the grand confederacy, and ſtrenuouſly inſiſted upon thoſe terms of pacification, which were conſidered by the Whigs of that period (whether juſtly or not, we do not now determine) as eſſentially neceſſary to humble the power of France,

to

to maintain the balance of Europe, and to give ſecurity to the Proteſtant religion.

The Hanover Papers, in Mr. Macpherſon's Collection, contain the Duke of Marlborough's correſpondence with the Electoral Houſe of Brunſwick-Lunenburgh, during the reign of Queen Anne. The letters which paſſed on both ſides are very numerous, and clearly manifeſt the attention that was paid to the Duke by the Hanoverian family. Thoſe which were written by his Grace himſelf, are, for the moſt part, either merely complimental, or give an account of the events of the war, or are in anſwer to the congratulations he had received from the Elector, in conſequence of his various military exploits. In all his letters he expreſſes great reſpect for the houſe of Brunſwick; and ſome of them are worthy of notice, from the high regard he profeſſes for the intereſts of that houſe. One of them, which was addreſſed to the Elector, ſoon after the diſmiſſion of the Earl of Godolphin from the office of Lord Treaſurer, it may not be improper to tranſcribe.

" Sir, Auguſt 30, 1710.

" I am not able to expreſs to your Electoral Highneſs how truly ſenſible I am of the great marks of " confidence which you did me the honour of giving " to me by General Bulaw. I intreat your Highneſs to be perſuaded that I ſhall endeavour to deſerve them, by an inviolable attachment to your " intereſts, with which I conſider thoſe of my country " and of Europe as inſeparably connected. I hope " there will never be found, in England, a conſiderable number of men who can be ſeduced to a " degree capable of ruining it, by allowing themſelves to be impoſed upon by the artifices of Mr. " Harley and others, who conduct themſelves, at " preſent, in a manner to leave it no longer a doubt, " that their views tend to bring back the pretended " Prince of Wales.

" We feel but too much already the effects of their " bad intentions, by the change of my Lord Treaſurer; this ſtep having ruined our credit in the " kingdom; and having loſt us the confidence of our " beſt allies. I deſire, with great impatience, to " converſe with the Baron de Bothmar; and I flatter " myſelf that your Electoral Highneſs does me the " juſtice to believe, that I ſhall act, in all things, after the manner which you will judge moſt conducive to your intereſt. I ſhall give to the Baron " de Bothmar, all the lights and explanations which " I can, to aſſiſt him in the execution of his important commiſſion; in which I ſhall ever co-operate " with him, as ſoon as I ſhall return to England, " whither I ſhall repair, as ſoon as the operations of " the campaign will permit me, with any appearance of decency. I hope to be able there to employ uſefully my attentions, my credit, and my " friends, for advancing the intereſt of your Electoral Highneſs, and of your ſerene family; and " for preventing, at the ſame time, the pernicious " deſigns of thoſe men, who want to eſtabliſh principles, and to form cabals and projects, which will " infallibly overturn the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and " with it, the ſafety and liberty of their country, " and of all Europe. I am, with a profound re" ſpect, &c. (94)." To the ſame purpoſe, ſeveral other letters, written in the years 1713 and 1714, and equally ſtrong, might be produced; in which the Duke ſpeaks of the meaſures purſued by Queen Anne's Tory miniſtry in the higheſt terms of indignation, propoſes ſuch modes of conduct as he thought would be of advantage to the Hanover family, and declares that he ſhould always be ready to hazard his fortune and his life for their ſervice (95).

(94) Macpherſon's original Papers, vol. ii. p. 187, 188.

(95) *Ibid.* p. 487, 488. 515—517. 569—571. 625—607. 626.

In the midſt of theſe profeſſions, and whilſt the Duke of Marlborough was abroad in his voluntary exile, it is now generally believed that he entered into a correſpondence with ſome of Queen Anne's Tory miniſtry, and agreed to concur in their meaſures. Mr. Macpherſon repreſents him as having formed an intimate connection with Lord Bolingbroke, and gives the following account of the affair:

" The enmity ſubſiſting between the Treaſurer " and his rival in influence, was greatly fomented by " the uninterrupted connexion between the latter " and the Duke of Marlborough. The Duke, not " remarkable for friendly attachments, ſeemed to " have departed from the uſual indifference of his " character, with regard to the Viſcount Bolingbroke. " He is ſaid to have declared, upon the death of the " Marquis of Blandford, that he had now no comfort " left in the world, except in Henry St. John, whom " he regarded and loved as his own ſon. During " his campaigns abroad, he held an intercourſe, by " letters, with St. John, even when that gentleman " was cloſely connected with Harley, his mortal ene" my. When Harley, through the intrigues of " Mrs. Maſham and the changed opinions of the " nation, brought about a change in the miniſtry, in " 1710, St. John, without breaking with Marlborough, gratified his own ambition, by accepting " the office of Secretary of State. When, therefore, " the Duke was on the worſt terms with the court, he " had a friend in the cabinet, who ſupported his in" tereſt when the current was not too ſtrong to be " ſtemmed. When the dangerous intrigues of Marl" borough, in the end of 1711, furniſhed the Lord " Treaſurer with an opportunity of removing him " from all his employments, St. John yielded to the " times, and approved of a meaſure which he could " not oppoſe.

" The difficult ſituation of the Earl of Oxford, the " perpetual conteſt between his intereſt and princi" ples, his awkward manner, and a conduct through" out undeciſive, ſoon rendered him obnoxious to the " Tories, and hated by the Whigs. He, however, " retained, throughout the year 1712, his influence " with his ſovereign, by finding means to perſuade " that timid Princeſs, that he himſelf was neceſſary " to her ſafety, againſt the dangerous deſigns of the " Whigs. When time had expunged from her me" mory a part of her fears, ſhe began to liſten to the " inſinuations of Bolingbroke againſt the Treaſurer. " Subject to frequent illneſſes, and ſenſible of the " decay of her own conſtitution, ſhe became appre" henſive, that ſhe was faſt approaching to her end. " An enthuſiaſt, like the moſt of her family, ſhe be" came anxious for the eventual ſucceſſion of her " brother to the throne, from motives of religion. " Her ſolemn promiſes to her father, a letter written " to her by that Prince in his laſt illneſs, her having " been, by her deſertion, the obvious cauſe of his " ruin, were always preſent to a mind enfeebled by " ſickneſs, as well as ſuperſtition. She deemed the " death of her children a ſignal puniſhment, inflicted " by Providence for her own injuſtice to a parent, " as ſhe was pleaſed to conſtrue her conduct. Hav" ing left her father in his extremity, with a view " of ſecuring his throne to her own poſterity, ſhe " weakly thought, that heaven had interfered to diſ" appoint her deſigns.

" Bolingbroke had long watched the emotions of " her mind, and he endeavoured to turn them to " his advantage. Having flattered her prejudices, " by pretending to enter into her views, he gradually " ſupplanted the influence of the Lord Treaſurer. " He repreſented the languor of his meaſures. He " gave inſinuations concerning his ſecret intrigues " with the Whigs. The artifice which he uſed with " the Queen, he employed, with equal ſucceſs, on " the more violent Tories. In the beginning of the " preſent year, he formed a ſerious deſign of placing " himſelf at the head of a party, independent of the " Earl of Oxford. But a well-grounded fear of the " Whigs induced him afterwards to adhere to the " Lord Treaſurer. He was, however, at the bottom " of all the mortifications which that miniſter ſuffered, " by the deſertion of ſome of the high-church party " in the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament. To humble his " rival was ſuitable to his violent paſſions. To ruin " him entirely, conſidering the times and his own " precarious ſituation, was inconſiſtent with common " prudence. His object was to ſtrengthen himſelf, " with the return of the Duke of Marlborough. " That nobleman would have no objection to join " with any party, who ſhould contribute to the fall " of his enemy, the Earl of Oxford. To feel the " pulſe of the Tories, and to ſound the inclinations " of the Queen, reports were induſtriouſly ſpread, in " the ſummer, that the Duke was to return to Bri" tain, at the expreſs deſire of the miniſtry.

" These insinuations produced not the expected " effect. The Queen was averse from the measure. " The Tories expressed no desire for the Duke's re- " turn. His Grace, having spent the summer in " making vain solicitations to the house of Hanover " for sending the Electoral Prince to Britain, seemed " to be suddenly seized with an impatience, not un- " natural to his disposition, however much it was " concealed. He represented to the Elector, that, " being now in the sixty-sixth year of his age, he " wished to pass the rest of his life in quietness, in " his native country. That, as his Highness seemed " so indifferent about the succession, it was time for " his friends to take care of themselves. That, by " coinciding with the views of the ministry, whose " almost avowed intentions were to restore the Pre- " tender, the friends of the house of Hanover might, " perhaps, obtain security from a Prince, whose fa- " vour they could not, in reason, expect. These " chidings, bearing the appearance of zeal, were " neither regarded nor feared. In the mean time, " Bolingbroke proceeded in his intrigues. He daily " gained the ground which the unhappy manner of " the Treasurer was destined to lose. He had often " complained to the Queen of his principles. He " now loudly accused him of dilatoriness and indo- " lence. He affirmed, that, by neglecting the power " which the influence of government had placed in " his hands, he had permitted a greater number of " Whigs, than was consistent with the safety of go- " vernment, to obtain seats in the House of Com- " mons.

" Expecting much from the intrigues of Boling- " broke, and tired of his own situation, the Duke " of Marlborough again formed hopes of his speedy " return. To regain his former power, he seemed " inclined to desert his present friends. He was " willing to govern Anne, by yielding to her preju- " dices. Under a certainty that she was attached to " her brother's interest, he endeavoured secretly to " gain the confidence of the Pretender's adherents " abroad. He wrote to the Duchess of Berwick. " He even sent a letter to the late King James's " Queen. He dispatched one of his retainers to " France. He empowered him to convey the most " solemn protestations of his attachment to the Che- " valier de St. George. He assured him, with an " oath, that he would rather cut off his own right- " hand, than oppose his views on the throne. That, " provided he himself might be rendered secure, he " would not hesitate a moment to use all his credit, " both privately and publicly, for his service. He " instructed the Duke of Berwick, he said, more " largely on the subject; and he had reason to hope " an answer suitable to his sincerity and zeal. These " relentings of Marlborough, if they were at all sin- " cere, were prevented from having any effect, by " the fears of the Queen. The dangerous intrigues " of the Duke, in the preceding year, had made such " a deep impression on her mind, that she was even " terrified at the very mention of his name; and " though she could not legally continue his exile, " she resolved never to give her consent to his re- " turn.

" The terrors of the Queen for Marlborough " proved a fatal blow to her own views. To ruin " the Treasurer, by supporting himself with the pre- " judices of the sovereign, the Duke might have " probably deserted the principles of the Whigs; " which, like many of the party, he had only adopted " to favour his own designs. But when he found " that the Queen was obdurate, and that the Pre- " tender himself treated his proposals with caution " and even distrust, he fell back with vehemence " into his former professions to the house of Han- " over (96)."

(96) History of Great-Britain, vol. ii. p. 619—623.

For the authorities on which the preceding extraordinary narration is founded, Mr. Macpherson refers to the Stuart papers of 1713, and he should have added, those of 1714. After having examined these papers, we are clearly of opinion, that they do not fully justify the strong language that historian hath adopted, or prove the connexion between the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Bolingbroke to have been so close and regular as is above represented (97). In the perusal of Mr. Macpherson's History, we have found occasion to observe, that, in several instances, he seems to have built more upon his authorities than the authorities themselves will strictly support; or, at least, that he has bestowed too full a credit on the prejudiced suggestions, and imperfect informations of the agents for the house of Stuart.

(97) Original Papers, *ubi supra*, vol. ii. p. 441, 442. 446. 532. 534.

After the accession of King George the First, when the Earl of Oxford was impeached and committed to the Tower, and preparations were made for his trial, it is well known that a stop was suddenly put to it, to the great disappointment of a large part of the nation. There is a traditional story, relative to this event, in which the Duke of Marlborough is concerned. It is said, that, at that time, Mr. Auditor Harley waited upon the Duchess of Marlborough, and shewed her a letter, formerly written by the Duke, which proved his correspondence with the Pretender. Mr. Harley, after having read the letter, threatened that it should be produced at his brother the Earl of Oxford's trial, unless the proceedings against him were stopped. The Duchess, watching her opportunity, seized the letter out of Mr. Harley's hand, threw it instantly into the fire, and then defied his malice. Upon this he replied, " Madam, I " knew your Grace too well to trust you. The let- " ter you have burnt is only a copy: the original is " safe in my own possession." A similar anecdote, the authority for which we are able to assign, has been communicated to us by a worthy friend (98). Before the Earl of Oxford's intended trial, he sent his son, Lord Harley, together with Serjeant Comyns, (afterwards chief Baron of the Exchequer) to the Duke of Marlborough, requesting his Grace's attendance at the trial. The Duke, in some concern, enquired what the Earl wanted with him. Mr. Serjeant Comyns replied, that it was only to ask his Grace a question or two. The Duke walked about the room for about a quarter of an hour, without giving any answer, and seemed greatly disturbed; after which he asked, for what purpose his attendance was required. Lord Harley told him, it was only as to his hand. " What," says his Grace, " has your fa- " ther any letters of mine?" " Yes," replied Lord Harley, " all the letters your Grace ever wrote to " him since the Revolution." Upon this the Duke continued to walk about the room in the greatest uneasiness, and even flung his wig off, in his passion. Mr. Serjeant Comyns interrogating him what answer they should return to the unfortunate Lord, he said, " I will certainly be there." This was the true reason why the Earl of Oxford was never brought to a trial. The late James West, Esq; Member for St. Alban's, and President of the Royal Society, gave the account of the fact to the late Counsellor Gregg, in whose hand-writing it is now preserved. Mr. West assured Mr. Gregg, that he received it from Serjeant Comyns's own mouth.

(98) Timothy Hollis, Esq; of Great Ormond-Street.

We shall insert, in this place, a few miscellaneous anecdotes concerning the Duke of Marlborough, which have been collected by us from different quarters, and may serve to illustrate the disposition of his mind. One of the first things which he did, when very young, was to purchase a box to put his money in; an indication this, of the œconomical, not to say, avaricious temper that accompanied him through life (99). Dr. Joseph Warton relates, that, on the evening of an important battle, the Duke was heard to chide his servant, for having been so extravagant as to light four candles in his tent, when Prince Europe came to confer with him (100). Mr. Tyers, on the other hand, hath mentioned a circumstance to us, which, if well founded, redounds to his Grace's generosity; though in a different respect it is much to his discredit. It is, that, during the Rebellion in 1715, he sent ten thousand pounds to the Earl of Mar. We consider the story as only a traditional report, which has not in itself any great degree of probability; and, therefore, we are by no means convinced of its truth. The late Mr. Richardson, junior, the Painter, hath recorded a pleasing instance of the Duke's calmness of disposition, for which, indeed, he was always remarkable. " The Duke of Marl- " borough," says the writer, " riding out once with " Commissary Marriot, near the Commissary's house " in the country, it began to rain, and the Duke " called for his cloak; Marriot having his put on " by

(99) From the information of our ingenious friend, Thomas Tyers, Esq;

(100) Warton's Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope, vol. ii. p. 187.

" by his ſervant immediately. The Duke's ſervant " not bringing the cloak, he called for it again; but " the man was ſtill puzzling about the ſtraps and " buckles. At laſt, it raining now very hard, the " Duke called again, and aſked him, 'what he was " about, that he did not bring his cloak?' 'You " muſt ſtay,' grumbles the fellow, 'if it rains cats " and dogs, till I can get at it.' The Duke only " turned to Marriot, and ſaid, I would not be of that " fellow's temper." The Duke of Marlborough, adds Mr. Richardſon, did, by nature and conſtitution, what Seneca judged, by philoſophy, ought to be done. *Quid eſt quare ego ſervi mei hilarius reſponſum, & contumacionem vultum, flagellis & compedibus expiem?* (101).

(101) Richardſonia, p. 142. Mr. Richardſon had the ſtory from Counſellor Marriot, ſon of the Commiſſary.

Dr. Swift, in one of his letters to Stella, relates the following particulars concerning the Duke of Marlborough. " I was early this morning with Secretary " St. John, and gave him a memorial to get the " Queen's letter for the firſt-fruits, who has promiſed " to do it in a very few days. He told me, 'he had " been with the Duke of Marlborough, who was la- " menting his former wrong ſteps in joining with " the Whigs, and ſaid he was worn out with age, " fatigue, and misfortunes.' I ſwear it pitied me, " and I really think they will not do well in too " much mortifying that man, although indeed it is " his own fault. He is covetous as hell, and ambi- " tious as the prince of it: he would fain have been " General for life, and has broken all endeavours for " peace, to keep his greatneſs, and get money. He " told the queen, 'he was neither covetous nor am- " bitious.' She ſaid, 'if ſhe could have conveni- " ently turned about, ſhe would have laughed, and " could hardly forbear it in his face.' He fell in " with all the abominable meaſures of the late mi- " niſtry, becauſe they gratified him for their own " deſigns. Yet he has been a ſucceſsful General, " and I hope he will continue his command (102)."

(102) Swift's works, vol. xxii. p. 135, 136. 24mo. edition, of 1775.

Various characters have been drawn of the Duke of Marlborough, moſt of which we ſhall omit, as either already ſufficiently known, or as not meriting particular notice. That which is given of him by Dr. Swift, in his "Hiſtory of the four laſt Years of the Queen," has all the malignity and meanneſs of a party pamphlet (103). It is even ſo fooliſh as to inſinuate, that the Duke's military accompliſhments were problematical, and that he was deſtitute of perſonal courage. Mr. Macpherſon's character of his Grace is very elaborately compoſed, and diſplays no ſmall degree of ability and penetration. We think, however, that it is not entirely free from prejudice. The hiſtorian conſiders it as a fact, that Lord Churchill, at the time of the Revolution, had a deſign of placing his unfortunate maſter, King James the Second, a priſoner in the hands of his rival, the Prince of Orange. But this is a ſtory which we regard as wholly unworthy of credit. It is founded upon ſuggeſtions and informations ſo groundleſs, and even ridiculous, that it cannot deſerve a formal refutation. On the other hand, Mr. Macpherſon has done juſtice to the Duke of Marlborough's proſecution of the war in Flanders, and hath ſhewn that he conducted it upon the principles of ſound wiſdom and good policy (104).

(103) *Ibid.* vol. xviii. p. 20, 21.

(104) Hiſtory of Great-Britain, *ubi ſupra*, vol. ii. p. 514—520. Original Papers, vol. i. p. 162. 183.

There are two teſtimonies to the honour of the Duke's memory, by two celebrated noble writers, which cannot be paſſed over. One is by Lord Bolingbroke, in his Letters on the Study and Uſe of Hiſtory. Speaking of the conſternation raiſed among the allies of the grand confederacy, by the death of King William, and of the joy which that event gave to the French, his Lordſhip obſerves, that " a ſhort " time ſhewed how vain the fears of ſome, and the " hopes of others were. By his death, the Duke of " Marlborough was raiſed to the head of the army, " and indeed of the confederacy: where he, a new, " a private man, a ſubject, acquired, by merit and " by management, a more deciding influence, than " high birth, confirmed authority, and even the " crown of Great-Britain, had given to King Wil- " liam. Not only all the parts of that vaſt machine, " the grand alliance, were kept more compact and " entire, but a more rapid and vigorous motion was " given to the whole: and, inſtead of languiſhing " out diſaſtrous campaigns, we ſaw every ſcene of " the war full of action. All thoſe wherein he ap- " peared, and many of thoſe wherein he was not " then an actor, but abettor however of their ac- " tion, were crowned with the moſt triumphant ſuc- " ceſs. I take, with pleaſure, this opportunity of " doing juſtice to that great man, whoſe faults I " knew, whoſe virtues I admired; and whoſe me- " mory, as the greateſt General, and as the greateſt " Miniſter, that our country, or perhaps any other " has produced, I honour (105)." *

(105) Letters on the Study and Uſe of Hiſtory, p. 299, 300. Edition of 1779.

* A certain Paraſite, who thought to pleaſe Lord Bolingbroke by ridiculing the avarice of the Duke of Marlborough, was ſtopt ſhort by Lord Bolingbroke; who ſaid, " he was ſo very great a man, that I forget he had that vice."—Warton's Eſſay on the Genius and Writings of Pope, vol. ii. p. 378.

The other teſtimony to the Duke's accompliſhments, is by the Earl of Cheſterfield, in his Letters to his ſon. " Of all the men," ſays his Lordſhip, " that ever I knew in my life, (and I knew him ex- " tremely well) the late Duke of Marlborough poſ- " ſeſſed the graces in the higheſt degree, not to ſay " engroſſed them; and indeed he got the moſt by " them; for I will venture (contrary to the cuſtom " of profound hiſtorians, who always aſſign deep " cauſes for great events) to aſcribe the better half " of the Duke of Marlborough's greatneſs and riches " to thoſe graces. He was eminently illiterate; wrote " bad Engliſh, and ſpelled it ſtill worſe. He had " no ſhare of what is commonly called *parts*; that is, " he had no brightneſs, nothing ſhining in his ge- " nius. He had, moſt undoubtedly, an excellent " good plain underſtanding, with ſound judgment. " But theſe, alone, would probably have raiſed him " but ſomething higher than they found him; which " was, Page to King James the Second's Queen. " There the graces protected and promoted him; " for, while he was an Enſign of the Guards, the " Ducheſs of Cleveland, then favourite miſtreſs to " King Charles the Second, ſtruck by thoſe very " graces, gave him five thouſand pounds; with which " he immediately bought an annuity for his life; of " five hundred pounds a year, of my grandfather " Halifax; which was the foundation of his ſubſe- " quent fortune. His figure was beautiful; but his " manner was irreſiſtible, by either man or woman. " It was by this engaging, graceful manner, that he " was enabled, during all his war, to connect the " various and jarring powers of the grand alliance, " and to carry them on to the main object of the " war, notwithſtanding their private and ſeparate " views, jealouſies, and wrongheadedneſſes. What- " ever court he went to, (and he was often obliged " to go himſelf to ſome reſty and refractory ones) " he as conſtantly prevailed, and brought them into " his meaſures. The Penſionary Heinſius, a vene- " rable old miniſter, grown grey in buſineſs, and who " had governed the Republic of the United Provinces " for more than forty years, was abſolutely governed " by the Duke of Marlborough, as that Republic " feels to this day. He was always cool; and no- " body ever obſerved the leaſt variation in his coun- " tenance: he could refuſe more gracefully than other " people could grant; and thoſe who went away " from him the moſt diſſatisfied, as to the ſubſtance " of their buſineſs, were yet perſonally charmed with " him, and, in ſome degree, comforted by his man- " ner. With all his gentleneſs and gracefulneſs, no " man living was more conſcious of his ſituation, nor " maintained his dignity better (106)."

(106) Cheſterfield's Letters to his Son, vol. ii. p. 104—106. Seventh edition. Letter 136.

A peruſal of the above paſſage will convince us of the frivolous turn of the Earl of Cheſterfield's mind. His Lordſhip, in his zeal to exalt the Duke of Marlborough's external accompliſhments, either forgets or depreciates the far greater talents of which he was poſſeſſed. There is an obſervation upon the ſubject, in the Britiſh Biography, with which we entirely concur. " That the Duke of Marlborough," ſays the writer, " was eminently diſtinguiſhed by the " gracefulneſs of his manners, cannot be queſtioned: " but the Earl of Cheſterfield appears to have attri- " buted too much to their influence, when he aſ- " cribes—the better half of the Duke of Marlbo- " rough's greatneſs and riches to thoſe graces. That " the uncommon gracefulneſs of his manners faci- " litated his advancement, and contributed to the " ſucceſs of his negociations, may readily be ad- " mitted: but ſurely it muſt have been to much " higher qualities that he owed the eſteem of King " William and of Prince Eugene, his reputation " throughout all Europe, and his many victories " and conqueſts. It was not by a polite exterior that " he

" he obtained his laurels at Schellenberg, at Oude-
" narde, at Ramillies, and at Blenheim (107)."

(107) British Biography, vol. vii. p. 355.

How much the Duke of Marlborough has been celebrated by our poets, is well known by Addiſon's " Campaign," and Philips's " Blenheim." Mr. Addiſon, in his Roſamond, has properly aſſumed another and voluntary occaſion of paying a fine compliment to his Grace's military exploits, and the glory by which they would be followed (108). Upon the Duke's removal from his places, an ode was inſcribed to him, by Mr. Somerville, animated with all the zeal of whiggiſh enthuſiaſm, and containing ſome paſſages that are truly poetical. Another ode, not much inferior in ſpirit, was addreſſed to his Grace, on occaſion of his embarking for Oſtend, in the year 1712 (109).

(108) Addiſon's works, vol. i. p. 122—125. Baſkerville's edition.

(109) Johnſon's Engliſh Poets, vol. xlvii. p. 163—174.

Though it is not our deſign to enter into a regular account of the Ducheſs of Marlborough, ſhe made, nevertheleſs, ſo diſtinguiſhed a figure, and appears with ſuch eminence in the general hiſtory of the times, that we cannot avoid taking notice of ſome of the deſcriptions and characters which have been given of her by various writers. Colley Cibber's rapturous diſplay of her beauty will be amuſing to the reader. He is deſcribing an entertainment at which he happened to be preſent, in 1688, at Nottingham, when the Princeſs Anne of Denmark retreated thither, accompanied by Lady Churchill. " The noble gueſts " at the table happening to be more in number, than " attendants out of liveries could be found for, I " being well known in the Lord Devonſhire's family, " was deſired by his Lordſhip's Maitre d'Hotel to " aſſiſt at it: the poſt aſſigned me was to obſerve " what the Lady Churchill might call for. Being ſo " near the table, you may naturally aſk me, what I " might have heard to have paſſed in converſation at " it? which I ſhould certainly tell you, had I attended to above two words that were uttered there, " and thoſe were, *ſome wine and water*. Theſe, I " remember, came diſtinguiſhed, and obſerved to my " ear, becauſe they came from the fair gueſt, whom " I took ſuch pleaſure to wait on. Except at that ſingle ſound, all my ſenſes were collected into my " eyes, which during the whole entertainment wanted " no better amuſement, than of ſtealing now and " then the delight of gazing on the fair object ſo " near me. If ſo clear an emanation of beauty, ſuch " a commanding grace of aſpect ſtruck me into a " regard that had ſomething ſofter than the moſt " profound reſpect in it, I cannot ſee why I may not, " without offence, remember it; ſince beauty, like " the ſun, muſt ſometimes loſe its power to chuſe, " and ſhine into equal warmth, the peaſant and the " courtier. Now to give you, Sir, a farther proof " of how good a taſte my firſt hopeful entrance into " manhood ſet out with, I remember above twenty " years after, when the ſame lady had given the " world four of the lovelieſt daughters that ever were " gaz'd on, even after they were all nobly married, " and were become the reigning toaſts of every party " of pleaſure, their ſtill lovely mother had at the " ſame time her votaries, and her health very often " took the lead, in thoſe involuntary triumphs of " beauty. However preſumptuous, or impertinent " theſe thoughts might have appeared at my firſt " entertaining them, why may I not hope that my " having kept them decently ſecret, for full fifty " years, may be now a good round plea for their " pardon? Were I now qualified to ſay more of this " celebrated lady, I ſhall conclude it thus: that ſhe " has liv'd (to all appearance) a peculiar favourite " of providence; that few examples can parallel the " profuſion of bleſſings which have attended ſo long " a life of felicity: A perſon ſo attractive! a huſband ſo memorably great! an offſpring ſo beautiful! a fortune ſo immenſe! and a title, which " (when royal favour had no higher to beſtow) ſhe " only could receive from the Author of nature; a " great grandmother without grey hairs! Theſe are " ſuch conſummate indulgencies, that we might " think heaven has center'd them all in one perſon, " to let us ſee how far, with a lively underſtanding, " the full poſſeſſion of them could contribute to human happineſs (110)."

(110) Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber, vol. i. p. 52—54. Fourth edition.

The ſhort character given of Lady Churchill by Biſhop Burnet, is much in her praiſe. " She was a " woman," ſays this Prelate, " of little knowledge; " but of a clear apprehenſion, and a true judgment; " a warm and hearty friend, violent and ſudden in " her reſolutions, and impetuous in her way of " ſpeaking. She was thought proud and inſolent " on her favour, though ſhe uſed none of the com- " mon arts of a court to maintain it: for ſhe did " not beſet the Princeſs, nor flatter her. She ſtayed " much at home, and looked very carefully after the " education of her children (111)."

(111) Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, vol. ii. p. 496. Third edition.

Afterwards, when the Ducheſs of Marlborough had aſſumed an active part in the political events of the times, and the ſpirit of contention ran high, ſhe was not always ſpoken of in favourable terms. Dr. Swift's character of the Ducheſs is drawn up with his uſual malignity. " It is to her," ſays the Dean, " the Duke is chiefly indebted for his greatneſs and " his fall. For above twenty years ſhe poſſeſſed, " without a rival, the favours of the moſt indulgent " miſtreſs in the world, nor ever miſſed one ſingle " opportunity that fell in her way of improving it to " her own advantage. She hath preſerved a tolerable court reputation with reſpect to love and gallantry; but three furies reigned in her breaſt, " the moſt mortal enemies of all ſofter paſſions, which " were, ſordid avarice, diſdainful pride, and ungovernable rage. By the laſt of theſe often breaking out in ſallies of the moſt unpardonable ſort, " ſhe had long alienated her ſovereign's mind, before it appeared to the world. This lady is not " without ſome degree of wit; and hath in her " time affected the character of it, by the uſual method of arguing againſt religion, and proving the " doctrines of chriſtianity to be impoſſible and abſurd. Imagine what ſuch a ſpirit, irritated by the " loſs of power, favour, and employment, is capable " of acting or attempting; and then I have ſaid " enough (112)."

(112) Swift's works, *ubi ſupra*, vol. xviii. p. 21, 22.

The ſame writer, in a letter to Mrs. Dingley, mentions an inſtance of the Ducheſs's ingratitude to her royal Miſtreſs, which redounds greatly to her diſhonour. " I dined," ſays Dr. Swift, " at the Lord " Treaſurer's, with his Saturday company. We had " ten at table, all Lords but myſelf and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Argyle went off at ſix, " and was in very indifferent humour, as uſual. " Duke of Ormond and Lord Bolingbroke were abſent. I ſtaid till near ten. Lord Treaſurer ſhewed " us a ſmall picture, enamelled work, and ſet in " gold, worth about twenty pounds; a picture, I " mean of the Queen, which ſhe gave to the Ducheſs " of Marlborough, ſet in diamonds. When the " Ducheſs was leaving England, ſhe took off all the " diamonds, and gave the picture to one Mrs. Higgins, (an old intriguing woman, whom every body " knows) bidding her make the beſt of it ſhe could. " Lord Treaſurer ſent to Mrs. Higgins for this picture, and gave her one hundred pounds for it. " Was ever ſuch an ungrateful beaſt as that Ducheſs? " or did you ever hear ſuch a ſtory? I ſuppoſe the " Whigs will not believe it. Pray try them. She " takes off the diamonds, and gives away the picture " to an inſignificant woman, as a thing of no conſequence; and gives it to her to ſell, like a piece " of old-faſhioned plate (113)."

(113) *Ibid.* vol. xix. p. 305.

In 1742 was publiſhed (114), " An Account of " the Conduct of the Dowager Ducheſs of Marlborough, from her firſt coming to Court, to the Year " 1710. In a Letter from Herſelf to my Lord ——." This work, which is well written in point of compoſition, excited conſiderable attention at the time of its appearance, and gave riſe to many ſtrictures and ſome controverſy. The principal deſign of it is to vindicate the part which the Ducheſs had acted, during the whole of her connexion with Queen Anne, from the beginning of that connexion, in 1683, to its final diſſolution. The eaſe and elegance with which the book is compoſed, the anecdotes it relates, and the original letters it contains, render it by no means an unintereſting performance; and it is not without its uſe in the elucidation of our general hiſtory. Nevertheleſs, from the prejudice and paſſion wherewith the Ducheſs writes, from her ſeverity to her enemies, and from the malignity ſhe diſplays againſt the memories of King William and Queen Mary, ſhe has contrived to make her own character

(114) In one volume, 8vo.

ſtand

ſtand in no higher a degree of eſtimation than that in which it was held before. Mr. Horace Walpole, in reference to the work in queſtion, has drawn the following picture of her grace, in ſtrong, not flattering colours. "It is ſeldom the public receives information on Princes and Favorites from the fountain-head: flattery or invective is apt to pervert the relations of others. It is from their own pens alone, whenever they are ſo gracious, like the Lady in queſtion, as to have *a paſſion for fame and approbation*, that we learn exactly, how trifling and fooliſh and ridiculous their views and actions were, and how often the miſchief they did proceeded from the moſt inadequate cauſes. We happen to know indeed, though he was no author, that the Duke of Buckingham's repulſes in very impertinent amours, involved King James and King Charles in national quarrels with Spain and France. From her Grace of Marlborough we may collect, that Queen Anne was driven to change her Miniſtry, and in conſequence, the fate of Europe, becauſe ſhe dared to affect one bed-chamber woman, as ſhe had done another. The Ducheſs could not comprehend how the couſins Sarah Jennings and Abigail Hill could ever enter into competition, though the one did but kneel to gather up the clue of favour, which the other had haughtily toſſed away; and which ſhe could not recover by putting The Whole Duty of Man into the Queen's hands to teach her friendſhip.

"This favorite Ducheſs, who, like the proud Duke of Eſpernon, lived to brave the ſucceſſors in a court where ſhe had domineered, wound up her capricious life, where it ſeems ſhe had begun it, with an apology for her conduct. The piece, though weakened by the prudence of thoſe who were to correct it, though maimed by her Grace's own corrections, and though great part of it is rather the annals of a wardrobe than of a reign, yet has ſtill curious anecdotes, and a few of thoſe ſallies of wit which fourſcore years of arrogance could not fail to produce in ſo fantaſtic an underſtanding. And yet by altering her memoirs as often as her will, ſhe diſappointed the public as much as her own family. However, the chief objects remain; and one ſees exactly how Europe and the back ſtairs took their places in her imagination and in her narrative. The Revolution left no impreſſion on her mind but of Queen Mary turning up bed-cloaths: and the Proteſtant Hero, but of a ſelfiſh glutton who devoured a diſh of peas from his ſiſter-in-law. Little circumſtances indeed convey the moſt characteriſtic ideas; but the choice of them may as often paint the genius of the writer, as of the perſon repreſented.

"Mrs. Abigail Hill is not the only perſon tranſmitted to poſterity with marks of the Ducheſs's reſentment. Lord Oxford, *Honeſt Jack Hill, the ragged Boy, the Quebec-General*, and others make the ſame figure in her hiſtory that they did in her mind.——Sallies of paſſion not to be wondered at in one, who has ſacrificed even the private letters of her miſtreſs and benefactreſs (115)!"

(115) Royal and noble Authors, vol. ii. p. 197—200.

Though the Ducheſs's account of her conduct has ranked her among the noble authors, it may be queſtioned how far ſhe is juſtly entitled to a place in ſo honourable a catalogue. She furniſhed, indeed, the materials for the work, and it was drawn up under her own eye and direction; but the real writer of it was Mr. Hooke, to whom the literary world is indebted for the Roman Hiſtory, the Life of Fenelon, and the tranſlation of the Travels of Cyrus. The Ducheſs of Marlborough rewarded Hooke with five thouſand pounds for his trouble, which muſt be allowed to have been a very liberal gratuity. She was actuated, on this occaſion, by a far more generous ſpirit than that which animated her laſt will, when ſhe bequeathed only five hundred pounds a piece to Mr. Mallet and Mr. Glover, as a premium to be beſtowed upon them, when they ſhould write a hiſtory of the Duke of Marlborough. The Ducheſs had a quarrel with Mr. Hooke, after her employment of him; becauſe, as ſhe affirmed, he endeavoured to convert her to Popery. Hooke, we are told, was a Myſtic, and a Quietiſt, and a warm diſciple of Fenelon (116).

(116) Warton's Eſſay on the Genius and Writings of Pope, vol. ii. p. 200. note.

Mr. Pope's character of Atoſſa, which was intended for the Ducheſs of Marlborough, we ſhall inſert in this place.

"But what are theſe to great Atoſſa's mind?
Scarce once herſelf, by turns all womankind!
Who, with herſelf, or others, from her birth
Finds all her life one warfare upon earth:
Shines, in expoſing knaves, and painting fools,
Yet is, whate'er ſhe hates and ridicules.
No thought advances, but her eddy brain
Whiſks it about, and down it goes again.
Full ſixty years the world has been her trade,
The wiſeſt fool much time has ever made.
From loveleſs youth to unreſpected age,
No paſſion gratify'd, except her rage,
So much the fury ſtill out-ran the wit,
The pleaſure miſs'd her, and the ſcandal hit.
Who breaks with her, provokes revenge from hell,
But he's a bolder man who dares be well.
Her ev'ry turn with violence purſu'd,
No more a ſtorm her hate than gratitude:
To that each paſſion turns, or ſoon or late;
Love, if it makes her yield, muſt make her hate:
Superiors? death! and equals? what a curſe!
But an inferior not dependant? worſe.
Offend her, and ſhe knows not to forgive;
Oblige her, and ſhe'll hate you while you live:
But die, and ſhe'll adore you—then the buſt
And temple riſe—then fall again to duſt.
Laſt night, her Lord was all that's good and great;
A knave this morning, and his will a cheat.
Strange! by the means defeated of the ends,
By ſpirit robb'd of power, by warmth of friends,
By wealth of follow'rs! without one diſtreſs
Sick of herſelf, thro' very ſelfiſhneſs!
Atoſſa, curs'd with ev'ry granted pray'r,
Childleſs with all her children, wants an heir.
To heirs unknown deſcends the unguarded ſtore,
Or wanders, heav'n directed, to the poor (117)."

(117) Pope's works, vol. ii. p. 131, 132. Edit. of 1776.

Theſe lines were ſhewn to her Grace, as if they were intended for the portrait of the Ducheſs of Buckingham; but ſhe ſoon ſtopped the perſon that was reading them to her, and called out aloud—"I "cannot be ſo impoſed upon—I ſee plainly enough "for whom they are deſigned;" and abuſed Pope moſt plentifully upon the ſubject; though ſhe was afterwards reconciled to, and courted him (118). The violence of the Ducheſs of Marlborough's temper, which is ſo ſtrongly painted in the character of Atoſſa, frequently broke out into wonderful and ridiculous indecencies. In the laſt illneſs of the Great Duke her huſband, when Dr. Mead left his chamber, the Ducheſs, diſliking his advice, followed him down ſtairs, *ſwore* at him bitterly, and was going to tear off his perriwig. Dr. Hoadly, the late Biſhop of Wincheſter, was preſent at this ſcene (119).

(118) Warton, *ubi ſupra*, p. 200, 201.

(119) *Ibid.*

It is ſaid, that her Grace did not chooſe to have any of her deſcendants called Sarah after her; and that for this reaſon ſhe fixed upon the name of Diana for her grand-daughter, who was afterwards Ducheſs of Bedford (120). Some particulars concerning the Churchill family may be ſeen in Hutchings's Hiſtory and Antiquities of Dorſet. An ingenious and worthy friend (121) hath favoured us with a copy of an inſcription to the memory of General Charles Churchill, fourth ſon of Sir Winſton, and brother to the Duke of Marlborough; but the inſertion of it, on account of the length to which the preſent note has been extended, will probably be excuſed.

(120) From the information of Sir David Dalrymple.

(121) The Rev. Mr. Hall, of Child-Okeford.

For an account of the Duke's various deſcendants, we refer to the Peerages; it not being our intention to enter into diſquiſitions of this kind, unleſs called upon by ſome apparent neceſſity.] K.

*** [CHURCHILL (CHARLES),* an eminent ſatiric Poet, was born in Vine-Street, in the pariſh of St. John's, Weſtminſter, in the year 1731. His father, who was a very reſpectable Clergyman, was Curate and Lecturer of the

* For various particulars in this article we are indebted to the obliging information of John Wilkes, Eſq;

pariſh, and was poſſeſſed, beſides, of a living in the country. Young Charles, as might be expected from the vicinity of his ſituation, received his grammatical education at Weſtminſter ſchool; in which he ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo far, as to make his Tutors ſenſible that he was a lad of conſiderable abilities. His application, however, as is too frequently the caſe with youths of lively parts, by no means kept pace with his natural talents; ſo that the chief character he obtained was, that he was a boy who could do well if he would. One day, having been enjoined to make an exerciſe, he failed in bringing it at the time appointed; for which reaſon his maſter not only chaſtiſed him with ſome ſeverity, but even charged him with ſtupidity. The laſt reproach made a ſtrong impreſſion upon Charles Churchill's mind, and the fear of ſhame wrought an effect which the fear of ſtripes could not produce. On the next day, he brought his exerciſe finiſhed in ſuch a manner, that he received the public thanks of the maſters of the ſchool. This inſtance of his ſenſibility, and of the applauſe that reſulted from it, was not followed by a complete reformation of conduct. The vivacity of his imagination, and the diſſipation of his temper, ſtill prevented his walking regularly forward in the trammels of a ſcholaſtic education. When, therefore, he was ſent by his father to the Univerſity of Oxford, he was refuſed an admittance into that illuſtrious ſeat of literature, upon account of his want of a proper ſkill in the learned languages. This, no doubt, was a great mortification to himſelf, as well as a ſevere diſappointment to a worthy parent. Churchill, in the ſubſequent parts of his life, often mentioned his repulſe at Oxford; and the following turn was given to it by himſelf and his friends. He and they frequently aſſerted, that he could have anſwered the College examination, had he thought proper; but that he ſo much deſpiſed the trifling queſtions which were propoſed to him, that, inſtead of returning ſuitable replies, he only launched out into ſatirical reflections on the abilities of the Gentleman whoſe office it was to make the trial of his literary improvements (*a*). If this was really the truth of the caſe, Mr. Churchill's conduct, to ſay the leaſt of it, was highly imprudent. Whoever wiſhes to receive the benefit of an univerſity education, muſt comply with the cuſtomary forms of admiſſion; and it would be perfectly ridiculous for a young man to have it in his own power to preſcribe in what mode he ſhould be examined, previouſly to his matriculation. Churchill's rejection from Oxford, will ſupply one very probable reaſon for the ſeverity with which, in the courſe of his writings, he hath ſometimes treated that famous ſeminary.

(*a*) Annual Register, Part 2d, p. 58, 59.

After this event, Mr. Churchill continued to proſecute his ſtudies at Weſtminſter ſchool; and there can be no cauſe to doubt, but that he would ſoon have been eſteemed properly qualified for an entrance into one of our learned univerſities, if his views of this kind had not been prevented by an act of imprudence which had a conſiderable effect upon the colour of his future life. When he was little more than ſeventeen years of age, he contracted an intimacy with a young lady in the neighbourhood, which ſprang up into a warm affection, and was followed by a haſty marriage. This, like many others, was a match which began in paſſion and ended in diſguſt. Their regard, however, for each other, which in its origin was mutual and ſincere, was preſerved in its purity and ardour for a number of years. In the ſequeſtered life which Mr. Churchill was now obliged to lead, he made ſuch a progreſs in literature, and ſuſtained ſo good a character, that, notwithſtanding his want of an univerſity education, he was thought worthy of being admitted into holy orders at the uſual age of obtaining them, and accordingly, was ordained by Dr. Sherlock, at that time Biſhop of London. The firſt preferment he received in the church was a very trifling one, being only a ſmall curacy of thirty pounds a year in Wales. To this remote part of the kingdom he carried his wife, and, having taken a little houſe, he applied himſelf to the duties of his ſtation with aſſiduity and chearfulneſs. His behaviour gained him the love and eſteem of his pariſhioners; and his ſermons, though ſomewhat raiſed above the level of his audience, were commended and followed. What chiefly diſturbed him was the ſmallneſs of his income, which would, indeed, have been too narrow for the ſupport of a family, even where a much greater degree of œconomy was exerciſed than was ſuitable to Mr. Churchill's natural diſpoſition. To ſupply, therefore, the deficiency of his ſcanty ſalary, he entered into a branch of trade which he hoped might raiſe him to competence, and, perhaps, to riches; but which, in fact, involved him in debts that long involved him in perplexity and trouble. The buſineſs in which he engaged was that of keeping a Cyder-Warehouſe, with a view of vending that commodity in the different parts of the neighbouring country. A man of genius and a Poet was but ill qualified for ſuch an undertaking. Mr. Churchill could not deſcend to the patience and frugality which are neceſſary in the common courſe of merchandiſe, where ſmall gains are to be quietly expected and carefully accumulated. A kind of rural bankruptcy was, therefore, the conſequence of the attempt (*b*).

(*b*) *Ibid.*

The ill ſucceſs of Mr. Churchill's trading ſcheme brought him back to London, and his father ſoon after dying, he ſucceeded him as Curate and Lecturer in the pariſh of St. John's. The emoluments of his ſituation not amounting to a full hundred pounds a year, in order to improve his finances, he undertook to teach young ladies to read

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and write Engliſh with propriety and correctneſs, and was engaged for this purpoſe in the boarding-ſchool of Mrs. Dennis, a governeſs who had the honour of being one of the firſt introducers of a laudable cuſtom, which hath ſince been adopted in many of the reputable ſeminaries of female education. Mr. Churchill conducted himſelf in his new employment with all the decorum becoming his clerical profeſſion. Still, however, his method of living bore no proportion to his income; ſo that he contracted a variety of debts which he was totally incapable of paying; and a gaol, the terror of indigent genius, ſeemed ready to cloſe upon his miſeries (*c*). From this wretched ſituation he was relieved by the benevolent interpoſition of Dr. Lloyd, the ſecond Maſter of Weſtminſter ſchool, and father of Robert Lloyd the Poet. The Doctor undertook to treat with Churchill's creditors, and ſucceeded in engaging them to conſent to a compoſition of five ſhillings in the pound. In an inſtance which fell under the knowledge of the writer of the preſent article, as an Executor and a Guardian, Mr. Churchill, when he had obtained money by his publications, voluntarily came, and paid the full amount of the original debt. It is highly probable, from this unſolicited and unexpected act of equitable retribution, that his conduct was the ſame in ſome other caſes.

(*c*) *Ibid.*

The time now approached for Mr. Churchill's appearing in the world as an author. Hitherto nothing had come from him in this character, though he was known among his acquaintance to be a man of a very vigorous imagination, and a ſtrong underſtanding; and though he was in the habits of intimacy with Thornton, Colman, and Lloyd, who had already begun to make a conſiderable figure in the Republic of Letters. With the laſt of theſe gentlemen he was connected in the ties of the cloſeſt friendſhip. Mr. Lloyd had printed a poem, entitled the Actor, which met with a very favourable reception from the public, and juſtly procured him a conſiderable degree of reputation. By the ſucceſs of his friend, Mr. Churchill is ſuppoſed to have been ſtimulated (*d*) (how truly we know not) to exert his poetical talents upon a ſubject of a ſimilar kind, though more appropriated and perſonal. The theme he pitched upon was admirably ſuited to his genius and his taſte. He had long been a frequenter of the theatre, and had beſtowed inceſſant attention on ſtage repreſentation. The ſcene of his obſervations was uſually the firſt row of the pit, next to the orcheſtra. From this place he thought that he could beſt diſcern the real workings of the paſſions in the Players, or the artifices which they ſubſtituted in the room of genuine nature and feeling. As Mr. Churchill was thus qualified, by judgment and experience, for delineating the excellencies and defects of the Actors, ſo the vigour of his fancy, and the ſtrength of his conceptions, enabled him to do it in the moſt lively colours. In the month of March, 1761, the "Roſciad" appeared [*A*]. The firſt edition ſtole as it were into the

(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 60. Kenrick's Life of Lloyd, prefixed to his Poems, vol. i. p. xiii.

[*A*] *In the month of March, 1761, the Roſciad appeared.*] Though it is not our intention to enter into a critical analyſis of the poem, we ſhall point out a few paſſages which, in the peruſal of it, impreſſed upon us an idea of peculiar excellence. There is a character towards the beginning of the Roſciad, which is drawn with uncommon ſeverity and ſpirit. Who it was that was intended by the author, we are not ſolicitous to enquire, nor ſhould we wiſh to communicate. Mr. Churchill himſelf meant that the name ſhould be conſigned to oblivion.

" Nor ſhall the MUSE (for even there the pride
" Of this *vain Nothing* ſhall be mortified)
" Nor ſhall the MUSE (ſhould fate ordain her rimes,
" Fond, pleaſing thought! to live in after times)
" With ſuch a trifler's name her pages blot;
" Known be the character, the *Thing* forgot;
" Let *It*, to diſappoint each future aim,
" *Live without ſex, and die without a name* (1)."

(1) Churchill's works, vol. i. p. 9. Fifth edition.

In the following lines, the Poet aſſerts, with great energy, that genius is not confined to any country.

" When, from amidſt the throng, a Youth ſtood forth,
" Unknown his perſon, not unknown his worth;
" His look beſpoke applauſe; alone he ſtood,
" Alone he ſtemm'd the mighty critic flood.
" He talk'd of ancients, as the man became
" Who priz'd our own, but envied not their fame;
" With noble rev'rence ſpoke of Greece and Rome,
" And ſcorn'd to tear the laurel from the tomb.
" But more than juſt to other countries grown,
" Muſt we turn baſe apoſtates to our own?
" Where do theſe words of Greece and Rome excel,
" That England may not pleaſe the ear as well?
" What mighty magic's in the place or air,
" That all perfection needs muſt centre there?
" In ſtates, let ſtrangers blindly be preferr'd;
" In ſtate of letters, Merit ſhould be heard.
" Genius is of no country, her pure ray
" Spreads all abroad, as gen'ral as the day;
" Foe to reſtraint, from place to place ſhe flies,
" And may hereafter e'en in Holland riſe.
" May not (to give a pleaſing fancy ſcope,
" And chear a patriot heart with patriot hope)
" May not ſome great extenſive genius raiſe
" The name of Britain 'bove Athenian praiſe;
" And, whilſt brave thirſt of fame his boſom warms,
" Make England great in Letters as in Arms?
" There may—there hath—and SHAKSPEARE'S muſe aſpires
" Beyond the reach of Greece; with native fires
" Mounting aloft, he wings his daring flight,
" Whilſt SOPHOCLES below ſtands trembling at his height (2)."

(2) *Ibid.* p. 10, 11.

The character of Shakſpeare is afterwards farther touched, with a very maſterly hand.

" In the firſt ſeat, in robe of various dyes,
" A noble wildneſs flaſhing from his eyes,
" Sat SHAKSPEARE.—In one hand a wand he bore,
" For mighty wonders fam'd in days of yore;
" The other held a globe, which to his will
" Obedient turn'd, and own'd the maſter's ſkill:
" Things of the nobleſt kind his genius drew,
" And look'd through Nature at a ſingle view:
" A looſe he gave to his unbounded ſoul,
" And taught new lands to riſe, new ſeas to roll;
" Call'd into being ſcenes unknown before,
" And, paſſing Nature's bounds, was ſomething more (3)."

(3) *Ibid.* p. 13, 14.

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the world, being very little advertiſed, and publiſhed without a name. A ſecond impreſſion was ſoon called for, in the title page of which the author aſſerted his claim to his own performance. Scarcely ever was there an inſtance of a Poet's riſing ſo ſuddenly from the moſt perfect obſcurity to the greateſt celebrity. To this the Players themſelves contributed more than any other ſet of men. They ran about the town like ſo many ſtricken deer; and while they ſtrove to extract the arrow from the wound by communicating the knowledge of it to their friends, ſpread abroad more and more the fame of the piece. It was pleaſant enough to obſerve, how artfully ſome of them, who were, in fact, the moſt hurt, pretended to be unaffected by the injury done to themſelves, but to feel extremely for the obloquy thrown upon others. "Why," exclaimed one of theſe diſintereſted perſons, "ſhould this man attack Mr. Havard? "I am not at all concerned for myſelf; but what has poor Billy Havard done, that he "muſt be treated ſo cruelly?" "And pray," replied a gentleman who was preſent at this artificial declaration of benevolence, "What has Mr. Havard done too, that he "cannot bear his misfortunes as well as another (*e*)?" Whilſt the Actors, in different ways, expreſſed their reſentment, the public enjoyed their diſtreſs. The Roſciad was regarded, in general, as a pleaſant and reaſonable retaliation for the mirth which the ſtage had continually excited by the repreſentation of the follies and frailties of mankind. The Poem was not wholly employed in ſatire. Mr. Garrick was commended in the higheſt terms of applauſe; and the various and peculiar excellencies of Mrs. Pritchard, Mrs. Cibber, and Mrs. Clive were celebrated with equal warmth and juſtice. Excepting Mr. Garrick, there was not a ſingle man, amongſt the Players of that period, who, in the firſt impreſſion, entirely eſcaped the Poet's ſatirical laſh [*B*]. Thoſe who were the moſt eager in expreſſing their anger, had only the misfortune of being treated with greater ſeverity in ſubſequent editions. In this reſpect Mr. Churchill has been blamed by ſome writers; and it has been ſaid, that the Roſciad was not always benefited by the alterations which it received (*f*). Perhaps there is little foundation for this aſſertion: but however that may be, it is certain that its excellence enabled it firmly to maintain its ground, againſt all oppoſition. Though various pamphlets and poems were publiſhed againſt it, in vindication of the Players, they were ſo poorly written, that they only ſerved to ſwell Mr. Churchill's triumph (*g*).

(*e*) Davies's Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick, Eſq; vol. i. p. 305—308.

(*f*) Annual Regiſter, *ubi ſupra*.

(*g*) Life of Garrick, *ubi ſupra*.

The Critical Reviewers happened to be peculiarly unfortunate in the account which they gave of the Roſciad. In ſpeaking of the firſt impreſſion of it, they aſcribed it, with ſome degree of confidence, to Mr. Lloyd; and though they would not pretend abſolutely to aſſert that it was ſolely written by him, they ventured to affirm, that it was

The verſes that follow contain a happy alluſion to a well-known bombaſtic paſſage in Lee's Alexander the Great.

"Still in extremes, he knows no happy mean,
"Or raving mad, or ſtupidly ſerene.
"In cold-wrought ſcenes the lifeleſs actor flags,
"In paſſion, tears the paſſion into rags.
"Can none remember?—Yes—I know all muſt—
"When in the MOOR he ground his teeth to duſt,
"When o'er the ſtage he FOLLY's ſtandard bore,
"Whilſt COMMON-SENSE ſtood trembling at the door (4)."

(4) *Ibid.* p. 28.

From the author's deſcriptions of the Players in general, we do not purpoſe to make any extracts. His praiſes of Garrick, Mrs. Cibber, Mrs. Pritchard, and other performers, will occur in future articles.

[*B*] *Who entirely eſcaped the Poet's ſatirical laſh.*] It may probably not be unamuſing to give ſome account of the different effects which the Roſciad had upon the minds of different Actors. An eminent comic Player is ſaid to have been ſo extremely angry with our Poet for preſuming to include his wife, who hath ſince become one of the greateſt ornaments of the ſtage in tragedy, among thoſe who were cenſured, that he invited Churchill to a tavern, with an intention, as was ſuppoſed, either of expoſtulating with him on his behaviour, or of bringing the matter to a more deciſive diſcuſſion. But Mr. George Garrick, hearing for what purpoſe they had withdrawn, ran to the place of meeting; and, though the contending parties were much enraged, was ſo happy as to reconcile them with a hearty bottle. Our author had ridiculed the only fault which, perhaps, could fairly be charged upon this Actor; and that was, an occaſional defect of memory. This fault he would ſometimes endeavour to hide, by repeating a ſentence two or three times over; to which circumſtance there is an alluſion in the following lines;

"Lo Yates!—Without the leaſt fineſſe of art
"He gets applauſe!—I wiſh he'd get his part.
"When hot impatience is in full career,
"How vilely 'Hark'e! Hark'e!' ſtrikes the ear?"

When the poem was publiſhed, the Player in queſtion, to ſhew his courage, took particular care to reiterate the very words which Churchill had made the record of his ſatire. By this means he cauſed his fault to be far more univerſally known than would otherwiſe have been the caſe. Hitherto the audience in general had been very little acquainted with it; and it afforded no ſmall diverſion to the people behind the ſcenes, that Mr. Yates ſhould thus be the proclaimer of his own defect.

The Actors did not feel themſelves alike aggrieved by Churchill's ſatire. Some of them took no notice of the poem, and others wiſely endeavoured to profit by the ſtrictures which were made on their faults. Barry, Woodward, and Moſſop, who were treated with the greateſt ſeverity, were at that time in Ireland, and owed their firſt knowledge of the rank which they held in the Roſciad to an edition of it publiſhed in Dublin. Havard was more offended than could have been expected from a man of ſo calm and diſpaſſionate a temper. Roſs pleaded guilty, and laughed at his puniſhment, over a glaſs, with his friend Bonnel Thornton. Sparks, who was a man of the world, was above being hurt by a ſtroke or two of ſatire. King, though diſpleaſed, expreſſed no reſentment; and Shuter, out of revenge, got merry with the Poet. Foote, who had himſelf taken ſuch unjuſtifiable liberties with all characters, was outrageouſly offended, and was more violent than any one in his anger. He wrote a proſe dialogue, in which he lampooned Churchill and Lloyd; but he had the diſcretion not to commit it to the preſs. Making uſe of an alliteration, which he was very fond of doing, he called Churchill *the clumſy Curate of Clapham* (5).

(5) Davies's Life of Garrick, vol. i. p. 313—315.

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the production, jointly or ſeparately, of the new Triumvirate of Wits, who never let an opportunity ſlip of ſinging their own praiſes (*b*). The Triumvirate, here referred to, conſiſted of Thornton, Colman, and Lloyd. The miſtake, however, if it had been delivered in leſs offenſive terms, was pardonable, as the author had not ſet his name to the performance. When he aſſerted his claim to the work, the critics acknowledged their error, but did not do it with a very good grace, or, at leaſt, in ſuch a manner as was ſatisfactory to Mr. Churchill. Beſides his not being well pleaſed with the account which had been given of his poem, he wiſhed to add ſomething farther on the ſubject of the Roſciad, and to juſtify the attack he had made on the players. Accordingly, in a ſhort time, he publiſhed his "Apology; addreſſed to the Critical Reviewers [*C*]." Whatever reaſons theſe Gentlemen had to be diſſatisfied with the poem, the players themſelves were not ſo much offended as they had been with the Roſciad. The author had, indeed, treated the profeſſion of acting with great contempt; and had painted, in the ſtrongeſt colours, the meanneſs and diſtreſs of itinerant companies, and the unhappy ſhifts to which they are occaſionally reduced. But all this the London actors regarded as a trifling injury, compared with the ſatire which had been directed againſt their perſonal faults. It was, likewiſe, no ſmall conſolation to them, that their Maſter, the mighty Roſcius himſelf, had not wholly been ſpared: for Mr. Garrick was certainly aimed at in the following lines.

(*b*) Critical Review, vol. xi. p. 212. 339, 340.

" Let the vain tyrant ſit amidſt his guards,
" His puny *green-room* wits, and venal bards,
" Who meanly tremble at the puppet's frown,
" And for a playhouſe freedom loſe their own;
" In ſpite of new-made laws, and new-made kings,
" The free-born muſe with lib'ral ſpirit ſings.
" Bow down, ye ſlaves; before theſe idols fall;
" Let genius ſtoop to them who've none at all;

[*C*] *His Apology; addreſſed to the Critical Reviewers.*] In this poem, the author hath pleaſantly ridiculed the frippery of ſome modern poetry.

" Rude and unſkilful in the Poet's trade,
" I kept no NAIADS by me *ready-made*;
" Ne'er did I colours high in air advance,
" Torn from the bleeding fopperies of France;
" No flimſey linſey-woolſey ſcenes I wrote,
" With patches here and there like Joſeph's coat.
" Me humbler themes befit: Secure, for me,
" Let Playwrights ſmuggle nonſenſe, duty free:
" Secure, for me, ye lambs, ye lambkins bound,
" And friſk, and frolic o'er the fairy ground:
" Secure, for me, thou pretty little fawn,
" Lick SYLVIA's hand, and crop the flow'ry lawn:
" Uncenſur'd let the gentle breezes rove,
" Thro' the green umbrage of th' enchanted grove;
" Secure, for me, let foppiſh Nature ſmile,
" And play the coxcomb in the DESART ISLE (6)."

(6) Churchill's works, *ubi ſupra*, vol. i. p. 63, 64.

The ſituation of a company of itinerant Players is deſcribed by our Poet with great ſtrength of humour.

" The ſtrolling tribe, a deſpicable race,
" Like wand'ring Arabs, ſhift from place to place.
" Vagrants by law, to Juſtice open laid,
" They tremble, of the beadle's laſh afraid,
" And fawning cringe, for wretched means of life,
" To Madam May'reſs, or his Worſhip's Wife.
" The mighty monarch, in theatric ſack,
" Carries his whole regalia at his back;
" His royal conſort heads the female band,
" And leads the heir-apparent in her hand;
" The pannier'd aſs creeps on with conſcious pride,
" Bearing a future prince on either ſide.
" No choice muſicians in this troop are found
" To varniſh nonſenſe with the charms of ſound;
" No ſwords, no daggers, not one poiſon'd bowl;
" No lightning flaſhes here, no thunders roll;
" No guards to ſwell the monarch's train are ſhown;
" The monarch here muſt be a hoſt *alone*.
" No ſolemn pomp, no ſlow proceſſions here;
" No AMMON's entry, and no JULIET's bier.
" By need compell'd to proſtitute his art,
" The varied actor flies from part to part;
" And, ſtrange diſgrace to all theatric pride!
" His character is ſhifted with his ſide.
" In ſhabby ſtate they ſtrut, and tatter'd robe;
" The ſcene a blanket, and a barn the globe.
" No high conceits their mod'rate wiſhes raiſe,
" Content with humble profit, humble praiſe.
" Let dowdies ſimper, and let bumpkins ſtare,
" The ſtrolling pageant hero treads in air:
" Pleas'd for his hour, he to mankind gives law,
" And ſnores the next out on a truſs of ſtraw (7)."

(7) *Ibid.* p. 65, 66.

The following is the author's apology for his own verſification:

" But what is Candour, what is Humour's vein,
" Tho' Judgment join to conſecrate the ſtrain,
" If curious numbers will not aid afford,
" Nor choiceſt muſic play in ev'ry word?
" Verſes muſt run, to charm a modern ear,
" From all harſh, rugged interruptions clear.
" Soft let them breathe, as Zephyr's balmy breeze;
" Smooth let their current flow, as ſummer ſeas;
" Perfect then only deem'd when they diſpenſe
" A happy tuneful vacancy of ſenſe.
" Italian fathers thus, with barb'rous rage,
" Fit helpleſs infants for the ſqueaking ſtage;
" Deaf to the calls of pity, Nature wound,
" And mangle vigour for the ſake of ſound.
" Henceforth farewell then fev'riſh thirſt of fame;
" Farewell the longings for a Poet's name;
" Periſh my Muſe;—a wiſh 'bove all ſevere
" To him who ever held the Muſes dear—
" If e'er her labours weaken to refine
" The gen'rous roughneſs of a nervous line (8)."

(8) *Ibid.* p. 70, 71.

We ſhall only add Mr. Churchill's character of Dryden.

" Here let me bend, great DRYDEN, at thy ſhrine,
" Thou deareſt name to all the tuneful nine.
" What if ſome dull Lines in cold order creep,
" And with his theme the poet ſeems to ſleep,
" Still, when his ſubject riſes proud to view,
" With equal ſtrength the Poet riſes too.
" With ſtrong invention, nobleſt vigour fraught,
" Thought ſtill ſprings up and riſes out of thought;
" Numbers ennobling numbers in their courſe;
" In varied ſweetneſs flow, in varied force;
" The pow'rs of Genius and of Judgment join,
" And the whole Art of Poetry is Thine (9)."

(9) *Ibid.* p. 72, 73.

" Ne'er will I flatter, cringe, or bend the knee
" To thoſe who, ſlaves to *all*, are ſlaves to *me* (*i*)."

(*i*) Life of Garrick, *ubi ſupra*, p. 309—312. Churchill's works, vol. i. p. 67, 68.

The manager felt all the force of theſe ſarcaſtic ſtrokes, and was extremely unhappy that he ſhould have provoked ſo irritable and ſo powerful a writer. Accordingly, he wrote a long letter to Churchill, which, beſides comprehending an apology for himſelf and the players, was full of encomiums upon his uncommon vein of poetry, and contained a kind of deprecation of his future wrath. A friend, to whom Mr. Garrick ſhewed the letter, entirely diſapproved of it; and informed him that the author of the Roſciad, who was a man of a quick diſcernment and undaunted ſpirit, would not think the better of him for his humiliations and flatteries (*k*).

(*k*) Life of Garrick, *ubi ſupra*.

Mr. Churchill being now become ſo greatly celebrated, and having, at the ſame time, procured a large number of enemies, it was natural that reſearches ſhould be made into his ſituation, connexions and character; and upon enquiry it was found, that he was not remarkable for the regularity of his manners, and that he particularly indulged himſelf in ſitting up very late over a bottle. The reproaches hence caſt upon him, gave occaſion to his next production, entitled " Night; an Epiſtle to Robert Lloyd [*D*]." The object of this poem was to vindicate his conduct, or rather to avow it in the face of the public. The " Night" was followed by the firſt book of " The Ghoſt," a work that took its riſe from a ridiculous impoſture carried on in Cock-Lane, near Weſt-Smithfield, and to which ſome men of eminent abilities and character paid too ſerious an attention. Neither of theſe performances being ſo popular as the Roſciad and the Apology, Mr. Churchill was deſirous of producing ſomething which ſhould more ſtrongly excite the curioſity of the nation. In this he ſucceeded, though we muſt ever lament the ſubject he fixed upon, and the turn of mind with which it is treated. Availing himſelf of the diſputes in politics which were then carried on with peculiar acrimony, and influenced by private friendſhip, he publiſhed his " Prophecy of Famine; a Scots " Paſtoral." Of this piece Mr. Wilkes is ſaid to have pronounced, before its appearance, that he was ſure it would take, as it was at once perſonal, poetical, and political. His prediction was accompliſhed; for the Poem had a very rapid and extenſive ſale, and

[*D*] *Night*; *an Epiſtle to Robert Lloyd.*] The author, notwithſtanding the late hours he kept, makes the following claim to having reaſon on his ſide:

" Go on, ye fools, who talk for talking ſake,
" Without diſtinguiſhing diſtinctions make,
" Shine forth in native folly, native pride,
" Make yourſelves rules to all the world beſide;
" Reaſon, collected in herſelf, diſdains
" The ſlaviſh yoke of arbitrary chains,
" Steady and true, each circumſtance ſhe weighs,
" Nor to bare words inglorious tribute pays.
" Men of ſenſe live exempt from vulgar awe,
" And Reaſon to herſelf alone is law.
" That freedom ſhe enjoys with lib'ral mind,
" Which ſhe as freely grants to all mankind.
" No idol titled name her rev'rence ſtirs,
" No hour ſhe blindly to the reſt prefers;
" All are alike, if they're alike employ'd,
" And all are good if *virtuouſly* enjoy'd (10)."

(10) Churchill's works, *ubi ſupra*, vol. i. p. 79.

In the ſucceeding lines he hath given the favourable ſide of his own character.

" Foe to reſtraint, unpractis'd in deceit,
" Too reſolute, from nature's active heat,
" To brook affronts, and tamely paſs them by;
" Too proud to flatter, too ſincere to lye,
" Too plain to pleaſe, too honeſt to be great;
" Give me, kind Heav'n, an humbler, happier ſtate:
" Far from the place where men with pride deceive,
" Where raſcals promiſe, and where fools believe;
" Far from the walk of folly, vice and ſtrife,
" Calm, independent, let me ſteal thro' life,
" Nor one vain wiſh my ſteady thoughts beguile
" To fear his lordſhip's frown, or court his ſmile.
" Unfit for greatneſs, I her ſnares defy,
" And look on riches with untainted eye.
" To others let the glitt'ring bawbles fall,
" Content ſhall place us far above them all (11)."

(11) *Ibid.* p. 85, 86.

The patriotic turn of the nation is expoſed with great humour.

" Britons, like Roman ſpirits fam'd of old,
" Are caſt by nature in a Patriot mould;
" No private joy, no private grief they know,
" Their ſoul's ingroſs'd by public weal or woe.
" Inglorious eaſe, like ours, they greatly ſcorn:
" Let care with nobler wreaths their brows adorn.
" Gladly they toil beneath the ſtateſman's pains,
" Give them but credit for a ſtateſman's brains.
" All would be deem'd, e'en from the cradle, fit
" To rule in politics as well as wit.
" The grave, the gay, the fopling, and the dunce,
" Start up (God bleſs us!) ſtateſmen all at once.
" His mighty charge of ſoul the prieſt forgets,
" The court-bred lord his promiſes and debts,
" Soldiers their fame, miſers forget their pelf,
" The rake his miſtreſs, and the fop himſelf;
" Whilſt thoughts of higher moment claim their care,
" And their wiſe heads the weight of kingdoms bear.
" Females themſelves the glorious ardour feel,
" And boaſt an equal, or a greater zeal,
" From nymph to nymph the ſtate-infection flies,
" Swells in her breaſt, and ſparkles in her eyes.
" O'erwhelm'd by politics lie malice, pride,
" Envy, and twenty other faults beſide.
" No more their little flutt'ring hearts confeſs
" A paſſion for applauſe, or rage for dreſs;
" No more they pant for Public Raree-shows,
" Or loſe one thought on monkeys or on beaux.
" Coquettes no more purſue the jilting plan,
" And luſtful prudes forget to rail at man.
" The darling theme CÆCILIA's ſelf will chuſe,
" Nor thinks of ſcandal whilſt ſhe talks of news.
" The CIT, a Common-Council-Man by place,
" Ten thouſand mighty nothings in his face,
" By ſituation as by nature great,
" With nice preciſion parcels out the ſtate;
" Proves and diſproves, affirms, and then denies,
" Objects himſelf, and to himſelf replies;
" Wielding aloft the Politician rod,
" Makes Pitt by turns a devil and a god;
" Maintains, e'en to the very teeth of pow'r,
" The ſame thing right and wrong in half an hour,
" Now all is well, now he ſuſpects a plot,
" And plainly proves, whatever is, is not.
" Fearfully wiſe, he ſhakes his empty head,
" And deals out empires as he deals out thread.
" His uſeleſs ſcales are in a corner flung,
" And Europe's balance hangs upon his tongue (12)."

(12) *Ibid.* p. 86—88.

Churchill was extolled by his admirers as ſuperior to Pope (*l*). This was undoubtedly carrying his praiſe to an undue height of exaggeration. It cannot, however, be denied, that the Author has diſplayed great force of abilities in the Prophecy of Famine [*E*]; though the malignity which he has ſhewn againſt Scotland and its inhabitants is totally inexcuſable.

(*l*) Annual Regiſter, *ubi ſupra*, p. 61.

Whilſt the literary fame of Mr. Churchill ſtood thus high with a large part, at leaſt, of the public, his perſonal conduct was very reprehenſible. He laid aſide all the external decorums of his profeſſion, diveſted himſelf of his clerical habit, and appeared in the dreſs of a blue coat with metal buttons, a gold-laced waiſtcoat, a gold-laced hat, and ruffles. This part of his behaviour was wholly diſapproved of by his moſt intimate friends. They conſidered it as a very blameable oppoſition to the decencies of life, and as likely to be hurtful to his intereſt; ſince the abilities he was poſſeſſed of, and the figure he made in political conteſts, would, perhaps, have recommended him to ſome noble patron, from whom he might have received a valuable benefice. I remember well, that he dreſſed his younger ſon in a Scotch plaid, like a little Highlander, and carried him every where in that garb. The boy being aſked by a Gentleman with whom I was in company, why he was cloathed in ſuch a manner, anſwered with great vivacity; "Sir, "my father hates the Scotch, and does it to plague them?" In other reſpects Mr. Churchill's conduct was more than indiſcreet. He plunged into various irregularities, and lived no longer with his wife; though whether his quitting her was at this particular juncture we are not able to determine. "Some people, obſerves a certain writer, have "been unkind enough to ſay, that Mrs. Churchill gave the firſt juſt cauſe of ſeparation. "But nothing can be more falſe than this rumour; and we can aſſure the public, that

[*E*] *Great force of abilities in the Prophecy of Famine.*] Without concerning ourſelves with the ſatirical object of the poem, we ſhall be ſatisfied with adverting to a few paſſages of a general nature, which are deſerving of peculiar notice. The delineation, at the beginning of the Prophecy of Famine, of the progreſs of a young poet's mind, is both ſevere and pleaſant.

"When CUPID firſt inſtructs his darts to fly
"From the ſly corner of ſome cook-maid's eye,
"The ſtripling raw, juſt enter'd in his teens,
"Receives the wound, and wonders what it means;
"His heart, like dripping, melts, and new deſire
"Within him ſtirs, each time ſhe ſtirs the fire;
"Trembling and bluſhing he the fair one views,
"And fain would ſpeak, but can't—without a MUSE.
"So to the ſacred mount he takes his way,
"Prunes his young wings, and tunes his infant lay,
"His oaten reed to rural ditties frames,
"To flocks and rocks, to hills and rills proclaims,
"In ſimpleſt notes, and all unpoliſh'd ſtrains,
"The loves of nymphs, and *eke* the loves of ſwains.
"Clad, as your nymphs were always clad of yore,
"In ruſtic weeds—a cook-maid now no more—
"Beneath an aged oak LARDELLA lies—
"Green moſs her couch; her canopy the ſkies.
"From aromatic ſhrubs the *roguiſh* gale
"Steals *young* perfumes, and wafts them thro' the vale.
"The youth, turn'd ſwain, and ſkill'd in ruſtic lays,
"Faſt by her ſide his am'rous deſcant plays.
"Herds lowe, Flocks bleat, Pies chatter, Ravens ſcream,
"And the full chorus dies a-down the ſtream.
"The ſtreams, with muſic freighted, as they paſs,
"Preſent the fair LARDELLA with a glaſs,
"And ZEPHYR, to compleat the love-ſick plan,
"Waves his light wings, and ſerves her for a fan.
"But, when maturer Judgment takes the lead,
"Theſe childiſh toys on Reaſon's altar bleed;
"Form'd after ſome *great man*, whoſe name breeds awe,
"Whoſe ev'ry ſentence Faſhion makes a law,
"Who on mere credit his vain trophies rears,
"And founds his merit on our ſervile fears;
"Then we diſcard the workings of the heart,
"And nature's baniſh'd by *mechanic* art;
"Then, deeply read, our reading muſt be ſhown;
"Vain is that knowledge which remains unknown.
"Then OSTENTATION marches to our aid,
"And *letter'd* PRIDE ſtalks forth in full parade;
"Beneath their care behold the work refine,
"Pointed each ſentence, poliſh'd ev'ry line:
"Trifles are dignified, and taught to wear
"The robes of Ancients with a Modern air,
"NONSENSE with *Claſſic* ornaments is grac'd,
"And paſſes current with the ſtamp of TASTE.
"Then the rude THEOCRITE is ranſack'd o'er,
"And *courtly* MARO call'd from MINCIO's ſhore;
"*Sicilian Muſes* on our mountains roam,
"Eaſy and free as if they were at home;
"NYMPHS, NAIADS, NEREIDS, DRYADS, SATYRS, FAUNS
"Sport in our floods, and trip it o'er our lawns;
"Flow'rs, which once flouriſh'd fair in GREECE and ROME,
"More fair revive in ENGLAND's meads to bloom;
"Skies without cloud exotic ſuns adorn;
"And roſes bluſh, but bluſh without a thorn;
"Landſcapes unknown to *dowdy* Nature, riſe,
"And new creations ſtrike our wond'ring eyes (13)." (13) Churchill's works, *ubi ſupra*, p. 97—100.

The author deſcribes himſelf as of a very different turn.

"*Me*, whom no muſe of heav'nly birth inſpires,
"No judgment tempers when raſh genius fires;
"Who boaſt no merit but mere knack of rime,
"Short gleams of ſenſe, and ſatire out of time,
"Who cannot follow where *trim* fancy leads
"By *prattling* ſtreams o'er *flow'r empurpled* meads;
"Who often, but without ſucceſs, have pray'd
"For *apt* ALLITERATION's *artful aid*;
"Who would, but cannot, with a maſter's ſkill,
"Coin fine new epithets, *which mean no ill*,
"*Me*, thus uncouth, thus ev'ry way unfit
"For *pacing* poeſy, and *ambling* wit,
"TASTE with contempt beholds, nor deigns to place
"Amongſt the loweſt of her favour'd race (14)." (14) *Ibid.* p. 101.

The deſcription of famine has in it the terrible graces of Sir Joſhua Reynolds's picture of Ugulino.

"Pale FAMINE rear'd the head; her eager eyes,
"Where hunger e'en to madneſs ſeem'd to riſe,
"Speaking aloud her throes and pangs of heart,
"Strain'd to get looſe, and from their orbs to ſtart;
"Her hollow cheeks were each a deep-ſunk cell,
"Where wretchedneſs and horror lov'd to dwell;
"With double rows of uſeleſs teeth ſupplied,
"Her mouth, from ear to ear, extended wide,
"Which, when for want of food her entrails pin'd,
"She op'd, and curſing ſwallow'd nought but wind;
"All ſhrivell'd was her ſkin, and here and there,
"Making their way by force, her bones lay bare:
"Such filthy ſight to hide from human view,
"O'er her foul limbs a tatter'd Plaid ſhe threw (15)." (15) *Ibid.* p. 117.

"her

" her conduct in private life, and among her acquaintance, was ever irreproachable (*m*)." We have our doubts concerning the truth of what is here asserted, notwithstanding the positivity with which it is delivered. It was always understood in Westminster, that Mrs. Churchill's imprudence kept too near a pace with that of her husband. However, we do not hence mean in the least to justify his disorderly and licentious manner of living.

(*m*) Annual Register, *ubi supra*.

Mr. Churchill being now embarked as a political satirist, from which character he derived great fame and profit, next drew his pen against a man whose genius he admired; and with whom he and Mr. Wilkes had long been in the habits of friendship, he celebrated Hogarth. It must be acknowledged that Hogarth himself afforded the original cause of offence. In a print, called the Times, he had attacked Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt, and soon after published a caricature of Mr. Wilkes. This, which was too much for Churchill to bear, gave rise to the " Epistle to William Hogarth [*F*]," wherein that eminent painter, whilst justice is done to his extraordinary talents, is treated with all the severity of satire. When Hogarth had formed the design of holding out Lord Temple, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Churchill, and Mr. Wilkes to the public, as objects of ridicule, in a series of prints, the last gentleman, by two of their common acquaintance, remonstrated with him against such a proceeding, as what would not only be unfriendly in the highest degree, but extremely injudicious. It was urged to him, that such a pencil ought to be universal and moral, to speak to all ages, and to all nations, not to be dipt in the dirt of the faction of a day, of an insignificant part of the country, when it might command the admiration of the whole. It would have been well for Mr. Hogarth, if he had listened to this salutary advice, as by so doing he would have saved himself from the most extreme mortification. Churchill's satire struck him to the heart, and is thought to have contributed to the acceleration of his decease. Mr. Hogarth's revenge against the Poet, terminated in vamping up an old print of a Pug-Dog and a Bear, which he published under the title of " The Bruiser C. Churchill (once the Reverend!) in the character of " a Russian Hercules, &c." So feeble a blow at his antagonist was but a poor compensation

[*F*] *Gave rise to the " Epistle to William Hogarth."*] The speech of Candour, near the beginning of the poem, is, in our opinion, somewhat too long. The following lines, describing the obnoxiousness of merit to envy, are finely expressed.

" But should thy soul, form'd in some luckless hour,
" Vile Int'rest scorn, nor madly grasp at Pow'r;
" Should Love of Fame, in ev'ry noble mind
" A brave disease, with love of Virtue join'd,
" Spur thee to deeds of pith, where Courage, tried
" In Reason's court, is amply justified;
" Or fond of knowledge, and averse to strife,
" Should'st Thou prefer the calmer walk of life;
" Should'st Thou, by pale and sickly STUDY led,
" Pursue coy Science to the Fountain head;
" Virtue thy guide, and Public Good thy end,
" Should ev'ry thought to our improvement tend,
" To curb the passions, to enlarge the mind,
" Purge the sick weal, and humanize mankind:
" Rage in her eye, and Malice in her breast,
" Redoubled Horror grinning on her crest,
" Fiercer each snake, and sharper ev'ry dart,
" Quick from her cell shall madd'ning ENVY start.
" Then shalt Thou find, but find alas! too late,
" How vain is worth! how short is Glory's date!
" Then shalt Thou find, whilst Friends with Foes conspire
" To give more proof than virtue would desire,
" Thy danger chiefly lies in acting well;
" No crime's so great as daring to excel (16)."

(16) Churchill's works, *ubi supra*, p. 129.

The address to Hogarth is equally spirited and severe.

" HOGARTH—I take thee, CANDOUR, at thy word,
" Accept thy proffer'd terms, and will be heard;
" Thee have I heard with virulence declaim,
" Nothing retain'd of Candour but the name;
" By Thee have I been charg'd in angry strains
" With that mean falshood which my soul disdains—
" HOGARTH stand forth—Nay hang not thus aloof—
" Now, CANDOUR, now Thou shalt receive such proof,
" Such damning proof, that henceforth Thou shalt fear
" To tax my wrath, and own my conduct clear—
" HOGARTH stand forth—I dare thee to be tried
" In that great Court, where Conscience must preside;
" At that most solemn bar hold up thy hand;
" Think before whom, on what account you stand—
" Speak, but consider well—from first to last
" Review thy life, weigh ev'ry action past—
" Nay, you shall have no reason to complain—
" Take longer time, and view them o'er again—
" Can'st Thou remember from thy earliest youth,
" And as thy God must judge Thee, speak the truth,
" A single instance where, *Self* laid aside,
" And Justice taking place of fear and pride,
" Thou with an equal eye did'st GENIUS view,
" And give to Merit what was Merit's due?
" Genius and Merit are a sure offence,
" And thy soul sickens at the name of Sense.
" Is any one so foolish to succeed,
" On ENVY's altar he is doom'd to bleed?
" HOGARTH, a guilty pleasure in his eyes,
" The place of Executioner supplies.
" See how he glotes, enjoys the sacred feast,
" And proves himself by cruelty a priest (17)."

(17) *Ibid.* p. 141, 142.

The poem concludes with a reflection truly fine and pathetic.

" Sure 'tis a curse which angry Fates impose,
" To mortify man's arrogance, that those
" Who're fashion'd of some better sort of clay,
" Much sooner than the common herd decay.
" What bitter pangs must humbled GENIUS feel,
" In their last hours, to view a SWIFT and STEELE?
" How must ill-boding horrors fill her breast
" When She beholds Men, mark'd above the rest
" For qualities most dear, plung'd from that height,
" And sunk, deep sunk, in second Childhood's night?
" Are Men, indeed, such things, and are the best
" More subject to this evil, than the rest,
" To drivel out whole years of Ideot Breath,
" And fit the Monuments of living Death?
" O, galling circumstance to human pride!
" Abasing Thought, but not to be denied!
" With curious Art the Brain too finely wrought,
" Preys on herself, and is destroy'd by Thought.
" Constant Attention wears the active mind,
" Blots out her pow'rs, and leaves a blank behind.
" But let not Youth, to insolence allied,
" In heat of blood, in full career of pride,
" Possess'd of GENIUS, with unhallow'd rage,
" Mock the infirmities of rev'rend age.
" The greatest GENIUS to this Fate may bow;
" REYNOLDS, in time, may be like HOGARTH now (18)."

(18) *Ibid.* p. 156, 157.

ſation for the deep wound he had received. It muſt ever be lamented, that men of genius who had been intimate friends, and might have continued ſuch as long as they lived, ſhould have their union diſſolved, and diſcord ſown among them, by the demon of politics and party (*n*).

(*n*) Monthly Review, vol. xli. p. 380—382. In an article containing an account of Letters to and from Mr. Wilkes, vol. i.

The poems we have hitherto ſpoken of employed Mr. Churchill in 1761, 1762, and part of 1763. During the ſame time he continued to publiſh, at different intervals, "The Ghoſt," the fourth and concluding book of which appeared in the laſt of the years now mentioned. The moſt celebrated paſſage in this work was the character of Pompoſo, intended for Dr. Johnſon, and which was much extolled by that Gentleman's enemies. The Doctor had offended Churchill, by declaring that his poetry had but little merit. The only reply which Dr. Johnſon made to our Author's ſatire was, that he thought him a ſhallow fellow in the beginning, and that he could ſay nothing worſe of him ſtill (*o*). Highly as we reverence this eminent Writer's character and abilities, we muſt expreſs ourſelves to be of a different opinion. However inferior Churchill might be, in many reſpects, to Dr. Johnſon, he certainly did not deſerve the appellation of a ſhallow fellow. He was undoubtedly poſſeſſed of a ſound and vigorous underſtanding, though it might not always be prudently and happily applied. The contemptuous terms in which men of real genius are apt to ſpeak of each other, we have too often had occaſion to obſerve and lament. With regard to the poem of "The Ghoſt," it may in general be remarked, that, beſides its being compoſed in verſes of eight ſyllables, it is written in a very deſultory and digreſſive manner. It is difficult to determine what plan and deſign the Author had in view, and, perhaps, he could ſcarcely have explained the matter himſelf. The work, therefore, doth not, upon the whole, excite much of our approbation, though there are in it ſome ſhining and beautiful paſſages [*G*]. Even Lloyd, the great panegyriſt of Churchhill, hints at the ſlovenly nature

(*o*) Annual Regiſter, *ubi ſupra*.

[*G*] *Though there are in it ſome ſhining and beautiful paſſages.*] The firſt book contains a general account of the frauds which have been carried on, in different ages, in conſequence of the deſire of mankind to know future events; and it exhibits, likewiſe, a good repreſentation of the characters that apply for information about their future fortune. In the ſecond book, the following lines may be regarded as truly poetic:

" With ſettled faith and pious awe,
" Eſtabliſh'd by the voice of Law,
" *Then* POETS to the MUSES came,
" And from their Altars caught the flame.
" GENIUS, with PHOEBUS for his guide,
" The MUSE aſcending by his ſide,
" With tow'ring pinions dar'd to ſoar,
" Where eye could ſcarcely ſtrain before (19)."

(19) Churchill's works, *ubi ſupra*, p. 189.

In the deſcription of truth are many happy ſtrokes, among which the author's own regard to it is expreſſed with great energy.

" If, in the giddy hours of Youth,
" My conſtant ſoul adher'd to TRUTH;
" If, from the Time I firſt wrote Man,
" I ſtill purſu'd thy ſacred plan,
" Tempted by Intereſt in vain
" To wear mean Falſhood's golden chain;
" If, for a ſeaſon drawn away,
" Starting from Virtue's path aſtray,
" All low diſguiſe I ſcorn'd to try,
" And dar'd to ſin, but not to lye;
" Hither, O hither, condeſcend,
" ETERNAL TRUTH, thy ſteps to bend,
" And favour *Him*, who ev'ry hour
" Confeſſes and obeys thy pow'r (20)!"

(20) *Ibid.* p. 194.

The ſubſequent verſes may be ſelected as proofs of our Poet's ability in bold deſcription.

" Dark was the Night, it was that Hour
" When TERROR reigns in fulleſt Pow'r,
" When, as the Learn'd of old have ſaid,
" The yawning Grave gives up her dead,
" When MURDER, RAPINE by her ſide,
" Stalks o'er the earth with *Giant* ſtride;
" *Our* QUIXOTES (for that *Knight* of old
" Was not in Truth by half ſo *bold*,
" Tho' REASON at the ſame time cries,
" *Our* QUIXOTES are not half ſo *wiſe*,
" Since they, with other follies, boaſt
" An Expedition 'gainſt a *Ghoſt*)
" Thro' the dull deep ſurrounding gloom,
" In cloſe array, tow'rds FANNY's tomb
" Adventur'd forth—CAUTION before,
" With heedful ſtep, the *lanthorn* bore,
" Pointing at Graves; and in the Rear,
" *Trembling*, and *talking loud*, went FEAR.
" The Church-yard teem'd—th' unſettled ground,
" As in an Ague, ſhook around;
" While in ſome *dreary vault* confin'd,
" Or riding on the *hollow Wind*,
" HORROR, which turns the heart to ſtone,
" In dreadful ſounds was heard to groan.
" All ſtaring, wild, and out of breath,
" At length they reach the place of death (21)."

(21) *Ibid.* p. 218, 219.

The line

Trembling, and *talking loud*, went FEAR,

preſents an image equally juſt and poetical. Mr. Churchill is very fond of the proſopopeia or perſonification, and makes great uſe of it in ſeveral of his poems. In the third book of the Ghoſt, the privileges of a Poet are thus happily repreſented.

" The Man, who deals in humble Proſe,
" Tied down by rule and method, goes;
" But they who court the vig'rous Muſe,
" Their carriage have a right to chuſe.
" Free as the Air, and unconfin'd,
" Swift as the motions of the Mind,
" The POET darts from place to place,
" And inſtant bounds o'er Time and Space.
" Nature (whilſt blended fire and ſkill
" Inflame our paſſions to his will)
" Smiles at her violated Laws,
" And crowns his daring with applauſe (22)."

(22) Churchill's works, vol. ii. p. 2, 3.

The deſcription of Fame, which is very long, has in it much ſatire; and ſeveral parts of it are happily imagined. Our readers will not be diſpleaſed with us for tranſcribing the ſucceeding lines.

" Swift thro' the regions of the ſky,
" Above the reach of human eye,
" Onward ſhe drove the furious blaſt,
" And rapid as a whirlwind paſt
" O'er *Countries*, once the ſeats of *Taſte*,
" By Time and Ignorance laid waſte;

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" The prieſt, I grant, has ſomething clever,
" A ſomething that will laſt for ever.
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" Whoſe muſe, now Queen, and now a ſlattern,
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" From one to t'other moment's end?
" HONOUR, WIT, GENIUS, WEALTH, and GLORY,
" *Good lack! good lack!* are tranſitory,
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" Which, without pain and horror to behold,
" Muſt ſpeak me ſomething more, or leſs than man;
" Which Friends may pardon, but I never can?
" Look back! a thought which borders on deſpair,
" Which human nature muſt, yet cannot bear.
" 'Tis not the babbling of a buſy world,
" Where praiſe and cenſure are at random hurl'd,
" Which can the meaneſt of my thoughts controul,
" Or ſhake one ſettled purpoſe of my ſoul.
" Free and at large might their wild curſes roam,
" If All, if All alas! were well at home.
" No—'tis the tale which angry Conſcience tells,
" When ſhe with more than tragic horror ſwells
" Each circumſtance of guilt; when ſtern, but true,
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" Bids late Remorſe awake at Reaſon's call,
" Arm'd at all points bids Scorpion Vengeance paſs,
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(25) Churchill's work, vol. ii. p. 159, 162.

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" Dark was the Night, by Fate decreed
" For the contrivance of a deed
" More black than common, which might make
" This land from her foundations ſhake,
" Might tear up Freedom from the root,
" Deſtroy a WILKES, and fix a BUTE.
" Deep Horror held her wide domain;
" The ſky in ſullen drops of rain
" Forewept the morn, and thro' the air,
" Which, op'ning, laid its boſom bare,
" Loud Thunders roll'd, and Light'ning ſtream'd;
" The Owl at Freedom's window ſcream'd,
" The Screech-Owl, prophet dire, whoſe breath
" Brings ſickneſs, and whoſe note is death;
" The Church-Yard teem'd, and from the tomb,
" All ſad and ſilent, thro' the gloom,
" The Ghoſts of Men, in former times
" Whoſe Public Virtues were their crimes,
" Indignant ſtalk'd; Sorrow and Rage
" Blank'd their pale cheek; in his own age
" The prop of Freedom, HAMPDEN there
" Felt after death the gen'rous care;
" SIDNEY by grief from Heav'n was kept,
" And for his brother Patriot wept;
" All Friends of LIBERTY, when Fate
" Prepar'd to ſhorten WILKES's date,
" Heav'd, deeply hurt, the heart-felt groan,
" And knew that wound to be their own (26)."

(26) Churchill's works, *ubi ſupra*, p. 200, 201.

The deſcription of the men of former times is very animated.

" Full in the Front, ſtretch'd out in length,
" Where Nature put forth all her ſtrength
" In Spring eternal, lay a plain,
" Where our brave fathers us'd to train
" Their Sons to Arms, to teach the Art
" Of War, and ſteel the infant heart.
" LABOUR, their hardy nurſe, when young,
" Their joints had knit, their nerves had ſtrung;
" ABSTINENCE, foe declar'd to death,
" Had, from the time they firſt drew breath,
" The beſt of doctors, with plain food,
" Kept pure the channel of their blood;
" HEALTH in their cheeks bade colour riſe,
" And GLORY ſparkled in their eyes.
" The inſtruments of Huſbandry,
" As in contempt, were all thrown by,
" And, flattering a manly pride,
" War's keener tools their place ſupplied.
" Their arrows to the head they drew;
" Swift to the point their javelins flew;
" They graſp'd the ſword, they ſhook the ſpear;
" Their Fathers felt a pleaſing fear,
" And even COURAGE, ſtanding by,
" Scarcely beheld with ſteady eye.
" Each Stripling, leſſon'd by his Sire,
" Knew when to cloſe, when to retire,
" When near at hand, when from afar
" To fight, and was Himſelf a War.
" Their Wives, their Mothers all around,
" Careleſs of order, on the ground,
" Breath'd forth to Heav'n the pious vow,
" And for a Son's or Huſband's brow,
" With eager fingers Laurel wove;
" Laurel, which in the ſacred grove,
" Planted by LIBERTY, they find,
" The brows of Conquerors to bind,
" To give them Pride and Spirits, fit
" To make a world in arms ſubmit,
" What raptures did the boſom fire
" Of the young, rugged, peaſant Sire,
" When, from the toil of mimic fight,
" Returning with return of Night,
" He ſaw his babe reſign the breaſt,
" And, ſmiling, ſtroke thoſe arms in jeſt,
" With which hereafter he ſhall make
" The proudeſt heart in GALLIA quake!
" Gods! with what joy, what honeſt pride,
" Did each fond, wiſhing, ruſtic Bride,
" Behold her manly ſwain return!
" How did her love-ſick boſom burn,
" Tho' on Parades he was not bred,
" Nor wore the livery of red,
" When, Pleaſure height'ning all her charms,
" She ſtrain'd her Warrior in her arms,
" And begg'd, whilſt Love and Glory fire,
" A Son, a Son juſt like his Sire! (27)."

(27) *Ibid.* p. 207—210.

We ſhall ſubjoin part of the deſcription of the Temple of Liberty.

" On a low, ſimple, turf-made throne
" Rais'd by *Allegiance*, ſcarcely known
" From her attendants, glad to be
" Pattern of that Equality
" She wiſh'd to all, ſo far as cou'd
" Safely conſiſt with ſocial good,
" The GODDESS ſat; around her head
" A chearful radiance GLORY ſpread;
" COURAGE, a Youth of royal race,
" Lovelily ſtern, poſſeſs'd a place
" On her left-hand, and on her right
" Sat HONOUR, cloath'd with robes of Light;
" Before her MAGNA CHARTA lay,
" Which ſome great Lawyer, of his day
" The PRATT, was offic'd to explain,
" And make the baſis of her reign;
" PEACE, crown'd with Olive, to her breaſt
" Two ſmiling, twin-born infants preſt;
" At her feet couching, WAR was laid,
" And with a brindled Lion play'd;
" JUSTICE and MERCY, hand in hand,
" Joint Guardians of the happy land,
" Together held their mighty charge,
" And TRUTH walk'd all about at large;
" HEALTH for the royal troop the feaſt
" Prepar'd, and VIRTUE was High Prieſt (28)."

(28) *Ibid.* p. 215, 216.

The verſification in ſome of the lines of the Duelliſt is too careleſs.

[*K*] *And it is one of the moſt pleaſing of his productions.*] The trammels of a college life are ſarcaſtically deſcribed.

" O'er crabbed authors life's gay prime to waſte,
" To cramp wild genius in the chains of taſte,
" To bear the ſlaviſh drudgery of ſchools,
" And tamely ſtoop to ev'ry pedant's rules,
" For ſeven long years debarr'd of lib'ral eaſe,
" To plod in college trammels to *degrees*,
" Beneath the weight of ſolemn toys to groan,
" Sleep over books, and leave mankind unknown,
" To praiſe each ſenior blockhead's thread-bare tale,
" And laugh till reaſon bluſh, and ſpirits fail,
" Manhood with vile ſubmiſſion to diſgrace,
" And *cap* the fool, whoſe merit is his Place;
" VICE CHANCELLORS, whoſe knowledge is but ſmall,
" And CHANCELLORS, who nothing know at all,
" Ill-brook'd the gen'rous Spirit in thoſe days
" When Learning was the certain road to praiſe,
" When Nobles, with a love of Science bleſs'd,
" Approv'd in others what themſelves poſſeſs'd (29)."

(29) Churchill's works, *ubi ſupra*, p. 172.

There is great dignity both of ſentiment and language in the following verſes:

" What's

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" The Screech-Owl, prophet dire, whoſe breath
" Brings ſickneſs, and whoſe note is death;
" The Church-Yard teem'd, and from the tomb,
" All ſad and ſilent, thro' the gloom,
" The Ghoſts of Men, in former times
" Whoſe Public Virtues were their crimes,
" Indignant ſtalk'd; Sorrow and Rage
" Blank'd their pale cheek; in his own age
" The prop of Freedom, HAMPDEN there
" Felt after death the gen'rous care;
" SIDNEY by grief from Heav'n was kept,
" And for his brother Patriot wept;
" All Friends of LIBERTY, when Fate
" Prepar'd to ſhorten WILKES's date,
" Heav'd, deeply hurt, the heart-felt groan,
" And knew that wound to be their own (26)."

(26) Churchill's works, *ubi ſupra*, p. 200, 201.

The deſcription of the men of former times is very animated.

" Full in the Front, ſtretch'd out in length,
" Where Nature put forth all her ſtrength
" In Spring eternal, lay a plain,
" Where our brave fathers us'd to train
" Their Sons to Arms, to teach the Art
" Of War, and ſteel the infant heart.
" LABOUR, their hardy nurſe, when young,
" Their joints had knit, their nerves had ſtrung;
" ABSTINENCE, foe declar'd to death,
" Had, from the time they firſt drew breath,
" The beſt of doctors, with plain food,
" Kept pure the channel of their blood;
" HEALTH in their cheeks bade colour riſe,
" And GLORY ſparkled in their eyes.
" The inſtruments of Huſbandry,
" As in contempt, were all thrown by,
" And, flattering a manly pride,
" War's keener tools their place ſupplied.
" Their arrows to the head they drew;
" Swift to the point their javelins flew;
" They graſp'd the ſword, they ſhook the ſpear;
" Their Fathers felt a pleaſing fear,
" And even COURAGE, ſtanding by,
" Scarcely beheld with ſteady eye.
" Each Stripling, leſſon'd by his Sire,
" Knew when to cloſe, when to retire,
" When near at hand, when from afar
" To fight, and was Himſelf a War.
" Their Wives, their Mothers all around,
" Careleſs of order, on the ground,
" Breath'd forth to Heav'n the pious vow,
" And for a Son's or Huſband's brow,
" With eager fingers Laurel wove;
" Laurel, which in the ſacred grove,
" Planted by LIBERTY, they find,
" The brows of Conquerors to bind,
" To give them Pride and Spirits, fit
" To make a world in arms ſubmit,
" What raptures did the boſom fire
" Of the young, rugged, peaſant Sire,
" When, from the toil of mimic fight,
" Returning with return of Night,
" He ſaw his babe reſign the breaſt,
" And, ſmiling, ſtroke thoſe arms in jeſt,
" With which hereafter he ſhall make
" The proudeſt heart in GALLIA quake!
" Gods! with what joy, what honeſt pride,
" Did each fond, wiſhing, ruſtic Bride,
" Behold her manly ſwain return!
" How did her love-ſick boſom burn,
" Tho' on Parades he was not bred,
" Nor wore the livery of red,
" When, Pleaſure height'ning all her charms,
" She ſtrain'd her Warrior in her arms,
" And begg'd, whilſt Love and Glory fire,
" A Son, a Son juſt like his Sire! (27)."

(27) *Ibid.* p. 207—210.

We ſhall ſubjoin part of the deſcription of the Temple of Liberty.

" On a low, ſimple, turf-made throne
" Rais'd by *Allegiance*, ſcarcely known
" From her attendants, glad to be
" Pattern of that Equality
" She wiſh'd to all, ſo far as cou'd
" Safely conſiſt with ſocial good,
" The GODDESS ſat; around her head
" A chearful radiance GLORY ſpread;
" COURAGE, a Youth of royal race,
" Lovelily ſtern, poſſeſs'd a place
" On her left-hand, and on her right
" Sat HONOUR, cloath'd with robes of Light;
" Before her MAGNA CHARTA lay,
" Which ſome great Lawyer, of his day
" The PRATT, was offic'd to explain,
" And make the baſis of her reign;
" PEACE, crown'd with Olive, to her breaſt
" Two ſmiling, twin-born infants preſt;
" At her feet couching, WAR was laid,
" And with a brindled Lion play'd;
" JUSTICE and MERCY, hand in hand,
" Joint Guardians of the happy land,
" Together held their mighty charge,
" And TRUTH walk'd all about at large;
" HEALTH for the royal troop the feaſt
" Prepar'd, and VIRTUE was High Prieſt (28)."

(28) *Ibid.* p. 215, 216.

The verſification in ſome of the lines of the Duelliſt is too careleſs.

[*K*] *And it is one of the moſt pleaſing of his productions.*] The trammels of a college life are ſarcaſtically deſcribed.

" O'er crabbed authors life's gay prime to waſte,
" To cramp wild genius in the chains of taſte,
" To bear the ſlaviſh drudgery of ſchools,
" And tamely ſtoop to ev'ry pedant's rules,
" For ſeven long years debarr'd of lib'ral eaſe,
" To plod in college trammels to *degrees*,
" Beneath the weight of ſolemn toys to groan,
" Sleep over books, and leave mankind unknown,
" To praiſe each ſenior blockhead's thread-bare tale,
" And laugh till reaſon bluſh, and ſpirits fail,
" Manhood with vile ſubmiſſion to diſgrace,
" And *cap* the fool, whoſe merit is his Place;
" VICE CHANCELLORS, whoſe knowledge is but ſmall,
" And CHANCELLORS, who nothing know at all,
" Ill-brook'd the gen'rous Spirit in thoſe days
" When Learning was the certain road to praiſe,
" When Nobles, with a love of Science bleſs'd,
" Approv'd in others what themſelves poſſeſs'd (29)."

(29) Churchill's works, *ubi ſupra*, p. 172.

There is great dignity both of ſentiment and language in the following verſes:

" What's

bly ſatirical; but, towards the concluſion, the Poet is extremely ſevere againſt certain writers of the time, eſpecially ſome political writers. The character of Kidgell, the Informer, is drawn in a maſterly manner. The opinion of the Monthly Reviewers concerning this Poem was, that it was the moſt agreeable and the moſt unexceptionable of all Mr. Churchill's performances, whether they conſidered the tendency of the ſubject, or the execution. "The intereſts," ſay they, "of genius and learning are cordially "eſpouſed, and powerfully ſupported, while the contempt of profeſſed ignorance, and "the ſhallowneſs of pretenders to ſcience, are juſtly expoſed, and laſhed by the blameleſs rod of general ſatire." Even with regard to the ſatirical ſtrokes of a private nature, the critics add, that if the cenſure be juſt, they ſcarcely know how to blame it (*q*). The Critical Reviewers, though they had been involved in a conteſt with our bard, gave a like teſtimony on this occaſion. "It is but juſtice," they obſerve, "to "Mr. Churchill to acknowledge, that his reputation as a Poet ſeems to riſe and in"creaſe with every performance." The "Conference" was much ſuperior to the "Ghoſt," and the "Author" is in our opinion, a better poem than the "Conference." "The ſentiments throughout are, for the moſt part, noble and manly, the ſatire finely "pointed, the expreſſion ſtrong and nervous (*r*)."

(*q*) Monthly Review, vol. xxx. p. 26, 27.

Churchill's poetical career for 1764 began with the firſt book of his "Gotham," which was conſidered by the generality of readers as ſo ſtrange and irregular a production, that they could not tell what judgment to form of the writer's intention. As he proceeded in the work, he appeared to greater advantage; and it became manifeſt from the ſecond and third books, that it was his chief deſign, under the idea of his being proclaimed King of Gotham, to repreſent the real duty of a Monarch; in which view much good inſtruction is conveyed. This performance is leſs ſatirical than moſt of our Author's pieces. Upon the whole, Gotham is not one of the pleaſanteſt of his poems, though it contains a number of beautiful paſſages [*L*].

(*r*) Critical Review, vol. xvi. p. 446. Upon reflection, we have ſome ſuſpicion that the "Author" was publiſhed a little before the "Duelliſt." But if we have been guilty of an error in our arrangement of the account of the two poems, it is an error of no great conſequence.

Churchill's

"What's in this name of *Lord*, that I ſhould fear
"To bring their vices to the public ear?
"Flows not the honeſt blood of humble ſwains
"Quick as the tide which ſwells a Monarch's veins?
"Monarchs, who wealth and titles can beſtow,
"Cannot make Virtues in ſucceſſion flow.
"Would'ſt thou, proud Man, be ſafely plac'd above
"The cenſure of the Muſe, deſerve her love,
"Act as thy Birth demands, as Nobles ought;
"Look back, and by thy worthy Father taught,
"Who *earn'd* thoſe Honours, thou wert *born* to wear,
"Follow his ſteps, and be his Virtue's heir.
"But if, regardleſs of the road to Fame,
"You ſtart aſide, and tread the paths of Shame,
"If ſuch thy life, that ſhould thy Sire ariſe,
"The ſight of ſuch a Son would blaſt his eyes,
"Would make him curſe the hour which gave thee birth,
"Would drive him, ſhudd'ring, from the face of earth
"Once more, with ſhame and ſorrow, 'amongſt the dead
"In endleſs night to hide his rev'rend head;
"If ſuch thy life, tho' Kings had made thee more
"Than ever King a ſcoundrel made before,
"Nay, to allow thy pride a deeper ſpring,
"Tho' God in vengeance had made thee a King,
"Taking on Virtue's wing her daring flight,
"The Muſe ſhould drag thee trembling to the light,
"Probe thy foul wounds, and lay thy boſom bare
"To the keen queſtion of the ſearching air (30)."

(30) Churchill's works, *ubi ſupra*, p. 178, 179.

[*L*] *Though it contains a number of beautiful paſſages.*] In the firſt book of Gotham, our Poet ſeems to have had a deſign, in his deſcription of the different ages of mankind, to try whether he could not rival Ariſtole, Horace, and Shakſpeare, on the ſame ſubject.

"Like to the fretful bullies of the deep,
"Soon ſpends his rage, and cries himſelf aſleep,
"Who, with a fev'riſh appetite oppreſs'd,
"For trifles ſighs, but hates them when poſſeſs'd,
"His trembling laſh ſuſpended in the air,
"Half-bent, and ſtroaking back his long, lank hair,
"Shall to his mates look up with eager glee,
"And let his Top go down to prate of Me.
"YOUTH, who fierce, fickle, inſolent, and vain,
"Impatient urges on to MANHOOD's reign,
"Impatient urges on, yet with a caſt,
"Of dear regard, looks back on CHILDHOOD paſt,
"In the *mid-chaſe*, when the hot blood runs high,
"And the quick ſpirits mount into his eye,
"When Pleaſure, which he deems his greateſt wealth,
"Beats in his heart, and paints his cheeks with health,
"When the chaf'd Steed tugs proudly at the rein,
"And, ere he ſtarts, hath run o'er half the plain,
"When, wing'd with fear, the ſtag flies full in view,
"And in full cry the eager hounds purſue,
"Shall ſhout my praiſe to hills which ſhout again,
"And e'en the *Huntſman* ſtop to cry *Amen*.
"MANHOOD, of form erect, who would not bow
"Tho' Worlds ſhould crack around him; on his brow
"WISDOM ſerene, to Paſſion giving law,
"Beſpeaking Love, and yet commanding Awe,
"DIGNITY into Grace by Mildneſs wrought;
"COURAGE attemper'd and refin'd by Thought;
"VIRTUE ſupreme enthron'd; within his breaſt
"The Image of his Maker deep impreſs'd;
"Lord of this Earth, which trembles at his Nod,
"With Reaſon bleſs'd, and only leſs than God;
"MANHOOD, tho' weeping Beauty kneels for aid,
"Tho' Honour calls in Danger's form array'd,
"Tho' cloath'd with ſackcloth, Juſtice in the gates,
"By wicked Elders chain'd, Redemption waits,
"MANHOOD ſhall ſteal an hour, a little hour,
"(Is't not a little one?) to hail My pow'r.
"OLD AGE, a *ſecond child*, by Nature curs'd,
"With more and greater evils than the firſt,
"Weak, ſickly, full of pains; in ev'ry breath
"Railing at life, and yet afraid of death;
"Putting things off, with ſage and ſolemn air,
"From day to day, without one day to ſpare;
"Without enjoyment, covetous of pelf,
"Tireſome to friends, and tireſome to himſelf,
"His faculties impair'd, his temper ſour'd,
"His memory of recent things devour'd
"E'en with the acting, on his ſhatter'd brain,
"Tho' the falſe Regiſters of Youth remain;

"INFANCY, ſtraining backward from the breaſt,
"Tetchy and wayward, what he loveth beſt
"Refuſing in his fits, whilſt all the while
"The Mother eyes the wrangler with a ſmile,
"And the fond Father ſits on t' other ſide,
"Laughs at his moods, and views his ſpleen with pride,
"Shall murmur forth my name, whilſt at his hand
"Nurſe ſtands interpreter, thro' GOTHAM's land.
"CHILDHOOD, who, like an *April* morn, appears,
"Sunſhine and Rain, hopes clouded o'er with fears,
"Pleas'd and diſpleas'd by ſtarts, in paſſion warm,
"In Reaſon weak, who, wrought into a ſtorm,

"From

Churchill's next production was "The Candidate," which took its title from the conteſt that had been carried on between the Earl of Hardwicke and the Earl of Sandwich

" From morn to evening babbling forth vain praiſe
" Of thoſe rare men, who liv'd in thoſe rare days,
" When He, the Hero of his tale, was Young,
" Dull Repetitions falt'ring on his tongue,
" Praiſing gray hairs, ſure mark of Wiſdom's ſway,
" E'en whilſt he curſes time which made him gray,
" Scoffing at Youth, e'en whilſt he would afford
" All, but his gold, to have his Youth reſtor'd,
" Shall for a moment, from himſelf ſet free,
" Lean on his Crutch, and pipe forth praiſe to Me (31)."

(31) Churchill's works, vol. iii. p. 9—12.

The firſt book of Gotham, notwithſtanding its faults, is far from being deſtitute of imagination. The buſineſs and labour of a Poet are well deſcribed at the beginning of the ſecond book.

" Little do ſuch men know the toil, the pains,
" The daily, nightly racking of the brains,
" To range the thoughts, the matter to digeſt,
" To cull fit phraſes, and reject the reſt,
" To know the times when HUMOUR, on the cheek
" Of MIRTH may hold her ſports, when WIT ſhould ſpeak,
" And when be ſilent; when to uſe the pow'rs
" Of Ornament, and how to place the flow'rs,
" So that they neither give a tawdry glare,
" Nor waſte their ſweetneſs in the deſart air;
" To form (which few can do, and ſcarcely one,
" One Critick in an age can find, when done)
" To form a plan, to ſtrike a grand Outline,
" To fill it up, and make the picture ſhine
" A full, and perfect piece; to make coy rime
" Renounce her follies, and with ſenſe keep time,
" To make proud ſenſe againſt her nature bend,
" And wear the chains of rime, yet call her friend (32)."

(32) *Ibid.* p. 26.

The author's account of his own manner of writing will juſtify the ſtrictures we are ſometimes obliged to make upon his productions.

" Had I the pow'r, I could not have the time,
" Whilſt ſpirits flow, and life is in her prime,
" Without a ſin 'gainſt Pleaſure, to deſign
" A plan, to methodize each thought, each line
" Highly to finiſh, and make ev'ry grace,
" In itſelf charming, take new charms from place.
" Nothing of Books, and little known of Men,
" When the mad fit comes on, I ſeize the pen,
" Rough as they run, the rapid thoughts ſet down,
" Rough as they run, diſcharge them on the Town.
" Hence rude, unfiniſh'd brats, before their time,
" Are born into this idle world of rime,
" And the poor *ſlattern* MUSE is brought to bed
" With all her imperfections on her head.
" *Some*, as no life appears, no pulſes play
" Through the dull, dubious maſs, no breath makes way,
" Doubt, greatly doubt, 'till for a glaſs they call,
" Whether the Child can be baptiz'd at all.
" Others, on other grounds, objections frame,
" And, granting that the child may have a name,
" Doubt, as the Sex might well a midwife poſe,
" Whether they ſhould baptize it, Verſe or Proſe (33)."

(33) *Ibid.* p. 33, 34.

Though there are many fine lines, and ſome happy ſtrokes of fancy, in the ſecond book of Gotham, it cannot be denied that there is in it too great a neglect of poetic numbers. In the beginning of the third book the verſification is more correct and harmonious, and towards the middle of it Mr. Churchill diſplays a happy vein of poetry. His account of the duty of a King is well conceived and expreſſed.

" To ſtill the voice of diſcord in the land,
" To make weak faction's diſcontented band,
" Detected, weak, and crumbling to decay,
" With hunger pinch'd, on their own vitals prey;
" Like brethren, in the ſelf-ſame int'reſts warm'd,
" Like diff'rent bodies, with one ſoul inform'd,
" To make a nation, nobly rais'd above
" All meaner thought, grow up in common love;
" To give the laws due vigour, and to hold
" That ſacred balance, temperate, yet bold,
" With ſuch an equal hand, that thoſe who fear
" May yet approve, and own my juſtice clear;
" To be a Common Father, to ſecure
" The weak from violence, from pride the poor;
" Vice, and her ſons, to baniſh in diſgrace,
" To make Corruption dread to ſhew her face,
" To bid afflicted Virtue take new ſtate,
" And be, at laſt, acquainted with the great;
" Of all Religions to elect the beſt,
" Nor let her prieſts be made a ſtanding jeſt;
" Rewards for Worth, with lib'ral hand to carve,
" To love the Arts, nor let the Artiſts ſtarve;
" To make fair Plenty through the realm increaſe,
" Give Fame in War, and Happineſs in Peace,
" To ſee my people virtuous, great and free,
" And know that all thoſe bleſſings flow from me,
" O 'tis a joy too exquiſite, a thought
" Which flatters Nature more than flatt'ry ought.
" 'Tis a great, glorious taſk, for Man too hard,
" But not leſs great, leſs glorious the reward,
" The beſt reward which here to Man is giv'n,
" 'Tis more than Earth, and little ſhort of Heav'n;
" A taſk (if ſuch compariſon may be)
" The ſame in nature, diff'ring in degree,
" Like that which God, on whom for aid I call,
" Performs with eaſe, and yet performs to all (34)."

(34) *Ibid.* p. 60—62.

We cannot refuſe ourſelves the pleaſure of tranſcribing the beautiful lines in which our author diſplays his love for poetry, when, as ſuppoſing himſelf King of Gotham, he is obliged to take his farewell of the Muſes.

" Farewell ye MUSES too—for ſuch mean things
" Muſt not preſume to dwell with mighty Kings—
" Farewell ye MUSES—tho' it cuts my heart
" E'en to the quick, we muſt for ever part.
" When the freſh Morn bade luſty Nature wake;
" When the Birds, ſweetly twitt'ring thro' the brake,
" Tun'd their ſoft pipes; when from the neighb'ring bloom,
" Sipping the dew, each Zephyr ſtole perfume;
" When all things with new vigour were inſpir'd,
" And ſeem'd to ſay they never could be tir'd;
" How often have we ſtray'd, whilſt ſportive Rime
" Deceiv'd the way, and clipp'd the wings of Time,
" O'er hill, o'er dale! how often laugh'd to ſee,
" Yourſelves made viſible to none but me,
" The clown, his Work ſuſpended, gape and ſtare,
" And ſeem'd to think that I convers'd with Air!
" When the Sun, beating on the parched ſoil,
" Seem'd to proclaim an interval of toil,
" When a faint languor crept thro' ev'ry breaſt,
" And things moſt us'd to labour, wiſh'd for reſt,
" How often, underneath a rev'rend oak,
" Where ſafe, and fearleſs of the impious ſtroke,
" Some ſacred DRYAD liv'd, or in ſome grove,
" Where with capricious fingers Fancy wove
" Her fairy bow'r, whilſt NATURE all the while
" Look'd on, and view'd her mock'ries with a ſmile,
" Have we held converſe ſweet! how often laid,
" Faſt by the Thames, in HAM's inſpiring ſhade,
" Amongſt thoſe Poets, which make up your train,
" And, after death, pour forth the ſacred Strain,
" Have I, at your command, in verſe grown grey,
" But not impair'd, heard DRYDEN tune that lay,
" Which might have drawn an Angel from his ſphere,
" And kept him from his office liſt'ning here.
" When dreary NIGHT, with MORPHEUS in her train,
" Led on by SILENCE to reſume her reign,
" With Darkneſs covering, as with a robe,
" This ſcene of Levity, blank'd half the globe,
" How oft', enchanted with your heav'nly ſtrains,
" Which ſtole me from myſelf, which in ſoft chains
" Of Muſic bound my ſoul, how oft' have I,
" Sounds more than human floating thro' the Sky,

wich for the High-Stewardſhip of the Univerſity of Cambridge. The beginning of the poem is very ſpirited; and the words, "Come PANEGYRICK," introduce one of the ſevereſt ſatires, which the pen of man ever wrote, againſt a Nobleman who has, indeed, often been the ſubject of ſatire; perhaps ſo much as to be indifferent and careleſs about the attacks that are made on his character. "The Candidate" was ſucceeded by "The Farewell," wherein the Poet is repreſented as having formed a deſign to quit his native land, from which his friend endeavours to diſſuade him. Though there is much good ſenſe in this performance, and ſeveral excellent obſervations on philoſophy, and the love of our country, it cannot be conſidered as one of our Author's chief works. It is deficient in poetical fire, and many of the lines are feeble and proſaic. Partly from a confidence in the good opinion of his admirers, and partly from the neceſſity of obtaining frequent pecuniary ſupplies, Mr. Churchill now became too negligent and rapid in his publications. In his ſucceeding production, entitled, "The Times," he diſplays his uſual vigour and ſpirit. The characters of Faber and Apicius, whoever were intended by them, are drawn with equal ſtrength and ſeverity. The ſatire of the poem is principally directed againſt an unnatural vice, which is expoſed with an energy and indignation that cannot poſſibly be exceeded. The matter is, indeed, carried to the very height of extravagance; but this extravagance ſhews, at the ſame time, the wonderful powers of the Author's mind, and his juſt and boundleſs deteſtation of the crime againſt which his poetry is levelled.

Churchill's next publication was "Independence," a poem which does not, in every part of it, diſplay the vigour of imagination that is apparent in ſome of his performances; and it is, alſo, chargeable with the fault we have more than once had occaſion to touch upon, the fault of careleſs verſification. It contains, however, ſeveral ſhining paſſages; and a ſtrong vein of good ſenſe runs through the whole. Much is ſaid in it of Poets and Patrons; perhaps as much as the ſubject will well bear. The Author hath admirably repreſented the ſtriking contraſt between an effeminate Lord and himſelf; and hath drawn his own picture with great humour [*M*]. "Independence" was followed by "The Journey," a ſhort poem, which reflects no diſgrace on our Author's abilities. The advice of his friends and his anſwer to it are well conducted. Towards the concluſion, he indulges himſelf in ſatirizing ſeveral contemporary Poets. Mr. Churchill's laſt poetical production was the dedication of his Sermons to Biſhop Warburton, which is written with his uſual ſeverity againſt that eminent Prelate. Some parts of it are very ſpirited, and eſpecially thoſe paſſages which begin with, "HEALTH to great "Gloſter." If the ſame vigour is not maintained through the whole, it may be obſerved, that, as the poem was left unfiniſhed, in conſequence of the Author's deceaſe, we cannot tell to what height the grave irony of the ſatire might have been carried.

(t) 1764.

"Attentive ſat, whilſt NIGHT, againſt her will,
"Tranſported with the harmony, ſtood ſtill!
"How oft' in raptures, which Man ſcarce could bear,
"Have I, when gone, ſtill thought the Muſes there,
"Still heard their Muſic, and, as mute as death,
"Sat all attention, drew in ev'ry Breath,
"Leſt, breathing all too rudely, I ſhould wound,
"And mar that magic excellence of ſound:
"Then, Senſe returning with return of Day,
"Have chid the Night, which fled ſo faſt away.
"Such my Purſuits, and ſuch my Joys of yore,
"Such were my Mates, but now my Mates no more (35)."

(35) *Ibid.* p. 75—77.

[*M*] *And hath drawn his own picture with great humour.*] It is as follows:

"Such was the *Firſt*—the *Second* was a man,
"Whom Nature built on quite a diff'rent plan;
"A *Bear*, whom from the moment he was born,
"His Dam deſpis'd, and left *unlick'd* in ſcorn!
"A *Babel*, which the pow'r of Art undone,
"She could not finiſh when ſhe had begun;
"An utter *Chaos*, out of which no might
"But that of God could ſtrike one ſpark of light.
"Broad were his ſhoulders, and from blade to blade
"A H——— might at full length have laid;
"Vaſt were his Bones, his Muſcles twiſted ſtrong,
"His Face was ſhort, but broader than 'twas long,
"His Features, tho' by Nature they were large,
"Contentment had contriv'd to overcharge
"And bury meaning, ſave that we might ſpy
"Senſe low'ring on the penthouſe of his eye;
"His Arms were two twin Oaks, his Legs ſo ſtout
"That they might bear a Manſion-Houſe about,
"Nor were They, look but at his body there,
"Deſign'd by Fate a much leſs weight to bear.
"O'er a brown *Caſſock*, which had once been black,
"Which hung in tatters on his brawny back,
"A ſight moſt ſtrange, and aukward to behold
"He threw a covering of *Blue* and *Gold*.
"Juſt at that time of life, when Man by rule,
"The Fop laid down, takes up the graver fool,
"He ſtarted up a Fop, and, fond of ſhow,
"Look'd like another HERCULES, turn'd *Beau*.
"A Subject, met with only now and then,
"Much fitter for the pencil than the pen;
"HOGARTH would draw him (Envy muſt allow)
"E'en to the life, were HOGARTH living now.
"With ſuch accoutrements, with ſuch a form,
"Much like a Porpoiſe juſt before a ſtorm,
"Onward He roll'd; a laugh prevail'd around;
"E'en JOVE was ſeen to ſimper: at the ſound
"(Nor was the cauſe unknown, for from his Youth
"Himſelf he ſtudied by the glaſs of Truth)
"He join'd their mirth, nor ſhall the Gods condemn
"If, whilſt They laugh'd at him, he laugh'd at them.
"*Judge* REASON view'd him with an eye of grace,
"Look'd thro' his ſoul, and quite forgot his face,
"And, from his hand receiv'd, with fair regard
"Plac'd in her other ſcale the name of *Bard* (36)."

(36) Churchill's works, vol. iii. p. 200—202.

The ſucceeding eight lines, deſcriptive of a real Bard, ſhall conclude our extracts from Churchill's Poems.

"The real *Bard*, whom native Genius fires,
"Whom every Maid of Caſtaly inſpires,
"Let him conſider wherefore he was meant,
"Let him but anſwer Nature's great intent,
"And fairly weigh himſelf with other men,
"Would ne'er debaſe the glories of his pen,
"Would in full ſtate, like a true Monarch, live,
"Nor bate one inch of his *Prerogative* (37)."

(37) *Ibid.* p. 206, 207.

With

With reſpect to the Sermons, which are ten in number, two upon the nature of prayer in general, and eight upon our Lord's Prayer, there certainly could be no other reaſon for publiſhing them than to obtain the benefit of a large ſubſcription. The preſent Biographer, that he might be able to form an exact judgment, hath, with exemplary patience, read them all; and he is obliged to pronounce concerning them, that they are written with an uniform mediocrity; and if he were to add dulneſs, he would not be far from the truth. There is no animation in the diſcourſes; nor could a ſingle paſſage be ſelected from them, which diſplays the fire of genius, or the force of imagination. The ſentiments are practical, and not uſually to be found fault with; but there is not a thought that is new, or which indicates any peculiar ſtrength of conception. The ſtyle is perſpicuous, without the leaſt pretenſions to elegance. There is a dull formality in it, and we often meet with the words, *thereto*, *therefrom*, *herefrom*, *whereof*, *hereunto*, and others of a like kind. The Sermons have all the air as if they had been compoſed by ſome plain Clergyman in the beginning of the century. On the whole, we have no idea that Mr. Churchill could have been the Author of them; for ſurely whatever came from his pen muſt have manifeſted ſome traces of the natural vigour and acuteneſs of his mind. He probably found them in his father's cloſet.

In the latter end of the year 1764, our Poet went to France, to pay a viſit to his friend Mr. Wilkes, who was then in that kingdom. Mr. Humphrey Cotes was of the party. They met at Boulogne, where Mr. Churchill was ſeized with a miliary fever, which baffled the medical aid of two Phyſicians of ſkill and reputation by whom he was attended. Mr. Cotes, who was a great advocate for Dr. James's Powder, inſiſted upon applying it; to which the Phyſicians conſented, but ſaid, that the battle was loſt. They obſerved, at the ſame time, that if the powder produced any favourable effect, it would operate as a cathartic, or by perſpiration; but that if it acted as an emetic, (which was in fact the caſe) the patient would be immediately carried off. The event correſponded with their prediction, and Mr. Churchill departed this life on the fourth of
(*s*) 1764. November (*s*), at Boulogne, in the thirty-fourth year of his age. When the violence of the diſorder threatened his diſſolution, the Phyſicians, according to the law of France, were obliged to acquaint the Church with his danger, that the Prieſts might attend to perform their ſpiritual functions, and eſpecially, as being a Proteſtant, to uſe their endeavours for his converſion. Accordingly, they again and again demanded admiſſion for this purpoſe; but Mr. Wilkes, with that politeneſs, addreſs, and good ſenſe which he is ſo well known to poſſeſs, parried their attempts, and prevented them from troubling his dying friend. Mr. Davies, in his Life of Garrick (*t*), upon what he thinks good (*t*) Vol. I. p. 319.
authority, hath related, that Churchill's laſt words were, *What a fool have I been!* Though he might, on ſeveral accounts, have had too much cauſe to make ſuch a reflection, it is not true that it was made by him. This we have been aſſured of by Mr. Wilkes, whoſe teſtimony upon the ſubject muſt be deciſive; and the ſame Gentleman hath informed the world, that the goodneſs of Churchill's heart and the firmneſs of his philoſophy were in full luſtre during the whole time of his very ſevere illneſs; and that the amazing faculties of his mind were not in the leaſt impaired till a few moments before his death (*u*). (*u*) New Foundling Hoſpital for Wit, Part the third, p. 91.
The deceaſe of a man of ſo much celebrity, and of ſuch popularity with a large part of the nation, could not be received with indifference; eſpecially conſidering the early period of his life, and the ſhort courſe of fame which he had run. He was greatly lamented by his acquaintance and admirers; but no one was ſo deeply affected with his death as Robert Lloyd. The news of the melancholy event being announced to him ſomewhat abruptly, while he was ſitting at dinner, he was ſeized with a ſudden ſickneſs, and ſaying "I ſhall follow poor Charles," took to his bed, from which he never roſe again (*w*). Beſides Churchill's great perſonal friendſhip for Lloyd, he had been remarkably generous to him during his confinement in the Fleet, having all that time allowed him a regular ſtipend (*x*). Such was, at firſt, the enthuſiaſm in favour of Mr. Churchill's memory, that there was a talk of erecting a monument to him in Weſtminſter Abbey [*N*]; but the idea ſoon ſubſided, and will ſcarcely ever be revived. The following inſcription, in the cloſe ſtyle of the ancients, and engraven on a ſepulchral urn of alabaſter, was drawn up by Mr. Wilkes, and intended by him to give the true character of our Author, as a friend, a poet, and a patriot.

(*w*) Life of Lloyd, prefixed to his poetical works, p. xxxv.

(*x*) *Ibid.* p. xxvi. note.

[*N*] *There was a talk of erecting a monument to him in Weſtminſter Abbey.*] In the beginning of the year 1765, a publication appeared, entitled, "Verſes on "the Report of a Monument to be erected in Weſt-"minſter Abbey, to the Memory of a late Au-"thor:" To which was prefixed, an Extract of a Letter to a Perſon of Quality. The ſame verſes, with the letter by which they were accompanied, made a part, in 1766, of "Poems on ſeveral Subjects, by "James Beattie, M. A." now the celebrated Dr. Beattie. We are informed, that in the ſucceeding editions of the Doctor's poems theſe verſes are omitted; and it is much to his honour that this is the caſe. He never in his life better conſulted his reputation, than in expunging from his works the lines in queſtion. He had ſtill more conſulted his reputation, if he had never ſuffered them to be publiſhed. The ſincere regard we have for Dr. Beattie's general character and writings hath inſpired us with pleaſure, that, by his prudent conduct, he hath afforded us an opportunity of ſuppreſſing ſome remarks which we ſhould otherwiſe have thought ourſelves under a neceſſity of making.

" CAROLO CHURCHILL,
" Amico jucundo,
" Poetæ acri,
" Civi optimè de patria merito,
" P.
" JOHANNES WILKES, 1765 (*y*)."

(*y*) New Foundling Hoſpital for Wit, *ubi ſupra*.

Our opinion of Churchill, as a poet, is ſufficiently apparent from what hath already been ſaid. That he had great force of genius cannot juſtly be denied; and there are ſcarcely any of his performances in which the natural vigour of his mind is not in ſome inſtances diſplayed. It muſt, at the ſame time, be acknowledged, that he is very unequal in his compoſitions. Writing from a ſpirit of party, being deſirous of gratifying the eagerneſs of his admirers, and having a view to his cuſtomary tax of half a crown for each of his publications, he was too rapid in ſending them into the world, and too ſolicitous to fill up the quantity of pages expected from him, to attend to the neceſſary art of blotting. In his verſification there is ſometimes ſuch a looſeneſs of contexture, as brings to our memory Oldham and ſeveral of the poets of the laſt century; whilſt at other times he amply ſhews how well he underſtood all the power of ſtrong and harmonious numbers. If his life had been protracted, if he had been placed in an independent ſituation, if he could have united application with leiſure, he might have been capable of producing ſome grand work, which would have reſcued his name for ever from oblivion. Should it be thought that a few of his friends have extolled him beyond his merit [*O*], it muſt be allowed that by many perſons he was unduly depretiated. He hath afforded a remarkable inſtance of a ſudden and ſhort-lived celebrity, and of a more than uſual rapidity in the neglect paid to his writings. Perhaps nothing will revive the memory of them, ſo as to cauſe them to be again generally read, excepting a new edition with notes, fully explaining the ſatirical and hiſtorical alluſions. This was what Mr. Churchill himſelf, before his deceaſe, wiſhed to be done. In his Will is the following paſſage: " I deſire my dear friend, John Wilkes, Eſq; to collect and publiſh my " Works with the remarks and explanations he has prepared, and any others he thinks " proper to make (*z*)." Whether Mr. Wilkes will ever have leiſure or inclination to comply with this requeſt, we are not able to ſay. Perhaps the time is not yet arrived for taking away the veil from certain objects; and perhaps it may never be deſirable to

(*z*) Monthly Review, vol. xli. p. 380. note.

[*O*] *Have extolled him beyond his merit.*] It will not be thought ſurprizing, that Mr. Lloyd ſhould be very warm in the praiſes of his friend. In a poetical epiſtle to Charles Churchill, he thus expreſſes himſelf:

" Yet, in theſe leaden times, this idle age,
" When, blind with dulneſs, or as blind with rage,
" Author 'gainſt author rails with venom curſt,
" And happy He who calls out blockhead firſt;
" From the low earth aſpiring genius ſprings,
" And fails triumphant, borne on eagle wings.
" No toothleſs ſpleen, no venom'd critic's aim,
" Shall rob thee, Churchill, of thy proper fame;
" While hitch'd for ever in thy nervous rime,
" Fool lives, and ſhines out fool to lateſt time (38)."

(38) Lloyd's Poetical works, vol. i. p. 86.

In another of his poems, Lloyds pays Churchill a compliment which will, perhaps, be deemed more fine than juſt.

" Authors, as DRYDEN's maxim runs,
" Have what he calls poetic ſons.
" Thus MILTON, more correctly wild,
" Was richer SPENSER's lawful child.
" And CHURCHILL, got on all the nine,
" Is DRYDEN's heir in ev'ry line (39)."

(39) *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 11.

We ſhall add one more inſtance of Lloyd's admiration of his friend.

" Is there a man, whoſe genius ſtrong,
" Rolls like a rapid ſtream along,
" Whoſe Muſe, long hid in chearleſs night,
" Pours on us like a flood of light,
" Whoſe acting comprehenſive mind
" Walks Fancy's regions, unconfin'd;
" Whom, nor the ſurly ſenſe of pride,
" Nor affectation, warps aſide;
" Who drags no author from his ſhelf,
" To talk on with an eye to ſelf;
" Careleſs alike, in converſation,
" Of cenſure, or of approbation;
" Who freely thinks, and freely ſpeaks,
" And meets the Wit he never ſeeks;
" Whoſe reaſon calm, and judgment cool,
" Can pity, but not hate a fool;
" Who can a hearty praiſe beſtow,
" If merit ſparkles in a foe;
" Who bold and open, firm and true,
" Flatters no friends--yet loves them too:
" CHURCHILL will be the laſt to know
" His is the portrait, I would ſhow (40)."

(40) *Ibid.* p. 31, 32.

Other writers, as might be expected, are more ſparing in their applauſe of Churchill. Mr. Knox, in an Eſſay on Satire and Satiriſts, hath thus delineated our author's character. " Even Young, popu-
" lar as he was, has been eclipſed by a Poet who has
" ſhone with the effulgence and the inſtability of a
" meteor. Churchill poſſeſſed merit; a merit which
" was magnified, when ſeen through the medium of
" party, beyond that degree which it was able to
" ſupport. When reaſon at laſt viewed what paſſion
" had exaggerated, ſhe was diſguſted with the diſ-
" appointment, and turned away with neglect.
" Thus the celebrated Churchill, with whoſe ap-
" plauſe the town re-echoed, is ſinking to an obli-
" vion which he hardly deſerves: for though he
" wrote many careleſs lines and many dull paſſages,
" yet the greater part of his productions diſplayed a
" genuine vein of ſatirical genius (41)." Dr. Joſeph Warton hath not highly complimented our Poet, when he ſays, " We all remember when even a
" Churchill was more in vogue than Gray. He that
" treats of faſhionable follies, and the topics of the
" day, that deſcribes preſent perſons and recent
" events, finds many perſons, whoſe underſtandings
" and whoſe paſſions he gratifies (42)." In the fiftieth volume of the Gentleman's Magazine, is an eſſay, in verſe, on Charles Churchill (43).

(41) Knox's Eſſays, moral and literary, vol. ii. p. 154. Firſt edition. The eſſay is left out in later editions.

(42) Eſſay on the Writings and Genius of Pope, vol. ii. p. 479.

(43) P. 432—434. 485, 486.

revive party matters, which, though not ſunk into oblivion, have happily ceaſed to inflame the paſſions of the mind.

Few of Mr. Churchill's juvenile pieces have made their way to the preſs. Some of them are to be met with in a periodical work, entitled "The Library," which was publiſhed a little more than twenty years ago; and the poetical department of which was conducted, for ſeveral months, by our Author and his friend Lloyd. Six of Churchill's Letters to Mr. Wilkes are in the collection printed by that gentleman in 1769. Our poet was a moſt ardent admirer of Dryden, but had contracted an enmity to Pope. The reaſons of it, which are fully aſſigned in the publication juſt referred to, do not appear to be ſatisfactory (*a*). A ſincere regard to Pope is not inconſiſtent with the moſt zealous admiration of Dryden. Mr. Churchill left two ſons, the youngeſt of whom was generouſly educated at the expence of Doctor, now Sir Richard Jebb, Baronet.

(*a*) Monthly Review, *ubi ſupra*, p. 377—380.

Our Author has unhappily added another name to the catalogue, already too numerous in literary hiſtory, of thoſe men of genius who would have ariſen to a much greater excellence in writing, and to a far more illuſtrious reputation, had their intellectual talents been accompanied with the uniform practice of virtue.] K.

*** [CIBBER (Colley,) an eminent Actor and Dramatic Writer, was born in Southampton-Street, London, on the ſixth of November, 1671 (*a*). His father, Caius Gabriel Cibber, was a native of Holſtein, and a ſtatuary of conſiderable merit, who came into England to exerciſe that profeſſion ſome time before the Reſtoration [*A*]. His mother was the daughter of William Colley, Eſq; of Glaiſton in Rutlandſhire, whoſe father, Sir Anthony Colley, by his zealous attachment to the royal cauſe, during the civil war, reduced his eſtate from three thouſand to about three hundred pounds per annum (*b*). The ſubject of this article was ſent to the free-ſchool at Grantham in Lincolnſhire, in 1682, when he was little more than ten years of age. He continued at this ſchool till he had gone through it, from the loweſt form to the higheſt: and he informs us himſelf, that ſuch learning as this ſchool afforded, was the moſt that he could pretend to, and which was not afterwards much improved by ſtudy (*c*). He was taken from hence, about the year 1687, in order to ſtand at the election of boys to be received into Wincheſter-College, where his father hoped he would have been admitted [*B*], on

(*a*) Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber, written by himſelf, vol. i. p. 5. edit. 12mo. 1756.

(*b*) Apology, *ubi ſupra*, p. 6.

(*c*) *Id. ibid.*

[*A*] *His father, Caius Gabriel Cibber, was a native of Holſtein, &c.*] Mr. Walpole ſays, 'Caius Gabriel 'Cibber, or Cibert, ſon of a cabinet-maker to the 'King of Denmark, was born at Flenſburg in the 'Duchy of Holſtein, and diſcovering a talent for 'ſculpture was ſent, at the King's expence, to Rome. '—He came to England, not long before the Reſ'toration, and worked for John Stone, ſon of 'Nicholas, who going to Holland, and being ſeized 'with a palſy, Cibber his foreman was ſent to con'duct him home (1).' He afterwards became carver to the King's Cloſet. He was twice married. It was his ſecond wife who was the mother of the ſubject of this article. The moſt capital of his works 'are the two figures of melancholy and raving mad'neſs before the front of Bethlehem. The bas-reliefs 'on two ſides of the monument are by his hand too. 'So are the fountain in Soho-Square, and one of the 'fine vaſes at Hampton-Court, ſaid to be done in 'competition with a foreigner who executed the 'other, but nobody has told us which is Cibber's. 'He carved moſt of the ſtatues of Kings round the 'Royal-Exchange, as far as King Charles; and that 'of Sir Thomas Greſham in the piazza beneath. 'The firſt Duke of Devonſhire employed him much 'at Chatſworth; where two ſphinxes on large baſes, 'well executed, and with ornaments in good taſte, 'are of his work, and till very lately there was a 'ſtatue of Neptune in a fountain, ſtill better. He 'carved there ſeveral door-caſes of alabaſter with 'rich foliage, and many ornaments in the chapel; 'and on each ſide of the altar is a ſtatue by him, 'Faith and Hope: the draperies have great merit, 'but the airs of the heads are not ſo good as that 'of the Neptune. Cibber built the Daniſh Church 'in London, and was buried there himſelf, with his 'ſecond wife, for whom a monument was erected in '1696 (2).' He died himſelf about the year 1700, at the age of ſeventy (3).

(1) Anecdotes of Painting in England, vol. iii. p. 145. edit. 8vo. 1782.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 147.

(3) *Ibid.* p. 146.

[*B*] *Where his father hoped he would have been admitted.*] He ſays, in his own account of his life, 'My father, who knew little how the world was to 'be dealt with, imagined my having that advantage, '(of being deſcended from William of Wykeham) 'would be ſecurity enough for my ſucceſs, and ſo 'ſent me ſimply down thither, without the leaſt fa'vourable recommendation or intereſt, but that of 'my naked merit, and a pompous pedigree in my 'packet. Had he tacked a direction to my back, 'and ſent me by the carrier to the Mayor of the 'town, to be choſen Member of Parliament there, 'I might have had juſt as much chance to have ſuc'ceeded in the one, as the other (4).' But he adds, that the want of ſucceſs in his own caſe, occaſioned his father to take afterwards a more judicious method of procuring an election at Wincheſter, in favour of his brother Lewis Cibber, and of whom he alſo relates ſome farther particulars. 'The experience,' ſays he, 'which my father then bought, at my coſt, 'taught him, ſome years after, to take a more judi'cious care of my younger brother, Lewis Cibber, 'whom, with the preſent of a ſtatue of the founder, 'of his own making, he recommended to the ſame 'College. This ſtatue now ſtands, I think, over 'the ſchool door there, and was ſo well executed, 'that it ſeemed to ſpeak—for its kinſman. It was 'no ſooner ſet up, than the door of preferment was 'open to him. Here, one would think, my brother 'had the advantage of me, in the favour of fortune, 'by this his firſt laudable ſtep into the world. I 'own, I was ſo proud of his ſucceſs, that I even va'lued myſelf upon it; and yet it is but a melancholy 'reflection to obſerve, how unequally his profeſſion 'and mine were provided for; when I, who had 'been the outcaſt of fortune, could find means, from 'my income of the Theatre, before I was my own 'maſter there, to ſupply, in his higheſt preferment, 'his common neceſſities. I cannot part with his 'memory without telling you, I had as ſincere a con'cern for this brother's well-being, as my own. He 'had lively parts, and more than ordinary learning, 'with a good deal of natural wit and humour; but, 'from too great a diſregard of his health, he died a 'Fellow of New College in Oxford, ſoon after he 'had been ordained by Dr. Compton, then Biſhop 'of London (5).'

(4) Apology, p. 43.

(5) *Ibid.* p. 44

account of his being deſcended, by the mother's ſide, from William of Wykeham, the founder. But in this he was unſucceſsful, for want of proper recommendations. The father felt ſome diſappointment on the occaſion: but the ſon, who was naturally chearful and volatile, and averſe to reſtraint, was delighted to find that he had obtained a reprieve from the confined life of a ſchool-boy. The very ſame day, on which the election had decided him to be an unſucceſsful candidate, he rode poſt to London, that he might have time enough to ſee a play, before his mother ſhould be able to require of him an account of his travelling expences (*d*). About this time he imbibed a ſtrong inclination for the ſtage, but concealed it from his father, to whom he knew it would give great offence. He, therefore, as he expreſſes it, "ſuppreſſed the bewitching ideas of ſo "ſublime a ſtation," and wrote to his father, who was then employed at Chatſworth, informing him of his diſinclination to wait another year for an uncertain admiſſion at Wincheſter, and requeſting him to ſend him immediately to the univerſity. His father, who was, as he informs us, naturally indulgent to him, wrote him word, that as ſoon as his affairs would permit, he would go with him himſelf, and ſettle him in ſome College; but that he preferred the Univerſity of Cambridge, becauſe he had reſided there for ſome time, having been employed in making ſome ſtatues for Trinity-College library, where he had contracted ſome acquaintance with the Heads of Houſes, who might aſſiſt him in his intentions in favour of his ſon (*e*). But after ſome months were elapſed, being unwilling that his ſon ſhould be too long inactive in London, where he probably conſidered him as much expoſed to temptation, he ſent for him down to Chatſworth, that he might be under his own eye, till he ſhould be at leiſure to go with him to Cambridge. Some events, however, afterwards took place, which entirely prevented his being educated for the Church [*C*], for which his father had intended him. Before he ſet out on his journey to Chatſworth, information was received in London, that the Prince of Orange had landed in the Weſt of England, and was at the head of an army there: and when young Cibber arrived at Nottingham, he found his father in arms there, among thoſe forces which the Earl of Devonſhire had raiſed in ſupport of the liberties of the nation. But the old man, having little inclination for a military life, and being from his age ill qualified to endure its fatigues, entreated the Earl of Devonſhire to accept of his ſon in his room, and to permit him to return to finiſh the works which he had undertaken to execute at Chatſworth. To this his lordſhip readily conſented, and alſo promiſed, that when affairs were ſettled, he would provide for his ſon. Young Cibber now engaged in the profeſſion of a ſoldier with great alacrity; but the manner in which the revolution was happily effected, gave him no opportunity of trying or exhibiting his courage. He marched, however, with the other troops [*D*] raiſed by the Earl of Devonſhire, from Nottingham to Oxford, where they continued for ſome weeks, and afterwards were remanded again to Nottingham. After the revolution, he entirely quitted the military life, and had ſome proſpect of obtaining preferment of a different kind by the intereſt of the Earl of Devonſhire: but this was prevented by the vehement deſire which he had formed of becoming an actor [*E*], which he had preferred to every other profeſſion. Accordingly in 1689 (*f*), he became a player at the Theatre Royal in Drury-Lane; though he did not at firſt meet with much encouragement, being full three quarters of a year upon the ſtage, or at leaſt an attendant at the theatre, before he was admitted to a ſalary of ten ſhillings a week (*g*). He thought himſelf, however, extremely happy in this ſituation [*F*]: but the firſt character in which he appeared to

(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 44.

(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 45.

(*f*) Biographia Dramatica, vol. i. p. 78.

(*g*) Apology, p. 133.

[*C*] *Prevented his being educated for the Church.*] Speaking of the circumſtances which occaſioned a change in his deſtination, he ſays, 'Had my father's 'buſineſs permitted him to have carried me one 'month ſooner, as he intended, to the Univerſity, 'who knows but, by this time, that purer fountain 'might have waſhed my imperfections into a capa-'city of writing, inſtead of Plays and annual Odes, 'Sermons, and Paſtoral Letters (6).'

(6) *Ibid.* p. 47.

[*D*] *He marched with the other troops, &c.*] 'Through every town we paſſed,' ſays he, 'the 'people came out, in ſome ſort of order, with ſuch 'rural and ruſty weapons as they had, to meet us, in 'acclamations of welcome and good wiſhes. This, 'I thought, promiſed a favourable end of our civil 'war, when the nation ſeemed ſo willing to be all of 'a ſide (7).'

(7) Apology, p. 134.

[*E*] *The vehement deſire which he had formed of becoming an actor.*] 'I ſaw no joy, he ſays, 'in any 'other life than that of an actor, ſo that (as before, 'when a candidate at Wincheſter) I was even afraid 'of ſucceeding to the preferment I ſought for. 'Twas 'on the ſtage alone I had formed a happineſs pre-'ferable to all that camps or courts could offer me! 'and there was I determined, let father and mother 'take it as they pleaſed, to fix my *non ultra* (9).' He had, however, ſome perſonal impediments to his "ſucceſs on the ſtage. He acknowledges, that his "want of a ſtrong and full voice ſoon cut ſhort his "hopes of making any valuable figure in Tragedy "(10)." When he firſt appeared on the Theatre, he had alſo, as he ſays, "an uninformed meagre "perſon (though then not ill made,) with a diſmal "pale complexion (11)." But it has been obſerved, that his defect in ſize "was probably ſoon amended, "as he latterly had a figure of ſufficient fulneſs and "weight for any part (12)."

(9) *Ibid.* p. 56.

(10) *Ibid.* p. 161.

(11) *Ibid.* p. 133.

(12) Biog. Dram. vol. i. p. 81.

[*F*] *He thought himſelf, however, extremely happy in this ſituation.*] He ſays, 'It was no pain to my 'patience, that I waited full three quarters of a year, 'before I was taken into a ſalary of ten ſhillings per 'week; which, with the aſſiſtance of food and rai-'ment, at my father's houſe, I then thought a moſt 'plentiful acceſſion, and myſelf the happieſt of mor-'tals (13).'

(13) *Ibid.* p. 133.

any advantage was the Chaplain in the Orphan of Otway [G]. He afterwards excited more attention by performing the part of Lord Touchwood in the Double Dealer, to which character he was particularly recommended by Mr. Congreve, on the indiſpoſition of Kynaſton, by whom that part was originally performed. The play had been ordered to be acted by Queen Mary, and was undertaken by Cibber at a day's notice; and Congreve declared, that he had not only anſwered, but exceeded his expectations; and in conſequence of his recommendation, his ſalary was augmented to twenty ſhillings per week. His father alſo ſettled twenty pounds a year upon him, and being now in his twenty-ſecond year, he ventured to enter on the matrimonial ſtate. The Lady he married, whoſe name was Shore, had not the conſent of her father to this connexion [H]; though he was afterwards ſo far reconciled to it as to give her ſome fortune (*b*).

(*b*) Biographia Dramatica, *ut ſupra*.

Notwithſtanding the approbation which Cibber had received from Mr. Congreve, he continued for a conſiderable time to receive but little encouragement from the then theatrical managers. For on the opening of Drury-Lane Theatre in 1695, with the remainder of the old company, on the revolt of Betterton and ſeveral of the principal performers to Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, an occaſional prologue which Cibber had written, though acknowledged to be the beſt that had been offered, and readily paid for, yet was refuſed acceptance on any other terms, than his abſolutely relinquiſhing any claim to the ſpeaking it himſelf (*i*). But he ſoon after obtained conſiderable reputation, by performing the part of Fondlewife in the Old Bachelor. This character had been admirably played by Dogget, who had then quitted the ſtage: but his manner had been cloſely ſtudied by Cibber, which enabled him to imitate him very happily [I] at a ſhort notice.

(*i*) Id. ibid.

In 1696, he brought upon the ſtage his firſt play, entitled, "Love's laſt Shift, or the "Fool in Faſhion [K]." He met with much difficulty in getting it introduced to the theatre: for as his brother players were little diſpoſed to acknowledge his merits as an actor, neither were they more inclined to admit his pretenſions as an author. But Mr. Southern, the Dramatic Writer, having heard Cibber read his play, liked it ſo well, that he immediately recommended it to the patentees. In this play Cibber aſſigned to himſelf the part of Sir Novelty Faſhion, which was thought a good portrait of the foppery then prevalent. But even Mr. Southern entertained great doubts about his capacity to do juſtice to that character; and, therefore, when Cibber was prompting the prologue at a rehearſal, Southern took him by the hand, and ſaid, "Young man, I pronounce thy "play a good one. I will anſwer for its ſucceſs, if thou doſt not ſpoil it by thy own "action (*k*)." He ſucceeded, however, ſo well, both in his play, and his performance

(*k*) Apology, p. 155.

[G] *The Chaplain in the Orphan of Otway.*] 'There is,' he ſays, 'in this character, of one ſcene 'only, a decent pleaſantry, and ſenſe enough to ſhew 'an audience, whether the actor has any himſelf. 'Here was the firſt applauſe I ever received, which 'you may be ſure made my heart leap with a higher 'joy, than may be neceſſary to deſcribe; and yet my 'tranſport was not then half ſo high, as at what 'Goodman (who had now left the Stage) ſaid of me, 'the next day, in my hearing. Goodman often 'came to a rehearſal for amuſement, and having ſat 'out the Orphan, the day before, in a converſation 'with ſome of the principal actors, he enquired what 'new young fellow that was, whom he had ſeen in 'the Chaplain. Upon which, Montfort replied, '*That's he, behind you.* Goodman then turning 'about, looked earneſtly at me, and, after ſome 'pauſe, clapping me on the ſhoulder, rejoined, *If 'he does not make a good actor, I'll be d—n'd!* The 'ſurprize of being commended, by one who had 'been himſelf ſo eminent on the Stage, and in ſo 'poſitive a manner, was more than I could ſupport: 'in a word, it almoſt took away my breath, and '(laugh if you pleaſe) fairly drew tears from my 'eyes. And though it may be as ridiculous, as in-'credible, to tell you what a full vanity and content 'at that time poſſeſſed me, I will ſtill make it a 'queſtion, whether Alexander himſelf, or Charles 'the Twelfth of Sweden, when at the head of their 'firſt victorious armies, could feel a greater tranſport 'in their boſoms, than I did then in mine, when but 'in the rear of this troop of Comedians (14).'

(14) *Ibid.* p. 134, 135.

[H] *Had not the conſent of her father to this connexion.*] 'The young Lady's father, though he after-'wards thought proper to give her ſome fortune, 'yet in the ſuddenneſs of his reſentment put it out 'of his own power to beſtow on her all that he had 'originally intended her, by appropriating great part 'of what he had ſo deſigned her to the building of a 'little retirement on the Thames, which was called '*Shore's Folly*, and which has been demoliſhed for 'many years paſt (15).'

(15) Biographia Dramatica, vol. i. p. 8.

[I] *Enabled him to imitate him very happily.*] 'At 'my firſt appearance,' he ſays, 'one might have 'imagined, by the various murmurs of the audience, 'that they were in doubt whether Dogget himſelf 'were not returned, or that they could not conceive 'what ſtrange face it could be, that ſo nearly re-'ſembled him; for I had laid the tint of forty years 'more than my real age upon my features; and, to 'the moſt minute placing of an hair, was dreſſed 'exactly like him. When I ſpoke, the ſurprize was 'ſtill greater, as if I had not only borrowed his 'cloaths, but his voice too. But though that was 'the leaſt difficult part of him to be imitated, they 'ſeemed to allow I had ſo much of him in every 'other requiſite, that my applauſe was, perhaps, 'more than proportionable. For, whether I had 'done ſo much where ſo little was expected, or that 'the generoſity of my hearers were more than uſu-'ally zealous, upon ſo unexpected an occaſion, or 'from what other motive ſuch favour might be poured 'upon me, I cannot ſay; but, in plain and honeſt 'truth, upon my going off from the firſt ſcene, a 'much better actor might have been proud of the 'applauſe that followed me. After one loud plaudit 'was ended, and ſunk into a general whiſper, that 'ſeemed ſtill to continue their private approbation, 'it revived to a ſecond, and again to a third, ſtill 'louder than the former. If to all this I add, that 'Dogget himſelf was in the pit at the ſame time, it 'would be too rank affectation, if I ſhould not con-'feſs, that, to ſee him there a witneſs of my recep-'tion, was to me as conſummate a triumph, as the 'heart of vanity could be indulged with (16).'

(16) *Ibid.* p. 151, 152.

[K] *Love's laſt Shift, or the Fool in Faſhion.*] It has been obſerved of this comedy, that "the plot of "it is original; yet there is ſome degree of impro-"bability in Loveleſs's not knowing his own wife "after a very few years abſence from her. How-"ever, this little fault is made ample amends for, "by the beauty of the incident, and the admirable "moral deduced from it (17)."

(17) Biographia Dramatica, vol. ii. p. 203.

of

of the character, that Lord Dorſet, then Lord Chamberlain, ſaid, "It was the beſt firſt "play that any author in his memory had produced; and that for a young fellow to "ſhow himſelf ſuch an actor, and ſuch a writer, in one day, was ſomething extraordi-
(l) *Ibid.* p. 156. "nary (*l*)."

This ſucceſs did not prevent his continuing to meet with ſome diſcouragements [*M*] from the patentees; nor was he promoted to any conſiderable caſt of parts till the following year, when Sir John Vanbrugh did him a double honour; firſt, by borrowing the hint of his Comedy for the writing of his *Relapſe*, by way of ſequel to it; and ſecondly, by fixing on him for the performance of his favourite character in it, that of
(m) Biog. Dram. *ut ſupra.* Lord Foppington (*m*). He performed this part with ſo much ability, that it greatly increaſed his reputation as an Actor. In 1697, he produced another Comedy, entitled, "Woman's Wit, or the Lady in Faſhion [*N*]:" but this piece did not meet with much ſucceſs; and the author himſelf acknowledged its defects, and that it came out too ſoon after his firſt play, from his deſire of the profits which he expected from it, and for which his increaſing family made him the more ſolicitous. His next attempt was in Tragedy, his *Xerxes* being performed in 1699 [*O*], but with ſtill leſs ſucceſs than the piece which preceded it. The following year, his Comedy of *Love makes a Man, or the Fop's Fortune* [*P*], was performed at Drury-Lane with great applauſe; and the ſame year he brought Shakſpeare's King Richard the Third upon the Stage, with alterations; but it was much mutilated by the Maſter of the Revels [*Q*] who then licenſed all pieces for the Theatre (*n*).
(n) Apology, p. 201.

In 1703, his Comedy, entitled, *She would, and ſhe would not, or, the kind Impoſtor* [*R*], was acted with applauſe at Drury-lane; and the following year he produced his moſt celebrated dramatic performance, the *Careleſs Huſband* [*S*], which was applauded even by Mr. Pope [*T*]. In 1706, he brought a Tragedy upon the Stage, entitled, "Perolla

[*M*] *Did not prevent his continuing to meet with ſome diſcouragements.*] He ſays, 'The new light in which 'the character of Sir Novelty had ſhewn me, one 'might have thought, were enough to have diſſipated 'the doubts of what I might now be poſſibly good 'for. But to whatever chance my ill fortune was 'due; whether I had ſtill but little merit, or that 'the managers, if I had any, were not competent 'judges of it; or whether I was not generally el-'bowed by other actors (which I am moſt inclined to 'think the true cauſe) when any freſh parts were to 'be diſpoſed of, not one part of any conſequence was
(18) *Ibid.* p. 156, 157. 'I preferred to till the year following (18).'

[*N*] *Woman's Wit, or the Lady in Faſhion.*] It has been remarked, that 'this is very far from being the 'beſt of this author's comic pieces, nor is he entirely 'clear from the charge of borrowing in it; the cha-'racter of Major Rakiſh and his ſon, and their 'courtſhip of the widow Manlove, being pretty evi-'dently copied from Sir Thomas Revel and his ſon, 'in Mountford's Greenwich Park, and from Car-'liſle's comedy of *The Fortune-hunters*. This part of 'the plot Mr. Cibber has detached from the reſt of 'the play, and formed it into a farce by itſelf, under
(19) Biog. Dram. vol. ii. p. 411. 'the title of the *School-boy* (19).' He ſeems himſelf to have been of opinion, that his play was rendered the leſs ſucceſsful, by too exact an attention to the unities; which he conſidered as "a great hindrance
(20) *Vid.* Pref. to Woman's Wit. "to variety of incidents (20)."

[*O*] *His Xerxes being performed in* 1699.] 'This 'tragedy made its firſt appearance at Lincoln's-inn-'fields houſe, but with no ſucceſs, making a ſtand 'of only one night, as may be gathered from an in-'ventory of theatrical goods to be ſold, humorouſly 'related in the *Tatler*, in which, among other things, 'are *the imperial robes of Xerxes, never worn but once.* 'The ſcene lies in Perſia, and the plot is borrowed
(21) Biog. Dram. vol. ii. p. 414. 'from the Perſian hiſtory (21).'

[*P*] *Love makes a Man, or the Fop's Fortune.*] The author of the *Biographia Dramatica* obſerves, that this play was 'acted at Drury-lane with great ſuc-'ceſs, and continues ſtill to give equal pleaſure when-'ever it makes its appearance. The plot of it is 'taken partly from Beaumont and Fletcher's *Cuſtom 'of the Country*, and partly from the *Elder Brother* of 'the ſame authors. There are numberleſs abſurdi-'ties, and even impoſſibilities in the conduct of the 'piece; yet the ſprightlineſs in the character of Clo-'dio, the manly tenderneſs and openneſs of Carlos, 'and the entertaining teſtineſs of Don Choleric, 'form ſo pleaſing a mixture of comic humour, as 'would atone for even greater faults than are to be 'found in this drama.'

[*Q*] *Much mutilated by the Maſter of the Revels.*] Mr. Cibber ſays, the maſter of the revels 'would 'ſtrike out whole ſcenes of a vicious, or immoral 'character, though it were viſibly ſhewn to be re-'formed or puniſhed: a ſevere inſtance of this kind 'falling upon myſelf, may be an excuſe for my re-'lating it. When Richard the Third (as I altered it 'from Shakſpeare) came from his hands to the ſtage, 'he expunged the whole firſt act, without ſparing a 'line of it. This extraordinary ſtroke of a *Sic vola* 'occaſioned my applying to him, for the ſmall in-'dulgence of a ſpeech or two, that the other four 'acts might limp on with a little leſs abſurdity. No! 'he had not leiſure to conſider what might be ſepa-'rately inoffenſive. He had an objection to the 'whole act, and the reaſon he gave for it was, that 'the diſtreſſes of King Henry the Sixth, who is 'killed by Richard in the firſt act, would put weak 'people too much in mind of King James, then liv-'ing in France; a notable proof of his zeal for the 'government! Thoſe who have read either the play, 'or the hiſtory, I dare ſay, will think he ſtrained hard 'for the parallel. In a word, we were forced, for 'ſome few years, to let the play take its fate, with 'only four acts divided into five (22).'
(22) Apology, p. 201, 202.

[*R*] *She would, and ſhe would not, or the kind Impoſtor.*] 'This is a very buſy, ſprightly, and en-'tertaining Comedy, but the plot of it is borrowed 'either from Leonard's *Counterfeits*, or elſe from the 'Novel of the *Trepanner trepanned*, on which that 'Novel itſelf was built. The ſcene lies at Madrid
(23) Biog. Dramatica, vol. ii. p. 339. '(23).' He dedicated this performance to the Duke of Ormond.

[*S*] *The Careleſs Huſband.*] It has been obſerved, that 'this Comedy contains, perhaps, the moſt ele-'gant dialogue, and the moſt perfect knowledge of 'perſons in real high life, that has yet appeared in
(24) Biog. Dram. vol. ii. p. 44. 'any language whatever (24).'

[*T*] *Applauded even by Mr. Pope.*] Dr. Johnſon obſerves, that Cibber was 'a man, whom it cannot be 'ſuppoſed that Pope could regard with much kind-'neſs or eſteem, though in one of the Imitations of 'Horace he has liberally enough praiſed the *Careleſs 'Huſband* (25).' The lines of Pope are theſe:
(25) Biograph. Pref. to Pope's works, p. 199.

——— 'The people's voice is odd,
'It is, and it is not, the voice of God:
'To Gammer Gurton if it give the bays,
'And yet deny the *Careleſs Huſband* praiſe (26).'
(26) Imitation of the firſt Epiſtle of the ſecond Book of Horace.

"and

" and Iſadora [*U*];" and the following year two Comedies, called, " The Double " Gallant, or the ſick Lady's Cure [*W*];" and the " Lady's laſt Stake, or the Wife's " Reſentment [*X*]." He appears at this time to have been conſidered by Mr. Rich, the patentee, as an Actor of conſequence, by his excepting him from the number of the performers whom he permitted Mr. Swiney to engage with for his Theatre in the Haymarket; though Cibber, on thinking himſelf not well uſed by Rich, paid no regard to that exception, but joined Swiney. In the enſuing year, when his friend Colonel Brett obtained a fourth ſhare in the patent, and the performers formed a coalition, and returned to Drury-Lane, Mr. Cibber alſo conceded to the treaty, and returned with them. But, on the ſilencing of the patent in 1709, he, together with Wilks, Dogget, and Mrs. Oldfield, went over again to Mr. Swiney (*o*). His Comedy of " The Rival Fools," which was brought upon the Stage this year, was very unſucceſsful, and expoſed him to ſome degree of ridicule [*Y*]. In 1711, he became united as joint-patentee with Collier, Wilks, and Dogget, in the management of Drury-Lane Theatre (*p*). Collier farmed his ſhare to the others for 700 l. *per annum*, which anſwered very well to the three managing Actors, their ſhares being never leſs than 1000 l. annually to each of them, till the end of Queen Anne's reign, when the licence was ſuperſeded (*q*). Cibber appears to have conducted himſelf as manager with great judgment, and with much ſkill in theatrical buſineſs; but he found conſiderable inconveniencies from the different tempers of Wilks and Dogget, who were both extremely intractable, though their diſpoſitions in other reſpects were very oppoſite.

(*o*) Biog. Dram. vol. i. p. 79.

(*p*) *Id. Ibid.*

(*q*) Life of Cibber prefixed to his dramatic works, edit. 1760, p. 10.

At the acceſſion of King George I. a new licence was granted to Cibber, Wilks, and Booth, in conjunction with Sir Richard Steele, who obtained it by his intereſt with the Duke of Marlborough. In this connexion they were very happy for a conſiderable time, and Sir Richard attended to the management of the Theatre, and to the promotion of its intereſts: but his neceſſities occaſioning him very frequently to borrow money of the other managers, they at length found it expedient to decline advancing any farther ſums to him, till the account between them ſhould be ſettled. This offended Sir Richard ſo much, that he wholly abſented himſelf from their rehearſals, and gave himſelf no farther concern in the management of the Theatre. The other managers then made themſelves an allowance of 1 l. 13 s. 4 d. *per diem*, as a compenſation for their additional trouble in the management, in conſequence of Sir Richard's abſence (*r*). Matters continued in this ſtate for about three years, when Sir Richard was adviſed to conteſt, in the court of Chancery, the allowance, which the other managers had aſſigned to themſelves for his abſence. When the affair came to a hearing, in 1726, the buſineſs of theatrical management was ſo little underſtood by the court, that Mr. Cibber was allowed to plead his cauſe himſelf before Sir Joſeph Jekyll, then Maſter of the Rolls. He ſtated the caſe with ſo much perſpicuity and judgment, that though he had two Counſellors againſt him, each of whom afterwards attained to the dignity of Lord-Chancellor, he obtained a deciſion of the court againſt Sir Richard Steele, and by which the claims of Cibber and the other managers were confirmed (*s*).

(*r*) Apol. vol. ii. p. 61.

(*s*) *Ibid.* p. 71.

It was ſeveral years before this determination, that Mr. Cibber brought upon the ſtage his Comedy of " The Nonjuror [*Z*]," which was very ſucceſsful, having a run of

[*U*] *Perolla and Iſadora.*] In the account of this Tragedy in the *Biographia Dramatica*, it is remarked, that as Cibber's 'taſte was very far from lying in 'the tragic ſtrain of writing, it is not to be wonder-'ed at that this play, together with ſome others of 'his Tragedies, have been entirely ſet aſide from the 'Theatre, and even forgotten in the cloſet, ſince the 'period of their firſt appearance. In the dedication 'to Charles, Earl of Orrery, the author makes his 'acknowledgments for the aſſiſtance he received 'from that nobleman; by means of which, he ſays, 'the play reached the ſixth day (27).'

(27) Vol. ii. p. 277, 278.

[*W*] *The Double Gallant, or the Sick Lady's Cure.*] It has been obſerved, that 'part of this play is bor-'rowed from Mrs. Centlivre's *Love at a Venture*, or 'the French Comedy of *Le Gallant double*, and part 'from Burnaby's *Viſiting-day*. In a letter from 'Booth to A. Hill, we learn that this play at its 'firſt appearance was, as he expreſſes it, *hounded* in a 'moſt outrageous manner. Two years after, it was 'revived, met with moſt extravagant ſucceſs, and 'hath continued a ſtock-play ever ſince (28).'

(28) Biograph. Dram. vol. ii. p. 92.

The ſame year, Mr. Cibber brought upon the Stage a Comedy called *The Comical Lovers*, which was 'acted by ſubſcription at the Queen's Theatre in the 'Haymarket. This piece is compoſed of the comic 'epiſodes of Dryden's *Maiden Queen* and *Marriage 'à la mode* joined together: the alteration coſt the 'Author, as he ſays himſelf, (Pref. to Double Gal-'lant) ſix days trouble, and met with a very favour-'able reception (29).'

(29) *Id. ibid.* p. 61.

[*X*] *The Lady's laſt Stake, or the Wife's Reſentment.*] It is remarked by the Author of the *Biographia Dramatica*, that 'this is very far from a bad Comedy. 'The plot of it is in ſome meaſure borrowed from 'Burnaby's *Reformed Wife*, but the manners, the 'ſtyle, and many of the incidents, are original, and 'do honour to their Author (30).'

(30) Vol. ii. p. 183.

[*Y*] *The Rival Fools, &c. expoſed him to ſome degree of ridicule.*] 'This play is partly borrowed from 'Fletcher's Wit at ſeveral weapons. It met, how-'ever, with very bad ſucceſs. There happened to 'be a circumſtance in it, which, being in itſelf 'ſomewhat ridiculous, gave a part of the audience a 'favourable opportunity of venting their ſpleen on 'the Author; namely, a man in one of the earlier 'ſcenes on the Stage, with a long angling rod in his 'hand, going to fiſh for Miller's Thumbs: on which 'account ſome of the ſpectators took occaſion, 'whenever Mr. Cibber appeared, who himſelf played 'the character, to cry out continually *Miller's 'Thumbs* (31).'

(31) Biog. Drama. vol. ii. p. 398.

[*Z*] *The Nonjuror.*] This play was firſt acted at Drury-Lane in 1717. The general plot of it is borrowed from the *Tartuffe* of Moliere; and of the deſign of it, and the circumſtances which attended its reception, Cibber himſelf gives the following account: 'About this time, jacobitiſm having lately exerted

of eighteen nights; and it procured him a grant from King George I. of two hundred pounds, on his preſenting the play to his Majeſty (*t*). It was thought ſo important a ſervice to the government, that the merit of it occaſioned him to be appointed Poet-Laureat in the year 1730. But the number of his enemies, from party motives, was greatly augmented by this play; and his appointment to the poſt of Laureat was much cenſured. The ridicule which was employed againſt him was alſo increaſed by his annual odes, which had little merit but their loyalty, lyric poetry being a ſpecies of writing for which he had no talents, and which he probably would not have attempted, had not his office rendered it neceſſary. The efforts of his enemies ſometimes hindered the ſucceſs of his dramatic pieces [*AA*]; and the attacks againſt him, in verſe and in proſe [*BB*], were very numerous. But he appears to have been ſo little affected by them, that

(*t*) Letter from Mr. Cibber to Mr. Pope, p. 23, 3d edit.

'itſelf by a moſt unprovoked rebellion, I thought, 'that to ſet the authors and principles of that deſ-'perate folly in a fair light, by allowing the miſ-'taken conſciences of ſome their beſt excuſe, and by 'making the artful pretenders to conſcience as ridi-'culous as they were ungratefully wicked, was a 'ſubject fit for the honeſt ſatire of comedy; and what 'might, if it ſucceeded, do honour to the Stage, by 'ſhewing the valuable uſe of it. To give life there-'fore to this deſign, I borrowed the Tartuffe of Mo-'liere, and turned him into a modern Nonjuror. 'Upon the hypocriſy of the French character, I en-'grafted a ſtronger wickedneſs; that of an Engliſh 'Popiſh Prieſt, lurking under the doctrine of our 'own Church, to raiſe his fortune upon the ruin of 'a worthy gentleman, whom his diſſembled ſanctity 'had ſeduced into the treaſonable cauſe of a Roman 'Catholic outlaw. How this deſign in the play was 'executed, I leave to the readers of it: it cannot be 'mended by any critical remarks I can make in its 'favour: let it ſpeak for itſelf. All the reaſon I had 'to think it no bad performance was, that it was 'acted eighteen days running; and that the party 'that were hurt by it, as I have been told, have not 'been the ſmalleſt number of my back friends ever 'ſince. But happy was it for this play, that the 'very ſubject was its protection. A few ſmiles of 'ſilent contempt were the utmoſt diſgrace, that on 'the firſt day of its appearance it was thought ſafe 'to throw upon it: as the ſatire was chiefly employ-'ed on the enemies of the government, they were 'not ſo hardy as to own themſelves ſuch, by any 'higher diſapprobation or reſentment. But as it was 'then probable I might write again, they knew it 'would not be long before they might with more ſe-'curity give a looſe to their ſpleen, and make up 'accounts with me. And to do them juſtice, in 'every play I afterwards produced, they paid me 'the balance to a tittle. But to none was I more be-'holden, than that celebrated author Mr. Miſt, 'whoſe Weekly Journal, for about fifteen years fol-'lowing, ſcarcely ever failed of paſſing ſome of his 'party compliments upon me. The State and the 'Stage were his frequent parallels, and the miniſters, 'and *Mynheer Keiber* the manager, were as conſtantly 'drolled upon. Now, for my own part, though I 'could never perſuade my wit to have an open ac-'count with him (for as he had no effects of his own, 'I did not think myſelf obliged to anſwer his bills;) 'notwithſtanding, I will be ſo charitable to his real '*Manes*, and to the aſhes of his paper, as to mention 'one particular civility he paid to my memory, after 'he thought he had ingeniouſly killed me. Soon 'after the *Nonjuror* had received the favour of the 'town, I read, in one of his journals, the following 'ſhort paragraph, viz. *Yeſterday died Mr. Colley 'Cibber, late Comedian of the Theatre-Royal, notorious 'for writing the Nonjuror.* The compliment, in the 'latter part, I confeſs I did not diſlike, becauſe it 'came from ſo impartial a judge; and it really ſo 'happened, that the former part of it was near being 'true: for I had that very day juſt crawled out, after 'having been ſome weeks laid up by a fever. How-'ever, I ſaw no uſe, in being thought to be thoroughly 'dead, before my time, and therefore had a mind to 'ſee, whether the town cared to have me alive 'again: ſo the play of the Orphan being to be acted 'that day, I quietly ſtole myſelf into the part of the '*Chaplain*, which I had not been ſeen in for many 'years before. The ſurprize of the audience at my 'unexpected appearance, on the very day I had been 'dead in the news, and the paleneſs of my looks, 'ſeemed to make it a doubt whether I was not the 'ghoſt of my real ſelf departed. But when I ſpoke, 'their wonder eaſed itſelf by an applauſe, which con-'vinced me, they were then ſatisfied my friend Miſt 'had told a *fib* of me. Now, if ſimply to have ſhewn 'myſelf in broad life, and about my buſineſs, after 'he had *notoriouſly* reported me to be dead, can be 'called a reply, it was the only one which his paper, 'while alive, ever drew from me (32).'

(32) Apology, vol. ii. p. 54, 55, 56.

[*AA*] *The efforts of his enemies ſometimes hindered the ſucceſs of his dramatic pieces.*] In the preface to his Tragedy of *Ximena, or the Heroic Daughter*, he remarks, that he delayed the publication of that piece till ſeven years after its firſt appearance on the Stage, becauſe he had obſerved, that moſt of his plays had a better reception from the public, when his intereſt was no longer concerned in them. 'I therefore 'ſuppoſed,' ſays he, 'that this might have a fairer 'chance for favour, when the Author had no farther 'ſtake upon it: and I hope I may be allowed the 'honeſt vanity of this complaint, while I have (to my 'coſt) ſo many facts to ſupport it. Every auditor, 'whoſe memory will give him leave, cannot but 'know, that *Richard the Third*, which I altered from 'Shakſpeare, did not raiſe me five pounds on the 'third day, though for ſeveral years ſince, it has 'ſeldom or never failed of a crowded audience. The '*Fop's Fortune* lagged on the fourth day, and only 'held up its head by the heels of the French tumb-'lers, who, it ſeems, had ſo much wit in their 'limbs, that they forced the town to ſee it, till it 'laughed itſelf into their good graces. *The Kind 'Impoſtor* did not pay the charges on the ſixth day, 'though it has ſince brought me, as a ſharer, more 'than I was then diſappointed of as an author. 'Twas at firſt a moot point whether *The Careleſs 'Huſband* ſhould live or die; but the houſes it has 'ſince filled have reproached the former coldneſs of 'its auditors. *The Wife's Reſentment* is another, 'though not an equal, inſtance of the ſame nature.'

[*BB*] *The attacks againſt him, in verſe and in proſe, were very numerous.*] They occurred frequently in the periodical publications of the times. He was often attacked in the Grub-Street Journal, and in Miſt's Journal, and many pieces againſt him appear in the Gentleman's Magazine. In the latter publication for January, 1732, are two burleſque imitations of his Ode for that year, and alſo the following lines in his favour, under the title of "the Laureat's "anſwer to the Poets."

'My brother poets all are d—n'd ſevere,
'Becauſe I've got a hundred pounds a year:
'They rail, they write, and threaten dire diſgrace,
'And each is angry he has not the place.
'But let theſe worthy gentlemen conſider,
'As a Dramatic Poet, I'm beſt bidder:
'My *Careleſs Huſband* I'll tranſmit to fate,
'With any Comedy produc'd of late.
'O! but, ſay they, *he's a ſad wretch at rhyme.*
'Why, gentlemen! is that ſo great a crime?
'If want of jingle I ſupply with ſenſe,
'I to the laurel have a juſt pretence.'

The following Epigram is one of the beſt of thoſe many ſmall ſatirical pieces which were publiſhed againſt

that he joined heartily in the laugh againſt himſelf, and even contributed to increaſe the merriment of the public at his own expence [*CC*]. The ſame year in which he was made Poet-Laureat, he quitted the public buſineſs of the ſtage (*u*); and the following year diſpoſed of his ſhare in the patent (*w*). In 1740, he publiſhed, in 4to. "An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber, Comedian, and late Patentee of the "Theatre-Royal. With an hiſtorical View of the Stage during his own Time *." This work, which contains a very entertaining account of the principal dramatic performers of that period, was well received, and is ſtyled by Mr. Horace Walpole "Cib- (*x*) Anecdotes of Painting in England, vol. iv. p. 35. 8vo. edit. "ber's inimitable Treatiſe on the Stage (*x*)." He had, however, the misfortune to incur the diſpleaſure of Mr. Pope [*DD*], by whom he was repeatedly ſatirized [*EE*]; and that celebrated Poet, in the later editions of the Dunciad, made Cibber the hero

(*u*) New and Gen. Biog. Dict. 8vo. vol. iii. p. 237.

(*w*) Biog. Dram. *ut ſupra*.

* The fourth edition of this was publiſhed, in two volumes, 12mo. in 1756, with additions.

againſt him, on account of his being made Poet-Laureat:

'Well, ſaid Apollo, ſtill 'tis mine,
'To give the real laurel:
'For that my POPE, my ſon divine,
'Of rivals ends the quarrel.

'But gueſſing who would have the luck
'To be the Birth-day fibber;
'I thought of DENNIS, TIBBALD, DUCK,
'But never dreamt of CIBBER (33).'

(33) Savage's Collection of Pieces in Verſe and Proſe, which have been publiſhed on occaſion of the Dunciad, p. 9.

[*CC*] *Contributed to increaſe the merriment of the public at his own expence.*] He informs us, that the public papers being "enlivened with ingenious epi- "grams, and ſatirical flirts," on account of his elevation to the poſt of Poet-Laureat, his friends would often put ſuch pieces into his hands, and deſire him to read them fairly in company. This, he ſays, was a challenge that he never declined, but always read the productions of his antagoniſts with as much impartial ſpirit as if he had written them himſelf. While he was thus beſet on all ſides, a poetical Knight-Errant happened to ſtep forth to his aſſiſtance, and who was hardy enough to publiſh ſome compaſſionate ſtanzas in his favour. On the appearance of theſe, his friends rallied him, and inſinuated that he had written them himſelf. Cibber told them, that as it gave them ſuch joy to believe them his own, he would do his beſt to make the whole town believe ſo too. Accordingly, in two days after, he wrote the following lines, and ſent them to the papers, addreſſed to himſelf:

I.
'Ah, hah! Sir Coll! is that thy way,
'Thy own dull praiſe to write?
'And would'ſt thou ſtand ſo ſure a lay?
'No, that's too ſtale a bite.

II.
'Nature, and art, in thee combine,
'Thy talents here excel:
'All ſhining braſs thou doſt outſhine,
'To play the cheat ſo well.

III.
'Who ſees thee in Iago's part,
'But thinks thee ſuch a rogue?
'And is not glad, with all his heart,
'To hang ſo ſad a dog?

IV.
'When Bays thou play'ſt, thyſelf thou art,
'For that by nature fit;
'No blockhead better ſuits the part,
'Than ſuch a coxcomb wit.

V.
'In Wronghead too, thy brains we ſee,
'Who might do well at plough;
'As fit for parliament was he,
'As for the laurel, thou.

VI.
'Bring thy protected verſe from court,
'And try it on the ſtage;
'There it will make much better ſport,
'And ſet the town in rage.

VII.
'There beaux, and wits, and cits, and ſmarts,
'Where hiſſing's not uncivil,
'Will ſhew their parts to thy deſerts,
'And ſend it to the Devil.

VIII.
'But, ah! in vain, 'gainſt thee we write,
'In vain thy verſe we maul,
'Our ſharpeſt ſatire's thy delight,
'For —— *Blood! ſhoul't ſtand it all* (34).'

(34) A line in the Epilogue to the Nonjuror.

IX.
'Thunder, 'tis ſaid, the laurel ſpares;
'Nought but thy brows could blaſt it:
'And yet, —— O curſt, provoking ſtars,
'Thy comfort is, thou *haſt* it (35).'

(35) Apol. vol. i. p. 37.

The verſes in favour of Cibber, which gave riſe to the above, may be found in the Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. I. p. 21. In the ſame volume are his New Year's Ode for the year 1731, and two Odes in ridicule of it. In one of theſe, which is entitled, *An Ode on Twelfth-Day*, are the following lines:

'Once more the bell-man bids us wake,
'With prophecy of ale and cake;
'Tells us before we ſleep again,
'Tom ſhall be king, and Nanny queen,
'While good ſir knight a knave appears,
'And Madam the ſlut's enſign wears.
'Such kings and queens ſhould Colley ſing,
'Such worthies in his numbers ring.'

The ſame volume likewiſe contains Cibber's Birth-Day Ode for that year, of which the following is the concluding ſtanza:

'With ſongs, ye Britons, lead the day!
'Sing, ſing the morn, that gave him breath,
'Whoſe virtues never ſhall decay,
'No, never, never taſte of death (36).'

(36) P. 494.

[*DD*] *The misfortune to incur the diſpleaſure of Mr. Pope.*] Dr. Johnſon obſerves, that 'the inceſſant 'and unappeaſable malignity of Pope, Cibber attri- 'butes to a very diſtant cauſe. After the Three 'Hours after Marriage had been driven off the ſtage, 'by the offence which the mummy and crocodile 'gave the audience, while the exploded ſcene was 'yet freſh in memory, it happened that Cibber played '*Bays* in the Rehearſal; and, as it had been uſual to 'enliven the part by the mention of any recent the- 'atrical tranſactions, he ſaid, that he once thought to 'have introduced his lovers diſguiſed in a mummy 'and a crocodile. "This," ſay he, "was received "with loud claps, which indicated contempt of the "play." Pope, who was behind the ſcenes, meeting 'him as he left the ſtage, attacked him, as he ſays, 'with all the virulence of a *Wit out of his ſenſes*; to 'which he replied, "that he would take no other "notice of ſo particular a man, than to declare, "that, as often as he played that part, he would re- "peat the ſame provocation." He ſhews his opinion 'to be, that Pope was one of the authors of the 'play which he ſo zealouſly defended; and adds an 'idle ſtory of Pope's behaviour at a tavern (37).'

(37) Biog. Pref. to Pope's works, p. 201, 202.

[*EE*] *By whom he was repeatedly ſatirized.*] In his *Epiſtle to Dr. Arbuthnot*, Mr. Pope ſays,

'Whom have I hurt? has Poet yet, or Peer,
'Loſt the arch'd eye-brow, or Parnaſſian ſneer?
'And has not Colley ſtill his lord and whore?
'His butchers Henley, his free-maſons More?'

In his *Imitation of the firſt Epiſtle of the ſecond Book of Horace* are alſo the following lines:

"The

hero of his poem [*FF*]. Cibber defended himſelf by his "Letter to Mr. Pope [*GG*], in-"quiring into the Motives that might induce him in his ſatirical Works to be ſo frequently "fond of Mr. Cibber's name." This was publiſhed in 1742; and in 1744, he publiſhed another letter to Mr. Pope, "with an expoſtulatory Addreſs to the Rev. Mr. "William Warburton, Author of the new Preface, and adviſer in the curious Im-"provements of the Dunciad." Pope ſeems to have had but little reaſon for his animoſity againſt Cibber, and it is certain that he gained nothing by the conteſt: for Cibber ſometimes turned the laugh of the town againſt him, and gave Pope more uneaſineſs than he was willing to acknowledge [*HH*]. His making him the hero of the Dunciad, has been cenſured by Mr. Walpole as a "peeviſh weakneſs (*y*);" and it is manifeſt, that whatever might be the defects of Cibber, he could with little reaſon be reproached with dulneſs.

(*y*) Anecdotes of Painting in England, vol. iii. p. 148.

Though Mr. Cibber had now retired from the public and regular buſineſs of the ſtage, he did occaſionally return to it at a few particular periods; performing, it is ſaid, at no leſs a ſalary than fifty guineas per night (*z*). Mr. Davies informs us, that at the age of ſeventy, Cibber profeſſed himſelf the humble admirer of Mrs. Woffington. He thought himſelf happy to be her ciciſbeo and inſtructor; and his great delight was to play Nykin, or Fondlewife in the Old Bachelor, to her Cocky, or Letitia, in the ſame play (*a*). In 1745, when he was upwards of ſeventy-four, he appeared in the character of Pandulph, the Pope's legate, in his own Tragedy, called "Papal Tyranny "in the Reign of King John [*II*];" and notwithſtanding his advanced age, performed the part with great ſpirit and vigour (*b*). In 1747, he publiſhed, in 4to. "The Cha-"racter and Conduct of Cicero conſidered, from the Hiſtory of his Life by the Rev. "Dr. Middleton: With occaſional Eſſays, and Obſervations upon the moſt memorable "Facts and Perſons during that Period [*KK*]." He died on the 12th of December, 1757; his man-ſervant, whom he had talked with by his bed-ſide at ſix in the morn-

(*z*) Biog. Dram. *ut ſupra.*

(*a*) Life of Garrick, vol. i. p. 309.

(*b*) *Id. ibid.*

'The ſtage how looſely does Aſtræa tread,
'Who fairly puts all characters to bed:
'And idle Cibber, how he breaks the laws,
'To make poor Pinky eat with vaſt applauſe!
'But fill their purſe, our poets' work is done,
'Alike to them, by pathos or by pun.'

He alſo mentions him contemptuouſly in ſome other of his pieces, and in the Dunciad the name of Cibber is frequently introduced.

[*FF*] *Made Cibber the hero of his poem.*] Dr. Johnſon obſerves, that Pope 'publiſhed a new edition 'of the Dunciad, in which he degraded Theobald 'from his painful pre-eminence, and enthroned 'Cibber in his ſtead. Unhappily the two heroes 'were of oppoſite characters, and Pope was unwilling 'to loſe what he had already written; he has there-'fore depraved his poem by giving to Cibber the old 'books, the cold pedantry, and ſluggiſh pertinacity 'of Theobald (38).'

(38) Biog. Pref. to the works of Pope, p. 205.

[*GG*] *His Letter to Mr. Pope.*] In this piece, which he ſays was written by the perſuaſion of his friends, are the following paſſages: 'That Cibber 'ever murmured at your fame, or endeavoured to 'blaſt it, or that he was not always, to the beſt of his 'judgment, as warm an admirer of your writings, as 'any of your neareſt friends could be, is what you 'cannot, by any one fact or inſtance, diſprove. How 'comes it then, that in your works you have ſo often 'treated him as a dunce or an enemy? Did he at all 'intrench upon your ſovereignty in verſe, becauſe 'he had now and then written a Comedy that ſuc-'ceeded? Or could not you bear, that any kind of 'poetry, but that, to which you chiefly pretended, 'ſhould meet with applauſe? Or was it, that he had 'an equal reputation for acting his own characters as 'for writing them; or that with ſuch inferior talents 'he was admitted to as good company as you, with 'your ſuperior, could get into; or what other offen-'ſive merit had he, that has ſo often made him the 'object of your contempt or envy?

'As to the reputation of my attempts in poetry, 'that has taken its ply long ago, and can now no 'more be leſſened by your coldeſt contempt, than it 'can be raiſed by your warmeſt commendation, were 'you inclined to give it any. Every man's work 'muſt, and will always ſpeak *for* or *againſt* itſelf, 'whilſt it has a remaining reader in the world. All 'I ſhall ſay then as to that point, is, that I wrote 'more to be fed, than to be famous; and ſince my 'writings ſtill give me a dinner, do you rhyme me 'out of my ſtomach if you can. And I own myſelf 'ſo contented a dunce, that I would not have even 'your merited fame in poetry, if it were to be at-'tended with half the fretful ſolicitude you ſeem to 'have lain under to maintain it; of which the labo-'rious rout you make about it, in thoſe loads of 'proſe rubbiſh, wherewith you have almoſt ſmothered 'your *Dunciad*, is ſo ſore a proof (39).'

(39) Letter from Mr. Cibber to Mr. Pope, p. 5. 10. 3d edit.

[*HH*] *Gave Pope more uneaſineſs than he was willing to acknowledge.*] Dr. Johnſon ſays, 'I have 'heard Mr. Richardſon relate, that he attended his 'father on a viſit, when one of Cibber's pamphlets 'came into the hands of Pope, who ſaid, *Theſe things 'are my diverſion.* They ſat by him while he peruſed 'it, and ſaw his features writhen with anguiſh; and 'young Richardſon ſaid to his father, when they 'returned, that he hoped to be preſerved from ſuch 'diverſion as had been that day the lot of Pope (40).'

(40) Biog. Pref. to the works of Pope, p. 207.

It is probable that the pamphlet here ſpoken of was Cibber's firſt letter to Pope, which is a much more keen performance than the ſecond.

[*II*] *Papal Tyranny in the reign of King John.*] This Tragedy was well received. When he publiſhed it, he prefixed a dedication to the Earl of Cheſterfield, in which is the following paſſage: 'Your 'many great qualities are too well known to the 'world to want a poetical herald to proclaim them. 'It is to the private man of quality then I only make 'this addreſs: and 'tis an uncommon pleaſure to one 'of my advanced age to have been thrown into a 'habitude, that ſo frequently has permitted me to 'have an occaſional ſhare in the delight of your un-'bending hours. But ſince your lately acquired 'honours, which are honoured by your wearing them, 'have lifted you ſo far above the reach of my former 'approaches, all I can at this diſtance aſpire to, is to 'throw my cordial wiſhes after you. May your ele-'vated ſtation never lead you beyond the bounds of 'rational happineſs! That when you think fit to re-'ſign it, you may return to the private world, as 'you left it, the moſt agreeable gentleman that ever 'brought gladneſs into ſenſible ſociety.'

[*KK*] *The character and conduct of Cicero conſidered, &c.*] This is a piece of little value; and, indeed, Cibber was much better qualified to eſtimate the merits of his brother Comedians, than to inveſtigate the character or conduct of Cicero. He ſhews himſelf, in the courſe of his performance, in which are ſome very abſurd obſervations, not a little prejudiced againſt the great Roman Orator, and much inclined to juſtify or extenuate the crimes and the uſurpation of Cæſar.

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ing, apparently in good health, finding him dead at nine, lying on his pillow juſt as he had left him (c). He had entered, a few weeks before, into his eighty-ſeventh year. He had ſeveral children [*LL*], of two of whom, his ſon, Theophilus [*MM*], and his daughter,

(c) *Id. ibid.*

[*LL*] *He had ſeveral children.*] He ſays in his *Apology*, 'It may be obſervable, that my muſe and 'my ſpouſe were equally prolific; that the one was 'ſeldom the mother of a child, but in the ſame year 'the other made me the father of a play. I think 'we had a dozen of each ſort between us; of both 'which kinds, ſome died in their infancy, and nearly 'an equal number of each were alive, when I quitted 'the Theatre (41).'

(41) Vol. i. p. 193.

[*MM*] *His ſon Theophilus.*] Theophilus Cibber was born on the 26th of November, 1703. He was ſent to Wincheſter-ſchool about the year 1716, or 1717. After continuing there ſeveral years, he returned to London, and became a performer on the ſtage. He acted in the *Conſcious Lovers* in 1721. As his father was one of the managers of the Theatre-Royal, he entered on the profeſſion of a Player with great advantage, and ſoon attained a conſiderable ſhare of the public favour. His manner of acting was in the ſame walk of characters which his father had ſupported with ſo much reputation; and though he did not attain to equal excellence, he was conſidered as a very reſpectable performer. His perſon, however, was far from pleaſing, and the features of his face rather diſguſting; his voice had alſo the ſame ſhrill treble, though without that muſical harmony of which his father was maſter: but he poſſeſſed a quickneſs of parts, and a perfect knowledge of what he ought to repreſent, together with a vivacity in his manner, and a kind of *effronterie*, which was well adapted to the characters he repreſented; and theſe qualifications were thought to counterbalance his deficiencies. From an anecdote in the Life of Garrick, it appears, that Colley Cibber was very partial to his ſon Theophilus. After he had ſeen Garrick's *Bays*, which the public eſteemed a maſter-piece of comic humour, he ſaid, that "Garrick was well "enough, but not ſuperior to his ſon Theophilus;" who, Mr. Davies ſays, 'had little more to recom-'mend him in the part than pertneſs and viva-'city (*)'

(*) Life of Garrick, vol. i. p. 45.

At an early period of life he married Miſs Jenny Johnſon, who was a companion and intimate friend of Miſs Raftor, afterwards the celebrated Mrs. Clive. But this lady dying in 1733, he afterwards married Miſs Suſanna Maria Arne, ſiſter to Dr. Thomas Auguſtine Arne, the eminent muſical compoſer. She was then chiefly remarkable for her muſical qualifications, but afterwards became an actreſs of uncommon merit. Her marriage with Theophilus Cibber was, however, far from promoting her happineſs. He was extravagant in the higheſt degree; and could not reſtrain his expences within the limits of his own, and his wife's ſalaries and benefits, though their amount was very conſiderable. In 1738, he took a journey to France; and ſome time after his return from that kingdom, he commenced an action againſt a young gentleman of fortune, for criminal converſation with his wife. He laid his action at five thouſand pounds, but the jury gave only ten pounds damages; it being their opinion, that he had been guilty of the meanneſs of conniving at the amour with his wife, and indeed promoting it, from a view of deriving from it pecuniary advantages. He was afterwards arreſted for conſiderable ſums, and thrown into the King's-Bench priſon. By the means of benefit-plays, and other aſſiſtances, he obtained his liberty; but as his natural paſſion for diſſipation could not be kept within bounds, he was conſtantly involved in difficulties, from which he endeavoured to extricate himſelf by various ſchemes, none of which were effectual. In 1758, he was engaged by Mr. Sheridan to go over to Dublin, (where he had been about nine years before) (†), to aſſiſt him in making a ſtand againſt the new Theatre, then opened in oppoſition to him in Crow-ſtreet. On this expedition he embarked at Park-Gate, together with Mr. Maddox, a celebrated wire-dancer, on board a veſſel called the Dublin Trader, ſome time in the month of October. But the high winds, which are frequent at that time of the year in St. George's Channel, and which are fatal to many veſſels in the paſſage from this kingdom to Ireland, proved particularly ſo to this in which Cibber was embarked. It was driven to the coaſt of Scotland, where it was caſt away, and all the paſſengers periſhed. The veſſel itſelf was ſo entirely loſt, that ſcarcely any veſtiges of it remained to indicate where it had been wrecked, excepting a box, containing books and papers, which were known to have been Cibber's, and which were caſt up on the weſtern coaſt of Scotland (42). He was the author of a Comedy called *The Lover*, of a groteſque pantomime entertainment called the *Harlot's Progreſs*, of two or three alterations of the dramatic pieces of others, and of a *Diſſertation on the Theatre*. The *Lives of the Poets*, in five volumes, 12mo. has alſo his name prefixed to the title; but that work was chiefly written by Robert Shiells (43), though Cibber is ſaid to have had a more conſiderable ſhare in it than is admitted by Dr. Johnſon (44).

(†) *Vid.* Victor's Hiſt. of the Theatres of London and Dublin, vol. i. p. 147.

(42) Biog. Dram. vol. i. p. 85, 86, 87, 88.

(43) Johnſon's Biog. Preface to the works of Hammond, p. 1, 2.

The great excellence of his wife as an actreſs, renders it neceſſary that we ſhould here add ſome farther particulars concerning her. Mr. Davies ſays, 'ſhe 'was daughter to Mr. Arne, an Upholſterer, who 'lived in King-ſtreet, Covent-Garden, and was born 'much about the time that the Indian Kings, men-'tioned by the Spectator, were lodged in her father's 'houſe. When very young, her voice was ſo me-'lodious, that her friends entertained great hopes 'of her becoming a very excellent ſinger; and I be-'lieve ſhe acted, when ſhe was about fourteen years 'of age, the part of Tom Thumb in the opera of 'that name, which was ſet to muſic by her brother 'the celebrated Dr. Arne, and performed at the 'Little Theatre in the Haymarket. She certainly 'made ſome conſiderable progreſs in muſic, and was 'occaſionally employed to ſing at concerts. When 'ſhe was married to Theophilus Cibber, his father 'Colley Cibber, obſerved to his ſon, that though his 'wife's voice was very pleaſing, and ſhe had a good 'taſte in muſic, yet, as ſhe could never arrive at more 'than the rank of a ſecond-rate ſinger, her income 'would be extremely limited. The old man added, 'that he had overheard her repeat a ſpeech from a 'Tragedy, and he judged by her manner that her 'ear was good. Upon this ſhe became a pupil to 'her father-in-law, and he publickly declared, that 'he took infinite pleaſure in the inſtruction of ſo 'promiſing a genius. She was likewiſe certainly 'indebted to the leſſons of Aaron Hill for great part 'of her ſucceſs in Zara. He gave her critical leſ-'ſons upon every line of the character (45).'

(44) *Vid.* Monthly Review, vol. lxv. p. 409.

(45) Life of Garrick, vol. ii. p. 108, 109.

She ſoon became a very diſtinguiſhed performer on the Stage; and when *Tancred and Sigiſmunda* was acted at Drury-Lane, in 1744, the two principal characters were performed by Mr Garrick and Mrs. Cibber, who, Mr. Davies ſays, 'were formed by na-'ture for the illuſtration of each other's talents. In 'their perſons, they were both ſomewhat below the 'middle ſize. He was, though ſhort, well made: 'ſhe, though in her form not graceful, and ſcarcely 'genteel, was, by the elegance of her manner, and 'ſymmetry of her features, rendered very attractive. 'From ſimilarity of complexion, ſize, and counte-'nance, they could have been eaſily ſuppoſed to be 'brother and ſiſter: but in the powerful expreſſion 'of the paſſions, they ſtill approached to a nearer 'reſemblance. He was maſter of all the paſſions, 'but more particularly happy in the exhibition of 'parts where anger, reſentment, diſdain, horror, 'deſpair, and madneſs predominated. In love, 'grief, and tenderneſs, ſhe greatly excelled all com-'petitors; and was alſo unrivalled in the more ardent 'emotions of jealous love, and frantic rage, which 'ſhe expreſſed with a degree of ſenſibility in voice, 'look, and action, that never failed to draw tears 'from the moſt unfeeling (46).'

(46) *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 80.

'Her great excellence conſiſted in that ſimplicity 'which needed no ornament; in that ſenſibility 'which deſpiſed all art. There was in her perſon 'little or no elegance, in her countenance a ſmall 'ſhare of beauty; but nature had given her ſuch 'ſymmetry of form, and fine expreſſion of feature, 'that ſhe preſerved all the appearance of youth long 'after

daughter, Mrs. Charlotte Charke [*NN*], ſome account will be found in the notes. Se-

'after ſhe had reached to middle life. The harmony 'of her voice was as powerful as the animation of 'her look. In grief and tenderneſs her eyes looked 'as if they ſwam in tears; in rage and deſpair they 'ſeemed to dart flaſhes of fire. In ſpite of the un-'importance of her figure, ſhe maintained a dignity 'in her action, and a grace in her ſtep.

'In converſation Mrs. Cibber was extremely 'agreeable. She was civil without conſtraint, and 'polite without affectation. She was not the mere 'actreſs: her accompliſhments rendered her dear 'to perſons of the firſt quality of her ſex. There 'was ever ſuch an engaging decency in her manner, 'that notwithſtanding a peculiarity of ſituation, ſhe 'charmed and obliged all who approached her. She 'was a perfect judge of muſic, vocal and inſtrumen-'tal; and though ſhe was not miſtreſs of a voice re-'quiſite to a capital ſinger, yet her fine taſte was 'ſure to gain her the applauſe and admiration of the 'beſt judges. Though I do not vouch for the fol-'lowing ſtory, yet it will ſerve to prove the public 'opinion of her muſical expreſſion. It has been 'ſaid, that many years ſince, when ſhe ſung in the 'Oratorio of the Meſſiah at Dublin, a certain Biſhop 'was ſo affected with the extreme ſenſibility of her 'manner, that he could not refrain from ſaying, '*Woman! thy ſins be forgiven thee* (47)! She made ſome attempts in Comedy, and was remarkably fond of performing the part of Lady Brute in the *Provoked Wife*; but her comic powers, though conſiderable, were much inferior to thoſe which ſhe diſplayed in Tragedy. She died in the 30th of January, 1766, aged fifty, and was buried in the Cloiſters in Weſt-minſter-Abbey (48).

(47) *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 109, 110, 111.

(48) Biographia Dramatica, vol. i. p. 85.

When the news of her death was brought to Mr. Garrick, he pronounced her eulogium in the follow-ing words: "Then tragedy expired with her; and "yet ſhe was the greateſt female plague belonging "to my houſe. I could eaſily parry the artleſs "thruſts, and deſpiſe the coarſe language, of ſome "of my other heroines; but whatever was Cibber's "object, a new part, or a new dreſs, ſhe was always "ſure to carry her point by the acuteneſs of her in-"vective, and the ſteadineſs of her perſeverance (49)."

(49) *Id. ibid.*

Mr. Victor ſays, 'Every age, or half century, 'has their favourite celebrated actor, or actreſs. 'Mrs. Cibber very juſtly enjoyed that happineſs for 'more than twenty years. The firſt part this Actreſs 'appeared in was Zara, then tranſlated from Voltaire, 'by Aaron Hill, Eſq; in the year 1734; and at her 'firſt appearance ſhe became a favourite with the 'public. As I had been very early acquainted with 'the families of the Arnes and the Cibbers, I knew 'her marriage with Mr. Theophilus Cibber was 'very much againſt her inclination; and the misfor-'tunes that attended it, interrupted her progreſs in 'the buſineſs of the Stage for many years. But, for 'the laſt twenty, ſhe remained in the quiet poſſeſſion 'of all the capital characters, and in the hearts of 'the enamoured public. Her voice was muſically 'plaintive; in parts of ſoftneſs and diſtreſs ſhe ap-'peared truly amiable; without being remarkable 'for beauty, gentility, or elegance of dreſs.

'In the *School for Lovers*, ſhe performed the part 'of *Cælia*, whoſe age is mentioned in the play to be 'ſixteen; and Mrs. Cibber was admitted to become 'the character by the niceſt obſervers, though ſhe 'was at that time approaching to fifty. This ſtrange 'ſeeming abſurdity was entirely owing to that uncom-'mon ſymmetry, and exact proportion in her form, 'that happily remained with her to her death (50).'

(50) Hiſt. of the Theatres, vol. iii. p. 79, 80, 81.

The ſame writer alſo remarks, that Mrs. Cibber ſurpaſſed all that followed her, in the part of *Conſtance* in *King John*. Her character, as a dramatic Actreſs, is finely drawn by Churchill, in his Roſciad.

"Form'd for the tragic ſcene, to grace the ſtage,
"With rival excellence of Love and Rage,
"Miſtreſs of each ſoft art, with matchleſs ſkill
"To turn and wind the paſſions as ſhe will;
"To melt the heart with ſympathetic woe,
"Awake the ſigh, and teach the tear to flow;
"To put on Frenzy's wild diſtracted glare,
"And freeze the ſoul with horror and deſpair;
"With juſt deſert enroll'd in endleſs fame,
"Conſcious of worth ſuperior, CIBBER came.
"When poor Alicia's madd'ning brains are rack'd,
"And ſtrongly imag'd griefs her mind diſtract;
"Struck with her grief, I catch the madneſs too!
"My brain turns round—the headleſs trunk I view!
"The roof cracks, ſhakes and falls!—New horrors riſe,
"And Reaſon buried in the ruin lies.
"Nobly diſdainful of each ſlaviſh art,
"She makes her firſt attack upon the heart:
"Pleas'd with the ſummons, it receives her laws,
"And all is ſilence, ſympathy, applauſe.
"But when, by fond ambition drawn aſide,
"Giddy with praiſe, and puff'd with female pride,
"She quits the tragic ſcene, and, in pretence
"To comic merit, breaks down Nature's fence;
"I ſcarcely can believe my ears or eyes,
"Or find out CIBBER through the dark diſguiſe *."

* Churchill's works, vol. i. p. 37, 38. Fifth edition.

She publiſhed, in 8vo. a Comedy of one act, called "The Oracle," which was performed at Covent-Garden in 1752. It is a tranſlation from the French, but is well executed, and was frequently repreſented afterwards (51).

(51) Biog. Dram. vol. ii. p. 263.

[*NN*] *His daughter, Mrs. Charlotte Charke.*] She was the youngeſt child of the Laureat, born when her mother was forty-five years of age, and in her infancy diſcovered a wild and ungovernable diſpoſition. In her narrative of her own life, ſhe gives an account of her propenſity to a hat and wig at four years of age, and mentions ſeveral ſtrange frolicks played by her in her youth. She had "a natural averſion" ſhe ſays, "for a needle, and a profound reſpect for a curry-"comb, in the uſe of which ſhe excelled moſt young "ladies in Great-Britain." Her father, however, ſpared no expence in her education; ſhe was taught French, Italian, and ſome Latin; and alſo inſtructed in geography, muſic, and dancing. Employments of a very different kind, however, frequently engaged her attention; and when ſhe was fourteen, ſhe was particularly fond of ſhooting; imagining herſelf, ſhe ſays, "equal to the beſt fowler or markſman in the "univerſe (52)." Among her other favourite amuſements were hunting, riding races, and digging in a garden. She married, when very young, Mr. Richard Charke, an eminent performer on the violin; but her huſband had a great attachment to other women, and they ſoon ſeparated. She then went upon the Stage, and firſt appeared in the character of *Mademoiſelle* in the *Provoked Wife*, in which ſhe was well received. From this ſhe roſe, in her ſecond and third attempts, to the capital characters of *Alicia* in *Jane Shore*, and *Andromache* in the *Diſtreſſed Mother*. She was hereupon engaged, at a very good ſalary, at the Theatre at the Hay-market, and afterwards at Drury-Lane. But her imprudence, and impetuoſity of temper, occaſioned her to quarrel with Mr. Fleet-wood, the then manager, whom ſhe not only left on a ſudden, without any notice given, but vented her ſpleen againſt him in public, by publiſhing, in 1735, a farce called "The Art of Management (53);" in which ſhe endeavoured to place him in a very ridicu-lous light. However, at the deſire of her father, he afterwards received her again; but her repeated miſ-conduct ſoon cauſed her to be thrown out of employ-ment in her profeſſion as an actreſs. She then com-menced trader, and ſet up as a grocer and oil-woman in a ſhop in Long-Acre. But this ſituation ſhe ſoon quitted, and afterwards became miſtreſs of a puppet-ſhow, by which undertaking ſhe was a loſer. After that ſhe went for many years in man's cloaths. For ſome time ſhe was Valet de Chambre to a Peer, afterwards ſet up an eating-houſe in Drury-Lane, and at length became a drawer at Marybone. She was alſo a dealer in pork; and nine years of her life was a ſtrolling-player in the country. In Wales, ſhe turned paſtry-cook and farmer; and at Briſtol, hired herſelf to a printer, as corrector of the preſs. On her return to London ſhe publiſhed, in numbers, in 1755, a Narrative of her own life, to which ſhe pre-fixed a dedication from herſelf to herſelf. She com-plains much that her father would not take the leaſt notice of her; but he was very indulgent to her in the former part of her life, and ſeems not to have de-ſerted her till ſhe was grown profligate and diſſolute to a very high degree. She kept a public houſe at Iſling-ton for ſome time, and died on the 6th of April, 1760, having not long ſurvived her father and brother (54).

(52) Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Charlotte Charke, p. 29.

(53) Biog. Dram. vol. i. p. 69, 71.

(54) *Id. ibid.*

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veral of his dramatic pieces, not before mentioned [*OO*], are alſo enumerated below. He appears to have been a man of uncommon vivacity, great good humour [*PP*], much benevolence, and a large ſhare of vanity; and it was the preponderance of the latter quality, and the liberties which he ſometimes took with others, though without any ill intentions, that occaſioned him to have no ſmall number of enemies, by whom he was often attacked with more ſeverity than he deſerved. Their attacks, however, ſeem to have made very little impreſſion upon him; and he would acknowledge his own foibles with the utmoſt frankneſs [*QQ*]. As an actor he had great merit, and appeared in very various characters [*RR*]; but his chief excellency lay in the walk of fops, and feeble old men in comedy; in the former of which he is ſuppoſed never to have been excelled. He appears to have poſſeſſed much judgment as a theatrical manager [*SS*]: his

[*OO*] *Several of his dramatic pieces, not before mentioned.*] Theſe are the following:

Venus and Adonis, a maſque. This was performed at Drury-Lane, in 1715, but without much ſucceſs (55).

(55) Biog. Dram. *ut ſupra.*

Myrtillo, a paſtoral interlude, performed at Drury-Lane in 1716.

Cæſar in Egypt, a Tragedy, acted at Drury-Lane in 1725.

The Provoked Huſband, or a Journey to London. It is obſerved in the *Biographia Dramatica*, that 'this Comedy was begun by Sir John Vanbrugh, 'but left by him imperfect at his death, when Mr. 'Cibber took it in hand, and finiſhed it. It met 'with very great ſucceſs; yet ſuch is the power of 'prejudice, and perſonal pique, in biaſſing the 'judgment, that Mr. Cibber's enemies, ignorant of 'what ſhare he had in the writing of the piece, be-'ſtowed the higheſt applauſe on the part which re-'lated to Lord Townly's provocations from his wife, 'which was moſtly Cibber's, at the ſame time that 'they condemned and oppoſed the journey to London 'part, which was almoſtly entirely Vanbrugh's, for 'no other apparent reaſon, but becauſe they ima-'gined it to be Mr. Cibber's. He ſoon, however, 'convinced them of their miſtake, by publiſhing all 'the ſcenes which Sir John had left behind him, ex-'actly from his own MS. under the ſingle title of 'the *Journey to London*.'

The Rival Queans, with the Humours of Alexander the Great. This is ſtyled "a Comical Tragedy," and was acted at Drury-Lane. It was not publiſhed in London, but was printed at Dublin in 1729. It is a burleſque of Lee's *Rival Queens, or Death of Alexander the Great.*

Love in a Riddle, a Paſtoral, 8vo. 1729. The Farce of *Damon and Phillida* is taken entirely from this piece, and was well received; but the original piece met with an unfavourable reception, from the mere prejudice of many of the audience againſt the Author (56).

(56) Biog. Dram.

[*PP*] *Great good humour.*] The writer of his article in the *Biographia Dramatica* ſays, 'He ſeemed 'moſt truly of Sir Harry Wildair's temper, whoſe 'ſpleen nothing could move but impoſſibilities. 'Nor did it ſeem in the power of even age and in-'firmity to get the better of this ſelf-created hap-'pineſs in his diſpoſition: for even in the very latter 'years of his life, I remember to have ſeen him, 'when, amidſt the circle of perſons, not one of whom 'perhaps had attained to the third part of his age, 'yet has Mr. Cibber, by his eaſy good humour, 'livelineſs of converſation, and a peculiar happineſs 'he had in telling a ſtory, been apparently the very 'life of the company; and, but for the too evident 'marks of the hand of time on his features, might 'have been imagined the youngeſt man in it (57).'

(57) Vol. i. p. 80, 81.

Mr. Davies ſays, that 'Colley Cibber, to the re-'putation of an approved and ſucceſsful actor, ad-'ded the higher character of a diſtinguiſhed dramatic 'writer. His merit in both capacities introduced 'him to perſons in high life, and made him free of 'all gay companies. In his youth, he was a man of 'great levity, and the conſtant companion of our 'young noblemen and men of faſhion in their hours 'of diſſipation. Cibber diverted them with his ſal-'lies of humour, and odd vivacities. He had the 'good fortune, in advanced life, to ſolace the cares 'of a great Stateſman, in his relaxations from buſi-'neſs. Mr. Pelham loved a *tete à tete* with Colley 'Cibber; and, I think, the latter tells us ſo, in the 'dedication of his excellent apology to that wiſe and 'honeſt Miniſter. But an habitual love of play, and 'a rivetted attachment to pleaſure, rendered him not 'ſo agreeable to perſons of a grave turn of mind (58).'

(58) Life of Garrick, vol. ii. p. 359.

[*QQ*] *He would acknowledge his own foibles with the utmoſt frankneſs.*] He ſays in his *Apology*, 'I will 'not go out of my character, by ſtraining to be wiſer 'than I can be, or by being more affectedly penſive 'than I need be. Whatever I am men of ſenſe will 'know me to be, put on what diſguiſe I will. I can 'no more put off my follies than my ſkin. I have 'often tried; but they ſtick too cloſe to me. Nor 'am I ſure that my friends are diſpleaſed with them; 'for, beſides that in this light I afford them frequent 'matter of mirth, they may poſſibly be leſs uneaſy 'at their own foibles, when they have ſo old a pre-'cedent to keep them in countenance.'—'If I can 'pleaſe myſelf with my own follies, have not I a 'plentiful proviſion for life? If the world thinks me 'a trifler, I don't deſire to break in upon their wiſ-'dom. Let them call me any fool, but an unchear-'ful one; I live as I write; while my way amuſes 'me, its as well as I wiſh it; when another writes 'better, I can like him too, though he ſhould not 'like me. Not our great imitator of Horace himſelf 'can have more pleaſure in reading his verſes, than 'I have in reading them, though I ſometimes find 'myſelf there (as Shakſpeare terms it) *diſpraiſingly* 'ſpoken of. If he is a little free with me, I am ge-'nerally in good company; he is as blunt with my 'betters; ſo that even here I might laugh in my 'turn. My ſuperiors, perhaps, may be mended by 'him; but, for my part, I own myſelf incorrigible. 'I look upon my follies as the beſt part of my for-'tune; and am more concerned to be a good huſband 'of them, than of that; nor do I believe I ſhall ever 'be rhimed out of them.'—'We had once a merry 'monarch of our own, who thought chearfulneſs ſo 'valuable a bleſſing, that he would have quitted one 'of his kingdoms where he could not enjoy it; 'where, among many other conditions they had tied 'him to, his ſober ſubjects would not ſuffer him to 'laugh on a Sunday; and though this might not be 'the avowed cauſe of his elopement, I am not ſure, 'had he had no other, that this alone might not have 'ſerved his turn. At leaſt, he has my hearty appro-'bation either way: for had I been under the ſame 'reſtriction, though my ſtaying were to have made 'me his ſucceſſor, I ſhould rather have choſen to fol-'low him (59).'

(59) Vol. i. p. 15, 16, 17, 18.

[*RR*] *Appeared in very various characters.*] Mr. Davies ſays, that 'Cibber, in the various extent of 'his comic exhibitions, had no equal; beſides, he 'was much celebrated for ſome parts in Tragedy; for 'Richard the Third, Iago, and Cardinal Wolſey (60).'

(60) Life of Garrick, vol. i. p. 19.

[*SS*] *He appears to have poſſeſſed much judgment as a theatrical manager.*] It muſt, however, be obſerved, that in ſome inſtances he ſeems to have made capital miſtakes in this reſpect; and he is alſo charged with having treated ſeveral dramatic writers with rudeneſs and petulance. Mr. Davies ſays, 'Colley 'Cibber, I believe, deſerved many of thoſe keen 'reproaches and bitter ſarcaſms, which are to be 'read in ſeveral pamphlets publiſhed during his ad-'miniſtration of the Stage: for his denial of a new 'piece was not attended with that delicacy and 'politeneſs, which is ſo neceſſary upon an unwel-'come repulſe, and which muſt, however gently de-'livered, overwhelm an author who is obliged to 'hear it, with confuſion and vexation. Cibber, by 'his ſole authority, obliged Mr. Hughes to alter the 'moſt material circumſtance in his Siege of Damaſ-'cus, and thereby rendered feeble, and almoſt ineſ-'fectual, the author's ſcene between Phocyas and 'Eudocia,

his own pieces are in general of a moral tendency; and his comedies have a juſt claim to conſiderable applauſe [*TT*]. He collected and publiſhed the beſt of his dramatic pieces in two volumes, 4to. in his life-time; and they have ſince been more completely publiſhed, in five volumes, 12mo. in 1760.] T.

'Eudocia, after his betraying the city to the Saracens: for Mr. Hughes had cauſed the hero, in 'order to ſave Damaſcus, and the lives of his miſtreſs 'and the citizens, in the agony of his ſoul, to turn 'Mahometan. But Colley, with his uſual confidence, declared, that the audience would not bear 'a hero who could change his religion. When Mr. 'Fenton read his Tragedy of Mariamne to Cibber, 'he not only rejected it, but ſpoke in the following 'inſolent manner to the learned author: "Sir, will 'you take the advice of a friend? Apply yourſelf to 'ſome honeſt and laborious calling; the Belles 'Lettres and you will never agree; you have no 'manner of genius for Poetry." This charge againſt 'Cibber was printed in a pamphlet called the *Laureat*, 'ſoon after he had publiſhed the Apology of his 'Life, 1740: but this play, when acted ſoon after at 'Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, raiſed the ſinking credit of 'the company, and eſtabliſhed the characters of 'Boheme and Mrs. Seymour, who acted the parts of 'Herod and Mariamne. Not to detain the reader 'any longer than I ought, about Colley Cibber's 'petulance, I ſhall only obſerve, that it is a well 'known fact, that he refuſed the Beggar's Opera, 'and he is charged with taking a particular delight 'to mortify young authors: his practice of giving 'back their plays he wantonly called *the choaking of 'ſinging birds*. This anecdote is to be found in the 'ſame pamphlet of the Laureat (61).'

(61) Life of Garrick, vol. i. p. 209, 210, 211.

[*TT*] *His comedies have a juſt claim to conſiderable applauſe.*] The writer of his article in the Biographia Dramatica ſays, 'I thank the Engliſh Stage as much 'obliged to Mr. Cibber, for a fund of rational entertainment, as to any dramatic writer this nation has 'produced, Shakſpeare only excepted; and one unanſwerable evidence has been borne to the ſatisfaction the public received from his plays, and ſuch 'an one as no author beſides himſelf can boaſt, viz. 'that although the number of his dramatic pieces is 'very extenſive, half of them at leaſt are now, and 'ſeem likely to continue, on the liſt of acting and 'favourite plays (62).'

(62) Vol. i. p. 85.

Mr. Victor alſo obſerves, that he enjoyed the reputation, 'for thirty years, of being the greateſt actor for 'that time in his caſt;' and that 'the Stage is beholden 'to Mr. Cibber for more good Comedies than to any 'one author; which will perpetuate his name as long 'as the Engliſh language exiſts (63).'] T.

(63) Victor's Hiſt. of the Theatres, vol. ii. p. 46.

CLAGETT (NICOLAS), an eminent Divine in the XVIIth century, was born in the city of Canterbury (*a*), about the year 1607 [*A*]. In the beginning of the year 1628, he was entered a ſtudent of Merton-College in Oxford (*b*); and on the 20th of October 1631, took his degree of Bachelor of Arts, as a member of that Houſe (*c*). Afterwards he removed to Magdalen-Hall in the ſame Univerſity (*d*), and took his degree of Maſter of Arts the 11th of June 1634 (*e*), being then generally eſteemed a very able moderator in Philoſophy (*f*). About the year 1636, he became Vicar of Melbourne in Dorſetſhire; and, ſome years after, was elected Preacher at St. Mary's Church in St. Edmundſbury, Suffolk, where he was held in great veneration for his improving way of preaching, and for his ſingular piety. He died on the 12th of September 1663, aged fifty-ſix years, or thereabouts, and was buried in the chancel of St. Mary's Church before-mentioned (*g*). He publiſhed, 'The Abuſes of God's Grace, diſcovered in the 'Kinds, Cauſes, &c. propoſed as a ſeaſonable Check to the wanton Libertiniſm of the 'preſent Age.' Oxon. 1659, 4to. (*b*). Though he was a man eminent in himſelf, he was more ſo for being the father of two worthy ſons, of whom we ſhall give an account in the two next articles.

(*a*) Wood, Ath. vol. ii. col. 326, edit. 1721.

(*b*) *Ibid.* and col. 327.

(*c*) *Idem.* Faſti, vol. i. col. 252.

(*d*) Wood, Ath. *ubi ſupra.*

(*e*) *Idem.* Faſti, vol. i. col. 260.

(*f*) *Idem.* Ath. *ubi ſupra.*

(*g*) *Ibid.*

(*b*) Wood, *ibid.* See alſo Hiſtoria & Antiq. Univ. Oxon l. ii. p. 375.

[*A*] *Was born——about the year* 1607.] This appears from his age at the time of his death, mentioned above, namely, that he was fifty-ſix, in the year 1663. But there ſeems to be a miſtake in what Mr. Wood ſays of his age. For if he was fifty-ſix years of age in 1663, and conſequently born in 1607, he muſt have been twenty-one years old when he was admitted into the Univerſity; which is a little improbable, the uſual years of admiſſion there being about ſeventeen or eighteen. It is therefore more probable that he was born about the year 1610, and that he was not quite ſo old at the time of his death as Mr. Wood imagined. M.

CLAGETT (WILLIAM), a moſt valuable and learned Divine in the XVIIth century, and eldeſt ſon of Mr. Nicolas Clagett, mentioned in the laſt article, was born at St. Edmundſbury in Suffolk, September 14, 1646 (*a*). His education was in the Free-ſchool there, under the care of Dr. Thomas Stephens, author of the notes on Statius's Sylvæ, who took very early notice of the promiſing parts of his ſcholar. What great and uncommon improvements he made, is manifeſt from his early admiſſion into the univerſity, even before he was full thirteen years of age: for he was admitted in Emanuel-College in Cambridge, September 5, 1659, under the tuition of Mr. Thomas Jackſon (*b*). He regularly took his degrees in Arts, and commenced Doctor in Divinity in 1683 (*c*). His firſt public appearance in the world, was at his own native town of St. Edmundſbury, where he was choſen one of the Preachers; which office he diſcharged for ſeven years with an univerſal reputation (*d*). From thence, at the inſtance of ſome conſiderable men of the long robe, whoſe buſineſs at the aſſizes there gave them opportunities of being acquainted with his great worth and abilities, he was prevailed with to remove to Gray's-Inn: and it was no ſmall teſtimony given to his merit, that he was thought worthy by that honourable Society to ſucceed the eminent Dr. Cradock, as their Preacher (*e*). He continued in this place all the remaining part of his life, and therein behaved himſelf worthily; which the gentlemen of that Houſe took all occaſions of declaring, by the conſtant kindneſs they expreſſed to him while he lived, and the reſpects they paid him at his death (*f*). Beſides this honourable employment, he was preſented, by the Lord Keeper North (who was his wife's kinſman) to the rectory of Farnham-Royal in Buckinghamſhire, into which he was inſtituted May 14, 1683 (*g*). He

(*a*) From Memoirs communicated by Nicolas, late Lord Biſhop of Exeter. See alſo Preface to the firſt vol. of Dr. Clagett's Sermons, by J. S. *i. e.* his intimate friend Dr. John Sharp, afterwards Archbiſhop of York.

(*b*) From the Memoirs above-mentioned.

(*c*) *Ibid.*

(*d*) *Ibid.* and Preface above-mentioned.

(*e*) Preface, as above.

(*f*) *Ibid.*

(*g*) *Ibid.* and the Memoirs mentioned above.

He had another preferment, which he himſelf moſt valued next to his Preacher's place at Gray's-Inn, and that was the Lecture of St. Michael Baſſiſhaw, to which he was elected by that pariſh about two years before his death [*A*]. He was alſo Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majeſty (*b*). This excellent perſon, who was worthy of a longer life, was untimely ſnatched away by the ſmall-pox, in the forty-ſecond year of his age. He was ſeized with that fatal diſtemper on a Sunday evening, March the 16th, after having preached at St. Martin in the Fields, in his Lent courſe there (*i*): and dying of it March 28, 1688, he was buried in a vault under part of the church of St. Michael Baſſiſhaw (*k*). His wife, Mrs. Thomaſin North, a moſt virtuous and accompliſhed woman, died eighteen days after him of the ſame diſeaſe, and was buried in the ſame grave with him (*l*). We are aſſured, by the teſtimony of Dr. Sharp (*m*), that no man of a private condition, in the laſt age, died more lamented. For, as he had all the amiable charming qualities to procure the eſteem and love of every one who knew him, ſo he was endowed with ſo many great and uſeful talents, for the doing ſervice to religion, to the Church, to all about him; and he ſo faithfully and induſtriouſly employed thoſe talents to theſe purpoſes, that he was really a public bleſſing, and he had that right done him as to be eſteemed ſo. It was the Society of Gray's-Inn that brought him to London: but after he came thither, his own merit, in a little time, rendered him ſufficiently conſpicuous. For, ſo innocent and unblameable was his life, ſuch an unaffected honeſty and ſimplicity appeared in all his converſation, ſo obliging he was in his temper, ſo ſincere in all his friendſhips, ſo ready to do all ſorts of good offices that came in his way; and withal ſo prudent a man, ſo good a preacher, ſo dextrous in untying knots, and making hard things plain; ſo happy in treating of common ſubjects in an uncommon, and yet uſeful way; ſo able a champion for the true religion againſt all oppoſers whatſoever; and, laſtly, ſo ready upon all occaſions to adviſe, to direct, to encourage any work that was undertaken for the promoting or defending the cauſe of God;—all theſe qualities were ſo eminent in Dr. Clagett, that it was impoſſible they ſhould be concealed. The town ſoon took notice of him, and none that intimately knew him could forbear to love and admire him; and ſcarcely any that had heard of him, to eſteem and honour him (*n*). Biſhop Burnet ranks him among thoſe worthy and eminent men, whoſe lives and labours did, in a great meaſure, reſcue the Church from thoſe reproaches that the follies of others drew upon it: and adds,—that they deſerved a high character; and were indeed an honour, both to the Church and to the age in which they lived (*o*). It muſt not be forgotten, that he was one of thoſe excellent Divines, who made that noble ſtand againſt Popery in the reign of King James II. which will redound to their immortal honour.—The ſeveral things publiſhed by Dr. Clagett, are as follows: I. 'A Diſcourſe concerning the Operations of the Holy Spirit: With a 'Confutation of ſome Part of Dr. Owen's Book upon that Subject.' Part I. Lond. 1677, 8vo. (*p*).—Part II. Lond. 1680, 8vo. In this ſecond part there is 'An Anſwer 'to Mr. John Humphreys's Animadverſions on the firſt Part [*B*].' II. 'A Reply to a 'Pamphlet, called *The Miſchief of Impoſitions*, by Mr. Alſop, which pretends to anſwer 'the Dean of St. Paul's (Dr. Stillingfleet's) Sermon concerning the Miſchief of Sepa-'ration.' Lond. 1681, 4to. III. 'An Anſwer to the Diſſenters Objections againſt the 'Common Prayers, and ſome other Parts of the Divine Service preſcribed in the Li-'turgy of the Church of England.' Lond. 1683, 4to. IV. 'The Difference of the 'Caſe between the Separation of Proteſtants from the Church of Rome, and the Sepa-'ration of Diſſenters from the Church of England.' Lond. 1683, 4to. V. 'The 'State of the Church of Rome, when the Reformation began, as it appears by the Ad-'vices given to Pope Paul III. and Julius III. by Creatures of their own (*q*).' VI. 'A 'Diſcourſe concerning the Invocation of the bleſſed Virgin and the Saints.' Lond. 1686, 4to. VII. 'A Paraphraſe, with Notes, upon the Sixth Chapter of St. John, 'ſhewing, that there is neither good Reaſon, nor ſufficient Authority to ſuppoſe that 'the Euchariſt is diſcourſed of in that Chapter, much leſs to infer the Doctrine of 'Tranſubſtantiation from it.' Lond. 1686, 4to. Reprinted in 1689, 8vo. at the end

(*b*) *Ibid.*

(*i*) Preface, &c. as above.

(*k*) *Ibid.* and Wood, Athen. edit. 1721, vol. ii. col. 327.

(*l*) *Ibid.*

(*m*) *Ibid.*

(*n*) Preface, &c. as above.

(*o*) Hiſt. of his own Time, edit. 1724, fol. vol. i. p. 462.

(*p*) See A. Wood, Athen. vol. ii. col. 745.

(*q*) Printed in 'A Preſervative 'againſt Popery,' Lond. 1739, 2 vols. fol.

[*A*] *To which he was elected —— about two years before his deceaſe.*] He was choſen upon the death of Dr. Benjamin Calamy. And, as Dr. Sharp obſerves (1), never were there two greater men ſucceſſively lecturers of one pariſh; nor ever was any pariſh kinder to two lecturers.

(1) Preface as above.

[*B*] *Part* II. *Lond.* 1680, 8vo. &c.] The learned author compoſed alſo a third part. Dr. Owen having made a great ſhew, in the margin of his book, of quotations from the Fathers, as if Antiquity had been on his ſide; it was intended in this third part to prove (as may be ſeen in the concluſion of the ſecond part) that Dr. Owen had not the Fathers with him, as he pretended. Dr. Clagget had finiſhed his Collections from the Ancients to this purpoſe, and made the book ready for the preſs; but it happened unfortunately that the manuſcript copy was lodged with a friend of his, whoſe houſe was burnt, and the book periſhed in the flames. After this accident he attempted to make his collections over again, but never had an opportunity to finiſh them (2). An Abridgment of the two parts publiſhed, was printed at London in 1719. 8vo. under the following title; 'A treatiſe concerning the Opera-'tions of the Holy Spirit, being the ſubſtance of the 'late Reverend and Learned Dr. William Clagett's 'Diſcourſe upon that ſubject, with large additions. 'By Henry Stebbing, M. A. Rector of Rickinghall in 'Suffolk, and late Fellow of St. Katharine's-Hall in 'Cambridge.'

(2) From the Memoirs above-mentioned.

of his ſecond volume of ſermons. VIII. 'Of the Humanity and Charity of Chriſtians. A Sermon preached at the Suffolk Feaſt in St. Michael, Cornhill, London, November 30, 1686.' IX. 'A Diſcourſe concerning the pretended Sacrament of Extreme Unction, &c.' in three parts. 'With a Letter to the Vindicator of the Biſhop of Condom.' Lond. 1687, 4to. X. 'A ſecond Letter to the Vindicator of the Biſhop of Condom.' Lond. 1687, 4to. XI. 'Authority of Councils, and the Rule of Faith, with an Anſwer to the Eight Theſes laid down for the Trial of the Engliſh Reformation.' The firſt part about Councils by —— Hutchinſon, Eſq; the reſt by Dr. Clagett, 4to. XII. 'Notion of Idolatry conſidered and confuted.' Lond. 1688. XIII. 'Cardinal Bellarmine's ſeventh Note, Of the Union of the Members among themſelves, and with the Head.' XIV. 'His twelfth Note, Of the Light of Prophecy, examined and confuted (*r*).' XV. 'A View of the whole Controverſy between the Repreſenter and the Anſwerer; in which are laid open ſome of the Methods by which Proteſtants are miſrepreſented by Papiſts.' Lond. 1687, 4to. XVI. 'An Anſwer to the Repreſenter's Reflections upon the State and View of the Controverſy. With a Reply to the Vindicator's full Anſwer; ſhewing that the Vindicator has utterly ruined the new Deſign of expounding and repreſenting Popery.' Lond. 1688, 4to. XVII. 'Several captious Queries concerning the Engliſh Reformation, firſt in Latin, and afterwards by T. W. in Engliſh; briefly and fully anſwered.' Lond. 1688, 4to. XVIII. 'A Preface concerning the Teſtimony of Miracles, prefixed to The School of the Euchariſt eſtabliſhed upon the miraculous Reſpects and Acknowledgments, which Beaſts, Birds, and Inſects, upon ſeveral Occaſions, have rendered to the Sacrament of the Altar.' Tranſlated, by another hand, from the original French of F. Touſſain Bridoul, a Jeſuit. Lond. 1687, 4to. [*C*].—After this learned author's deceaſe, his brother, Mr. Nicolas Clagett, publiſhed four volumes of his ſermons [*D*]. The firſt, printed in 1689, contained ſeventeen ſermons; with the Sum of a Conference on February 21, 1686, between Dr. Clagett and Father Gooden, about the point of Tranſubſtantiation. One of theſe ſermons was greatly admired by Queen Mary [*E*]. The ſecond volume, printed in 1693, contained eleven ſermons: A Paraphraſe and Notes upon the firſt, ſecond, third, fourth, fifth, ſeventh, and eighth Chapters of the Goſpel of St. John [*F*]: The Paraphraſe, and Notes on the ſixth Chapter, which had been publiſhed before: A Diſcourſe of Church-Unity, with Directions how, in this divided State of Chriſtendom, to keep within the Unity of the Church: A Diſcourſe of Humanity and Charity: And a Letter concerning Proteſtants Charity to Papiſts; publiſhed by Dr. Clagett. The third and fourth volumes did not come out till the year 1720; which was at ſo great a diſtance of time from the two former volumes, that the Bookſellers concerned could not be prevailed with to call them the third and fourth volumes, as they really were; but they were called the firſt and ſecond volume, as well as the former: only notice was given, that they were never before publiſhed (*s*). (*s*) From the Memoirs above-mentioned.

(*r*) Both reprinted in the *Preſervative* above-mentioned.

[*C*] *From the original French of Father Touſſain Bridoul, a Jeſuit.*] By theſe ſeveral learned pieces, which Dr. Clagett publiſhed himſelf, the reader may in ſome meaſure (as Dr. Sharp obſerves) be able to make a judgment of his genius and abilities (3). If a friend, adds he, can ſpeak without partiality, there doth in thoſe writings appear ſo ſtrong a judgment, ſuch an admirable faculty of reaſoning, ſo much honeſty and candour of temper, ſo great plainneſs and perſpicuity, and withal ſo much ſpirit and quickneſs; and, in a word, all the qualities that can recommend an author, or render his books excellent in their kind; that I ſhould not ſcruple to give Dr. Clagett a place among the moſt eminent and celebrated writers of this Church. And if he may be allowed that, it is as great an honour as can be done him. For perhaps from the inſpired age to this, the world did never ſee more accurate, and more judicious compoſures in matters of Religion, than the Church of England has produced in our days.

(3) Preface, as above.

[*D*] *His brother Mr. Nicolas Clagett publiſhed four volumes of his Sermons.*] Theſe poſthumous Sermons, as Dr. Sharp well obſerves (4), do ſufficiently ſpeak their author. For they every where expreſs the ſpirit, the judgment, and the reaſoning of that excellent man; though ſome of them, perhaps, want that finiſhing which his maſterly hand would have given them, had he been to have publiſhed them himſelf. The learned publiſher informs us (5), that his ſudden thoughts upon a ſubject were ſo marvellouſly good, that they ſeemed to flow from a fountain of reaſon, and diſcovered a great readineſs of judgment in him; but they were very clear and full diſcourſes, which he took any time, and a particular care to compoſe.

(4) In the ſame Preface.

(5) Preface to vol. ii.

[*E*] *One of theſe ſermons was greatly admired by Queen Mary.*] Namely, the ſixteenth in the firſt volume, on Job ii. 10. *Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and ſhall we not receive evil?* This the pious Queen deſired to hear read more than once, during her illneſs, a little before her deceaſe (6). It was compoſed by the learned author upon occaſion of the death of a child of his, that happened a little before; and it was the laſt he made. The laſt he preached, was the ſeventeenth in the firſt volume (7).

(6) Biſhop Teniſon's Sermon at the Funeral of Queen Mary. Memoirs of Dr. Tho. Teniſon, 8vo.

(7) Preface to vol. i. as above.

[*F*] *A Paraphraſe and Notes upon the firſt, ſecond, &c. chapters of the Goſpel of St. John.*] The occaſion of his writing this Paraphraſe was this: a Commentary upon the whole Bible was undertaken by a ſelect number of Divines of our Church. Every one of them chuſing his part, Dr. Clagett made choice of the Goſpel of St. John (8). M.

(8) Preface to Sermons, vol. ii.

CLAGETT (NICOLAS), a learned Divine in the XVIIth, and part of the XVIIIth century, was a younger ſon of Mr. Nicolas Clagett, Miniſter of St. Edmundſbury, and brother to Dr. William Clagett mentioned in the laſt article. He is entered in the regiſter-book of St. Mary's pariſh in Bury, as baptized, May 20, 1654 (*a*). His education was in the Free-ſchool of the place of his nativity, which was at that time

(*a*) From Memoirs communicated to us by Nicolas Lord Biſhop of Exeter.

time under the care of Mr. Edward Leeds [*A*]. From hence he was ſent to Chriſt's-College in Cambridge, where he was admitted January 12, 1671, under the tuition of Dr. Widdrington. He regularly took his degrees in Arts, and in 1704 commenced Doctor in Divinity. Upon his brother's removal to Gray's-Inn, he was elected in his room, March 21, 1680, Preacher at St. Mary's in St. Edmundſbury. In this ſtation he continued near forty-ſix years: and, during that long period of time, was a conſtant preacher, and diligent in every other part of his miniſtry. On the firſt of February 1683, he was inſtituted to the Rectory of Thurlo parva. Dr. John Moore, then Biſhop of Norwich, who was well acquainted with his merit and abilities, collated him, on the 14th of June, 1693, to the Archdeaconry of Sudbury. He had alſo the Rectory of Hitcham in Suffolk, to which he was inſtituted March 8, 1707 (*b*). This eminent Divine lived extremely valued and reſpected, on account of his exemplarineſs, charity, and other virtues; and died much lamented, on the 27th of January, 1726-7, in the ſeventy-third year of his age. He was buried in the chancel of the pariſh church of St. Mary's, in St. Edmundſbury. Among other children, he had Nicolas, afterwards Lord Biſhop of Exeter. The following things were publiſhed by him: I. 'A Perſuaſive to 'Peaceableneſs and Obedience, being an Aſſize Sermon preached at St. Edmundſbury.' Lond. 1683, 4to. II. A pamphlet, intituled, 'A Perſuaſive to an ingenuous Trial of 'Opinions in Religion.' Lond. 1685, 4to. III. 'A Sermon preached at St. Edmundſ-'bury, at the Viſitation of William (Lloyd) Lord Biſhop of Norwich.' Lond. 1686, 4to. IV. 'Chriſtian Simplicity. A Sermon preached December 31, 1704, before the 'Queen.' Lond. 1705, 4to. V. 'Truth Defended, and Boldneſs in ERROR Rebuked: 'or, a Vindication of thoſe Chriſtian Commentators, who have expounded ſome Pro-'phecies of the Meſſias not to be meant only of him. Being a Confutation of Part 'of Mr. Whiſton's Book, intituled, *The Accompliſhment of Scripture Prophecies*; wherein 'he pretends to diſprove all Duplicity of Senſe in Prophecy. To which is ſubjoined, 'an Examination of his Hypotheſis, That our Saviour aſcended up into Heaven ſeveral 'Times after his Reſurrection. And in both, there are ſome Remarks upon other 'Eſſays of the ſaid Author, as likewiſe in an Appendix and a Poſtſcript. With a large 'Preface.' Lond. 1710, 8vo.

(*b*) The ſe dates of his preferments I had from the ſame Memoirs as above.

[*A*] *Under the care of Mr. Edward Leeds.*] The ſame who publiſhed ſome ſelect dialogues of Lucian, a Greek Grammar, &c. M.

CLARKE (Dr. SAMUEL), a very learned and eminent Divine of the laſt and preſent centuries, was born in the city of Norwich [*A*], the 11th of October, 1675, and educated in the Free-ſchool of that place, under the care of the Reverend Mr. Burton. In 1691, he was removed to Caius-College in Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr. Ellis, afterwards Sir John Ellis (*a*). Here his great genius and abilities ſoon diſcovered themſelves; and, before he was much above twenty-one years of age, he greatly contributed, both by his own example, and his excellent tranſlation of, and notes upon, *Rohault's Phyſicks* [*B*], to the eſtabliſhment of the *Newtonian Philoſophy* [*C*]. Afterwards he turned

(*a*) Account of the Life, Writings, and Character of Dr. Clarke. By Benj. Hoadly, Lord Biſhop of Winchеſter. Prefixed to Dr. Clarke's works, in folio, 1738, p. 1.

[*A*] *He was born at Norwich.*] His father was Edward Clarke, Eſq; Alderman of that city, and one of it's Repreſentatives in Parliament for ſeveral years; a gentleman of an excellent natural capacity, and untainted reputation for probity and virtue. His mother was Hannah, the daughter of Mr. Samuel Parmenter, Merchant, of the ſame city (1). Mr. Whiſton informs us (2), that Mr. Clarke was ſo acceptable to the citizens of Norwich, that they choſe him, without any ſolicitation, nay, againſt his own inclination, to repreſent them in Parliament.

(1) Account of the Life, Writings, and Character of Dr. Clarke. By Dr. Benj. Hoadly, Lord Biſhop of Winchеſter. Prefixed to Dr. Clarke's works, in folio, 1738, p. 1.

(2) Hiſtorical Memoirs of the Life of Dr. S. Clarke, &c. 8vo. 1738, p. 5, 6.

[*B*] *His tranſlation of, and notes upon*, Rohault's Phyſicks.] There have been four editions of it: the firſt in 1697, in 8vo; the laſt in 1718, in 8vo, under this title: *Jacobi Rohaulti Phyſica: Latine vertit, recenſuit, & uberioribus jam Annotationibus, ex illuſtriſſimi Iſaaci Newtoni Philoſophia maximam partem hauſtis, amplificavit & ornavit* S. Clarke, S.T.P. *Accedunt etiam in hac quarta editione novæ aliquot Tabulæ æri inciſæ, & Annotationes multum ſunt auctæ.* Dr. John Clarke, Dean of Sarum, and our author's brother, tranſlated this work into Engliſh, and publiſhed it, in two volumes, 8vo, under the title of: *Rohault's Syſtem of Natural Philoſophy; illuſtrated with Dr. Samuel Clarke's Notes, taken moſtly out of Sir Iſaac Newton's Philoſophy; with Additions. Done into Engliſh by John Clarke, D. D.* The motives that induced Dr. Samuel Clarke to tranſlate, and comment upon, Mr. Rohault, may be ſeen in the following remark.

[*C*] *He greatly contributed——to the eſtabliſhment of the* Newtonian Philoſophy] When our author came firſt to the Univerſity, the ſyſtem of Des Cartes was the eſtabliſhed Philoſophy there; though (as Biſhop Hoadly juſtly obſerves) it was no more than the invention of an ingenious and luxuriant fancy, having no foundation in the reality of things, nor any correſpondency to the certainty of facts. Mr. Ellis himſelf (Mr. Clarke's tutor) though a very learned man, was a zealot for this Philoſophy, and no doubt gave his pupils the moſt favourable impreſſions of what he had ſo cloſely embraced himſelf. The great Sir Iſaac Newton had indeed then publiſhed his *Principia*. But this book was but for the few; both the matter and manner of it placing it out of the reach of the generality even of learned readers; and ſtrong prejudice, in favour of what had been received, working againſt it. But neither the difficulty of the taſk, nor the reſpect Mr. Clarke paid to the director of his ſtudies, nor the warmth and prejudice of all around him, had any influence upon his mind. Diſſatisfied therefore with arbitrary *Hypotheſes*, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of what was real and ſubſtantial. And in this ſtudy he made ſuch uncommon advances, that he was preſently maſter of the chief parts of the Newtonian Philoſophy; and, in order to his firſt degree, performed a public exerciſe in the Schools, upon a queſtion taken from thence; which ſurprized the whole audience, both for the accuracy of knowledge, and clearneſs of expreſſion, that appeared through the whole.

turned his thoughts to Divinity [*D*]; and, having taken holy orders, became Chaplain to Dr. John Moore, Biſhop of Norwich [*E*]. In 1699, he publiſhed *Three Practical Eſſays upon Baptiſm, Confirmation, and Repentance* [*F*], and an anonymous piece, intituled, *Reflexions on Part of a Book, called* Amyntor [*G*]. In 1701, he publiſhed his *Paraphraſe*

The Syſtem of Natural Philoſophy, then generally taught in the Univerſity, was that written by Mr. Rohault, entirely founded upon the Carteſian principles, and very ill tranſlated into Latin. Mr. Clarke juſtly thought, that Philoſophical notions might be expreſſed in pure Latin; and therefore reſolved to give a new tranſlation of that author, and to add to it ſuch notes, as might lead ſtudents inſenſibly, and by degrees, to other and truer notions than could be found there. And this certainly (the Biſhop obſerves) was a more prudent method of introducing truth unknown before, than to attempt to throw aſide this treatiſe entirely, and write a new one inſtead of it. The ſucceſs anſwered exceedingly well to his hopes. For, by this means, the true Philoſophy has, without any noiſe, prevailed: and to this day his tranſlation of Rohault is, generally ſpeaking, the ſtanding text for lectures; and his notes, the firſt direction to thoſe, who are willing to receive the reality and truth of things, in the place of invention and romance (3). Mr. Whiſton relates (4), that, in the year 1697, while he was Chaplain to Dr. Moore, then Biſhop of Norwich, he met young Mr. Clarke (at that time wholly unknown to him) at one of the Coffee-houſes in the Market-place of Norwich; where they entered into a converſation about the Carteſian Philoſophy, particularly *Rohault's Phyſicks*, which Mr. Clarke's Tutor (Mr. Whiſton ſays) had put him to tranſlate. Mr. Whiſton, being aſked his opinion concerning the fitneſs of ſuch a tranſlation, anſwered; 'that ſince 'the youth of the Univerſity muſt have, at preſent, 'ſome ſyſtem of Natural Philoſophy for their ſtudies 'and exerciſes; and ſince the true ſyſtem of Sir Iſaac 'Newton was not yet made eaſy enough for that pur-'poſe; it was not improper, for their ſakes, to tranſ-'late and uſe the Syſtem of Rohault, who was eſteem-'ed the beſt expoſitor of of Des Cartes; but that as 'ſoon as Sir Iſaac Newton's Philoſophy came to be 'better known, that only ought to be taught, and the 'other dropped.' Which laſt part of his advice (Mr. Whiſton tells us) has not been followed; *Dr. Clarke's Rohault* being ſtill the principal book for young ſtudents in the Univerſity. 'Though ſuch an obſerva-'tion (*he adds*) is no way to the honour of the Tutors, 'who, in reading *Rohault*, do only read a *Philoſophi-'cal Romance* to their pupils, almoſt perpetually con-'tradicted by the better notes thereto belonging.' However, upon this occaſion, Mr. Whiſton and Mr. Clarke fell into a diſcourſe about the wonderful diſcoveries made in Sir Iſaac Newton's Philoſophy. And the reſult was, that Mr. Whiſton was greatly ſurprized, that ſo young a man, as Mr. Clarke then was, ſhould know ſo much of theſe ſublime diſcoveries, which were then almoſt a ſecret to all, but to a few particular Mathematicians.

(3) Account of the Life, &c. of Dr. Clarke, *ubi ſupra*, p. 1, 2.

(4) Hiſtorical Memoirs, &c. p. 4, 5.

[*D*] *He turned his thoughts to Divinity.*] His firſt ſtudies, in order to fit himſelf for the ſacred function, were, the Old Teſtament in the original Hebrew, the New in the original Greek, and the Primitive Chriſtian writers. The firſt of theſe he then read with that exactneſs of judgment, which very few have ſhewn after a much longer application; and which furniſhed him with many obſervations, written at that time with his own hand in the margin, relating to the miſtakes of the common tranſlation of it (5).

(5) Account, &c. *ubi ſupra.*

[*E*] *He became Chaplain to Dr. John Moore, Biſhop of Norwich.*] This Prelate, the greateſt patron of Learning, and learned men, received Mr. Clarke into his familiarity and friendſhip, to ſuch a remarkable degree, that he lived for nearly twelve years in that ſtation, with all the decent freedoms of a brother and an equal, rather than an inferior. The Biſhop's value for him increaſed every day, and there was no mark of eſteem he did not ſhew him while he lived: and, at his death, he gave him the higheſt proof of confidence in leaving all the concerns of his family ſolely in his hands; a truſt, which Mr. Clarke executed with the moſt faithful exactneſs, and to the entire ſatisfaction of every perſon concerned (6). Mr. Whiſton (7) lays claim to the merit of introducing Mr. Clarke to the acquaintance and friendſhip of the Biſhop of Norwich. After the converſation mentioned above (8), which Mr. Whiſton gave the Biſhop an account of, upon his return to the Palace, Alderman Clarke and his ſon were, by order of the Biſhop, invited, and handſomely entertained by Mr. Whiſton at the Palace. The next year (1698) Mr. Whiſton, being collated by the Biſhop to the Living of Loweſtoft in Suffolk, reſigned his Chaplainſhip, in which he was ſucceeded by Mr. Clarke.

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) Hiſt. Mem. p. 6.

(8) See the remark [*C*].

[*F*] *His* three Practical Eſſays upon Baptiſm, Confirmation, and Repentance.] The whole title is: *Three practical Eſſays on Baptiſm, Confirmation, and Repentance: Containing full Inſtructions for a Holy Life; with earneſt Exhortations, eſpecially to young Perſons, drawn from the conſideration of the ſeverity of the Diſcipline of the Primitive Church.* The author, in his Preface, having obſerved the miſtakes men have run into with reſpect to the great buſineſs of repentance and converſion, tells us, his deſign in theſe *Eſſays*, is, 'to endeavour briefly to ſet this great and 'important matter in its true light, from the analogy 'of Scripture, and from the ſenſe of the pureſt ages 'of the Primitive Church: to ſhew, that at *Baptiſm* 'God *always* beſtows that grace, which is neceſſary 'to enable men to perform their duty; and that to 'thoſe, who are baptiſed in their infancy, this grace 'is ſealed and aſſured at *Confirmation*: that from 'henceforward men are bound, with that aſſiſtance, 'to live in the conſtant practice of their known duty, 'and are not to expect (except in extraordinary caſes) 'any extraordinary, much leſs irreſiſtible grace, to 'preſerve them in their duty, or to convert them 'from ſin: that if after this they fall into any *great* 'wickedneſs, they are bound to a proportionably '*great* and *particular* repentance: and that, as the 'Goſpel hath given ſufficient aſſurance of ſuch re-'pentance being accepted, to comfort and encourage 'all true penitents; ſo it has ſufficiently ſhewn the '*difficulty* of it *at all times*, and the *extreme danger* of 'it when *late*, to deter men from delaying it when 'they are convinced of its neceſſity, and from adding 'to their ſins when they hope to have them forgiven.' Biſhop *Hoadly* (9) mentions theſe *Eſſays*, and the *Reflections* on *Amyntor* (10), not to put them upon a level with the author's other performances, but only as having upon them the plain marks of a Chriſtian frame of mind, and as proofs of his knowledge in the writings of thoſe early ages, even at his firſt ſetting out into the world. Mr. Whiſton (11) eſteems theſe *Eſſays* the moſt ſerious treatiſe Dr. Clarke ever wrote, and which, with a little correction, will ſtill be very uſeful in all Chriſtian families. Upon this occaſion Mr. Whiſton tells us, he remembers, he once told Dr. Clarke, after he had been long at St. James's, and about the Court, that 'he doubted he was not now 'ſo ſerious, and good a Chriſtian, as he had been *in* '*the days of Hermas.*' This, he ſays, Dr. Clarke readily underſtood to mean the time of his writing theſe three practical Eſſays, in which he had very often quoted that excellent, but deſpiſed, book of Primitive Chriſtianity: *The Shepherd of Hermas.* There have been five editions of theſe *Eſſays*.

(9) Account, &c. p. 3.

(10) See the next remark.

(11) Hiſt. Mem. &c. p. 7.

[*G*] *His* Reflexions on——*Amyntor.*] The whole title is: *Some Reflections on that part of a book, called* Amyntor, or, A Defence of Milton's life, *which relates to the Writings of the Primitive Fathers, and the Canon of the New Teſtament: In a Letter to a Friend.* The author of *Amyntor*, it is well known, was the famous Mr. Toland, and the propoſitions, maintained therein, which Dr. Clarke thought moſt to deſerve conſideration, are theſe three: Firſt, That *The books aſcribed to the Diſciples and Companions of the Apoſtles, which are ſtill extant, and at this time thought genuine, and of great authority; ſuch as, the epiſtle of* Clemens *to the* Corinthians, *the epiſtles of* Ignatius, *the epiſtle of*

Paraphraſe on the Goſpel of St. Matthew, which was ſoon followed by thoſe on *St. Mark*, *Luke*, and *John* [*H*]. Biſhop Moore gave our author the Rectory of Drayton, near Norwich, and procured for him a pariſh in that city; both together of very inconſiderable value: and theſe he ſerved himſelf in the ſeaſon when the Biſhop reſided at Norwich. His preaching was, at firſt, without notes, and ſo continued till he became Rector of St. James's (*b*). In the year 1704, he was appointed to preach Mr. Boyle's Lecture; and the ſubject he choſe was, *The Being and Attributes of God* [*I*]: in which he

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 4.

of Polycarp *to the* Philippians, *the Paſtor of* Hermas, *and the epiſtle of* Barnabas, &c. *are all very eaſily proved to be ſpurious, and fraudulently impoſed upon the credulous.* Secondly, That *it is the eaſieſt taſk in the world, to ſhew the ignorance and ſuperſtition of the writers of theſe books: that* Barnabas *has many ridiculous paſſages; and by ſaying, that the Apoſtles before their converſion were the greateſt ſinners in nature, we are robbed of an argument we draw from their integrity and ſimplicity againſt infidels: that the Paſtor of* Hermas *is the ſilliеſt book in the world: and that* Ignatius *ſays, the virginity of* Mary *was a ſecret to the devil*; which, Dr. Clarke ſuppoſes, Mr. Toland cites as a ridiculous ſaying. Thirdly, That *they, who think theſe books genuine, ought to receive them into the Canon of Scripture, ſince the reputed authors of them were the companions and fellow-labourers of the Apoſtles, as well as* St. Mark *and* St. Luke, *which is the only reaſon* (Mr. T. ever heard of) *why theſe two Evangeliſts are thought inſpired.* Theſe are the principal aſſertions of the author of *Amyntor*; in oppoſition to which Dr. Clarke advances, and maintains, the three following propoſitions: *Firſt, that*, 'Though we are not infallibly certain, that the Epiſtles of *Clemens*, *Ignatius*, *Polycarp* and *Barnabas*, with the *Paſtor of Hermas*, are genuine; yet that they are generally believed to be ſo, upon very great authority, and with very good reaſon.' *Secondly, that therefore* 'Though they are not received as of the ſame authority with the Canonical Books of the New Teſtament, yet they ought to have a proportionable veneration paid to them, both with reſpect to the authors, and to the writings themſelves.' *Thirdly, that* 'Neither the belief of the genuineneſs of theſe books, nor the reſpect paid to them as ſuch, does in the leaſt diminiſh from the authority of the New Teſtament, or tend to make the number of the Canonical Books uncertain or precarious.' This Tract was firſt publiſhed, without a name, in 1699, and ſince added to Dr. Clarke's *Letter to Mr. Dodwell*, &c.

[*H*] *His* Paraphraſes on *the Four Goſpels.*] Among the many excellent Commentaries and Expoſitions upon the Books of the Holy Scripture, there had been none, wherein the text of the *New Teſtament* is fully paraphraſed with brevity and plainneſs. *Eraſmus*'s performance of this kind is very elegant and judicious: but his explications are large, having frequent digreſſions: in many places he indulges allegorical interpretations; and, beſides, the beauty of his work is very much loſt in our tranſlation. The eminent and learned Biſhop *Hall* wrote a pious Expoſition upon particular difficult texts; but, becauſe it was only upon particular texts, the deſign itſelf allowed him not to regard tranſitions, and to make his paraphraſe one continued uninterrupted diſcourſe. Dr. *Hammond* has with great pains collected all the aſſiſtances of ancient and modern learning, and with great ſucceſs applied them to the explication of the *New Teſtament*. But thoſe, who juſtly admire his great learning and ſkill in interpreting, yet complain of the obſcurity and perplexedneſs of his ſtyle, which makes his Paraphraſe ſomewhat difficult, and of leſs general uſe: and beſides, it was never printed by itſelf without his large notes. Dr. *Patrick*, Biſhop of Ely, has, with admirable learning and judgment, brought this way of writing to perfection, in his Paraphraſe upon ſome books of the *Old Teſtament*; and all, who deſire to underſtand the Scriptures fully, will ever wiſh he had gone through all the writings both of the *Old* and *New Teſtament* in the ſame way. Others, who have written good expoſitions upon the Holy Scriptures, have either made large commentaries, of leſs general and conſtant uſe; or have inſiſted chiefly on ſuch critical obſervations, as are proper only for the learned. Dr. Clarke tells us (12), he has 'endeavoured in theſe papers to expreſs the full 'ſenſe of the Evangeliſts in the plaineſt words, and 'to continue the ſenſe without interruption by the 'cleareſt tranſitions *he* could. *He has* all along con-'ſulted the beſt Expoſitors, and ſelected out of every 'one what ſeemed to diſcover the moſt natural 'meaning of the text: and where any thing remark-'able offered itſelf to *his* thoughts, different from 'what *he* met with in Commentators, *he* ſet it down 'in ſhort notes in the margin. But other critical 'obſervations *he has* generally omitted (excepting 'what uſe is made of them in the Paraphraſe) that '*he* might not ſwell the marginal notes into a com-'mentary, and trouble the reader with repeating 'what others had ſaid already.' Of how great benefit theſe *Paraphraſes* have been, and alway will be, to thoſe Engliſh readers, who have ſenſe and goodneſs enough to be pleaſed with a juſt repreſentation of the true meaning of what is recorded in the Goſpel, we need not ſay. And we cannot but expreſs our wiſhes, that he had purſued his original deſign, which was to have compleated the work upon the whole New Teſtament. We are told (13), he had actually begun his *Paraphraſe* upon the *Acts of the Apoſtles*: but ſomething accidental interrupted the execution. And it is now only to be lamented, that he did not afterwards reſume and complete ſo excellent a work; which his friends often preſſed upon him, and to which he would ſometimes anſwer, That it was made leſs neceſſary by the labours of ſeveral worthy and learned perſons, ſince the publication of his work upon the *Four Goſpels*. There have been ſeveral editions of Dr. Clarke's *Paraphraſe*.

(12) Pref. to his Paraphraſe, &c. See Dr. Clarke's works, in folio, Lond. 1738, vol. iii. *init.*

(13) Account, &c. *ibid.*

[*I*] *His Sermons on* the Being and Attributes of God.] Theſe, together with his Sermons on the *Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion*, are thrown into continued Diſcourſes, and printed together, under the general title of *A Diſcourſe concerning the Being and Attributes of God, the Obligations of Natural Religion, and the Truth and Certainty of the Chriſtian Revelation, in anſwer to Mr.* Hobbes, Spinoza, *the author of the* Oracles of Reaſon, *and other deniers of Natural and Revealed Religion: being ſixteen Sermons, preached in the cathedral church of St. Paul, in the years* 1704 *and* 1705, *at the Lecture founded by the Honourable* Robert Boyle, *Eſq*; The particular title of the firſt eight ſermons is, *A Demonſtration of the Being and Attributes of God.* There having been already publiſhed, many and good books, to prove the Being and Attributes of God, our author choſe to contract what was requiſite for him to ſay upon this ſubject, into as narrow a compaſs, and to expreſs what he had to offer, in as few words, as he could with perſpicuity. For which reaſon, he confined himſelf to one only method, or continued thread of arguing; which he endeavoured ſhould be as near to mathematical, as the nature of ſuch a diſcourſe would allow: omitting ſome other arguments, which he could not diſcern to be ſo evidently concluſive: 'Becauſe (to uſe his own words) it ſeems not to be 'at any time for the real advantage of truth, to uſe 'arguments in its behalf founded only on ſuch *hypo-'theſes*, as the adverſaries apprehended they cannot 'be compelled to grant (14).' Yet he has not made it his buſineſs to oppoſe any of thoſe arguments, becauſe he thought it not the beſt way 'for any one to 'recommend his own performance, by endeavouring 'to diſcover the imperfection of others, who are 'engaged in the ſame deſign with himſelf, of pro-'moting the intereſt of true religion and virtue (15).' Dr. Clarke's *Sermons* at Mr. *Boyle*'s Lecture were printed in two diſtinct volumes; the former in 1705, and the latter in 1706. They have been ſince printed in one volume, and have paſſed through ſeveral

(14) Pref. to the Demonſtration, &c. See his works, vol. ii. p. 517.

(15) *Ibid.*

he ſucceeded ſo well, that he was appointed to preach the ſame Lecture the next year, when he choſe for his ſubject, *The Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion* [K]. About

veral editions. In the fourth and fifth editions were added ſeveral letters to Dr. Clarke from *A Gentleman in Glouceſterſhire* *, relating to the *Demonſtration*, &c. with the Doctor's Anſwers. In the ſixth and ſeventh editions were added, *A Diſcourſe concerning the Connexion of the Prophecies in the Old Teſtament, and the Application of them to Chriſt*; and *An Anſwer to a ſeventh Letter concerning the Argument* à Priori. Dr. Clarke having endeavoured to ſhew, that the Being of a God may be demonſtrated by arguments *à Priori* (in which attempt, whether ſucceſsful or not, ſurely he may be excuſed) is unluckily involved in the cenſure a very great wit has paſſed upon this method of reaſoning, in the following lines, which he has put into the mouth of one of his Dunces, addreſſing himſelf to the Goddeſs:

* Dr. Joſeph Butler. See his article.

Let others creep by timid ſteps and ſlow,
On plain experience lay foundations low,
By common ſenſe to common knowledge bred,
And, laſt, to nature's cauſe thro' nature led.
All-ſeeing in thy miſts, we want no guide,
Mother of arrogance, and ſource of pride!
We nobly take the high *Priori* road,
And reaſon downward, 'till we doubt of God (16).

(16) Dunciad, B. iv. l. 455.

Upon which we have the following note: 'Thoſe, 'who, from the effects in this viſible world, deduce 'the eternal power and Godhead of the Firſt Cauſe, 'though they cannot attain to an adequate idea of 'the Deity, yet diſcover ſo much of him, as enables 'them to ſee the end of their creation, and the means 'of their happineſs; whereas they, who take this 'high *Priori road* (as Hobbes, Spinoza, Des Cartes, 'and ſome *better reaſoners*) for one that goes right, 'ten loſe themſelves in miſts, or ramble after viſions, 'which deprive them of all ſight of their end, and 'miſlead them in the choice of wrong means.' Mr. Pope would, perhaps, have ſpared his *better Reaſoners*, and not have joined them with ſuch company, had he recollected our author's apology for uſing the argument *à Priori*. *The argument* à poſteriori (he tells us) *is indeed by far the moſt generally uſeful argument, moſt eaſy to be underſtood, and in ſome degree ſuited to all capacities; and therefore it ought always to be diſtinctly inſiſted upon. But foraſmuch as* atheiſtical *writers have ſometimes oppoſed the Being and Attributes of God by ſuch* metaphyſical *reaſonings, as can* no otherwiſe *be obviated, than by arguing* à Priori; *therefore this manner of arguing alſo is uſeful and neceſſary in its proper place* (17). Biſhop Hoadly, ſpeaking of Dr. Clarke's *Demonſtration*, &c. tells us (18), he has 'laid the 'foundations of true religion too deep and ſtrong, to 'be ſhaken either by the ſuperſtition of ſome, or the 'infidelity of others:' That 'He choſe particularly 'to conſider the arguings of Spinoza and Hobbes, the 'moſt plauſible patrons of the ſyſtem of *Fate* and *Neceſſity*; a ſyſtem, which, by deſtroying all true freedom of action in any intelligent being, at the ſame 'time deſtroys all that can be ſtyled virtue, or praiſe-'worthy:' That, 'this being a ſubject, into which 'all the ſubtilties and quirks of Metaphyſicks had 'entered, and thrown their uſual obſcurity and intricacy; the difficulty lay in clearing away this rubbiſh of confuſion; in introducing a language that 'could be underſtood; in clothing the cleareſt ideas 'in this plain and manly language; and in concluding nothing but from ſuch evidence as amounts to '*Demonſtration*:' That 'He began with ſelf-evident 'propoſitions; from them advanced to ſuch as received their proof from the former; and in theſe 'took no ſtep till he had ſecured the way before him:' That 'Throughout the whole no word is uſed, but 'what is intelligible to all who are at all verſed in 'ſuch ſubjects, and what expreſſes the clear idea in the 'mind of him who makes uſe of it:' And that 'All 'is one regular building, erected upon an immoveable 'foundation, and riſing up, from one ſtage to another, 'with equal ſtrength and dignity.' Let us hear Mr. Whiſton's opinion in relation to this performance of Dr. Clarke's. He tells us (19), when the author brought him his book, he was in his garden over-againſt St. Peter's College in Cambridge, where he then lived. 'Now I perceived, *ſays he*, that in theſe 'Sermons he had dealt a great deal in abſtract and metaphyſick reaſonings. I therefore aſked him how he 'ventured into ſuch ſubtilties, which I never durſt 'meddle with? And ſhewing him a nettle, or the like 'contemptible weed, in my garden, I told him, that 'weed contained better arguments for the Being and 'Attributes of God than all his Metaphyſicks. He 'confeſſed it to be ſo; but alledged for himſelf, that, 'ſince ſuch Philoſophers as Hobbes and Spinoza had 'made uſe of thoſe kind of ſubtilties *againſt*, he 'thought proper to ſhew, that the like way of reaſoning might be better made uſe *on the ſide of* religion. Which reaſon, or excuſe, I allowed not to 'be inconſiderable. As to myſelf, I confeſs I have 'long eſteemed ſuch kind of arguments as the moſt 'ſubtle, but the *leaſt ſatisfactory* of all others whatſoever. And my own opinion is, that, perhaps, 'Angels, or ſome of the orders of rational beings ſuperior to them, may be able to reaſon a great way '*à Priori*, as it is called, and from Metaphyſicks, to 'their own and others ſatisfaction; but I do not perceive that we men, in our preſent imperfect ſtate, 'can do ſo.' Whatever this honeſt gentleman could, or could not do, it is certain, that Dr. Clarke, and other ingenious men, of clear heads and ſound judgments, have reaſoned a great way *à Priori*; and that metaphyſical reaſoning in ſuch hands is not only *the moſt ſatisfactory*, but is the higheſt and nobleſt effort of the human underſtanding. We ſhall conclude this remark, with juſt mentioning ſome pieces written for, and againſt, Dr. Clarke's *Demonſtration of the Being and Attributes of God*. It was animadverted upon by Mr. Edmund Law *, in his *Notes* upon Archbiſhop King's *Eſſay on the Origin of Evil*, tranſlated from the Latin. This occaſioned a piece intitled, *A Defence of Dr. Clarke's Demonſtration of the Being and Attributes of God: Wherein is particularly conſidered the Nature of Space, Duration, and neceſſary Exiſtence: Being an Anſwer to a late book intitled,* A Tranſlation of Dr. King's Origin of Evil, *and ſome other Objections: Together with a Compendium of A Demonſtration of the Being and Attributes of God,* London, 1732, in 8*vo*. Mr. Law vindicated his *Remarks* in a *Poſtſcript* to the ſecond edition of Dr. King's *Eſſay:* which occaſioned, *A ſecond Defence of Dr. Clarke's Demonſtration of the Being and Attributes of God: In Anſwer to a* Poſtſcript, &c. *By the author of the firſt Defence,* London, 1732, in 8*vo*. The ſame year was publiſhed a pamphlet, intitled, *Dr. Clarke's notion of Space examined: In vindication of the tranſlation of Archbiſhop King's* Origin of Evil: *Being an Anſwer to two late pamphlets intitled,* A Defence, &c. Mr. John Jackſon publiſhed a piece, intitled, *The Exiſtence and Unity of God, proved from his Nature and Attributes: Being a Vindication of Dr. Clarke's Demonſtration of the Being and Attributes of God,* London, 1734, in 8*vo*. The ſame year appeared two pamphlets, printed at Cambridge; one intitled, *An Enquiry into the Ideas of Space, Time, Immenſity, and Eternity, as alſo the Self-Exiſtence, neceſſary Exiſtence, and Unity of the Divine Nature, by* Edmund Law, M A. the other intitled, *An Examination of Dr. Clarke's Notion of Space, by* Joſeph Clarke, M. A. Mr. John Clarke, author of the two *Defences* of Dr. Clarke's *Demonſtration*, having publiſhed a *third*, Mr. Joſeph Clarke publiſhed *A farther Examination of Dr. Clarke's Notions of Space, with ſome Conſiderations on the poſſibility of Eternal Creation: In Reply to Mr. John Clarke's* third Defence, &c. *To which are added, ſome Remarks on Mr. Jackſon's Exceptions to Dr. Clarke's* Notions of Space examined *in his* Exiſtence and Unity, &c.

* The preſent worthy and learned Biſhop of Carliſle, 1783.

(17) Works, vol. ii. p. 756.

(18) Account, &c. p. 4..

(19) Hiſt. Mem. p. 8.

[K] *On the* Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion.] In theſe Diſcourſes he laid the foundations of Morality deep, in the mutual relations of things and perſons one to another; in the unalterable fitneſs of ſome actions, and the unfitneſs of others; and in the will of the great Creator of all things, evident from his making man capable of ſeeing theſe relations and

About this time, or not much later, Mr. Whiſton tells us (*c*), he diſcovered, that Mr. Clarke had been looking into the primitive writers, and began to ſuſpect, that the *Athanaſian* doctrine of the *Trinity* was not the doctrine of the early ages [*L*]. In 1706, his Patron Biſhop Moore, by his intereſt, procured for him the Rectory of St. Bennet, Paul's Wharf, in London (*d*). The ſame year, he publiſhed his *Letter to Mr.* Dodwell, in anſwer to that author's *Epiſtolary Diſcourſe* concerning the *Immortality of the Soul* [*M*]. The ſame year, likewiſe, he tranſlated Sir Iſaac Newton's Treatiſe of *Opticks* into elegant Lain [*N*]. He was now brought by his Patron to Court, and recommended to the favour of Queen Anne, who appointed him one of her Chaplains in Ordinary; and, ſoon after, in conſideration of his great merit, and at the requeſt of the Biſhop, preſented him to the Rectory of St. James's, Weſtminſter [*O*]: from which time he left off his former way of preaching without notes, and made it his buſineſs to compoſe, and write down, as accurate ſermons as he could (*e*). Upon his advancement to this ſtation in 1709, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity at Cambridge, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf, upon that occaſion, by the performance of a remarkable public exerciſe (*f*) [*P*]. The ſame year, he reviſed and corrected Mr. Whiſton's tranſlation of the *Apoſtolical*

(*c*) Hiſtorical Memoirs of the Life of Dr. S. Clarke, *&c.* 8vo. 1730, p. 80.

(*d*) Account of the Life, *&c.* p. 5.

(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 5, 6.

(*f*) *Ib.* p. 6, 7.

this fitneſs, of judging concerning them, and of acting agreeably to that judgment. He then proceeded to demonſtrate the Chriſtian Religion to be worthy of God, from its *internal* evidence, taken from the perfect agreeableneſs of its main deſign to the light of nature, and to all the moral obligations of eternal reaſon; without which agreeableneſs, all the arguments in the world could never conclude in its favour: and, after this, to prove it to have been actually revealed to the world by God, from the *external* evidence of prophecy going before it, and of miraculous works performed in expreſs confirmation of it. Theſe Sermons, together with thoſe on the *Being* and *Attributes* of *God*, every Chriſtian in this country, as Biſhop Hoadly well obſerves (20), 'ought to eſteem 'as his treaſure; as they contain the true ſtrength, 'not only of *natural*, but of *revealed* religion: which, 'if ever it be removed from ſuch a foundation, or 'ſeparated from ſuch an alliance with reaſon and un-'corrupted nature, will not long ſubſiſt in the belief 'of underſtanding perſons, after ſuch a ſeparation. 'And, therefore, *What God hath joined together, let 'not man put aſunder.*'

(20) Account, &c. p. 5.

[*L*] *He began to ſuſpect, that the* Athanaſian *doctrine of the* Trinity *was not the doctrine of the early ages.*] Whether Mr. (Sir Iſaac) Newton had given Mr. Clarke any intimations of that nature, or whether it aroſe from enquiries of his own, Mr. Whiſton, who gives us this account (21), cannot directly inform us; though he inclines to the latter. This only he remembers to have heard Mr. Clarke ſay, that he never read the *Athanaſian* Creed, in his pariſh, at or near Norwich, but once, and that was only by miſtake, at a time when it was not appointed by the Rubrick.

(21) Hiſt. Mem. p. 8, 9.

[*M*] *His* Letter to Mr. Dodwell, *in anſwer to that author's* Epiſtolary Diſcourſe *concerning the* Immortality of the Soul.] The whole title is, *A Letter to Mr.* Dodwell; *wherein all the arguments in his Epiſtolary Diſcourſe againſt the immortality of the ſoul are particularly anſwered, and the judgment of the Fathers concerning that matter truly repreſented.* Mr. Dodwell's book, againſt which this is levelled, is intitled, *An Epiſtolary Diſcourſe, proving from the Scriptures, and the firſt Fathers, that the ſoul is a principle naturally mortal, but immortalized actually by the pleaſure of God, to puniſhment or to reward, by its union with the divine baptiſmal Spirit: Wherein is proved, that none have the power of giving this divine immortalizing Spirit, ſince the Apoſtles, but only the Biſhops.* The miſchievous tendency of this doctrine, as it was backed by the great name of the author in the learned world, made it more neceſſary that an anſwer ſhould be given to what, from another hand, might perhaps have been received as a deſigned banter upon both natural and revealed religion. Mr. Clarke was thought the moſt proper perſon for this work. 'And he did it' (*ſays the Biſhop of Wincheſter*) 'in ſo excellent a man-'ner, both with regard to the philoſophical part, and 'to the opinions of ſome of the primitive writers, 'upon whom this doctrine was fixed, that it gave 'univerſal ſatisfaction (22).' But this controverſy did not ſtop here. For Mr. Anthony Collins, commaking in as a ſecond to Mr. Dodwell, went much farther into the philoſophy of the diſpute, and indeed ſeemed to produce all that could plauſibly be ſaid againſt the *immateriality* of the ſoul, as well as the *liberty* of human actions (23). This opened a larger field of controverſy, into which Mr. Clarke entered, and wrote with ſuch a ſpirit of clearneſs and demonſtration, as ſhewed him greatly ſuperior to his adverſaries both in metaphyſical and natural knowledge. 'And I amperſuaded, *ſays Biſhop* Hoadly (24), that, as 'what he has written in this controverſy comprehends 'the little that the Antients had ſaid well, and adds 'ſtill more evidence than ever clearly appeared be-'fore, and all in words that have a meaning to them; 'it will remain the ſtandard of good ſenſe on that 'ſide of the queſtion, on which he ſpent ſo many of 'his thoughts, as upon one of his favourite points.' Mr. Clarke's piece was ſoon followed by *four Defences* of it in *four* ſeveral *Letters* to the author of *A Letter to the learned Mr. Henry Dodwell; containing ſome Remarks on a (pretended) Demonſtration of the immateriality and natural immortality of the ſoul, in Mr. Clarke's Anſwer to his late Epiſtolary Diſcourſe*, &c.

(22) Account, &c. p. 5.

(23) See Mr. Collins's Philoſophical Enquiry into Human Liberty, Lond. 1717, 8vo.

(24) *Ibid.*

[*N*] *He tranſlated Sir Iſaac Newton's* Opticks *into elegant Latin.*] In the midſt of his other labours, he found time alſo to ſhew his regard to mathematical and phyſical ſtudies, and his exact knowledge and ſkill in them. And his natural affection and capacity for theſe ſtudies were not a little improved by the particular friendſhip of the incomparable Sir Iſaac Newton; at whoſe requeſt, Biſhop Hoadly tells us (25), he tranſlated that excellent performance, and ſent it all over Europe in a plainer and leſs ambiguous ſtyle, than the Engliſh language will permit. And here it may be proper to add, that, after the death of that great man, Dr. Clarke vindicated his doctrine concerning the proportion of velocity and force of bodies in motion, againſt the objections of ſome late Mathematicians, in a ſhort, plain, and maſterly letter (26). Nor muſt it be forgotten, that Sir Iſaac Newton was ſo particularly pleaſed with our author's verſion of his *Opticks*, that he preſented him with the ſum of five hundred pounds, or 100 *l.* for each child, the Doctor having then five children (27).

(25) *Ibid.* p. 9.

(26) See Philoſ. Tranſact. No. 401, *an.* 1728.

(27) Hiſt. Mem. p. 9.

[*O*] *The Queen preſented him to the Rectory of St. James's, Weſtminſter.*] From the time of his taking poſſeſſion of this living, he reſided conſtantly in the Rectory-Houſe; ſeldom leaving the place, unleſs for a few weeks in the long vacation, when the town was empty: and, during the time of his being Rector, beſides the regular performance of all the other duties of his profeſſion, he followed the cuſtom of his predeceſſors, in reading Lectures upon the Church-Catechiſm, every Thurſday Morning, for ſome months in the year (28).

(28) Account, &c. p. 8.

[*P*] *He performed a remarkable public exerciſe.*] The queſtions, on which he diſputed, were theſe: I. *Nullum Fidei Chriſtianæ Dogma, in S. Scripturis traditum, eſt rectæ rationi diſſentaneum*, i. e. 'No 'article of Chriſtian Faith, delivered in the Holy 'Scriptures, is diſagreeable to right reaſon.' II. *Sine actionum humanarum libertate nulla poteſt eſſe religio*, i. e. 'Without the freedom of human actions, there 'can

Apoſtolical Conſtitutions into Engliſh [Q]. In 1712, he publiſhed a beautiful edition of *Cæſar's Commentaries* [R]. Soon after this, Dr. Clarke became engaged in a warm controverſy, occaſioned by the publication of his *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity* [S]; of

'can be no religion.' The Doctor's *Theſis* was an elaborate diſcourſe upon the firſt of theſe two queſtions. Dr. James, then Royal Profeſſor of Divinity, a very learned and acute diſputant, exerted himſelf more than uſual upon this occaſion; and, after having ſifted every part of Dr. Clarke's *Theſis* with the ſtricteſt nicety, preſſed him with all the force of ſyllogiſm in its various forms. To the former our reſpondent made an *extempore* reply, in a continued diſcourſe for near half an hour; in which, without any heſitation either for thoughts or language, he took off the force of all that the Profeſſor had ſaid, in ſuch a manner, that many of the auditors declared themſelves aſtoniſhed, and owned that, if they had not been within ſight of him, they ſhould have ſuppoſed he had read every word of his reply out of a paper. After this, in the courſe of the ſyllogiſtical diſputation, he guarded ſo well againſt the arts, which the Profeſſor was maſter of in perfection; replied ſo readily to the greateſt difficulties ſuch an objector could propoſe; and preſſed him ſo cloſe and hard with clear and intelligible anſwers, that, perhaps, never was ſuch a conflict heard in the ſchools; nor any diſputation kept up with ſuch ſpirit, and ended with equal honour to the reſpondent. The Profeſſor, who was a man of humour as well as learning, ſaid to him aloud, towards the end of the diſputation, *Probe me exacuiſti*, or (as others think) *exercuiſti:* which was looked upon as a very high compliment, in his humorous way of ſpeaking. And the learned members of the Univerſity, who had with pleaſure attended to every part of the diſputation, went away diſcourſing to one another of the unuſual entertainment they had had in the ſchools; and particularly admiring, that, after an abſence of ſo many years, and a long courſe of buſineſs of quite another nature, they heard him now handling the ſubjects he undertook in ſuch a maſterly manner, as if this ſort of academical exerciſe had been his conſtant employment; and with ſuch a fluency and purity of expreſſion, as if he had been accuſtomed to no other language in converſation but *Latin* (29). Mr. Whiſton tells us (30), in the words of an unknown admirer of Dr. Clarke, who was preſent at this famous *act*, that 'Every creature was wrapt 'up into ſilence and aſtoniſhment, and thought the 'performance truly admirable.' *In the courſe of this act, where I was preſent,* adds Mr. Whiſton (31), *Profeſſor* James, *who knew of the intimacy of Dr.* Clarke and me; *knew alſo that I was a profeſſed* Euſebian *, *and ſuſpected Dr.* Clarke *to be a latent one; digreſſed from one of the doctor's queſtions, and preſſed him hard to condemn one of the opinions I had juſt then publiſhed in my* Sermons *and* Eſſays; *which book he held in his hand, when he was in the chair. I ſuppoſe it might be this, that* our Saviour had no human ſoul, but that the divine Λόγος, or *Word*, ſupplied its place. *This was done in ſuch a rude, indecent, and almoſt profane manner, as occaſioned the following Tetraſtick, which was produced by Dr.* Bentley, *when Dr.* Clarke *and I ſupped with him that every evening:*

(29) *Ib.* p. 6, 7.

(30) Hiſt. Mem. p. 12.

(31) *Ibid.* p. 13.

* Anti-Trinitarian, or rather Anti-Athanaſian.

Tune Mathematicum, male ſalſe Jacobe, laceſſis,
Hiſtrio dum ringis ſerium habere virum?
Ludis tu Chriſtum, *Dominumque Deumque* profeſſus:
Ille colit *Dominum*, quem negat eſſe *Deum*.

Which I have ſeen thus tranſlated:

And do'ſt thou, James, with awkward keenneſs mark
Whiſton, *and ſcoffing fret at ſerious* Clarke?
Thou jeſt'ſt on Chriſt, thy Lord *and* God *ſupreme:*
Whiſton *adores him* Lord, *but fears him* God *to name.*

However Dr. Clarke, *who I believe, had not then particularly examined that point, did prudently avoid either the approbation or condemnation of it.*

[Q] *He reviſed and corrected Mr. Whiſton's Tranſlation of the* Apoſtolical Conſtitutions *into Engliſh.*] Mr. Whiſton tells us (32), that, his own ſtudies having been chiefly upon *things*, and having rendered him incapable of being alſo a critick in *words* or *languages*, he deſired his great friend and great critick Dr. Clarke, to reviſe that tranſlation. 'We 'read (*ſays he*) a great part of it over together; as 'he corrected the reſt by himſelf, and ſent me the 'corrections: ſome or all of which I have now by 'me, under his own hand. I perceived their con'tents made then a very great impreſſion upon him; 'though he ſeemed, I know not how, to have ſuf'fered ſome part of that impreſſion gradually to wear 'off afterward. When he had reviſed and corrected 'the whole, and found about ten or twelve places, 'which he heſitated about, he recommended it to 'me to go to our great and common friend Dr. 'Smalridge (with whom my acquaintance commen'ced about the ſame time it did with Dr. Clarke, if 'not a little ſooner) for the laſt correction of thoſe 'more difficult places: who as he was a very great 'admirer of the book itſelf, ſo was he pleaſed to ex'amine and correct my verſion of it, as to every one 'of thoſe places. Theſe were the two perſons inti'mated, but not named by me, on this account, in 'the *advertiſement* to the firſt of my four volumes of 'Primitive Chriſtianity revived: where I juſtly call 'Dr. Clarke, *one excellently ſkilled in ſuch matters* and 'an accurate hand; and Dr. Smalridge, *a very learned* 'and judicious perſon.'

(32) *Ib.* p. 15.

[R] *He publiſhed a beautiful edition of* Cæſar's Commentaries.] It is intitled, *C. Julii Cæſaris quæ extant, accuratiſſime cum libris editis & MSS. optimis collata, recognita, & correcta: Acceſſerunt Annotationes Samuelis Clarke, S. T. P. Item indices locorum, rerumque & verborum, utiliſſimæ.* It was printed in 1712, in *folio*; and afterwards, in 1720, in 8vo. It was dedicated to the great Duke of Marlborough, at a time when *his unequalled victories and ſucceſſes had raiſed his glory to the higheſt pitch abroad, and leſſened his intereſt and favour at home* (33). In the publication of this book, Dr. Clarke took particular care of the *punctuation*, or a proper diſtribution of each *ſentence* into its *conſtituent members:* an exactneſs too much neglected by learned men, though abſolutely neceſſary for preſerving the perſpicuity, and even beauty, of an author's language. In the *annotations*, he ſelected what appeared the beſt and moſt judicious in other editors, with ſome corrections and emendations of his own interſperſed. He acknowledges himſelf particularly obliged to the learned Dr. Richard Bentley, for the uſe of a manuſcript in the King's Library; to the Rev. Dr. Robert Cannon, for ſome various readings, tranſcribed from the *Muſeum* of Iſaac Voſſius; but different from thoſe, which are inſerted in the *Amſterdam* edition of *Cæſar*, with the notes of Dionyſius Voſſius; and laſtly, to Dr. John Moore, Biſhop of Ely, for a manuſcript, uſed by Dr. Davis in his edition of *Cæſar*, and by him called *the Norwich manuſcript* *. Mr. Addiſon takes notice of Dr. Clarke's *folio* edition of *Cæſar's Commentaries* in the following words: 'The new edition, which is given 'us of *Cæſar's Commentaries*, has already been taken 'notice of in foreign Gazettes, and is a work that 'does honour to the *Engliſh* preſs. It is no wonder, 'that an edition ſhould be very correct, which has 'paſſed through the hands of one of the *moſt accurate, learned, and judicious writers* this age has produced. 'The beauty of the paper, of the character, and of 'the ſeveral cuts, with which this noble work is il'luſtrated, makes it the fineſt book that I have ever 'ſeen; and is a true inſtance of the *Engliſh* genius, 'which, though it does not come the firſt into any 'art, generally carries it to greater heights than any 'other country in the world (34).'

(33) Account, &c. p. 8.

* MS. Norvicenſ. Biſhop Moore being then Biſhop of Norwich. Dr. Clarke calls it MS. Elienſ.

(34) Spectator, No. 367.

[S] *His* Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity.] It was firſt publiſhed in 8vo, in 1712. Afterwards there was a ſecond edition, with ſome alterations, in 1719. The whole title is: *The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity; wherein every text in the New Teſtament relating to that doctrine is diſtinctly conſidered, and the Divinity* of

(35) Pref.

(36) Account, &c. p. 7.

(*) Dr. Wate land, Head Magd. Coll. Cambridge.

(37) *Ibid.*

(38) *Ibid.* p. 8.

of which notice was taken, and complaint made, by the Lower Houſe of Convocation in 1714 [T]: but the affair ſoon ended, upon the Members of the Upper Houſe declaring

of our bleſſed Saviour, according to the Scriptures, proved and explained. The ſubject of this book, the author tells us (35), 'is a doctrine no way affecting 'the particular conſtitution, order, or external go- 'vernment of the Church, but in general of great im- 'portance in religion; a matter not to be treated of 'ſlightly and careleſsly, as it were by accident only, 'or after the manner of ſuperficial controverſies about 'words, or of particular occaſional queſtions con- 'cerning the meaning of ſingle ambiguous texts; 'but which ought, when diſcourſed upon at all, to 'be examined thoroughly on all ſides, by a ſerious 'ſtudy of the whole Scripture, and by taking care 'that the explication be conſiſtent with itſelf in every 'part.' It is divided into three parts. The *firſt* is, *A Collection and Explication of all the Texts in the New Teſtament, relating to the doctrine of the Trinity.* In the *ſecond* part, *The foregoing doctrine is ſet forth at large, and explained in particular and diſtinct propoſitions.* And in the *third, The principal paſſages in the Liturgy of the Church of England, relating to the doctrine of the Trinity, are conſidered.* The Biſhop of Winchester applauds our author's method of proceeding, in forming his own ſentiments upon ſo important a point. 'He knew, and all men agreed, 'that it was a matter of mere revelation: he did not 'therefore retire into his cloſet, and ſet himſelf to in- 'vent and forge a plauſible hypotheſis, which might 'fit eaſily upon his own mind. He had not recourſe 'to abſtract and metaphyſical reaſonings, to cover or 'patronize any ſyſtem he might have embraced before. 'But, as a Chriſtian, he laid open the New Teſta- 'ment before him. He ſearched out every text, in 'which mention was made of the three Perſons, or 'of any of them. He accurately examined the 'meaning of the words uſed about every one of 'them; and by the beſt rules of Grammar and *Cri- 'tique*, and by his ſkill in language, he endeavoured 'to fix plainly what was declared about every perſon, 'and what was not (36).' 'I am far from taking 'upon me, *adds the Biſhop*, to determine, in ſo dif- 'ficult a queſtion, between Dr. *Clarke*, and thoſe 'who made replies to him. The debate ſoon grew 'very warm; and in a little time ſeemed to reſt prin- 'cipally upon him, and one particular adverſary (*), 'very ſkilful in the management of a debate, and 'very learned and well verſed in the writings of the 'ancient Fathers.——This I hope I may be allowed 'to ſay, that every Chriſtian Divine, and Layman, 'ought to pay his thanks to Dr. Clarke, for the me- 'thod into which he brought this diſpute, and for that 'collection of texts of the New Teſtament, by 'which at laſt it muſt be decided, on which ſide ſo- 'ever the truth may be ſuppoſed to lie. And let me 'add this one word more, that, ſince men of ſuch 'thought, and ſuch learning, have ſhewn the world, 'in their own example, how widely the moſt honeſt 'enquirers after truth may differ upon ſuch ſubjects; 'this, methinks, ſhould a little abate our mutual cen- 'ſures, and a little take off from our poſitiveneſs 'about the neceſſity of explaining, in this or that one 'determinate ſenſe, the ancient paſſages relating to 'points of ſo ſublime a nature (37).' His Lordſhip concludes what he had to ſay upon this ſubject, with aſſuring us, 'that from the time of *Dr. Clarke*'s pub- 'liſhing this book, to the day of his death, he found 'no reaſon, as far as he was able to judge, to alter 'the notions which he had there profeſſed, concern- 'ing the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, towards any 'of thoſe ſchemes, which ſeemed to him to derogate 'from the honour of the Father on one ſide, or from 'that of the Son and Spirit on the other. This (*adds 'the Biſhop*) I thought proper juſt to mention, as what 'all his friends know to be the truth (38).' Some time before the publication of Dr. Clarke's *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, a meſſage was ſent him from the Lord Godolphin, and others of Queen Anne's Miniſters, importing, 'that the affairs of the public 'were with difficulty then kept in the hands of thoſe, 'who were at all for liberty; that it was therefore an 'unſeaſonable time for the publication of a book, 'which would make a great noiſe and diſturbance; 'and that therefore they deſired him to forbear, till a 'fitter opportunity ſhould offer itſelf;' which meſſage Dr. Clarke had no regard to, but went on, according to the dictates of his conſcience, with the publication of his book (39). Since Dr. Clarke's death, a third edition of this book has been printed, with very great additions, left under the author's own hand, ready prepared for the preſs. As it gave occaſion to a great number of books and pamphlets on the ſubject, written by himſelf and others, we ſhall ſubjoin a liſt of thoſe publiſhed by our author, referring, for the reſt, to a Pamphlet intitled, *An Account of all the conſiderable books and pamphlets, that have been written on either ſide, in the Controverſy concerning the Trinity, ſince the year* 1712. *In which is alſo contained an account of the pamphlets written this laſt year on each ſide by the Diſſenters, to the end of the year* 1719, London, 1720, in 8vo. Dr. Clarke's Tracts are as follow. I. *A Letter to the Rev. Dr.* Wells, *in anſwer to his* Remarks, London 1714, in 8vo. II. *A Reply to the Objections of* Robert Nelſon, *Eſq; and of an Anonymous Author* (||) *againſt Dr.* Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity: *Being a Commentary on forty ſelect Texts of Scripture.* III. *An Anſwer to the Remarks of the Author* (*) *of* Some Conſiderations concerning the Trinity, and the ways of managing that Controverſy. Theſe two laſt publiſhed together; London, 1714, in 8vo. IV. *A Letter to the late Rev. Mr. R. M.* (†) *containing Obſervations upon his book, intitled,* A plain Scripture Argument againſt Dr. Clarke's Doctrine concerning the ever-bleſſed Trinity. V. *A Letter to the author of a book, intitled,* The true Scripture Doctrine of the moſt holy and undivided Trinity, continued, and vindicated: *Recommended firſt by Mr.* Nelſon, *and ſince by Dr.* Waterland. The two laſt pieces publiſhed together, London 1719, in 8vo. at the end of a Tract by another author, intitled, *The modeſt Plea for the Baptiſmal and Scripture Notion of the Trinity,* &c. VI. *The modeſt Plea continued; or, A brief and diſtinct Anſwer to Dr.* Waterland's Queries *relating to the Doctrine of the Trinity,* London, 1720, in 8vo. VII. *Obſervations on Dr.* Waterland's *ſecond Defence of his Queries,* London, 1724, in 8vo. VIII. *Dr.* Clarke's Replies *to the author of* three Letters to Dr. Clarke, from a Clergyman of the Church of England, concerning his *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity.* The *Letters* and *Replies* publiſhed together, by the author of the *Letters*; London 1714, in 8vo.

[T] —— *Of which complaint was made by the Lower Houſe of Convocation, in* 1714.] Their complaint was ſent to the Upper Houſe, *June* the 2d, ſetting forth: 'That a book had been lately pub- 'liſhed, and diſperſed throughout the province, in- 'titled, *The Scripture Doctrine,* &c. and ſeveral De- 'fences thereof, by the ſame author: which book, 'and defences, did, in their opinion, contain aſſer- 'tions contrary to the Catholick Faith, as received 'and declared by the Reformed Church of England, 'concerning *three Perſons, of one Subſtance, Power 'and Eternity, in the Unity of the Godhead:* and tend- 'ing moreover to perplex the minds of men in the ſo- 'lemn acts of worſhip, as directed by our eſtabliſhed 'Liturgy, &c.' The Biſhops returned for anſwer, *June* the 4th, that *they approved the zeal of the Lower Houſe, thought they had juſt cauſe of complaint, and would take it into their conſideration. June* the 12th, their Lordſhips ſent a meſſage to the Lower Houſe, directing an *extract* to be made of *particulars* out of the books complained of. *June* the 23d, the ſaid *extract* was accordingly laid before the Biſhops, diſpoſed under the following heads: I. *Aſſertions contrary to the Catholick Faith, as received and declared by this Reformed Church of England, concerning three Perſons, of one Subſtance, Power, and Eternity, in the Unity of the Godhead.* II. *Paſſages tending to perplex the minds of men in the ſolemn acts of worſhip, as directed by our eſtabliſhed Liturgy.* III. *Paſſages in the Liturgy and Thirty-nine Articles, wreſted by Dr. Clarke in ſuch manner, as is complained of in the Repreſentation.*

(35) Pref.

(36) Account, &c. p. 7.

(*) Dr. Waterland, Head of Magd. Coll. Cambridge.

(37) *Ibid.*

(38) *Ibid.* p. 8.

(39) Hiſt. Mem. P. 25.

(||) Suppoſed to be Dr. James Knight, Vicar of St. Sepulchre's, in London.

(*) Dr. Gaſtrel, Biſhop of Cheſter.

(†) Richard Mayo.

claring themſelves ſatisfied with the explanations delivered in to them by the author, upon the ſubject of the complaint (g). About the year 1712, Dr. Clarke had a con-

(g) *Ibid.*

preſentation. Dr. Clarke drew up a *Reply* to this *extract*, dated *June* the 26th: which, it ſeems, was preſented to ſome of the Biſhops; but (for what reaſon we are not told) was not laid before the Houſe. After this, there appearing, in almoſt the whole Upper Houſe, a great diſpoſition to prevent diſſenſions and diviſions, by coming to a *temper* in this matter; Dr. Clarke was *prevailed upon* to lay before the Houſe a *paper*, dated *July* the 2d, ſetting forth: 1. *That* 'his opinion was, that the Son of God was eternally 'begotten by the eternal incomprehenſible *power* and '*will* of the Father; and that the Holy Spirit was 'likewiſe eternally derived from the Father, by or 'through the Son, according to the eternal incom'prehenſible *power* and *will* of the Father.' 2. That, 'Before his book, intitled, *The Scripture Doctrine*, '&c. was publiſhed, he did indeed preach two or 'three ſermons upon this ſubject; but, ſince the book 'was publiſhed, he had never preached upon this 'ſubject: and (becauſe he thought it not fair to pro'poſe particular opinions, where there is not liberty 'of anſwering) he was willing to *promiſe* (as indeed he 'intended) not to preach any more upon this ſubject.' 3. That 'He did not *intend* to write any more con'cerning the doctrine of the Trinity: but, if he 'ſhould fail herein, and write any thing hereafter, 'upon this ſubject, contrary to the doctrine of the 'Church of England, he did hereby willingly *ſubmit* 'himſelf to any ſuch cenſure, as his ſuperiors ſhould 'think fit to paſs upon him.' 4. That, 'Whereas it 'had been confidently reported, that the *Athanaſian* 'Creed, and the 3d and 4th petitions in the *Litany*, 'had been omitted in his Church by his direction, he 'did hereby declare, that the 3d and 4th petitions in 'the *Litany* had never been omitted at all, as far as he 'knew; and that the *Athanaſian Creed* was never 'omitted at eleven o'clock prayers, but at early prayers 'only, for brevity ſake, at the diſcretion of the cu'rate, and not by his appointment.' 5. That, 'As 'to his private converſation, he was not conſcious to 'himſelf, that he had given any occaſion for thoſe 'reports, which have been ſpread concerning him, 'with relation to this controverſy.' The paper concludes with theſe words: *I am ſorry that what I ſincerely intended for the honour and glory of God, and ſo to explain this great myſtery, as to avoid the hereſies in both extremes, ſhould have given any offence to this Synod, and particularly to my Lords the Biſhops. I hope my behaviour for the time to come, with relation hereunto, will be ſuch, as to prevent any future complaints againſt me.* After this paper had been laid before the Upper Houſe, Dr. Clarke, being apprehenſive, that if it ſhould be publiſhed *ſeparately* (as afterwards happened) without any true account of the preceding and following circumſtances, it might be liable to be miſunderſtood in ſome particulars; cauſed an *explanation*, dated July 5, to be preſented to the Biſhop of London, the next time the Upper Houſe met; ſetting forth: 'That, whereas the paper, laid 'before their Lordſhips the Friday before, was, 'through haſte and want of time, not drawn up with 'ſufficient exactneſs, &c. he thought himſelf indiſ'penſably obliged in conſcience to acquaint their 'Lordſhips; that he did not mean thereby to *retract* 'any thing he had written, but to declare, that the 'opinion ſet forth at large in his *Scripture Doctrine*, '&c. is, that *The Son was eternally begotten by the eter'nal incomprehenſible* Power *and* Will, &c. and that, 'by declaring he did not intend to write any more 'concerning the doctrine of the Trinity, he did not 'preclude himſelf from a liberty of making any in'offenſive corrections in his former books, if they 'ſhould come to another edition; or from vindicat'ing himſelf from any miſrepreſentations or aſper'ſions, which might poſſibly hereafter be caſt upon 'him on occaſion of this controverſy.' After the delivery of the foregoing *explanation* to the Biſhop of London, the Upper Houſe *reſolved*, *July* the 5th, *to proceed no farther upon the extract laid before them by the Lower Houſe*; and *ordered* Dr. Clarke's papers to be entered in the Acts of that Houſe. But the Lower Houſe, not ſo ſatisfied, *reſolved*, *July* the 7th, *that the paper ſubſcribed by Dr. Clarke, and communicated to them by the Biſhops, does not contain in it any recantation of the heretical aſſertions, and offenſive paſſages, complained of in their* Repreſentation, *and afterwards produced in their* Extract; *nor gives ſuch ſatisfaction for the great ſcandal occaſioned thereby, as ought to put a ſtop to any farther examination and cenſure thereof.* Thus ended this affair; the moſt authentick account of which we have in a piece, intitled, *An Apology for Dr. Clarke, containing an Account of the late Proceedings in Convocation upon his writings concerning the Trinity.* London 1714, in 8*vo*. It was written, Mr. Whiſton tells us (40), by a worthy Clergyman in the country (*), a common friend of his and Dr. Clarke's, and contains true copies of the original papers relating to the proceedings of the Convocation and Dr. Clarke, communicated by the Doctor himſelf, and occaſioned by his friend's letter to him, in relation to his conduct; which letter, with Dr. Clarke's anſwer, is printed in the *Apology* (41). The *paper*, laid by Dr. Clarke before the Upper Houſe of Convocation, was preſently publiſhed, by an unknown hand, without the *explanation* that followed it, the *reſolution* of the Biſhops conſequent thereupon, or the *vote* of the Lower Houſe, which followed that reſolution. This gave occaſion to a report, both in written and printed news-papers, that Dr. Clarke had RETRACTED what he had written concerning the doctrine of the Trinity. Particularly, in the *Political State of Great-Britain* for *June* 1714, were publiſhed theſe words: 'A few 'days after (*after the extract was ſent up*) Dr. Clarke 'thought fit to make a *ſubmiſſion* to the Upper Houſe, 'and to deliver to their Lordſhips a paper, wherein 'he PROMISED neither to write nor preach any 'more upon thoſe abſtruſe points: whereby an end 'was put to that portentous affair. And, oh! that 'all Divines would be as wiſe, and ſacrifice their 'private opinions to the peace and unity of the 'Church!' And, in October following, in a book, intitled, *The Hiſtory of the Firſt and Second Seſſion of the laſt Parliament*, were publiſhed the following words: 'The Upper Houſe of Convocation being 'made ſenſible, that he (*Dr. Clarke*) had made a '*ſacrifice* of his private opinions to the peace and 'unity of the Church; and that by this prudent and 'Chriſtian behaviour, &c.' About the ſame time came out ſeveral other accounts of the proceedings of the Convocation relating this matter; moſt of which ſeemed to repreſent Dr. Clarke as having made ſuch *compliances*, as could not but be a great diſcouragement to all who placed their religion in a free and impartial ſtudy of the Scriptures. How far Dr. Clarke's conduct upon this occaſion, as repreſented above, will ſerve to juſtify theſe reports, is left to the reader's judgment. In the mean time, impartiality obliges us to ſet down Mr. Whiſton's reflections upon this affair (42). He calls Dr. Clarke's *opinion* delivered in to the Biſhops (at the head of the *paper*, recited above) a NEW DECLARATION of his Belief of a *ſort* of *Eternity* of the *Son* and *Spirit*; the delivery of which *Declaration* he had heard him long afterwards ſtyle a *fooliſh thing*: the occaſions of which, he thinks, beſides the ſiniſter motives of human *caution*, and human *fear*, were theſe two: Firſt, his own metaphyſick opinion, which he conſtantly and vigorouſly maintained, That any *Creature* whatſoever might *poſſibly* have been *coeternal* with its *Creator*; and, ſecondly, that Biſhop Smalridge, whoſe opinion was chiefly regarded, had dropped ſome words beforehand, intimating, that, 'As to other of Dr. Clarke's 'metaphyſical notions about the Trinity, he did not 'think it neceſſary to proceed to their condemnation, 'provided he would but declare he believed the *eter*'*nity* of the Son of God.' This *New Declaration*, Mr. Whiſton adds, was made, contrary to the wiſer advice of Dr. Bradford, who would have had Dr. Clarke rather tranſcribe ſome ſuch parts of his own books, as came neareſt to the common doctrine, and ſend them to the Convocation, as ſo far a declaration of his faith: 'Which (ſays Mr. Whiſton) would have 'been a method of proceeding, both more honeſt 'and more unexceptionable.' And Mr. Whiſton is of opinion, there is a great deal of truth in what is ſaid, that Dr. Clarke was *prevailed upon* to deliver in his new, ſuſpicious, declaration; the true point (he thinks) being SAVE THY SELF AND US: both of which were by this means obtained.

(40) Hiſt. Mem. p. 43.

(*) Suppoſed to be the Rev. Mr. John Lawrence, M. A.

(41) No. 7.

(42) See Hiſt. Mem. p. 44, &c.

ference with Dr. Smalridge, concerning the Trinity, at Thomas Cartwright's, Esq; at Aynho, in Northamptonshire [*U*]. In 1715 and 1716, he had a dispute with the celebrated Mr. Leibnitz, relating to the principles of Natural Philosophy and Religion; and a *collection* of the *papers*, which passed between them, was published in 1717 [*W*]. In 1718, a controversy arose concerning the primitive *Doxologies*, occasioned by an alteration made by Dr. Clarke in those of the singing Psalms [*X*]. About this time, he was presented by Mr. Lechmere, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, to the Mastership of Wigstan Hospital, in Leicester (*b*). In 1724, he published, in 8vo. *seventeen sermons* on several occasions, eleven of which were never before printed. In 1727, upon the death of Sir Isaac Newton, he was offered the place of *Master of the Mint*, which he thought proper to refuse [*Y*]. In 1728, was published, *A Letter* from Dr. Clarke to

(*b*) Hist. Mem. p. 61.

[*U*] *He had a conference with Dr. Smalridge concerning the Trinity*, &c.] It was proposed, Mr. Whiston tells us (43), by the former, in order to the conviction of the latter. And if any person in England was able to *convince* upon that head, he thinks, it must have been Dr. Smalridge, who was a thorough master of those original books of Christianity, from whence the arguments were to be taken, and who wanted not sagacity nor good-will to enforce them. However, if Mr. Whiston is to be credited, Dr. Smalridge failed of success, and the company were generally satisfied that the evidence on Dr. Clarke's side was greatly superior to the other.

(43) Hist. Mem. p. 41.

[*W*] *A collection of papers, which passed between Dr. Clarke and Mr. Leibnitz.*] To this collection are added, *Letters to Dr. Clarke concerning Liberty and Necessity, from a Gentleman* (*) *of the University of Cambridge; with the Doctor's Answers to them:* also *remarks upon a book, intitled*, A Philosophical Enquiry concerning human Liberty (†). This book is inscribed to her late Majesty Queen Caroline, (then Princess of Wales) who was pleased, the Bishop of Winchester tells us (44), to have the controversy pass through her hands, and was the witness and judge of every step of it. And Dr. Clarke, Mr. Whiston informs us (45), used often to speak with admiration of the Queen's marvellous sagacity and judgment in the several parts of the dispute. It related chiefly to the important and difficult points of *liberty* and *necessity*; points, in which Dr. Clarke always excelled, and shewed a superiority to all, whenever they came into private discourse, or public debate. But, as the Bishop of Winchester justly observes (46), he never more excelled, than when he was pressed with the strength his learned adversary was master of; which made him exert all his talents, to set the subject once more in a clear light, to guard it against the evil of metaphysical obscurities, and to give the finishing stroke to what must ever be the foundation of morality in man, and is the sole ground of the accountableness of intelligent creatures for all their actions. 'And as this, *adds the Bishop*, was the last of Dr. 'Clarke's works relating to a subject, which had 'been, by the writings of cloudy or artful men, rendered so intricate; I shall take the liberty to say, 'with regard to all of the same tendency, from his 'first discourse about the *being of God*, to these letters; 'that what he has written to clear and illustrate this 'cause, does now stand, and will for ever remain, 'before the world, a lasting monument of a genius, 'which could throw in light where darkness used to 'reign; and force good sense and plain words into 'what was almost the *privileged place* of obscurity 'and unintelligible sounds. For such, indeed, had 'the subject before us been, under the hands of most 'who had written upon it; either through a desire of 'darkening it by words without meaning, or through 'an inability of discoursing clearly and consistently 'about it.' Mr. Whiston observes (47), that Mr. Leibnitz was pressed so hard by Dr. Clarke, from matter of fact, known laws of motion, and the discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton (who, he tells us, heartily assisted the Doctor,) that he was forced to have recourse to metaphysical subtilties, and to a *pre-established harmony of things* in his own imagination, which he styles a *superior reason*; till it was soon seen, that Monsieur Leibnitz's *superior reason* served to little else, but to confirm the great *superiority* of experience and Mathematicks above all such metaphysical subtilties whatsoever. 'And I confess, *adds Mr.* Whis-

(*) Rich. Bulkley, Esq;

(†) By Anthony Collins, Esq;

(44) Account, &c. p. 9.

(45) Hist. Mem. p. 80.

(46) Account, &c. *ibid.*

(47) Hist. Mem. p. 80.

'ton, I look upon these letters of Dr. Clarke, as 'among the most useful of his performances in Na-'tural Philosophy.'

[*X*] *He altered the forms of doxology in the singing psalms.*] This he did in certain *select hymns and psalms*, reprinted that year for the use of St. James's parish. The alterations were these:

To God, *through* Christ, his only Son,
Immortal glory be, &c.

And,

To God, *through* Christ, his Son, our Lord,
All glory be therefore, &c.

A considerable number of these *select psalms and hymns* having been dispersed by the *Society for promoting of Christian Knowledge*, before the alteration of the *doxologies* was taken notice of, Dr. Clarke was charged with a design of imposing upon the Society; whereas, in truth, the edition of them had been prepared by him for the use of his own parish only, before the Society had any thoughts of purchasing any of the copies. However, the bishop of London thought proper to publish *A Letter to the Incumbents of all Churches and Chapels in his Diocese, concerning their not using any new Forms of Doxology*, dated *Dec.* 26, 1718. This letter was animadverted upon by Mr. Whiston, in his *Letter of thanks to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London, for his late Letter to his Clergy against the use of new Forms of Doxology*, &c. dated *Jan.* 17, 1718-19; and in a pamphlet, intitled, *An humble Apology for St. Paul, and the other Apostles; or, a Vindication of them and their Doxologies from the Charge of Heresy*. By Cornelius Paets. London 1719. Soon after came out an ironical piece, intitled, *A Defence of the Bishop of London, in Answer to* Mr. Whiston's Letter of Thanks, *addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury. To which is added, A Vindication of Dr. Sacheverell's late Endeavour to turn Mr. Whiston out of his Church.* Mr. Whiston's *Letter of Thanks* occasioned likewise the two following pieces: *viz. The Lord Bishop of London's Letter to his Clergy vindicated*, &c. *By a Believer*; London 1719: and *A seasonable Review of Mr. Whiston's Account of Primitive Doxologies*, &c. *By a Presbyter of the Diocese of London* (*). London 1719. To the latter Mr. Whiston replied in *A Second Letter to the Bishop of London*, &c. dated March 11, 1718-19: and the author of the *seasonable Review*, &c. answered him in a *Second Review*, &c. As to Dr. Clarke's conduct in this affair, Mr. Whiston (48) esteems it 'one of the most Christian attempts 'towards somewhat of reformation, upon the primitive 'foot, that he ever ventured upon.' But he adds, that the Bishop of London, in the way of *modern authority*, was quite too hard for Dr. Clarke, in the way of *primitive Christianity*.

(*) Supposed to be Dr. William Berriman.

(48) *Ibid.* p. 60.

[*Y*] *He thought proper to refuse the place of Master of the Mint.*] Upon the offer of this place, he advised with his friends, and particularly with Mr. Emlyn and Mr. Whiston; who were both heartily against his accepting it, as what he did not want, as what was entirely remote from his profession; and would hinder the success of his ministry. To which Mr. Whiston added, as his principal reason against it, that such refusal would shew that he was in *earnest* in religion. Dr. Clarke was himself of the same opinion, and could never reconcile himself to this *secular preferment*. And it is taken notice of, to the honour of

Mrs.

to Mr. Benjamin Hoadly, concerning *the Proportion of Velocity and Force in Bodies in Motion* (*i*). The beginning of the year 1729, he publiſhed at London, in 4to. the twelve firſt books of Homer's *Iliad* [*Z*]. This was the laſt year of this great and learned man's life: for he was taken ſuddenly ill the 11th of May, and died the 17th [*AA*]. He married Katherine, the only daughter of the Rev. Mr. Lockwood, Rector of Little Maſſingham in Norfolk; by whom he had ſeven children, two of which died before him, and one a few weeks after him (*k*). Since his death have been publiſhed, from his original manuſcripts, by his brother Dr. John Clarke, Dean of Sarum, *An Expoſition on the Church Catechiſm* [*BB*], and *ten volumes* of *ſermons*. The particulars of Dr. Clarke's character ſhall be laid together in the laſt remark [*CC*].

(*i*) Printed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 401.

(*k*) Account, &c. p. 10.

Mrs. Clarke, that ſhe never ſet her heart upon the advantages this place would produce to her family, but left the Doctor at full liberty to act as his conſcience and inclination ſhould direct him. Mr. Whiſton, who particularly mentions this affair, informs us (49), that Mr. Conduit, who ſucceeded, gave 1000l. to vacate a place among the *King's writers*; which was given to one of Dr. Clarke's ſons.

(49) *Ibid.* p. 85.

[*Z*] *The twelve firſt books of Homer's* Iliad.] This edition was printed in *quarto*, and dedicated to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland. The Latin verſion is almoſt entirely new, and *annotations* are added at the bottom of the pages. Homer, the Biſhop of Wincheſter tells us (50), was Dr. Clarke's admired author, even to a degree of ſomething like Enthuſiaſm hardly natural to his temper; and that in this he went a little beyond the bounds of Horace's judgment, and was ſo unwilling to allow the favourite Poet ever to *nod*, that he has taken remarkable pains to find out, and give a reaſon for every paſſage, word, and tittle, that could create any ſuſpicion. 'The 'tranſlation, *adds his Lordſhip*, with his corrections, 'may now be ſtyled accurate; and his notes, as far 'as they go, are indeed a treaſury of grammatical 'and critical knowledge. He was called to this taſk 'by Royal command; and he has performed it in 'ſuch a manner, as to be worthy of the young 'Prince, for whom it was laboured. The praiſes 'given to this excellent work by the writers abroad 'in their *Memoirs*, as well as by the learned Maſters 'of the three principal Schools of England, thoſe of 'Weſtminſter, Eton, and St. Paul's; and the ſhort 'character, that the performance was *ſupra omnem* 'invidiam, beſtowed by one, whom Dr. Clarke had 'long before ſtyled, *Criticos Unus omnes longe longe-*'*que antecellens*, and whom every one will know by 'that title without my naming him; make it unne-'ceſſary to add a word upon this ſubject.' The *twelve laſt books* of the *Iliad* were publiſhed, in 1732, in 4*to* by our author's ſon, Mr. Samuel Clarke, who informs us, in the Preface, that his father had finiſhed the *annotations* to the three firſt of thoſe books, and as far as the 359th verſe of the fourth; and had reviſed the text and verſion as far as verſe 510 of the ſame book. *A ſecond edition* of the whole was publiſhed, in 1735, in two volumes 8*vo*. *

(50) Account, &c. p. 8.

* A third edition was publiſhed in 1740.

[*AA*] *His death.*] The day on which he was taken ill (*Sunday*, *May* 11) he went out in the morning, to preach before the Judges at Serjeant's-Inn; and there was ſeized with a pain in his ſide, which made it impoſſible for him to perform the office he was called to, and became quickly ſo violent, that he was obliged to be carried home. He went to bed, and thought himſelf ſo much better in the afternoon, that he would not ſuffer himſelf to be blooded; againſt which remedy he had entertained ſtrong prejudices. But the pain returning very violently about two the next morning, made the advice and aſſiſtance of a very able Phyſician abſolutely neceſſary; who, after twice bleeding him, and other applications, thought him, as he alſo thought himſelf, to be out of all danger; and ſo continued to think, till the Saturday morning following; when, to the inexpreſſible ſurprize of all about him, the pain removed from his ſide to his head; and, after a very ſhort complaint, took away his ſenſes, ſo as they never returned any more. He continued breathing till between ſeven and eight in the evening of that day (*May* 17) and then died (51).

(51) *Ibid.* p. 10.

[*BB*] *His* Expoſition of the Church Catechiſm.] It is made up of thoſe Lectures he read, every Thurſday morning, for ſome months in the year, at St. James's Church. In the latter part of his time, he reviſed them with great care, and left them completely prepared for the preſs. The firſt edition of them was in 1729. This performance of Dr. Clarke's was immediately animadverted upon by a very learned Divine (*), under the title of, *Remarks upon Dr. Clarke's Expoſition of the Church Catechiſm.* This produced *An Anſwer to the Remarks upon Dr. Clarke's Expoſition of the Church Catechiſm* (‖). The author of the *Remarks* replied in a piece, intitled, *The Nature, Obligation, and Efficacy, of the Chriſtian Sacraments, conſidered; in Reply to a Pamphlet, intitled*, An Anſwer, &c. *As alſo the comparative Value of Moral and Poſitive Duties diſtinctly ſtated and cleared.* The *Anſwerer* rejoined in *A Defence of the Anſwer*, &c. *Wherein the Difference between Moral and Poſitive Duties is fully ſtated. Being a Reply to*, &c. This occaſioned *A Supplement to the Treatiſe, intitled*, The Nature, &c. *Wherein the Nature and Value of Poſitive Inſtitutions is more particularly examined, and Objections anſwered. By the ſame author.* Then followed the *Anſwerer's* Reply, intitled, *The true Foundations of Natural and Revealed Religion aſſerted: Being a Reply to the* Supplement, &c. Which being animadverted upon by the *Remarker* in the *Poſtſcript* to his *Second Part of Scripture vindicated*, produced An Anſwer to the *Poſtſcript*, &c. *Wherein is ſhewn, that if Reaſon be not a ſufficient Guide in Matters of Religion, the bulk of Mankind, for four thouſand years, had no ſufficient Guide at all in Matters of Religion.*

(*) Dr. Waterland, Head of Magdalen Coll. Cambr.

(‖) By Dr. Sykes, Dean of Burien.

(54) Hiſt. Mem. p. 14, 15.

[*CC*] *Dr.* Clarke's *character.*] It is excellently and concifely drawn by the maſterly hand of the author (†) of *Difficulties and Diſcouragements, which attend the Study of the Scripture, in the way of private Judgment*; as follows (52): 'Dr. Clarke is a man, who 'has *all the good qualities*, that can meet together, to 'recommend him. He is poſſeſſed of *all* the parts of 'learning, that are valuable in a Clergyman, in a de-'gree that few poſſeſs any *ſingle one*. He has joined, 'to a good ſkill in the *three learned languages*, a great 'compaſs of the beſt *Philoſophy* and *Mathematicks*, 'as appears by his *Latin* works; and his *Engliſh* ones 'are ſuch a proof of his own *piety*, and of his *know-'ledge in Divinity*, and have done ſo much *ſervice to 'religion*, as would make any other man, that was 'not under the ſuſpicion of *hereſy*, ſecure of the 'friendſhip and eſteem of all good Churchmen, eſ-'pecially of the Clergy. And to all this *piety* and 'learning, and the good uſe that has been made of it, 'is added a *temper* happy beyond expreſſion: a ſweet, 'eaſy, modeſt, inoffenſive, obliging behaviour, adorn 'all his actions; and no paſſion, vanity, inſolence, or 'oſtentation, appear either in what he writes or ſays: 'and yet theſe faults are often incident to the beſt 'men, in the freedom of converſation, and in writing 'againſt impertinent and unreaſonable adverſaries, 'eſpecially ſuch as ſtrike at the foundations of virtue 'and religion. This is the *learning*, this the *temper* 'of the man, whoſe *ſtudy of the Scriptures* has betray-'ed him into a *ſuſpicion* of ſome *heretical opinions*.' After this ſhort, but comprehenſive character, and what has been already ſaid of Dr. Clarke as an *author*, we ſhall add only a few particulars from the accounts given us by Biſhop Hoadly and Mr. Whiſton. The former, in his character of Dr. Clarke (53), tells us; the firſt ſtrokes of *knowledge*, in ſome of its branches, ſeemed to be little leſs than *natural* to him; for they appeared to lie right in his mind, as ſoon as any thing could appear. He had one happineſs, very rarely known among the greateſt men, that his *memory* was almoſt equal to his *judgment*. He had ſo ready a *genius*, that he immediately comprehended what coſt others a great deal of pains, and was eſteemed one of the

(†) Dr. Hare, Biſhop of Chicheſter.

(52) Page 20.

(53) Account, &c. p. 10—13.

(55) *Ibid.* p. 1

(56) *Ib.* p. 66, 6

(57) In the mark [*T*].

the beſt judges to apply to, for a quick determination about the force or failure of any arguments. His critical ſkill in the learned *languages* he made ſubſervient to the cauſe of religion, as well as polite learning. The deſign and tendency of his *preaching* was not to move the paſſions, nor had he any talent that way: but then his ſentiments and expreſſions were ſo maſterly, and his way of explaining the phraſeology of Scripture ſo extraordinary and convincing, as more than made amends for the want of the other. His *converſation*, which was highly uſeful and inſtructive, was attended with a readineſs of thought, and clearneſs of expreſſion, which hardly ever failed him, when his opinion was aſked upon the moſt important and trying queſtions. His *piety* was manly and unaffected; his *charity* and benevolence, extenſive as the whole rational creation; and the *ruling principle* of his heart and practice, a love of the religious and civil liberties of mankind. In a word, his *life*, when he came into the view of the great world, was an ornament and ſtrength to that religion, which his *pen* ſo well defended. Mr. Whiſton gives us (54) a remarkable example of what Biſhop Hoadly obſerves, that the *firſt ſtrokes of knowledge ſeemed to be little leſs than natural to him*. He had it from Dr. Clarke's own mouth, and it is this. One of his parents aſked him, when he was very young, whether God could do every thing? He anſwered, yes. He was aſked again, whether God could do one particular thing, could tell a lye? He anſwered, no: and he underſtood the queſtion to ſuppoſe, that this was the only thing that God could not do. Nor durſt he ſay, ſo young was he then, he thought there was any thing elſe, which God could not do: while yet he well remembered, he had even then a clear conviction in his own mind, that there was one other thing, which God could not do, *viz.* that he could not *annihilate* that *ſpace*, which was in the room wherein they were. Which impoſſibility now appears even in Sir Iſaac Newton's own Philoſophy. Mr. Whiſton fully agrees to the character given above of Dr. Clarke by the author of *Difficulties and Diſcouragements*, &c. with ſuch abatements as the *Memoirs* he himſelf has given us of this great man will make neceſſary. Theſe abatements, reſpecting ſome parts of the Doctor's conduct, impartiality requires us to mention. And, in the firſt place, he blames Dr. Clarke for *ſubſcribing* the *Articles*, at a time when he could not, with perfect truth and ſincerity, aſſent to the *Athanaſian* parts of them. This was at his taking the degree of Doctor in Divinity. Mr. Whiſton, then Profeſſor of Mathematicks at Cambridge, endeavoured to diſſuade him from it; and, when he could not prevail on that head, he earneſtly preſſed him to declare openly, and in writing, in what *ſenſe* he ſubſcribed the ſuſpected Articles: but he could not prevail on this head neither. Upon this occaſion, Profeſſor *James*, who ſuſpected Dr. Clarke of an inclination to *heretical pravity*, ſaid to him, upon his ſubſcribing the Articles, 'He hoped he would not 'go from his ſubſcription.' The Doctor replied, 'He could promiſe nothing as to futurity, and could 'only anſwer as to his preſent ſentiments (55).' However, Mr. Whiſton acknowledges, that Dr. Clarke, for many years before he died, perpetually refuſed all, even the greateſt preferments, which required *ſubſcription*, and never encouraged thoſe, who conſulted him, to *ſubſcribe* (56). In the next place, he objects to Dr. Clarke his not acting *ſincerely*, *boldly*, and *openly*, in the Declaration of his *true* opinions, and his *over-cautious*, and *over-timorous* way of ſpeaking, writing, and acting, in points of the higheſt conſequence. When Mr. Whiſton gave him frequent and vehement admonitions upon this head, his general anſwer, he tells us, was, who are thoſe that act better than I do? 'Very few of which (*ſays he*) I could 'ever name to him; though I did not think that a 'ſufficient excuſe.' Laſtly, Mr. Whiſton is greatly diſpleaſed with Dr. Clarke's conduct in relation to the affair of the *Convocation*. We have already ſeen (57) ſome of his reflexions upon that event, the account of which he concludes with theſe words: 'Thus 'ended this unhappy affair; unhappy to Dr. Clarke's 'own conſcience; unhappy to his beſt friends; and 'above all unhappy as to its conſequences, in relation 'to the opinion unbelievers were hereupon willing 'to entertain of him, as if he had prevaricated all 'along in his former writings for Chriſtianity.' This concluſion however, Mr. Whiſton owns, was too haſty, and that Dr. Clarke did by degrees recover part of his former character (58). We ſhall finiſh this remark, and this whole account of Dr. Clarke, with obſerving, that his great abilities and acquirements made him perpetually ſought after by all the greateſt lovers of virtue and knowledge; and that to ſuch a degree, that, through his laſt years, he could command but very little time for his own ſtudies, even in the morning: that, as he was the darling of the great and powerful, ſo, in particular, her late Majeſty *Queen Caroline*, from her firſt acquaintance with his character to the day of his death, expreſſed the high eſteem ſhe had of his comprehenſive capacity, and uſeful learning, by very frequent converſations with him upon the moſt important points of true Philoſophy, and real knowledge (59). B.

(54) Hiſt. Mem. p. 14, 15.

(55) *Ibid.* p. 12.

(56) *Ib.* p. 66, 67.

(57) In the remark [*T*].

(58) *Ibid.* p. 52.

(59) Account, &c. p. 13.

*** [Not many particulars of importance, with regard to the perſonal hiſtory of Dr. Clarke, have been brought to light, ſince our learned predeceſſor's article was written. Mr. Whiſton, in his own life, often mentions the Doctor; but hath ſcarcely related any thing concerning him which had not before occurred in the hiſtorical memoirs. The principal circumſtance we have met with, is Mr. Whiſton's aſſertion, that Dr. Clarke greatly approved of his moſt important diſcovery, that the *infants* and *little children*, who, in the firſt and ſecond centuries, were made partakers of baptiſm, were ſuch only as were arrived to years capable of catechetic inſtruction, though they might not be fit for underſtanding harder matters (60).

Some anecdotes concerning our great Divine have lately been printed in the Gentleman's Magazine. They were collected by the Rev. Mr. Jones, of Welwyn, and are not wholly incurious. We learn from them, that Dr. Clarke was of a very humane and tender diſpoſition. When his young children amuſed themſelves with tormenting and killing flies upon the windows, he not only forbad ſuch practices, but calmly reaſoned with them, in ſuch a familiar manner, as was calculated to make a powerful impreſſion upon their minds. He was very ready and condeſcending in anſwering applications to him with reſpect to *ſcruples*; numberleſs inſtances of which occurred in the courſe of his life.

One thing of which Dr. Clarke was peculiarly cautious, was not to loſe the leaſt minute of his time. He always carried ſome book about him, which he would read whilſt riding in a coach, or walking in the fields, or if he had any leiſure moments free from company or his other ſtudies. Nay, he would read even in company itſelf, where he might take ſuch a liberty without offence to good manners. This example of literary diligence we cannot but regard as highly worthy of imitation; ſince it is ſurprizing to conſider, what good effects would ariſe from a ſedulous improvement of thoſe ſmall intervals of time which numbers of perſons caſt away as of no conſequence.

When our author was a young ſtudent at the Univerſity, he was ſo diſtinguiſhed by the excellence of his exerciſes, and by other marks of unuſual proficiency in literature, that he was commonly ſpoken of, among the reſt of the ſcholars, by the title of "The lad of Caius." His public exerciſe, of which an account is given in note [*P*], was long remembered in the Univerſity, and by the learned men of that period. Dr. Henry Yarborough, Prebendary of York, and Rector of Tewing, Herts, declared, that he never heard any act equal to it or like it. The ſame gentleman, when at the age of ſeventy-ſeven, ſaid, that he would gladly take a ride to Cambridge, to hear ſuch another act as had been kept by Dr. Clarke.

Dr. Clarke's memory was remarkably ſtrong. He told Mr. Pyle, of Lynn, that he never forgot any thing which he had once thoroughly apprehended and underſtood. The Doctor, with his intimate friends, was perfectly free and eaſy; but if ſtrangers were introduced, he behaved with much circumſpection, converſing only upon common topics. When he viſited Dr. Sykes, his uſual way was to ſit with him upon a couch, and, reclining upon his boſom,

(60) Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. William Whiſton, p. 178.

to diſcourſe with him, in the moſt familiar manner, upon ſuch ſubjects as were agreeable to the taſte and judgment of both.

When Sir John Germaine lay upon his death-bed, and was in great confuſion and trouble of mind, he ſent for Dr. Clarke, and requeſted to know of him whether he ſhould receive the Sacrament, and what he ſhould do in his ſad condition. The Doctor, who was well acquainted with Sir John's purſuits and courſe of life, ſedately replied, that he could not adviſe him to receive the Sacrament, and that he did not think it likely to be of any avail to him with reſpect to his final welfare. Having ſaid this, he departed without adminiſtering the Communion, having firſt recommended the dying man to the mercy of God.

An ingenious, learned, and worthy Clergyman, coming out of the country, went one Sunday to hear Dr. Clarke; and was ſo delighted with his diſcourſe, that he declared, he would at any time go twenty miles to partake of the ſame ſatisfaction.

Mr. Pope has a kind of reflection upon Dr. Clarke's frequenting the Court; to which the Poet was ſtimulated by reſentment againſt the Doctor, becauſe he refuſed to uſe his intereſt for obtaining the recall of Lord Bolingbroke from France, with a general pardon.

Theſe are the principal anecdotes which Mr. Jones had met with; and for moſt of them he mentions his authorities (61).

(61) Gent. Magazine, for March, 1783, p. 227—229. vol. liii.

In the article of Mr. Thomas Bott, we have related an inſtance of Dr. Clarke's chearful, and even playful diſpoſition (62). This turn of his mind hath ſince been confirmed by Dr. Warton, who, in his obſervations on the following line of Mr. Pope,

(62) Biog. Brit. vol. ii. p. 428.

"Unthought of frailties cheat us in the wiſe,"

ſays, "Who could imagine that LOCKE was fond of "romances; that NEWTON once ſtudied aſtrology; "that Dr. CLARKE valued himſelf for his agility, "and frequently amuſed himſelf, in a private room "of his houſe, in leaping over the tables and chairs: "and that our author himſelf was a great epi-"cure (63)?" With reſpect to what is here recorded of Dr. Clarke, we can ſcarcely perſuade ourſelves to conſider it as a frailty. To be poſſeſſed of ſuch a temper as his was, muſt have been no ſmall degree of happineſs; as it probably enabled him to purſue his important and ſerious ſtudies with greater vivacity and vigour. To be capable of deriving amuſement from trivial circumſtances, indicates a heart at eaſe, and may generally be regarded as the concomicant of virtue.*

(63) Warton on the Writings and Genius of Pope, vol. ii. p. 186.

* Dr. Clarke amuſed himſelf at times with a game at cards. Anecdotes of Bowyer, p. 22.

There is another thing relative to Dr. Clarke, introduced by Dr. Warton, which requires a particular diſcuſſion. It is conveyed in a quotation from Chevalier Ramſay, which Dr. Warton has not tranſlated. The paſſage is as follows: "M. le Chevalier New-"ton, grand Géométre & nullement Métaphyſicien, "étoit perſuadé de la vérité de la religion: mais il "voulut raſiner ſur d'ancienne Orientales, & renou-"vella l'Arianiſme par l'organe de ſon fameux diſ-"ciple & interprete M. Clarke; qui m'avoua quel-"que tems avans que de mourir après pluſieurs con-"férences que j'avois eues avec lui, combien il ſe "repentoit d'avoir fait imprimer ſon ouvrage: je "fus témoin il y a douze ans, à Londres, de der-"niers ſentimens de ce modeſte & verteux Docteur "(64)." Of this remarkable paſſage, Mr. Lindſey, who hath made ſome ſtrictures upon it, hath given the ſubſequent tranſlation. "Sir Iſaac Newton, a "profound Mathematician, but no Metaphyſician "at all, was a ſincere believer in chriſtianity; but "being carried away with a fondneſs to refine upon "the ancient hereſies of the Eaſt, he revived Aria-"niſm by the pen of his famous diſciple and inter-"preter Dr. Clarke; who owned to me, ſome little "time before his death, after ſeveral conferences that "I had with him, that he greatly repented that he "ever publiſhed his work (*on the Trinity.*) I was "witneſs twelve years ago, that theſe were the laſt "ſentiments of this modeſt and virtuous Divine."

(64) *Ibid.* p. 180.

Dr. Warton obſerves, that perhaps ſome may be almoſt ready to doubt the truth of the fact related by Mr. Ramſay (65). For our part, we are not only *almoſt ready* to doubt the truth of it, but have no heſitation in declaring, that we believe it to be an abſolute falſehood. A narration of ſo extraordinary a nature could not have eſcaped our attention, if it had hitherto paſſed unnoticed: but as it has lately been fully conſidered by Mr. Lindſey, in the preface to his "Hiſtorical View of the State of the Unitarian Doc-"trine and Worſhip," we ſhall have little more to do than to repeat that worthy and learned gentleman's obſervations. Firſt, Mr. Emlyn, than whom ſcarcely any one had more of Dr. Clarke's confidence on religious ſubjects, furniſhes a proof within a very ſhort time of the Doctor's death, of his not having changed his ſentiments concerning the Trinity, which he had before publiſhed. "He once ſhewed me, ſays "Mr. Emlyn, that he had been making ſome emen-"dations in his *Common-Prayer* book; and the very "laſt time, I think, I ever ſaw him, (the *March* be-"fore he died) and in ſome of our laſt diſcourſe at "parting, he aſked me, if he had ſhewn me what he "had been doing in his *Common*-Prayer. I ſaid I "had juſt ſeen it once: he added, that *it ſhould not* "*be loſt*. With what deſign or view he had done it, "he never ſaid to me. —— But I hardly ſuppoſe he "ever finiſhed the work, being ſo ſoon after taken "away from us. A few days before his ſickneſs in "May 1729, I received a letter from him about a "private affair; but before I could anſwer it, I "heard firſt that he was ſick, and quickly after that "he was dead; and thus to my great grief a ſudden "end was put to our friendly converſe, and all his "intercourſe with this earth cut off." Now it is well known that Dr. Clarke's amendments in the common-prayer book, his approbation of which was thus apparent ſo ſhort a time before his deceaſe, contain the moſt deciſive proofs that he had not retracted his former opinions concerning the Trinity. Secondly, Biſhop Hoadly gives ſuch a deſcription of Dr. Clarke's laſt illneſs, as leaves no room to ſuppoſe that Mr. Ramſay could be admitted to his bed-ſide, to have any converſation with him. For the account of his ſickneſs, ſee note [*AA*]. Thirdly, the falſity of Ramſay's ſtory may abſolutely be determined from the poſitive aſſurances of the great prelate juſt mentioned, who informs us, (in a paſſage already quoted in note [*S*]) that Dr. Clarke, from the time of his publiſhing his "Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity," to the day of his death, found no reaſon to alter the notions which he had there profeſſed, concerning the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt. The Biſhop adds, that he thought proper juſt to mention this, as *what all the Doctor's friends knew to be the truth* (66).

(65) *Ibid.*

(66) Hiſtorical View. Preface, p. xii—xix.

The juſtice of theſe remarks is deciſively confirmed by the teſtimony of Dr. Clarke's own ſon. An idle report, of a ſimilar nature to that of Mr. Ramſay's, having been propagated in a news-paper ſeveral years ago, the following anſwer to it was publiſhed in the ſame paper.

"Extract from the London Evening Poſt, printed "Saturday, December 7, 1771."

"To the Printer of the London Evening Poſt.

"Sir,

"You are deſired to inſert in your paper the fol-"lowing article, and you will oblige

"Your humble ſervant,

"Saliſbury, Nov. 30, 1771. "Samuel Clarke.

"Whereas in the London Evening Poſt, on or "about the 25th of May, 1771, there appeared an "anonymous paragraph, highly reflecting on the "late Dr. Samuel Clarke, Rector of St. James's "Weſtminſter; wherein it is aſſerted, *that Dr. Clarke* "*certainly gave up his principles a long time before he* "*died*; and that Mr. Jackſon, Miniſter of Torring-"ton, ſaid he had it from Dr. Clarke's ſon, that the "Doctor on his death-bed ſaid; *Nothing grieved him* "*ſo much as writing his book on the Trinity, and wiſhed* "*he could ſee all his books on that ſubject burning be-*"*fore him.*"

"Mr. Clarke, in juſtice to his father's memory, "and alſo to prevent the public from being impoſed "upon by ſuch a falſehood, thinks himſelf obliged to "declare,

" declare, that Mr. Jackſon is a perſon entirely un-
" known to him, and one whom he cannot recollect
" ever to have been in company with; nor could he
" poſſibly ſay to any perſon what is here affirmed, as
" he has not the leaſt reaſon to believe that his father
" ever retracted any of his ſentiments."

" The falſehood of the aſſertion appears evident
" from this circumſtance; that Dr. Clarke, a little
" before his death, reviſed his work, intitled, " The
" Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity" deſignedly for
" a third edition; and inſerted in the preface an ad-
" ditional paragraph, relating particularly to that
" edition, which was after his death publiſhed ac-
" cordingly, in the year 1732 (67)."

(67) Lindſey's Apology, p. 86—88. Fourth edition.

Mr. Martin Madan, with that ſhameful bigotry and diſingenuity by which his writings in general are marked, republiſhed the injurious paragraph of the London Evening Poſt, in the preface to his " Scriptural Comment on the thirty-nine Articles of " the Church of England," without taking the leaſt notice of its having been publickly contradicted and refuted (68).

(68) *Ibid.*

With regard to Mr. Ramſay's anecdote concerning Dr. Clarke, to which Dr. Warton, from not knowing, or not recollecting, the facts above-mentioned, appears to have given too eaſy a credit, it may be thought difficult to account for the poſitive terms in which it is related. The queſtion is ſolved by Mr. Lindſey in the following manner. " We have no-
" thing, ſays he, therefore to conclude, but that this
" tale of Dr. Clarke's reconverſion to the orthodox
" opinion concerning the Trinity,—and which is in-
" ſinuated by the author of it as having been brought
" about in a good meaſure by his conferences with
" the Doctor, and the ſecret of which he entruſted to
" him alone when near his end, is nothing but an
" anecdote of Mr. Ramſay's own invention, con-
" trived to ingratiate and make himſelf of conſe-
" quence with his new popiſh friends on the other
" ſide of the water, to whoſe religion he had become
" a convert. And it is one humiliating circum-
" ſtance, among others, that high myſtic pietiſts are
" wont to be above paying a ſtrict regard to truth,
" when ſome good end, as they imagine, may be
" ſerved by their deviating from it (69)."

(69) Preface to Lindſey's Hiſtorical View, *ubi ſupra*, p. xix, xx.

Though we feel the truth and force of Mr. Lindſey's laſt obſervation, and are no ſtrangers to the pious frauds which bigots and enthuſiaſts in all ages have thought themſelves juſtified in adopting, we are deſirous, if poſſible, of letting Mr. Ramſay off upon eaſier terms. As, notwithſtanding his abſurdities and whims, eminently conſpicuous in his later writings, we have always conſidered him as not only a man of ingenuity, but of a reſpectable moral character, we are willing to ſuppoſe that he miſtook ſome expreſſion in his converſation with Dr. Clarke; and that this miſtake, operating on a ſanguine diſpoſition and a warm imagination, ripened, in a courſe of years, into the aſſertion he has made, without his abſolutely intending to deliver a falſehood. But to whatever cauſes it was owing, that he has advanced a falſehood is a clear matter of fact. It muſt, therefore, now be regarded as a decided point, that Dr. Clarke never retracted his opinion concerning the Trinity; ſo that if any reports of a ſimilar nature with thoſe we have already confuted ſhould again happen to be ſpread abroad, they are at once to be rejected as totally groundleſs.

The writings of our great Divine are ſo various, ſo excellent in themſelves, and upon ſubjects of ſuch peculiar conſequence, that they have perpetually been referred to by ſucceeding authors, and have been an unceaſing fund of remark and diſcuſſion. Hence it would be impoſſible to take notice of all the references that have been made to them; and it would carry us too far out of our way, to ſpecify all the inſtances of this kind which have fallen within our own obſervation. Nevertheleſs, there are ſome things that cannot wholly be omitted; and eſpecially ſuch as tend to throw light on our literary hiſtory, and on the revolutions to which the opinions of men, even on topics of importance, are ſubject. In the obſervations we ſhall make, it will be moſt expedient to follow the order of time in which ſuch works of Dr. Clarke as we ſhall have occaſion to mention were publiſhed.

It is ſaid, in note [*C*], that to this day the Doctor's tranſlation of Rohault is, generally ſpeaking, the ſtanding text for lectures in the Univerſity of Cambridge; and his notes the firſt direction to thoſe who are willing to receive the reality and truth of things, in the place of invention and romance. But though ſuch an aſſertion might be true when our predeceſſor's article was originally printed, or rather when Biſhop Hoadly's account of Dr. Clarke was written, the caſe, we apprehend, muſt now be very different. As Sir Iſaac Newton's philoſophy hath completely triumphed over that of Deſcartes, Rohault can no longer be a text book for Tutors. Dr. Rutherforth publiſhed a work for the uſe of his own pupils, which might be adopted by other gentlemen; and Rowning's " Introduction" has been much uſed in ſeminaries of education. As improvements continue to be made in natural knowledge, new authors will be fixed upon by judicious profeſſors, and Rowning will probably be ſuperſeded by Nicholſon.

One of Dr. Clarke's early performances was his Paraphraſe on the four Goſpels, which has always been held in general eſtimation. Lately ſome ſtrictures have been made upon it by an ingenious writer, Dr. Campbell, in his Philoſophy of Rhetoric (70). His remarks, however, are not intended to depretiate Dr. Clarke's performance in compariſon with other productions of a like nature; but to ſhew, that it is the common fault of a paraphraſe to act like a torpedo; ſo that, by its influence, the moſt vivid ſentiments become lifeleſs, the moſt ſublime are flattened, the moſt fervent chilled, the moſt vigourous enervated. We are much of the ſame opinion with Dr. Campbell. It is undeniable, that paraphraſts too often miſtake the very end they aim at; and that by thinking themſelves obliged to uſe, on every occaſion, a certain uniform portion and diffuſeneſs of language, they weaken what is equally clear, and more forcible and beautiful, as ſimply expreſſed in the original. It is ridiculous to extend, by an accumulation of words, thoſe parts of ſacred writ which in themſelves have a plain and obvious meaning. The places that are ſo perſpicuous as neither to require or admit of any elucidation, ſhould be left untouched; and thoſe paſſages only ſhould be drawn out which, by being too obſcure and figurative for vulgar apprehenſion, may ſtand in need of enlargement. The method purſued by Biſhop Pearce in his Commentary is the moſt eligible that can be choſen, as he never ſubjoins an explanation when the text itſelf is ſo clear that it cannot well be miſtaken. However, of the paraphraſes that exiſt, Dr. Clarke's is one of the leaſt exceptionable; and, notwithſtanding Dr. Campbell's ſtrictures, it has been, and will continue to be, in many reſpects, of conſiderable utility. Dr. Campbell, if it had not been his intention to ſhew that the moſt judicious paraphraſts are defective, might eaſily have pointed out other writers who are far more blameable. Dr. Clarke's work is conciſe, terſe, and energetic, compared with thoſe of many perſons whom we could mention. The worſt author of this kind we have ever met with, is a Mr. Holden, ſome time ſince a Diſſenting Miniſter at Malden in Eſſex. This gentleman, though he was a man of underſtanding, of liberal principles, and not deſtitute of learning, has been ſo unfortunate, in paraphraſes which he publiſhed on ſeveral parts of the Old Teſtament, extending from the beginning of Job to the end of Iſaiah, as not only to weaken the original by a multiplicity of words, but even to render it remarkably obſcure. In a thouſand caſes, it would be impoſſible to tell, by reading Mr. Holden's paraphraſe alone, what was the verſe which he intended to explain.

(70) Philoſophy of Rhetoric, vol. ii. p. 297—302.

Dr. Clarke's Treatiſe on the Being and Attributes of God, and on the Evidences of natural and revealed Religion, is a production of great importance in the annals of Engliſh literature. It is of great importance on account of its intrinſic excellence, the receptions it hath met with, the influence it hath had on the opinions of men, and the ſtrictures, remarks, and diſquiſitions to which it has given occaſion. With regard to the argument à priori, there is not much to be added to what is ſaid upon the ſubject in note [*I*]. Undoubtedly the grand, the proper, the deciſive proof of the exiſtence, perfections, and providence of the Deity muſt be drawn from his works. On this proof,

proof, as being equally ſatisfactory to the profoundeſt Philoſopher and the meaneſt Peaſant, the cauſe of religion will ever ſtand ſecure. Nevertheleſs, if there be ſuch a thing as an argument à priori, why may not ſpeculative men be employed in its examination? Several able Divines and Philoſophers have thought, and ſtill think, that this argument for the being and attributes of God, will ſtand the teſt of the ſevereſt ſcrutiny; and, therefore, they cannot be blamed for endeavouring to ſet it in a convincing light to others. Mr. Moſes Lowman, a learned Diſſenting Clergyman, wrote a ſhort tract upon the ſubject, which Dr. Samuel Chandler, in his funeral Sermon for that gentleman, pronounced to be an abſolute demonſtration. It is a curious pamphlet, which the writer of the preſent note has read again and again with much ſatisfaction; though he apprehends, that there is one place wherein the chain of the reaſoning is ſomewhat interrupted. The late Mr. Andrew Baxter could not bear to have the argument à priori treated with contempt. Having ſeen an advertiſement, in a news-paper, of a certain author who meant to write againſt that argument, he ſaid in French with much vehemence, "C'eſt un Sot (71)." Some language which, perhaps, was indiſcreetly uſed by Dr. Clarke in his Demonſtration, was perverted by Mr. Hume, in his firſt work, the "Treatiſe on hu-" man Nature," to atheiſtical purpoſes. As this work is now become ſcarce, and is not at hand, it is not in our power to refer to particular paſſages; but we believe that we are not miſtaken in the fact. We ſpeak, likewiſe, from memory, when we ſay that Dr Clarke had read and availed himſelf of Howe's "Living Temple," though we do not recollect that he ever made ſuch an acknowledgment.

(71) From a learned correſpondent.

That part of our eminent Divine's "Evidences" which related to the nature and obligations of virtue, introduced a kind of new language into our ethical writings. Not that the ſentiments themſelves were new. The eſſential diſtinction between virtue and vice, had been well underſtood and expreſſed in every age of the world, and had been amply inſiſted upon both by ancients and moderns. Dr. Cudworth had written, not long before, upon immutable morality. Dr. Clarke, in delineating this immutable morality, having founded it upon the eternal differences, relations, and fitneſſes of things, and having made continual uſe of theſe terms, the ſame terms were adopted by a number of authors, and even became faſhionable in Sermons, where a more natural and popular ſtyle would have been preferable. The Doctor's ſyſtem was not univerſally admitted, various publications appearing on the other ſide of the queſtion. Some contended, that the ſole obligation of virtue aroſe from the will of God; an opinion which Warburton afterwards embraced and ſupported in his "Divine Legation of Moſes." A controverſy upon the ſame ſubject was carried on between two Preſbyterian Miniſters, Dr. Wright and Mr. Mole; the former of whom oppoſed Dr. Clarke's ſcheme, whilſt the latter defended it with a ſtrength of reaſon far ſuperior to that of his antagoniſt. Mrs. Cockburn had equally the advantage in her Remarks upon the principles and reaſonings of Dr. Rutherforth's Eſſay on the Nature and Obligations of Virtue.

But what made the greateſt inroad upon Dr. Clarke's ethical Syſtem, was the ſentimental one, which had been introduced by Lord Shafteſbury, but did not come much into vogue, till Profeſſor Hutcheſon had publiſhed his Enquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue, and his Treatiſe on the Paſſions. From that time the philoſophy of diſtinct moral inſtincts became very prevalent, and was ably ſupported by a number of eminent Scotch writers. Of late it ſeems to be upon the decline, and Hartley's Principle of Aſſociation hath gained a conſiderable number of followers: but we ſay the leſs on this matter at preſent, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more particularly upon it in future articles. Whilſt the diſpute concerning the nature, foundation, and obligations of virtue was carried on, an ingenious treatiſe was publiſhed, by Mr. Jameſon, a Clergyman of Scotland, with a view of reconciling the different ſchemes which had been advanced upon the ſubject. The author contended, with no ſmall force of reaſoning, that virtue was alike founded on the eternal relations and fitneſſes of things, on moral inſtincts, and on the will of God. We remember having read the work, many years ago, with great pleaſure. The beſt book in defence of Dr. Clarke's Syſtem is Dr. Price's Principles of Morals. This is, indeed, a moſt capital performance, which goes to the bottom of the matter, and which ought to be read by all who would fully be maſters of the controverſy, whether they do or do not coincide in ſentiment with the worthy writer.

Among the perſons who have made ſtrictures on Dr. Clarke's works, there is no one who hath done it with greater malignity than Lord Bolingbroke. This noble author, in his zeal for deſtroying the moral attributes of God, hath poured upon the Doctor the moſt plentiful abuſe. He hath repeatedly charged him with arrogance and inſolence, though no man was ever more mild and modeſt in his temper, more calm, gentle, and unaſſuming in his reaſonings. For this ſhameful treatment of ſo excellent a writer, Lord Bolingbroke received ample caſtigation from the hand of Biſhop Warburton, in his View of that nobleman's philoſophy. Mrs. Macaulay Graham hath, likewiſe, very recently appeared as an advocate for Dr. Clarke, in oppoſition to the ſame antagoniſt, in her Eſſay on the Immutability of moral Truth. Dr. Prieſtley, in his Letters to a philoſophical Unbeliever, hath, alſo, paid conſiderable attention to our great Divine's Demonſtration of the Being and Attributes of God. As to the merit of the whole work, including the Evidences of natural and revealed Religion, it is undoubtedly of the firſt order. Difficulties may be raiſed on particular points, and the ableſt and moſt candid enquirers may ſometimes ſee cauſe to heſitate with regard to the validity of the reaſoning; but ſtill, in general, the book reflects honour on the age as well as the author that produced it, and will deſcend, with diſtinguiſhed reputation, to a late poſterity. The defence, in particular, of the ſacred original and authority of Chriſtianity is admirably conducted. In this part of the work, Dr. Clarke is underſtood to have been under ſome obligations to Mr. Baxter's Reaſons of the Chriſtian Religion. The treatiſe of that eminent Nonconformiſt, he is ſaid to have conſidered as one of the moſt maſterly performances on the ſubject of any in the Engliſh language; and Mr. Jones informs us, in the anecdotes before referred to, that he made ſuch a declaration to Dr. Doddridge (72). With reſpect to the latter fact, we have no doubt but that Mr. Jones was miſtaken; being well aſſured, that Dr. Doddridge had never any perſonal acquaintance with Dr. Clarke.

(72) Gent. Mag. vol. liii. p. 228.

The Doctor's Letter to Mr. Dodwell was upon a ſubject that hath frequently been diſcuſſed. The generality of Divines, till of late years, aſſerted the immateriality and natural immortality of the ſoul; and to have embraced a contrary opinion, would have been regarded as a matter of dangerous conſequence. But things have ſince taken another turn; and the univerſal ſatisfaction which Biſhop Hoadly repreſents his friend to have given, by the letter to Mr. Dodwell, would not have appeared in the preſent ſtate of religious ſentiments. The doctrine that the ſoul doth not exiſt ſeparately from the body, has not only been advanced by ſceptical philoſophers, but hath been adopted of late by men of the moſt ardent zeal for religion, and who have the ſtrongeſt ſolicitude for the honour of the Chriſtian Revelation. We appeal for the truth of our aſſertion to ſuch names as Taylor of Norwich, Peckard, Blackbourne, and Law. We need not ſay how much Dr. Prieſtley has diſtinguiſhed himſelf in favour of materialiſm, in his diſquiſitions concerning matter and ſpirit; and all his friends know, that there cannot be a more ſincere believer in the Goſpel, or one who is more earneſtly concerned for what he apprehends to be its genuine excellence and glory. This is a juſtice which ought ever to be done to his character, even by thoſe who may differ the moſt from him in opinion. We do not ſpeak thus as advocates for all the principles he hath lately advanced, but as pleading for the exerciſe of candour and liberality, amidſt the diſcordant ſentiments to which the wiſeſt and beſt of mankind are ſubject. It is both amuſing and inſtructive, to take a ſurvey of the revolutions of philoſophical and theological ſyſtems; and it is, at the ſame time, a great ſatisfaction

tisfaction to consider, that these revolutions cannot affect the grand foundations of religion. The moral arguments for a future state do not depend upon the question whether the soul be composed of matter or spirit, or whether it doth or doth not exist separately from the body. To this it must be added, that the doctrine of eternal life is not grounded upon any precarious reasonings. It stands on the solid basis of Christianity; being supported by the infallible evidence of the miracles of our Lord in general, and above all, by his resurrection from the dead.

Dr. Clarke's noble edition of Cæsar's Commentaries, which Mr. Addison has so justly commended, has risen in value from that time to the present. A copy of this edition in large paper, most splendidly bound in Morocco, was sold at the Hon. Mr. Beauclerk's sale for forty-four pounds; and it was said to be purchased by the Duke of Grafton. "To a prince "or a nobleman, says Dr. Harwood, it was a cheap "purchase; for it was the most magnificent book I "ever beheld. The binding cost Mr. Beauclerk five "guineas (73)."

(73) Harwood's View of the various Editions of the Greek and Roman Classics, p. 185. Third edition.

We shall not enter into the progress of the controversy occasioned by Dr. Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity, as it would carry us into too large a compass, and as the subject must again be resumed in future articles. Nothing could be fairer, or better calculated to bring the question to a proper issue, than laying before the reader, in so distinct and orderly a manner, all the passages of the New Testament that have any relation to the point in dispute. If it should be thought that the Doctor's concessions to the upper house of convocation were somewhat greater than he ought to have submitted to, it may be observed in his favour, that he made ample amends by his subsequent conduct. We know, and indeed it is taken notice of in note [*CC*], that he would not renew his subscription for any preferment; and the able and learned author of the Confessional hath lately produced a proof of Dr. Clarke's sentiments on this head. In his manuscript corrections of the liturgy, when he comes to the articles, he has inserted the following query — "Would it not be of service to religion, if all clergymen, instead of subscribing to the thirty-nine "articles, were required to subscribe only to the "matters contained in the questions put by the "Bishop (in the office for obtaining priests) to every "person to be obtained priest (74)?"

(74) Confessional, p. 426. note. Third edition.

Though in the papers which passed between Dr. Clarke and Mr. Leibnitz, the Doctor distinguished himself as a most acute metaphysician, and was generally esteemed to have greatly the advantage in his vindication of the freedom of the human will, he was not so happy as to put an end to the dispute. Many able men and sagacious reasoners still continue to entertain a different opinion. Indeed, the controversy concerning liberty and necessity has been renewed from age to age, and will never be ended. It was discussed by the ancient Philosophers, and not forgotten by the ancient Fathers. It was carried on by the Schoolmen with all the subtilty and variety of distinctions for which they were so eminently conspicuous. At the time of the Reformation, Erasmus and Luther engaged in it; and it was resumed by a multitude of writers in almost every country of Europe. In our own kingdom, during the last century, the matter seemed to be examined to the bottom by Hobbes and Bramhall. This, however, has not prevented the controversy from being revived, again and again, in the present century. No one can be a stranger to the very recent discussion of it by Dr. Priestley, Dr. Price, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Bryant, Dr. Dawson, and other ingenious men. It is not easy to advance any thing new upon so beaten a subject; and, notwithstanding all the acuteness which metaphysicians have displayed upon it, it is still attended with insuperable difficulties. Sanguine Philosophers on both sides, may imagine, that there is demonstration in favour of their own opinion: but it is not likely that demonstration can exist upon points, concerning which the wisest persons have differed in every period of the world. In short, the question of liberty and necessity, will for ever continue to humble the pride of the reasoning faculties of man.

The original copy of Dr. Clarke's corrected Liturgy is now lodged in the British Museum, having been deposited there by his son. The alterations with respect to the object of worship are numerous and important, as may be seen in the account which Mr. Lindsey has given of them, in the last edition of his Apology (75).

(75) Apology, p. 199—207. Fourth edition.

Greater notice ought to have been taken by our learned predecessor, of Dr. Clarke's sermons, because they sustain a distinguished rank in that species of composition. Few discourses in the English language are more judicious, and fewer still are equally instructive. The reasoning and the practical parts are excellent, and the explanations of scripture are uncommonly valuable. Though Dr. Clarke had not the turn of mind which qualified him for moving the passions, and, indeed, did not make it his object, his sentiments, nevertheless, are frequently expressed with such a clearness of conception and such a force of language, as to produce in well disposed readers all the effect of the pathetic. Several volumes of sermons have been published since his time, which are far superior in point of elegance and beauty, and we have the highest sense of their merit. But still, if we were called upon to recommend discourses which abound with the most solid instruction, and promise the most lasting improvement, we should never forget a Clarke and a Jortin.

Mr. Knox's opinion of Dr. Clarke's Sermons is not very different from our own. "The sagacious "Clarke, says he, pretended not to wit. He af-"fected not the ambitious ornaments of rhetoric. "He rarely reaches the sublime, or aims at the pa-"thetic; but in a clear, manly, flowing style, he "delivers the most important doctrines, confirmed "on every occasion by well applied passages of "scripture. If he was not a shining orator, accord-"ing to the ideas of rhetoricians, he was a very "agreeable as well as useful preacher (76)." What Mr. Knox has added concerning Dr. Clarke's not being perfectly orthodox, and in disparagement of speculative and polemical divinity, we do not consider as equally judicious. The study of speculative and polemical divinity is proper in its place, and, indeed, is of eminent utility in ascertaining the real doctrines of scripture. The Doctor's labours in this respect are deemed highly valuable by very able judges. There is no one who hath entered so fully into the character of our author's sermons as Dr. Weales, in his "Christian Orator delineated;" and, therefore, we shall transcribe what he hath advanced upon the subject.

(76) Knox's Essays, vol. ii. p. 340. Edition of 1782.

"If you would behold the native light of truth "obscured by no cloudy or ambiguous phrases, no "false or distorted sentiments, no corrupt passions or "acquired prejudices, peruse the inestimable sermons "of CLARKE and CONEYBEARE. The chief merit "of these two celebrated preachers lies in that scho-"lastic precision and philosophic closeness, with "which each special article of faith or morals is "treated. Few or no sallies of fancy are commit-"ted, which arise from the mind's collecting all its "powers to view only one side of a subject, while it "leaves the other unobserved. All florid epithets, "all frigid circumlocutions, which only tend to "weaken or debase an argument, are utterly rejected. "Each finished discourse forms a whole, coherent "and proportioned in itself, with due subordinacy "of constituent parts. If it turns upon a branch of "morality, or any particular virtue, they never fail "to state the limits, extent and compass of it, with a "wonderful justness and propriety. If it rests upon "any article of faith, they ever comprize the doctri-"nal part in such a space, as to leave sufficient room "for a distinct and particular enforcement of the "practical duties resulting from it.

"With what logical accuracy, and that suited to "the level or reach of the most ordinary hearer, "does a CLARKE place it beyond the shadow of a "doubt, that man's truest wisdom consists in the "practice of virtue. Behold a beautiful chain of "inductions, consequences, and demonstrations, "formed altogether by common sense." 'If, says 'he, wisdom consists in studying those things which 'are of the greatest use and necessity for us to know; 'if it be wise to employ our thoughts about things 'in their own nature the most excellent, and in their 'relation to us of the utmost importance; if it be 'wise

'wiſe to purſue the nobleſt ends, and in the purſuit 'thereof to uſe the beſt and propereſt means; if it be 'wiſe to conſult our own real happineſs, and to be 'more concerned for the improvement of our minds 'in practical knowledge, than for amuſing them with 'vain and empty ſpeculations; if eternity be of more 'importance than time, and a never-ceaſing duration 'than a tranſitory moment; if the favour of God 'be infinitely more valuable than the friendſhip of 'the world; if joy and ſatisfaction of mind be truly 'more deſirable than an endleſs anxiety, horror and 'deſpair; if peace, love, and charity, and univerſal 'good-will be more eligible than wars, confuſions, 'and deſolations; in a word, if wiſdom conſiſts in 'knowing and diſtinguiſhing, in chuſing and adher-'ing to whatever things are true, honeſt, juſt, pure, 'lovely, of good report, things that promote the 'health of our bodies and ſecure the peace of our 'ſouls, things that eſtabliſh the order of the world, 'and make other men happy as well as ourſelves, 'things that make our preſent enjoyments eaſy, and 'the remembrance of what is paſt comfortable, and 'the hopes and expectations of what is to come ſe-'cure; if the chuſing theſe things be the part of a 'wiſe man, then is religion evidently man's trueſt 'wiſdom.'

"How naturally do perſuaſion, as well as con-"viction, wait upon each member which this excel-"lent paragraph is made up of! How agreeably are "the minds of an audience kept in ſuſpenſe from "one end of it to the other, even till it cloſes to "their full ſatisfaction and perfect aſſent! In what a "ſtrong light is a doctrine placed by ſuch a diſtinct "enumeration of particulars! How much does the "force as well as grace of arguments or inſtructions "depend on their conciſeneſs!

"With what marvellous force and beauty hath he "made particular mention of the ſeveral perfections "which conſtitute the divine nature or eſſence, and "thereby rendered our idea of God infinitely more "auguſt, more ſenſible, more touching." 'The 'knowledge of God, ſays he, muſt not be a bare 'ſpeculation, but a ſerious, practical, affecting im-'preſſion, and a deep ſenſe upon the mind of a 'Supreme Being, whoſe glory no eye can behold, 'whoſe majeſty no thought can comprehend, whoſe 'power no ſtrength can reſiſt, from whoſe preſence 'no ſwiftneſs can flee, from whoſe knowledge no 'ſecret can be concealed, whoſe juſtice no art can 'evade, whoſe goodneſs every creature partakes of.'

"No writer is ſuperior to him in an accuracy of "diſtinction upon the moſt difficult and perplexed "topics. Of this ſort is the following one, among "a number of the like intereſting nature." 'Things, ſays he, contrary to that part even of the 'law of nature itſelf, which is founded originally in 'the will of God, and not in the neceſſary and eſſen-'tial nature of things, may be done upon particular 'and extraordinary occaſions by the immediate and 'expreſs command of God. But that part of the law 'of nature, which is not founded on the will, but on 'the very exiſtence of God, and the eſſentially and 'eternally immutable nature and relations of things; 'this is in no circumſtances capable of any variation: 'For inſtance, that the life of an innocent perſon 'ſhould be taken away by the authority of any 'power upon earth, is contrary to the law of nature. 'Nevertheleſs, ſince the right which even an innocent 'perſon has to his life, is not founded in the eſſential 'nature of things, but merely in the will and free 'gift of God, it is plain he may as juſtly appoint it 'to be taken away by any other means he pleaſes, as 'by a fever or peſtilence. Had God commanded 'Abraham to hate his blameleſs ſon, the command 'had been in its own nature impoſſible and abſurd.'

(f) *Ibid.*

"No preacher is equal to him for a ſimilar ac-"quaintance with, and clear expoſition of ſcripture "language. His method of drawing together, and "comparing paſſages of a ſimilar nature and ten-"dency, is admirable towards forming a juſt notion "of the ſpirit of religion in general, as well as "letting in light upon the moſt intricate and ob-"ſcure (77)."

(77) Weales's Chriſtian Orator, p. 8—15.

With reſpect to Dr. Clarke's general character, ſeveral additional teſtimonies in its favour might be collected from various writers; but we ſhall content ourſelves with inſerting a ſhort delineation of it, which appeared ſome years ſince in the Gentleman's Magazine.

"SAMUEL CLARKE, D.D.

"Rector of St. James's, Weſtminſter: in *each* ſeve-"ral part of uſeful knowledge and critical learning, "*perhaps* without a ſuperior; in all united *certainly* "without an equal: in his *works*, the beſt *defender* of "religion; in his *practice*, the greateſt *ornament* to "it: in his *converſation* communicative; and in an "uncommon manner inſtructive: in his *preaching* "and *writings*, ſtrong, clear, and calm: in his *life*, "high in the eſteem of the *wiſe*, the *good*, and the "*great*: in his *death*, lamented by every friend to "*learning*, *truth*, and *virtue* (78)."

(78) Gent. Mag. vol. xlvii. p. 310.

Dr. John Clarke, Dean of Sarum, our author's brother, beſides the pieces occaſionally mentioned in the courſe of the article, publiſhed two volumes, in octavo, on the Origin of Evil; being the ſubſtance of a ſet of ſermons which he had preached at Mr. Boyle's Lecture. In accounting for Moral Evil, he ſolves the difficulty on the common ſyſtem of the liberty of the human will. What he hath ſaid upon the ſubject is, on that ſide of the queſtion, ſufficiently ſenſible; but he hath not treated ſo arduous a point with any remarkable degree of ability and acuteneſs.] K.

*** [CLARKE (WILLIAM), a learned Divine and Antiquary, was born at Haghmon Abbey, in Shropſhire, in the year 1696. His grammatical education he received at Shrewſbury ſchool, at that time under the care of Mr. Lloyd, for whom he always entertained the greateſt regard. From Shrewſbury ſchool he was removed to St. John's College, in the Univerſity of Cambridge, of which College he became a Fellow, on the 22d of January, 1716-17. His election at ſo early a period of life was owing to a number of vacancies, occaſioned by the removal of ſeveral Non-juring Fellows, in conſequence of an Act of Parliament. The reputation which Mr. Clarke acquired, when young, was ſuch, that he was choſen to be Chaplain to Dr. Adam Ottley, Biſhop of St. David's: but this Prelate dying in 1723, our author doth not appear to have received any advantage from the appointment. He was afterwards domeſtic Chaplain to *Thomas Holles*, Duke of Newcaſtle; in which ſituation he probably did not continue long, as, in 1724, he was preſented, by Archbiſhop Wake, to the Rectory of Buxted, in Suſſex. This promotion was conferred upon him, without any ſolicitation of his own, partly on account of his extraordinary merit, and partly from a regard to the ſpecial recommendation of the learned Dr. William Wotton, whoſe daughter he married (*a*). To what circumſtances it was owing we cannot tell, but Mr. Clarke was late in taking his degrees; not commencing Bachelor of Arts till 1731, or Maſter of Arts till 1735 (*b*). In 1738, he was made Prebendary and Reſidentiary of the Cathedral Church of Chicheſter (*c*). Some years before this he had given to the public a ſpecimen of his literary abilities, in a preface to his father-in-law Dr. Wotton's "Leges Walliæ Eccleſi-"aſticæ

(*a*) Nichols's Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer, p. 28, 29.

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 509.

(*c*) *Ibid.*

" asticæ & Civiles Hoeli Boni, & aliorum Walliæ Principum;" or Ecclesiastical and Civil Laws of Howel, D Da, and other Princes of Wales (*d*). There is reason, likewise, to surmize, that an excellent "Discourse on the Commerce of the Romans," which was highly extolled by Dr. Taylor, in his "Elements of the Civil Law," might have been written by our author. It came either from his hand or from that of his friend Mr. Bowyer, and is reprinted in that Gentleman's Miscellaneous Tracts (*e*). But Mr. Clarke's chief work was, "The Connexion of the *Roman*, *Saxon*, and *English* Coins; "deducing the Antiquities, Customs, and Manners of each People to modern Times; "particularly the Origin of Feudal Tenures, and of Parliaments: Illustrated throughout with critical and historical Remarks on various Authors, both sacred and profane." This work was published, in one volume, quarto, in 1767; and its appearance from the press was owing to the discovery made by Martin Folkes, Esq; of the old *Saxon* pound. It was dedicated to the Duke of Newcastle, whose beneficent disposition is celebrated for having conferred obligations upon the author, which were not the effects of importunity (*f*). Mr. Clarke's performance was perused in manuscript by Arthur Onslow, Esq; Speaker of the House of Commons, who honoured him with some useful hints and observations: but he was chiefly indebted to Mr. Bowyer, who took upon him all the care of the publication, drew up several of the notes, wrote part of the dissertation on the *Roman* sesterce, and formed an admirable index to the whole (*g*). By this work, of which a particular account will be given below [*A*], our author acquired a great

(*d*) Published in 1730.

(*e*) Anecdotes of Bowyer, p. 509.

(*f*) *Ibid.*

(*g*) *Ibid.* p. 382, 383.

[*A*] *Of which a particular account will be given below.*] If any person should recollect his having seen this account before, we beg leave to observe, that it was originally drawn up by the writer of the present life.

The subject which Mr. Clarke hath chosen, promises, upon the very face of it, much curious and difficult enquiry; but he has extended his views still farther than could, at first, be expected. Some of his disquisitions might, indeed, on a hasty judgment, be thought to fly too far from his main point; but, when we take in the whole object he has in view, we shall find that they rise out of it, and are connected with it in a peculiar manner.

'The appearance of the following sheets from the press, says our learned Author in his preface, is entirely owing to the discovery, made by the late Martin Folkes, Esq; of the old Saxon pound. Without this previous knowledge, any work of this kind had been but a vain amusement, or very little more than arbitrary and precarious conjectures. For had there been no standard to have recourse to, no sure ground for forming the necessary calculations, how was it possible to take a single step, that could give any tolerable satisfaction? But upon this opening, I thought it would not be very difficult to throw a little more light upon this obscure subject, the *Saxon money*; and vindicate an authority, which had been for some ages almost entirely given up, or at least understood in such a manner as was very far from its original intention; I mean, Archbishop Aelfric's account of the Saxon coins; who distributes them into three classes, the MANCUS, the SHILLING, and the PENNY.'—

'Embarking upon this narrow bottom, I little thought of being carried so wide off the point, from whence I first set out: but, in passing on, I soon found that this was unavoidable. As the Saxon money had some connexion with the Roman, there was a necessity of comparing its weight and value in those instances with the Roman coins, and stating the usual Saxon methods of payment upon that plan. This, however, was far from being a disagreeable office: it was enquiring into the customs of politer ages, and discovering, what perhaps was not much expected, the incredible poverty of the greatest empire in the world, even when in its full power, long before its division, and much more its final dissolution in the west. Closing the account at this period would have saved me a good deal of trouble, if the prospect that lay before me would have suffered me to stop here: but there was another disquisition to be made, and that, by traversing much darker regions. There was no discovering the weight and origin of the Saxon gold coins without passing through that most intricate and confused labyrinth, the accounts given of the *Aurei* in the middle ages, from the Roman to the Norman times. Here I was prepared to expect and meet with very considerable difficulties. For perhaps all the materials, that are now left, are scarcely capable of forming such conclusions, as will carry with them a full and absolute conviction. But I have endeavoured to bring such as occurred to me into some order, made them at least intelligible, and by this means applicable to some useful purposes. For the subject of this enquiry is not quite so inconsiderable, as it may appear to be at first view: it has a near relation to those parts of history that are more interesting. The revenues of princes, the fines and penalties of their laws, the tributes imposed by conquerors, the subsidies stipulated by allies, and even the expences of private life, with which the manners and characters of an age must be unavoidably connected, will be but imperfectly understood, without being competently well acquainted with the value of their money.

'Having gone through the necessary parts of this enquiry, the dry detail and estimates of the Aurei in those barbarous ages, I was willing to indulge myself in making a few more agreeable excursions; persuaded that the present age, which has made such a progress in illustrating our own antiquities, would not be displeased with any rational researches upon that subject, and especially any modest attempts towards setting the origin of our own *nation*, our *parliaments*, and other *national customs*, in a juster light. Besides these, such incidental points, as have fallen within the compass of their disquisitions, may, to the friends of politer learning, furnish a more agreeable amusement. In opening the connexion of the Roman customs with our own, I have, as occasion offered, corrected and explained several passages in their ancient writers, or restored them again, from the hands of critics, to their true reading.

'The analogy between our old Saxon weights, and those of a more remote antiquity, led me into a very particular enquiry upon that subject; and convinced me, that a more concise and satisfactory account of the ancient nummulary and commercial pound might be easily drawn up. For who is not lost in that variety of ancient pounds, which the very learned Dr. Edward Bernard has given with such elaborate precision? Or, who is satisfied with the *libræ*, *minæ*, *antiquæ*, *mediæ*, *imminutæ*, of other celebrated authors, without knowing when they altered, or what was the difference? The great and obvious agreement in the divisions, uses, and proportions of these ancient weights, is a strong presumption that they were originally formed upon the same plan, in imitation of one another; and that we should not fall into any very considerable mistakes, if we supposed that the ancient accounts of money, whether of *Jews*, *Greeks*, or *Romans*, might be taken at a common estimate. In this view, I have ventured to give a new valuation of all the Jewish money in the Old Testament, from the most ancient and respectable authorities; which has the appearance of removing all those difficulties

great and juſt reputation. Indeed, it reflects honour upon the country by which it is produced; for there are few performances that are more replete with profound and curious

difficulties and objections, with which this ſubject has been attended.'

Mr. Clarke, having thus explained the nature and extent of his plan, begins his firſt chapter, which is upon the different accounts of the Saxon money, with remarking, that it is not much above two centuries, ſince ancient coins were conſidered as any part of the antiquities of a country: 'but, ſays he, when the arts improved, and coins began to be collected, they ſoon grew into eſteem. It was obſerved, that they were capable of furniſhing materials for moſt parts of hiſtory; that their evidence was original and authentic; and therefore whatſoever light might be drawn from them, even in the moſt barbarous countries, it was an acquiſition not to be deſpiſed. For this reaſon there has been, ever ſince the revival of polite learning, a great variety of writers upon the ſubject of ancient coins: many large collections have been publiſhed: moſt of the European nations have had the pleaſure of ſeeing one very entertaining part of their antiquities exhibited in theſe remains.' Among the authors of our own country, ſeveral of whom are here mentioned, Mr. Folkes tells us, what was "the weight of the Saxon pound; and that the coins of the two firſt kings after the conqueſt agree, as nearly as can be judged, in weight and goodneſs, with the pennies of the Saxon kings, their immediate predeceſſors." 'The weight of the old Saxon pound, continues Mr. Clarke, was a new and conſiderable diſcovery, and gave ſuch an opening, as hath induced me to carry theſe enquiries ſomething higher; to obſerve how the Saxon coins were firſt introduced; from what models they were taken; and whence that cuſtom of computing by pounds, ſhillings, and pence, which has diſtinguiſhed our money-accounts for ſo many ages, was moſt probably derived. It may be poſſible, by tracing theſe cuſtoms from one age and country to another, to find out their true ſources.'

Our learned Author would not, however, have thought of ſearching into the rude remains of the Saxon government, in its earlieſt and darkeſt period, if one advantage had not been entirely overlooked. 'The Saxon money, ſays he, lies in a ſort of intermediate ſtate, between two extremes, that are tolerably well known: it muſt therefore have ſome relation to both thoſe extremes, with which it is connected. In the concluſion of this government, this connexion is very plain: the Saxon and Norman money is almoſt the ſame thing: it has the ſame weight and fineneſs of the metal, the ſame rudeneſs and want of ſkill in the execution. Theſe coins differ only, as coins of the ſame age and country, in the different heads and legends of the princes and perſons by whom they were ſtruck. No doubt there was almoſt the ſame agreement between the Roman and Saxon coins at the beginning of this period; though for want of better evidence it is not eaſily diſcovered. Who would think, that the current money of his preſent Majeſty had any ſort of relation to that of Edward the Confeſſor, if all the intermediate evidence were deſtroyed? But as it is not, we find that the mint-maſters and moneyers, though they introduced many occaſional, gradual, and neceſſary alterations, as the public exigencies or opulence required, went upon the ſame plan. There is ſtill the ſame number of pence in the Engliſh pound, that there was in the Confeſſor's time: our diviſions in the pound are not in the leaſt different from his, though the pound itſelf, from being a real, is become a nominal valuation: almoſt two thirds of it are vaniſhed. The number of ſhillings is reduced from ſixty to twenty; and yet the preſent ſhilling is within a few grains of the ſame weight and value, as the ſhilling of the later Saxon Kings.'—

'The caſe of the Roman and Saxon coins cannot be very different from this: they paſſed currently together, or the one ſucceeded the other almoſt immediately in the ſame country; and as far as there was any occaſion to exchange the ſeveral ſorts of coin, the weight and fineneſs of them muſt eſtabliſh a regular proportion, as the foundation of this traffic. Beſides, the Germans were no ſtrangers to the Roman cuſtoms. We learn, from an obſervation of Tacitus, that they were as good judges of the value of the Roman money, as the Romans themſelves.—Rome had for ſome ages been obliged to furniſh annual ſubſidies to the German Princes.' This Mr. Clarke hath proved, by a detail of ſeveral curious particulars, and then proceeds to obſerve, 'that Princes who had ſuch a continual intercourſe with Rome, muſt be extremely well acquainted with the Roman money, which had paſſed in commerce, or been taken in pay or plunder, for many ages. It was undoubtedly the moſt current money upon the frontiers of their own country; and when they ſtruck any coins of their own, they muſt paſs according to that value and currency which the Roman coins had eſtabliſhed. For gold and ſilver had, by the common conſent of all nations, acquired a known and ſettled valuation. It was made the balance of trade, which would not entirely ſubmit to the mere will and pleaſure of the moſt arbitrary Princes. The Saxons indeed, when they arrived in Britain, came into a province, which by the rapine, or ambition of its governors, had been much plundered and oppreſſed; but not quite exhauſted either of men or money. And though they made no great figure at their firſt ſettlement, yet, when all their petty governments were united in one kingdom, they were a riſing people; they began to encourage trade; to form connexions with thoſe parts of Europe which had been Roman provinces; and even with the remains of that empire, from whence many of their cuſtoms were imported. Hence, therefore, we may well imagine, that the Roman money, which had been for ſo many ages the current caſh of all Europe, was the ſtandard by which the value of their gold and ſilver was adjuſted; and the model, which they would be moſt inclined to follow in making their own. From this ſource it was moſt probably derived; and though our coins have taken very different forms, as they came down to us through a long ſucceſſion of Northern princes, yet, if we examine their original, they will appear to be, like the King's own family, of ROMAN EXTRACTION.

Our learned author paſſes on, from theſe obſervations, to conſider what the Saxon coins were; and obſerves, that Dr. Hickes has given us the beſt account of their money. This account he has preſented to his readers, and, after pointing out the miſtakes and defects of Hickes, Fleetwood, and Hooper upon the ſubject, he ſhews that the Saxons, like the Egyptians, Greeks and Romans, divided their money-pound into twelve ounces. 'But, continues Mr. Clarke, to know the diviſion of their pound would be a matter of very little conſequence, unleſs the weight of it was known. We ſhould otherwiſe have no certain ſtandard by which we could examine their coins, or judge of the proportion they bore to thoſe of other nations. We are much indebted to the late Mr. Folkes for this diſcovery: he has given us two eſtimates of the Saxon pound, both of which I ſhall produce in his own words. *Table of Engliſh ſilver coins, p.* 1, 2.

"It is reaſonable to think that William the Conqueror introduced no new weight into his mints; but that the ſame weight uſed there for ſome ages, and called the pound of the Tower, was the old pound of the Saxon monyers before the Conqueſt. This pound was lighter than the Troy pound by three quarters of an ounce Troy."

'Mr. Folkes gives us this eſtimate of the Saxon pound from very good authority, from a verdict relating to the coinage, 18 Henry VIII. 1527, now remaining in the Exchequer, in which are the following words: "And whereas heretofore the merchaunte paid for coynage of every pounde Towre of fyne golde, weighing xi oz. quarter Troye, ii. s. vi. d. Nowe it is determined by the Kings highneſs, and his ſaid counſelle, that the foreſaid pounde Towre, ſhall be no more uſed, and occupied; but al maner of golde and ſylver ſhall be wayed by the pounde Troye, which maketh xii. oz. Troye, which excedith the pounde Towre in weight iii. quarters of the oz." He refers us likewiſe to another authority much older,

rious learning. Mr. Clarke's laſt promotions were the Chancellorſhip of the Church of Chicheſter, and the Vicarage of Amport, which were beſtowed upon him in 1770. Theſe

older, taken from the regiſter of the chamber of accounts at Paris. The difference of the ſeveral pounds then made uſe of in that kingdom is there computed, and the proportion between the Troy and Engliſh pounds is thus eſtimated. "Ou royaume ſouloit avoir iv. Marcs: c'eſt aſſavoir le Marc de Troyes, qui poiſe xiv. Sols, ii. Den. eſterlins de poix . . . . le Merc de la Rochelle, dit d'Angleterre, qui poiſe viii. S. iv. Den. eſterlins de poix."

'This account was moſt probably taken about the beginning of Edward the Third's reign, not long after A.D. 1329; and as the proportion is here given by Mr. Folkes, the weight of the Rochelle or Engliſh pound will be found 451,76 Engliſh grains, ſomething heavier than the former.

'The difference between theſe two eſtimates is ſo inconſiderable, that either of them will anſwer our purpoſe, and ſhew, if not exactly, yet very nearly, the weight of the old Saxon pound. But of the two I ſhould prefer the laſt, becauſe it was ſo much nearer the Saxon times; and eſtimating the weight of the ſeveral pounds, was not an incidental point, as in the former caſe, but the very buſineſs of the writer; and becauſe (which Mr. Folkes did not ſeem to ſuſpect) the Troy pound had been eſtabliſhed in our mints; and the old Tower pound quite diſuſed, ſome years before that eſtimate of Henry the Eighth was taken. But both theſe computations are ſo near each other, that they were certainly taken from the ſame pound, and have in proportion a much greater agreement, than the coins which were ſtruck out of it.'

It is no wonder indeed, that the Saxons were very far from being exact in the weight of their coins, when the Romans themſelves, in much more elegant and polite ages, were almoſt as careleſs in this particular. The inaccuracy of the Romans, the Saxons, and even of the Engliſh moneyers in later times, with regard to this matter, is fully diſplayed by our Author; which ſhews, ſays he, how precarious thoſe concluſions muſt be, which determine the weight of the pound from the weight of any particular coin. How many different Saxon pounds will be produced from ſuch calculations? How ridiculous would it be to expect an exact agreement in the weight of their money, when their Anglo-Norman ſucceſſors, and even the Romans themſelves, were ſo careleſs in this reſpect.

The buſineſs of making exact calculations, was a point very little practiſed or underſtood in thoſe ages. We ſee this in our moſt public acts: where the wiſdom and juſtice of the nation were concerned, they did not give themſelves the trouble of carrying the rules of proportion to any critical exactneſs. In the famous ſtatute of 51 Henry III. made to regulate the aſſize of bread, where an exact proportion between the price of wheat and the weight of bread was moſt probably intended, it is, however, very ſeldom obſerved. The ſtatute ſays, 'That when a quarter of wheat is ſold for a iii. ſhillings and vi. pence, then a waſtel bread of a farthing ſhall weigh two pounds two ſhillings.' But, according to the proportion which the ſtatute ſets out with, the weight of this bread ought to have been one pound, eighteen ſhillings and ten pence. We meet with ſeveral miſtakes of this ſort in that ſtatute, which is the firſt public act now remaining, that was made after the cities and boroughs were repreſented in parliament. Theſe new members ſhewed a proper regard to the intereſts of their conſtituents by this new law. For it was highly requiſite, that in ſuch large and populous diſtricts, as many of them repreſented, the weight of bread ſhould be adjuſted by law.

The ſecond chapter of this learned work treats of the Saxon pound, the ſeveral ancient pounds, their uſe and application, and on the different origin of the Teutonic and Celtic nations; and it is introduced, by our Author, with obſerving, that 'Jo. Fred. Gronovius and Biſhop Hooper were of opinion, that the Saxons, at their firſt ſettlements in this iſland, made uſe of ſuch weights and meaſures, as they found here; which were undoubtedly Roman. This opinion, as to the evidence then in being, before the old Tower pound was diſcovered, was a very probable conjecture: but it is now certain they did not: the Saxons brought their own weights and meaſures along with them from Germany. Their pound was conſiderably heavier than the higheſt eſtimate, which has been made of the Roman; and differs, as Mr. Folkes has obſerved, very little from the Colonia weight, which is ſtill uſed by the Germans in all the money affairs of that country.' Mr. Clarke, by the aſſiſtance of Mr. Eiſenſchmid, has compared the two moſt ancient German pounds, the Cologn, and the Straſburg, with the Saxon; and conſidering that the eſtimates were taken in different ages and countries, they have a moſt remarkable agreement. They do not differ ſo much from one another, as the very ſtandards of the Straſburg pound, which have in all appearance been carefully preſerved in their public offices, differ from themſelves. There is therefore great reaſon to believe, they were all originally the very ſame pound.—The immemorial uſage of this pound in Germany, and in this Iſland from the firſt arrival of the Saxons till Henry the Seventh's time, proves its great antiquity: that it was common to the whole Teutonic nation: that it ſpread through all its branches, and was carried abroad with them in all their different ſettlements and emigrations.

'Where it is neceſſary, continues our Author, to carry on a conſtant traffic, an agreement in this point is a matter of no ſmall moment. It was formerly thought ſo conſiderable, that, in the famous Achean league, the aſſociated cities were obliged to uſe the ſame weights and meaſures by one of their articles. But as the moſt ancient Germans were never formed into any ſettled communities; as they conſiſted of many roving bodies, which were perpetually invading and diſlodging one another, their agreement in weights and meaſures was rather owing to immemorial uſage, than any definitive and public treaties. There was neither ſo much harmony, nor ſo much trade among them, as to give this matter ſuch a ſolemn deciſion. This nummulary pound therefore was moſt probably as ancient as their firſt ſettlements, and took its riſe from the very beginning of commerce among that people, which was at firſt begun, and carried on for ſeveral ages with the Greeks. This appears from hiſtory, from the oldeſt and beſt authorities; and their pound agrees with that original: it is the very ſame as the ancient Greek pound. Dr. Arbuthnot makes the Greek ounce 455,33 Troy grains, not a grain heavier than the Straſburg.

'But leſt this agreement ſhould appear merely accidental, and conſequently not worth our notice; or this opinion be thought nothing more than a random conjecture, which deſerves no credit; I think it neceſſary to enlarge a little upon this point, and ſhew what reaſons we have for concluding, that our old Saxon pound, the ſame which was univerſally uſed by the ancient Germans, was of Greek original.'

In the proſecution of this ſubject, Mr. Clarke has diſplayed a great variety of curious learning, and the arguments produced by him appear to have much weight. Direct teſtimonies, indeed, are not here to be expected. Mankind, in the early ages of the world, had no concern about tranſmitting an account of things preſent; and much leſs of enquiring after what was paſt. But that the Saxon pound was taken from the Greek, is capable of being evinced by ſuch proofs, as the nature of the thing, at this diſtance of time, admits; proofs drawn from *ſimilar cuſtoms, mutual commerce*, and *original deſcent*.

Firſt then, the Saxon meaſures of length are the ſame, or very nearly the ſame, with the Greek.—Now, to refer the analogy between the Greek and Saxon weights and meaſures to mere accident only is ſaying nothing; or what is next to nothing, that no reaſon at all can be given for a fact, which cannot be accounted for without one. It was ten thouſand to one, that there ſhould be exactly the ſame proportion between their weights and meaſures, if they were taken up only by chance.—The forming the greater

These preferments he did not long live to enjoy, departing this life on the 21ſt of October, in the following year. He had reſigned, in 1768, the Rectory of Buxted to his

weights and eſtimates upon the ſame combinations of the pound is another evidence of their coming from the ſame original. The Romans, in their money affairs, made no uſe of the talent, except in their treaties and tranſactions with the Greeks and ſome eaſtern nations.—The Greeks uſe it perpetually, and their nummulary talent was ſixty pounds. The word talent does not, perhaps, occur in the preſent remains of the Saxon language; but the weight, the eſtimate does exactly; for their laws have rated their greater fines in this proportion.—The taking up ſuch an uncommon way of computation, as was uſed by no other European nation but the Greeks, can hardly be thought the work of chance. If the Saxons had not been accuſtomed to uſe that eſtimate, they would moſt probably have ſettled their large fines in round numbers by the hundred, as the Danes afterwards did their tributes, at 200 or 3000 pounds. There can be no queſtion but that the Saxon laws concerning fines were formed upon the particular proportion of the Greek talent; ſince Mr. Folkes has informed us, that the talent weight continues in our mint to this very day.—The common way, likewiſe, of reckoning money among the Saxons, has an appearance of coming from Greece. They did not compute ſums of money, as the Romans uſually did, and moſt of the European nations do at this day, by placing the whole ſum under leſſer denominations, as ſo many ſeſterces, livres, milrees, crowns, florins, dollars, &c. but by placing it under different articles, by pounds, ſhillings, and pence; juſt as the minæ, drachmæ, oboli of the Greeks.—It is farther obſervable, that the Saxon way of reckoning fractions, or parts of quantities, has that remarkable peculiarity, which is found in the Grecian manner of expreſſing four talents and a half, or ſix talents and a half, &c. and which has frequently been taken notice of as one of the Greek idioms. The ſame mode of expreſſion was very familiar among the Saxons, and was preſerved by all the different Teutonic branches.—' But this, ſays our learned Author, is not a ſingular inſtance of the agreement between the Greek and Saxon languages. They have in ſeveral reſpects a very particular reſemblance. Many of the primitive Saxon words are undoubtedly of Greek original: for if any words are truly primitive, thoſe that expreſs the *elements*, the *common relations*, and *domeſtic concerns* of life, muſt have the faireſt claim to that title; becauſe it was abſolutely neceſſary from the beginning to have words to expreſs thoſe ideas. There could be no ſociety, no converſing at all without them.

Specimens of this affinity, taken chiefly from Mr. Camden's, Dr. Meric Caſaubon's, and Dr. Wallis's collections, are given by Mr. Clarke; and he hath pointed out ſeveral other analogies between the Greek and Saxon tongues, that are not ſo eaſily introduced as words. Having mentioned a number of inſtances, which ſhew the original and real character of the Saxon language, he obſerves, that occaſional and trading ſettlements, even in the longeſt intercourſe, are not capable of producing ſuch effects. We know this by experience, by a moſt remarkable inſtance in our own country. It is now above a thouſand years ſince the Britains and Saxons have lived together in this iſland; during a great part of that period, as one people, under the ſame government and the ſame laws, with all the free and friendly intercourſe imaginable. By this long and intimate connexion, the natives of Wales have enriched their own language by adopting a great many Engliſh words; but they are adopted in ſuch a manner, as to preſerve the form and idiom of their own tongue. They might indeed, had they been ſo diſpoſed, have changed their own language, as the Franks did in Gaul, and the Normans in England: but, without this, the peculiar caſt and genius of it will ſcarcely ever be entirely effaced. This is, in ſome degree, the caſe of our own language. The traces of the original and mother tongue are ſtill preſerved, after a great length of years, after a prodigious variety of new ſettlements, and very early and diſtant migrations.'

But that our author's reaſonings on the ſubject are not fanciful and precarious obſervations, depending upon analogy and conjecture only, without any authority to ſupport them, he ſhews by an appeal to Ovid's plaintive epiſtles, written during his exile, in which we have ſuch an evidence in this caſe, as is beyond all exception. Ovid lived ſome years in Pontus, where the Greek and Gothic languages were both the living languages of the country. He obſerved the great affinity between them; and ſays, though the Getic tongue was much altered and diſguiſed by a barbarous pronunciation, yet there were evident marks left of its Greek original.—No perſon was better qualified to determine this queſtion, than Ovid was: he underſtood Greek well, and could ſpeak all the languages, then ſpoken upon the weſtern banks of the Euxine, and has done us the honour to place himſelf at the head of the Gothic writers.

' I have been more particular, ſays Mr. Clarke, in collecting theſe grammatical obſervations, becauſe I apprehend they are of ſome moment in the preſent queſtion. They prove, at leaſt, that there was a long intercourſe between the two nations; and are no bad reaſon for aſcribing the Saxon weights and meaſures to the Greeks. This evidence ariſing from the analogy between the two languages has opened upon us by degrees, and received the ſuffrage of very able judges. Every enquiry has thrown in ſome new light, and from very different quarters.' Henry Stephens was the firſt perſon who made the obſervation, and after him, Joſeph Scaliger and Mr. Camden fell into the ſame track. They went no farther, however, than the fact itſelf, without drawing any concluſions from it. But Salmaſius, Francis Junius, and Meric Caſaubon carried their obſervations much farther; and concluded from hence, that the Greek and Gothic languages, ſo ſimilar in many reſpects, came undoubtedly from a common patent. Mr. Somner and Mr. Sheringham were in the ſame ſentiments, to whom may be added Dr. Wallis and Dr. Hickes, who have confirmed the opinion which Salmaſius and others have advanced by ſeveral inſtances not obſerved before.

' The preſumptive evidence, which ariſes from the nature of the Gothic language, is much ſtrengthened and confirmed by the *origin of their trade*. For weights and meaſures are the neceſſary effects of commerce, and uſually taken from thoſe people who introduce it into a country. The Goths were, from the very early ages, ſeated on the weſtern ſide of the Euxine. Whatever gave occaſion to the firſt openings of trade among them, the perſons who firſt engaged in it, and greatly cultivated this branch of commerce, were certainly the Greeks.' Our author has here taken occaſion to ſet before his readers an entertaining account of the trade which was carried on in Thrace, by the Grecians, and eſpecially by the Athenians. The commerce was not only extenſive, but the effects of it in that country were remarkably great. Herodotus aſſures us, "That all along the weſtern coaſt of the Euxine, ſome of the inhabitants were a ſort of half Greeks, others originally of Greek extraction: that their *houſes*, their *temples*, their *images*, their *altars*, were made after the taſte and manner of the Greeks." Pliny, Jornandes, and Arrian, have left teſtimonies to the ſame purpoſe.

' Such, continues Mr. Clarke, was the commercial intercourſe between the Goths and the Greeks: it began early, and continued long. To find out their *original connexions* we muſt look higher, and ſearch into a more remote antiquity. Clear and diſtinct accounts of the origin of nations are not to be expected. The world was peopled many ages before the firſt ſettlements in any country were thought worth recording. The infancy of every ſtate was like that of Rome: their chief buſineſs was to increaſe and multiply: when this was done, colonies threw themſelves off from their mother country, not regarding whence they came, or whither they were going, any farther than it contributed to ſecure their liberty, or enlarge their poſſeſſions. Upon this account, it very

ſeldom

his ſon Edward (*b*). In Mr. Nichols's Anecdotes of Bowyer, there are ſeveral letters and extracts of letters, written to that learned Printer by Mr. Clarke, which diſplay him to

(*b*) New Univerſal Dictionary, ſhortly to be publiſhed. Article, Clarke (William). Anecdotes of Bowyer, p. 28.

ſeldom happens, that we can poſſibly trace out the deſcent of nations, becauſe of the inſuperable difficulties occaſioned by defective evidence; or, what is ſtill worſe, the falſe evidence ariſing from traditionary impoſture: for to be miſled is often more dangerous than not to be directed. But in the preſent caſe, we have clear accounts from hiſtorians of unqueſtionable credit, that the Goths were deſcended from the Thracians. The next ſtep is not quite ſo clear: and it is ſcarcely poſſible it ſhould. For it is in hiſtory, as in nature: diſtant objects grow darker, as they ſtand more remote. Whatever light may have fallen upon them, moſt of it is loſt, before it reaches us, and conſequently they muſt become more uncertain and obſcure. But, by connecting the ſeveral parts of this hiſtory, there is light enough left to convince us, that the Greeks and Thracians came from a common ſtock, and were only different clans of the ſame people.'

Mr. Clarke confirms this opinion by a variety of arguments; and he obſerves, that Thrace was the great *eaſtern hive*, from whence all the numerous Teutonic branches were deſcended. The Getæ were originally Thracians; and the Getæ, Gothi, Daci, were but different names for the ſame people. The Goths and Germans were undoubtedly ſiſter-nations; branches from a common ſtock. Colonies of the Getæ long before Strabo's time, from a very remote antiquity, were ſpread over Germany, and extended from the Euxine, as far as the banks of the Rhine. The facts, in general, which our learned Author has produced, are ſo well atteſted by the united ſuffrage of the moſt ancient hiſtorians, and confirmed by ſo many concurring circumſtances, that he looks upon it as a clear and indiſputable point, that the Saxons and Thracians came from a common origin with the Greeks. The Saxons themſelves, though at firſt without letters, preſerved, in all their ſeparate diviſions, a dark traditionary account of this original.—Thus there are many preſumptive proofs of the primitive connexions which there muſt have been between the Greeks and the Goths, both by commerce and deſcent. The whole appearance is uniform and conſiſtent. Every opening leads to the ſame place, and has the ſame point in view, viz. that the remarkable agreement between the Greek and Saxon weights and meaſures was not owing to any caſual coincidence; but that they were truly of Greek original.

From the account which Mr. Clarke has given of the weight and origin of the Saxon pound, he concludes, firſt, that the true reaſon why the Saxon or Engliſh pound was called the pound *ſterling*, was its being brought by their anceſtors from the moſt eaſtern parts of Europe, the ſhores of the Euxine; and ſecondly, that this diſtinction of the eaſtern and weſtern, or Greek and Roman pounds, continuing for ſo many ages, and in the ſame proportion, is an evidence that the pounds themſelves were always of the ſame weight, without any conſiderable variation. Hence likewiſe, he takes occaſion to correct a miſtake of Biſhop Hooper, who aſcribes the origin of the Engliſh weights and meaſures to the Saracens; and another of Dr. Hickes, who, though he was right in concluding that there muſt be fifteen ounces in the Saxon pound, miſtook the commercial for the nummulary weights; the pound uſed in the ports, for that in the exchequer. Our Author here enters into a curious conſideration of the difference which has always ſubſiſted between the nummulary and commercial pounds, and then returns to the Saxon pound, with regard to which he takes notice, that it is very evident, that the pound of fifteen ounces, ſpoken of by Dr. Hickes, was the commercial pound. The Saxon practice was the ſame, as that of the Romans and Greeks before them: though they had two pounds, one for the exchequer, and one for trade, yet the ounces were the ſame in both; the commercial pound differing from the other only in the number of ounces.

'The difference, continues Mr. Clarke, between the Saxon mercantile pound of fifteen ounces, and the Roman of ſixteen, was inconſiderable: they might mutually paſs for each other in trade without any inconvenience, juſt as the Greek and Roman money did, where there was much the ſame difference. But this is demonſtration that the Saxons did not make uſe of the Roman weights and meaſures; otherwiſe they had taken this pound of ſixteen ounces for their traffic.—The Norman kings made no innovations in this matter.—All the ſubſequent princes followed the ſame rule; and it was at laſt eſtabliſhed by magna charta. Fleta proves, that this uſage continued to his time, and moſt probably till the beginning of Edward the Third. For in his ninth year, the prohibition upon foreign merchants was entirely taken off, and they were at liberty to buy all averdupois wares, and merchandizes, &c. at any place within the realm, and ſell them to any perſon whatſoever, excepting the King's enemies. This, I believe, is the firſt mention of averdupois wares and merchandiſes in our laws. Our foreign trade was then much enlarged; and along with it this averdupois Roman pound was moſt probably adopted, to comply with the uſage of the Italian merchants, who were then far more conſiderable than our own. The conqueſts of this great Prince, his ſucceſs at home and abroad, all his military virtues, are much celebrated: but the progreſs he made in trade, which was not inferior to the other glories of his reign, and much more to the advantage of his country, hath been ſeldom obſerved. Mr. Addiſon tells us, that, by an eſtimate taken in Edward the Third's time, it appeared, that the balance of trade in our favour was then above a quarter of a million, a very conſiderable ſum in thoſe days. The averdupois pound, made familiar by this increaſe of commerce, and the encouragement then given to foreign merchants, and being more convenient in its ſubdiviſions than the Saxon, has continued ever ſince, and is now ſpread ſo far into our numerous and diſtant colonies, that it ſeems to be as perpetually, as it was firſt ſilently, eſtabliſhed. — The Saxon nummulary pound was continued here for ſome centuries longer, till A.D. 1498, the 12th of Henry the Seventh, when it was exchanged for the Troy weight.'

It appears, likewiſe, by this account of the origin of the Saxon pound, that Grotius, Sheringham, Gronovius, and Sir William Temple, were much miſtaken in aſſerting, that the Goths and Saxons firſt ſettled in Sweden, and came from the ſides of the Baltick to their new conqueſts and dominions in Europe. Our Author thinks that ſuch a miſtake was pardonable in Sir William Temple; but that it was not ſo excuſable in Grotius, Sheringham, and Gronovius, profeſſed ſcholars, who had made this queſtion the ſubject of a particular enquiry.—Going to Sweden is loſing time, and taking the wrong way: it is like ſearching out the fountain by falling down the ſtream; or, what is almoſt the ſame thing, it is being ſent to Iceland, the Orcades, and God knows whither, for the firſt ſettlements in Europe. The very country forbids ſuch a concluſion: the progreſs of light and learning was always from the eaſt. Jornandes was undoubtedly the parent of this ſtrange miſtake; in oppoſition to whom Mr. Clarke confirms his own ſentiments by ſome additional remarks; and then ſteps a little out of his way to obviate an opinion lately revived by a conſiderable French writer, *Pelloutier*, which is, that the Celts and Germans were originally the ſame people. Againſt this opinion, our Author has alledged ſeveral arguments and teſtimonies which are deſerving of attention; but we do not altogether agree with him in his concluſion, that the Celts were originally Tyrian or Phœnician colonies. This hypotheſis is, as we apprehend, liable to many ſtrong, or, at leaſt, plauſible objections. The remainder of the ſecond chapter contains ſome curious obſervations on the reaſon why the ſeven days of the week were diſtinguiſhed by the names of the ſeven planets, and is concluded in the following manner:

'The late Lord Bolingbroke has aſſerted, that the original of nations is too improbable, and too ill vouched, to procure any degree of belief. It is not indeed

to great advantage as a man of piety, a friend, and a ſcholar (*i*). One paſſage, which ſhews the diſpoſition of his mind in a very agreeable point of view, we ſhall tranſcribe. "I find

(*i*) Anecdotes, *ubi ſupra*, p. 56. 80. 139—141, 142—144. 357—359. 423.

indeed to be expected, that great geniuſes ſhould ſubmit to the low office of making ſuch reſearches; where, to collect the evidence, and connect its ſeveral parts, is a work of ſome time and trouble. It is aſking too much of them to believe what they are not diſpoſed to examine; or, that theſe maſter-builders ſhould ſubmit to the judgment and direction of under-workmen. Beſides, his lordſhip might have been offended at the thoughts of having his anceſtors come from Aſia, eſpecially of having them brought from the plains of Shinar. Nor ſhall I attempt it: going up to the origin of the Gothic nations is going high enough for my purpoſe: though, if I were diſpoſed to carry it a ſtep higher, it might eaſily be done: his own favourite author, Strabo, would ſupport me. But I have at preſent no ſuch views; nor is it any part of my buſineſs. I am content with aſſigning the origin of our Saxon weights and meaſures, and then leaving our anceſtors, juſt where I find them, upon the ſides of the Helleſpont, and Euxine; looking indeed as if they came from Aſia,

'*Tendenteſque manus ripæ ulterioris amore.*'

Mr. Clarke's third chapter, which treats on the ſhilling and thrimſa of the Saxons, their methods of paying money, the Roman miliarenſis, and the innovations in the nummulary language of the Romans, contains a profuſion of learning, and furniſhes ample matter of attention and enquiry to the Antiquary and the Critic. Our author opens this chapter with proving, that the word *ſhilling* came from the Latin *ſicilicus*, which ſignified, in that language, a quarter of an ounce; and he obſerves, that the ſhilling kept its original ſignification, and bore the ſame proportion in the Saxon pound, as *ſicilicus* did in the Roman and the Greek: it was exactly the forty-eighth part of the Saxon pound. The Saxons, in their money-computations, made ſome difference in reckoning the pound by tale and by weight; and Mr. Clarke ſhews that this cuſtom began long before, and continued long after, the Saxon times; after which, he gives an elaborate account of the Saxon ſhilling, and the Roman coins, together with the alterations they became liable to at various periods. In the courſe of his enquiries into theſe ſubjects, he hath diſcuſſed ſeveral queſtions relative to the *aureus*, the *miliarenſis*, and other pieces of money, and has taken particular pains to correct the miſtakes into which Gronovius has fallen, in his book *de ſeſtertiis*. In our author's Hiſtory of the Saxon ſhilling, we meet with ſome circumſtances which may ſerve to convince us, that our anceſtors were richer than is generally ſuppoſed. The ſhilling, ſays he, was coined, at firſt, for what the word ſignified, a quarter of an ounce; and at laſt for the fifth part of it. This alteration happened in Edward the Firſt, or Athelſtan's reign; and was probably owing to the incurſions and depredations of the Danes. They had for ſome time harraſſed almoſt all Europe by perpetual invaſions. We ſuffered in common with our neighbours. It is amazing how a nation at that time with little trade, without any ſupplies at home, and under a perpetual ravage from abroad, could ſupport the great tributes and exactions, which were then paid or taken by military execution. The Saxons were undoubtedly poſſeſſed of much more caſh, not long after their firſt ſettlements, than is commonly imagined. When Ina the Weſt-Saxon carried his arms into Kent to revenge the death of Mollo his predeceſſor's brother, that ſingle county raiſed, if we can depend upon Malmſbury, 30,000 marks of gold, by way of contribution to purchaſe peace. The Saxon Chronicle informs us, that in twenty-ſeven years they paid above 207,000l. in tributes, an immenſe ſum! equal to eight or nine millions now; beſides the much greater ſums, that were wreſted out of their hands by the plunder of their country. This is the obſervation of Aſſer, one of the Weſt-Saxon Biſhops, who knew the truth of it by a ſorrowful experience, that the Danes looked upon theſe tributes, as the leaſt profitable part of their expeditions, *majorem pecuniam furtiva præda, quam pace, adeptûri*. It appears, on the other hand, from Mr. Clarke's account of the changes introduced in the Roman money, that the wealth of that great empire, no later than in the reign of Heraclius, was diminiſhed to a very narrow compaſs. The Conſuls, long before this, were obliged to make their donatives in ſilver only. And the Emperors at laſt did the ſame thing: they reduced their miſſilia to ſilver; firſt to tetra-drachms, and, in the beginning of the ſeventh century, to coins of half that value. How much was the caſh of that empire, which commanded the riches of almoſt the whole world, ſunk and diſſipated in a few centuries! An event, ſufficient to convince all future diſpenſers of public money, that, how great ſoever their funds are, they moſt certainly have a bottom. Thoſe Princes, who were ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed by their public donatives, and uſed to diſtribute their imperial munificence in gold, and ſometimes in pieces of great value, were reduced to the neceſſity of diſperſing this cuſtomary benevolence in didrachms, coins worth very little more than one of our preſent ſhillings. Indeed, ſuch was the poverty of the empire, ſo early as from the middle of the third century to the beginning of the fourth, and ſuch the confuſion of that period, that great innovations were made in the nummulary language of the Romans. Their denarius was much ſunk from its ancient figure and eſtimation; and to indulge themſelves in the pleaſing ſound of more property than they poſſeſſed, the names of the old ſilver coins were, by a ridiculous affectation, transferred to the braſs. Our learned author, among his other enquiries concerning the Roman ſicilicus, and the Saxon ſhilling, hath proved, at large, that they were actual coins; and that they were not merely denominations of money, as hath been aſſerted by Gronovius, with regard to the ſicilicus, and by Fleetwood and all our antiquaries, excepting Sir Andrew Fountaine, with reſpect to the ſhilling. In the diſcuſſion of theſe points, we meet with ſome curious criticiſms upon the ſcriptures, and upon Homer; and the chapter is concluded with an account of the Saxon thrimſa, which is ſhewn to have been three parts in five of the Saxon ſhilling, or three-pence. The thrimſa was firſt coined in the reigns before Athelſtan, during their greater affluence in caſh, and was deſigned purely for the convenience of exchange, as the propereſt diviſion that could be made in their money, without a fraction, between the ſhilling and the penny. But when the ſhilling was reduced, it was of little uſe, and by degrees entirely laid aſide. The way of computing by thrimſas was chiefly uſed in the more mercantile parts of this kingdom, among the Eaſt, and Weſt, and South-Saxons; and poſſibly coined only among them: for it appears that in the inland provinces, the Mercians reckoned generally by the ſhilling. An appendix is added to this chapter, to prove that the word *nummus*, in Plautus, is always uſed for the *drachma*; and that the *ſhekel* of the Hebrews was no more than a quarter of an ounce.

Mr. Clarke, in order to open his enquiry concerning the Saxon gold coins with greater freedom and advantage, begins his fourth chapter with an account of the ſeveral *aurei*, that were current in Europe from the decline of the Roman empire in the weſt to the Norman Conqueſt; and with an elaborate diſcuſſion of the proportion between gold and ſilver among the Romans, Franks, and Normans. After this he proceeds to ſhew that the Saxons had gold coins, and that the *mancus*, of which he gives the origin, hiſtory, and value, was a gold coin. He then goes on to the Daniſh mark and ora, with regard to which it appears that the ora was the ſame as the French ſolidus of that age, the eighth part of the mark, and that the Daniſh mark itſelf was no more than a hundred Saxon pennies. This mark was very different from the mark afterwards admitted as a nummulary ſtandard, the method of computation which our Author next conſiders; and then endeavours to prove, in oppoſition to the general opinion, that the ancient ſolidus was a gold coin, that it never was a ſilver one, and that there

" I find the Archbiſhop (*Secker*) and you are intimate: he truſts you with ſecrets. But
" I could tell you a ſecret, which nobody knows but my wife, that if our Deanry
" ſhould

there was a real gold coin of that name. A point ſtill remaining to be determined was, when the diviſion of the preſent pound ſterling came into England. The Saxon pound in Alfred's time was eſtimated by a mancus of thirty pence, and eight to the pound; and a ſhilling of five pence, at forty-eight in the pound: when then did this alteration commence, which reduced it to a ſolidus of twelve pence, and twenty in the pound? That this eſtimate began in the Saxon times is very evident. All the revenues in England, during the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, were, as appears by Doomſday-book, uniformly and conſtantly accounted for by a ſoldius of twelve pence.—So far we may certainly trace the uſe of this ſolidus. But if any ſort of credit is to be given to the hiſtorians of that age, this practice muſt be carried up much higher. —It is certain, that there were ſome alterations made in the Saxon coinages, not long after Alfred's time. His grandſon Athelſtan, a prince extremely popular and well beloved, reduced the ſtandard of the Saxon ſhillings from five to four pence; and it was likewiſe enacted in his reign, that for the future there ſhould be but one ſort of money in England. To this period, therefore, Mr. Clarke refers the introduction of the diviſion of the preſent pound ſterling, and the change of the word mancus, from its original ſignification, to denote no more than a ſolidus of twelve pence; and he hath confirmed his hypotheſis by ſeveral probable arguments. Having occaſion to quote a law of Canute's, relative to the ſtandard of money, our Author thinks that he diſcovers in it the firſt appearance of feuds among the Saxons. At the end of the chapter, we are entertained with ſome curious obſervations on our gold coins, and with a hiſtory of the Anglo-Norman ſhilling, from the conqueſt to the 43d of Elizabeth. An appendix follows, on the weight of the Roman denarius, and the firſt exchange between gold and ſilver at Rome.

We now come to the fifth chapter, which is introduced with ſome remarks upon the ancient methods of weighing and paying money; and then Mr. Clarke proceeds to ſhew, that the coins of the weſtern nations were taken from the Romans. This he hath proved in a very clear and ſatisfactory manner, after which he carries on and compleats his hiſtory of the Saxon money. The coins here conſidered by him are the Saxon penny; the ſceatta, which was originally the fourth part of a penny, but afterwards was transferred to the penny; the hælfling, the farthing, and the ſtyca. Our Author has intermixed his conſiderations upon theſe ſubjects, with an explanation of the word Conob, which is found in the exergue of ſeveral ancient coins; and with an account of the Saxon convents and colleges. The meaning of Conob, he ſays, is *Con*ſtantinopolis *Ob*ryzum, or *Con*ſtantinopoli *Ob*ryzatum: money of the legal ſtandard in that city. As to the Saxon convents and colleges, he obſerves, that there were not, ſtrictly ſpeaking, any regular monaſtic foundations in England, in the time of Sigebert. Collegium and monaſterium were words of the ſame import, but none of them eſtabliſhed for the obſervance of any particular rule, or confined to votaries dedicated to the ſeverer auſterities of a monaſtic life. The Saxon monaſteries of that age were convents or colleges of ſecular clergy, married or unmarried, where youth were inſtructed, and perſons of rank and even of a military profeſſion had the privilege of retiring for the ſake of a ſequeſtered life, to be employed either in ſtudy or devotion. Along with theſe perſons, others of both ſexes, profeſſing the ſtricter diſcipline of a ſingle life, were equally admitted, and called monks or nuns; but, after this profeſſion, were allowed to marry, if they pleaſed. Of theſe mixed ſocieties muſt the Saxon monaſteries be underſtood.

Mr. Clarke has concluded his account of the Saxon coins with a table, exhibiting their names, weights, and values; the inſertion of which will, probably, be acceptable to our Readers, as it diſplays, at one view, his ſentiments upon theſe ſubjects.

SAXON GOLD COINS.

Names.	Weight in Troy Grains.	Value in their Money.	In our Money.
			£. s. d.
The Mancus,	about 54	6 ſhillings.	0 9 0
The Half-mancus,	27	3 ſhillings.	0 4 6
The later Mancus, Ora, and Anglo-Norman Shillings,	22½	12 pence.	0 3 9

DANISH ESTIMATES.

The firſt Daniſh Mark, five ounces, or a hundred Saxon pennies.

The Ora, twelve pence.

SILVER COINS.

Names.	Weight in Troy Grains.	Value in their Money.	In our Money.
			£. s. d.
The Shilling at Five Pence,	about 112	5 pence.	0 1 2½
The Shilling at Four Pence,	90	4 pence.	0 6 11½
The Thrimſa,	67	3 pence.	0 0 8½
The Penny, or Sceatta,	22½	above	0 0 2¼
The Hælfling,	11¼		
The Farthing,	5½		

BRASS COINS.

Styca, 2 to a farthing.

This table is not intended to be ſo exact as to regard the fractions of a farthing.

Our learned Author has ſhewn, that all the firſt Frank and Gothic princes ſtruck their money upon the Roman models, and that ſome of our earlier Saxon princes did the ſame thing: and he obſerves, that the principle of imitation or improvement which induced them to copy after the Romans in this reſpect, may be traced in many other inſtances, which relate to the ancient cuſtoms and conſtitution of our country. Accordingly, he has cloſed his fifth chapter with obſervations upon this ſubject, in which he is the more diſpoſed to indulge himſelf, becauſe it has often been ſaid, that our Saxon anceſtors, as working upon firſt principles, and forming their plans of liberty and independence in the wilds of Germany, were the great originals of almoſt all the national cuſtoms that prevailed in England; that the feudal ſyſtem in particular was a Gothic ſtructure, an everlaſting monument of their military diſpoſition and civil polity; and, to raiſe its character ſtill higher, that, notwithſtanding the many burthenſome ſervices annexed to it, the true principles of liberty were interwoven in its very frame. In oppoſition to theſe ſentiments, Mr. Clarke has endeavoured to prove, that the feudal ſyſtem owes its original to the Romans, though the increaſe and progreſs of it muſt be entirely aſcribed to the Goths and Franks; that the Saxon witenagemot, like the Roman ſenate under the emperors, was an ariſtocratical aſſembly, formed on the property of the perſons, and the favour of the prince; and that the commons, as ſuch, had no ſhare in the Saxon legiſlature. This laſt point is particularly laboured by our Author, and he hath anſwered, at large, what has been advanced by Biſhop Ellys, on the contrary ſide of the queſtion. Some farther remarks are added upon the Engliſh conſtitution, in which a medium is preſerved between the opinion of Dr. Brady, who could not diſcover that the commons had any ſhare in the legiſlature before Edward the Firſt, and the opinion of Mr. Petyt, &c. &c. on the other hand, who are ſaid to have ſeen the commons in full poſſeſſion of this privilege many ages before it was in being. How far Mr. Clarke is right in what he has offered, upon the ſubjects here

" ſhould be ever vacant in my time, (which is not likely) I would not accept it ——.
" I would no more go into a new way of life, furniſh new apartments, &c. than Mrs.
" Bowyer would go to a Lord-Mayor's ball. I have learnt to know, that at the end of
" life theſe things are not worth our notice (*k*)." Beſides the writings we have already mentioned, Mr. Clarke joined with Mr. Bowyer in the tranſlation of Trapp's Lectures on Poetry, and was the author of ſeveral of the notes ſubjoined to the Engliſh verſion of Bleterie's Life of the Emperor Julian (*l*). He left behind him a conſiderable number of manuſcripts *, among which are ſome volumes of excellent ſermons, the publication of which, we are told, may hereafter be expected (*m*). By his only wife Anne, he had children, two of whom ſurvived him, Edward before mentioned, and a daughter, who reſides at Chicheſter, and inherits not only the virtues of her parents, but their paſſion for literature (*n*). Mr. Edward Clarke paid an honourable and affectionate tribute to his father's memory, in a Latin epitaph of a conſiderable length [*B*]. The following ſhort inſcription, in the ſame language, drawn up by our author himſelf, ſome time before his deceaſe, is engraved upon his tomb-ſtone.

(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 383. Written April 8, 1767.

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 162. 185.

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 29.

* Some curious papers, relative to the county of Suſſex, were communicated by him to William Burrel, Eſq; F. S. A. who is making collections for a hiſtory of that county. Britiſh Topography, vol. ii. p. 287.

(*n*) From the information of William Hayley, Eſq;

Depoſitum
GULIELMI CLARKE, A. M.
Canonici & Cancellarii
Hujus Eccleſiæ:
Qui obiit . . . . . .
A. D. . . . . ætatis . . . . . .
Uxorem Annam,
GULIELMI WOTTONI, S. T. P.
Et ANNÆ HAMMONDI Filiam;
Et Liberos duos
Superſtites reliquit."

Hitherto we have been enabled to proceed chiefly from the aſſiſtance of the materials afforded us in Mr. Nichols's Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer. In what farther occurs, we are ſolely indebted to the elegant pen of our great modern Poet, Mr. Hayley. This gentleman, whoſe genius is accompanied with every private virtue, was intimately acquainted with Mr. and Mrs. Clarke; and upon our application to him for ſome information concerning them, obligingly ſuſpended his own important purſuits, to comply with our requeſt. Accordingly, he hath favoured us with the following characters of his two excellent friends, which we ſhall inſert exactly in his own words, and with which we are happy to conclude, and to adorn, the preſent article.

treated of, we ſhall not pretend abſolutely to determine; though we cannot but think, that the perſons who have embraced oppoſite ſchemes will ſtill find many reaſons to adhere to them.

The ſixth and laſt chapter of this very valuable and learned work, treats upon the Roman pound; and its chief deſign is to refute the calculations which have been made by Meſſrs. Eiſenſchmid and La Barre, and to confirm the eſtimate given by Mr. Greaves. The whole is concluded with Mr. Smyth's tables for computing the Roman money, corrected, enlarged, and reduced to a new form.

[*B*] *In a Latin epitaph of a conſiderable length.*] It is as follows:

" Memoriæ Sacrum
WILHELMINI CLARKE, A. M.
Cancellarii & Canonici Eccleſiæ Ciceſtrenſis:
Quem Pietate, Literis, Moribus urbanis,
Humanitate & Modeſtia ornatum
Concives & Familiares ſui
Uno Ore ubique confeſſi ſunt:
Et ſi ipſi filiiſſent
Teſtarenter ipſius Scripta:
In communi Vitâ comis, lætus, utilis,
Facile omnes perferre ac pati promptus,
Ingenui Pudoris, magni & liberalis Animi:
In Eccleſiâ ſuadens, facundus Concionator,
Ut non ſolum in Aures fidelium,
Sed etiam in Animos
Verdica ſtillaret Oratio:
Precibus offerendis fervidus & profluens,
Ut, tanquam ſanctior Flamma,
In Cœlos aſcendere viderentur:
In Parochiâ Paſtor vigil, Laborum plenus,
Indoctis Magiſter, Ægris Solamen,
Abjectis Spes, Pauperibus Crumena:
Tamen Eleemoſynas ſuas adeo occultè,
Adeo latè diſſeminavit,
Ut illas non niſi Dies ultima Indicii ultimi
Revelare potuerit.
Natus eſt Anno 1696 in Comitatu Salopienſi
Et Cœnobio de *Haghmon:*
Primis Literis imbutus in Salopiæ Scholâ;
Collegii Sancti Johannis, Cantabrigiæ, Socius:
Primo *Adamæ Ottley*, Menevenſi Epiſcopo,
Poſtea Duci Novo-Caſtrenſi, *Thomæ Holles*,
A ſacris Domeſticis:
Tandem ad Rectoriam de *Buxted* inter Regnos
A *Wilhelmo Wake*, Archiepiſcopo Cantuarenſi,
Propter ſua & egregia Soceri ſui
Wilhelmi Wottoni Mertia,
Sine Ambitu collatus.
Obiit Ciceſtriæ, Oct. 21, A.D. 1771.
Sepulcrale Marmor,
Quo ſubjacet Ciceſtriæ,
Virente adhuc viridi Senectâ,
Mente ſoldida & ſerena, ſic inſcripſit (1)." *

(1) Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer, p. 29.

* The "ſic inſcripſit" refers to the inſcription in the text.

Mr. Edward Clarke reſided ſome time in Spain, as Chaplain to the Earl of Briſtol, the Engliſh Ambaſſador; and afterwards publiſhed, in Quarto, "Letters concerning the Spaniſh Nation," which contain much curious and uſeful intelligence relative to the ſtate of that country.

Mr. Nichols has related, that the Duke of Newcaſtle was once ſo angry with Mr. William Clarke, for offering to vote for Mr. Melliſh, the ſquire of the pariſh, as to abuſe him groſsly and forbid him his houſe (2). But we are aſſured, upon undoubted authority, that this ſtory is totally without foundation.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 509.

Mr.

" Mr. Clarke was not only a man of extenſive erudition, but he had the pleaſing " talent of communicating his various knowledge in familiar converſation, without any " appearance of pedantry or preſumption. There was an engaging mildneſs in his " countenance and manner, which brought to the remembrance of thoſe, who con- " verſed with him, the portrait of Eraſmus.—Indeed he bore a great reſemblance to " that celebrated perſonage in many particulars: in the delicacy of his conſtitution, in " the temperance of his life, in his paſſion for letters, in the modeſt pleaſantry of his " ſpirit, and in the warm and active benevolence of his heart. As men, they had both " their foibles, but foibles of ſo trivial a nature, that they are loſt in the radiance of " their beneficent virtues.

" Antiquities were the favourite ſtudy of Mr. Clarke, as his publications ſufficiently " ſhew: but he was a ſecret, and by no means an unſucceſsful votary of the Muſes. " He wrote Engliſh verſe with eaſe, elegance, and ſpirit. Perhaps there are few better " epigrams in our language than the following, which he compoſed on ſeeing the words " *Domus ultima* inſcribed on the vault belonging to the Dukes of Richmond in the " Cathedral of Chicheſter.

" Did he, who thus inſcrib'd the wall,
" Not read, or not believe St. Paul,
" Who ſays there is, where'er it ſtands,
' Another houſe not made with hands;'
" Or may we gather from theſe words,
" That houſe is not a houſe of Lords?

" Among the happier little pieces of his ſportive poetry, there were ſome animated " ſtanzas, deſcribing the character of the twelve Engliſh Poets, whoſe portraits, en- " graved by Vertue, were the favourite ornament of his parlour: but he ſet ſo modeſt " and humble a value on his poetical compoſitions, that I believe they were ſeldom " committed to paper, and are therefore very imperfectly preſerved in the memory of " thoſe, to whom he ſometimes recited them.

" His taſte and judgment in poetry appears, indeed, very ſtriking in many parts of " his learned and elaborate *Connexion of Coins*. His illuſtration of Neſtor's cup in par- " ticular, may be eſteemed as one of the happieſt examples of that light and beauty, " which the learning and ſpirit of an elegant Antiquarian may throw on a cloudy and " miſtaken paſſage of an antient Poet.

" He gave a very beneficial proof of his zeal for literature, by the trouble he took " in regulating the library of the Cathedral to which he belonged. He perſuaded " Biſhop Mawſon to beſtow a conſiderable ſum towards repairing the room appropri- " ated to this purpoſe. He obtained the donation of many valuable volumes from " different perſons; and by his conſtant and liberal attention to this favourite object, " raiſed an inconſiderable and neglected collection of books, into a very uſeful and re- " ſpectable public library.

" As to his talents as a Divine, he might, I think, be rather eſteemed as a ſenſible " and inſtructive, than as a highly eloquent Preacher. Though the general tone of " his voice was good, he knew not how to give it that harmonious and varied modu- " lation, which is one of the eſſential graces in perfect eloquence.—In the more im- " portant points of his profeſſional character, he was entitled to much higher praiſe. " —In ſtrict attention to all the duties of his ſtation, in the moſt active and unwearied " charity, he might be regarded as a model to the Miniſters of God.—Though his " income was never large, it was his cuſtom to devote a ſhilling in every guinea that he " received, to the ſervice of the poor.—As a maſter, as a huſband, and a father, his " conduct was amiable and endearing; and to cloſe this imperfect ſketch of him with " his moſt ſtriking feature, he was a man of genuine unaffected piety.

" Having thus given you a ſlight yet a faithful account of Mr. Clarke, let me now " ſpeak of the admirable woman, who was the dear companion of his life, and the af- " fectionate rival of his virtues. Mrs. Clarke inherited, from her father Wotton, the " retentive memory by which he was diſtinguiſhed; and ſhe poſſeſſed the qualities, in " which Swift conſidered him as remarkably deficient, penetration and wit. She " ſeemed, indeed, in theſe points, rather related to the laughter-loving Dean of St. " Patrick's, than to his ſolemn antagoniſt. The moral excellence of her character was " by no means inferior to the ſprightly activity of her mind. Nature and education " never formed, I believe, a more ſingular and engaging compound of good-humoured " vivacity and rational devotion. Her whole life ſeemed to be directed by the maxim, " which one of our Engliſh Biſhops adopted for his motto, ' Serve God, and be chearful.' " There was a degree of iraſcible quickneſs in her temper, but it was ſuch as gave ra- " ther an agreeable than a dangerous ſpirit to her general manners. Her anger was " never of long continuance, and uſually evaporated in a comic *bon-mot*, or in a pious " reflexion. She was perfectly acquainted with the works of our moſt celebrated Di-

" vines, and ſo familiar with the Engliſh Muſes, that even in the decline of her life, " when her recollection was impaired by age and infirmities, ſhe would frequently " quote, and with great happineſs of application, all our eminent Poets. She parti- " cularly delighted in the wit of Butler, and wrote herſelf a ſhort poem, which I am " unable to recover, in the manner of Hudibras.

" Her ſufferings on the death of her excellent huſband were extreme; and though " ſhe ſurvived him ſeveral years, it was in a broken and painful ſtate of health. " Through the courſe of a long life, and in the ſevere maladies which preceded her " diſſolution, ſhe diſplayed all the virtues of a Chriſtian with uniform perſeverance, but " without oſtentation.

" Such, my dear Sir, were the amiable perſons, of whom you wiſh me to ſpeak. " I have endeavoured to give you a very ſimple and true deſcription of two characters, " who being themſelves moſt ſteadily attached to ſimplicity and truth, would have been " wounded by the varniſh of leſs faithful and more elaborate praiſe: yet, as they were " both fond of verſe, I am tempted to add a little tribute of affectionate reſpect to " their memory, in the following Epitaph:

" Mild William Clarke, and Ann his wife,
" Whom happy love had join'd in life,
" United in an humble tomb,
" Await the everlaſting doom.
" And bleſt the dead! prepar'd as theſe,
" To meet their Saviour's juſt decrees!
" On earth their hearts were known to feel
" Such charity, and Chriſtian zeal,
" That ſhould the world for ages laſt,
" In adverſe fortune's bitter blaſt,
" Few friends ſo warm will man find here,
" And God no ſervants more ſincere *.] K.

* Mrs. Clarke was born in June 1700, and died on the 11th of July, 1783.

† For the principal materials of this article, we are indebted to the obliging information of the Rev. Thomas Campbell, LL.D. Chancellor of St. Macartin's, Clogher.

*** [CLAYTON (ROBERT), † an excellent and learned Prelate of the kingdom of Ireland, was born at Dublin, in the year 1695. The family from which he was deſcended, were the Claytons of Fulwood in Lancaſhire, whoſe eſtate he became poſſeſſed of, by right of inheritance. His father, Dr. Clayton, was Miniſter of St. Michael's, Dublin, and Dean of Kildare; who, being deſirous that his ſon Robert ſhould receive the beſt claſſical education, ſent him to Weſtminſter ſchool; where, beſides enjoying the inſtructions of the able maſters of that ſchool, he was put under the private tuition of Zachary Pearce, then a King's ſcholar, and afterwards ſucceſſively Biſhop of Bangor and Rocheſter. From ſuch a connexion, Mr. Clayton could not avoid deriving particular advantage; and the two young gentlemen formed a mutual friendſhip, which was preſerved, by a regular correſpondence, to the end of their lives. From Weſtminſter ſchool Dr. Clayton removed his ſon to Trinity College Dublin, of which, in due time, he became a Fellow. Not ſatisfied with having received a merely ſcholaſtic education, he was deſirous of adding to it the benefits of foreign travel; and accordingly, made the tour of Italy and France. From whom Mr. Clayton received holy orders, what preferments he had before he was raiſed to the epiſcopacy, and when he took his degrees, we are not informed; only we find, that he was become Doctor of Divinity in 1729. In 1728, he entered into the matrimonial relation, which he was well able to do in the manner that was entirely agreeable to his own inclinations, by his having come into the poſſeſſion of an affluent eſtate, in conſequence of his father's deceaſe. Some time before his marriage, with a ſcrupuloſity very unuſual, he openly reſigned his Fellowſhip, without taking the leaſt meaſures to obtain in lieu of it any eccleſiaſtical benefice. The Lady he married was Catharine, daughter of Lord Chief Baron Donnellan. Her fortune, which was not conſiderable, he made a preſent of to her ſiſter. He behaved with the ſame generoſity to his own three ſiſters: for, not thinking the proviſion that had been made for them to be ſufficient for ſupporting the genteel ſtyle of life in which they had been educated, he gave to each of them as much more as had been bequeathed to them by their father's will. He has often been heard to relate, with pleaſantry, the pains which his father took to engage him to ſeek after a wife with a plentiful dowry. The old gentleman, in order to obtain his ſon's compliance, would argue, that a Lady's beſtowing upon him a large fortune, was the ſureſt teſtimony ſhe could exhibit of her ſincere and unfeigned affection. But our Doctor, whoſe mind was far raiſed above pecuniary conſiderations, was reſolved to follow the dictates of his own heart. He valued money only for the honourable uſe which might be made of it; and liberality and munificence conſtituted a prime part of his character. It was an extraordinary inſtance of this diſpoſition, which contributed towards his more ſpeedy advancement to the high rank which he ſuſtained in the Church.

Soon after Dr. Clayton's marriage, he went with his Lady to England, to paſs a winter in London. Whilſt he reſided in the metropolis, a perſon in diſtreſſed circumſtances applied to him for aſſiſtance, which he declined at firſt to contribute, from a ſuſpicion that there was ſome impoſture in the ſtory. But the petitioner appealing to the teſtimony of Dr. Samuel Clarke for a recommendation of the caſe, Dr. Clayton deſired to have a certificate under that gentleman's own hand. This, accordingly, was procured and preſented to Dr. Clayton; upon which, inſtead of the uſual donation on ſuch occaſions, he gave to the neceſſitous man no leſs a ſum than three hundred pounds, which was the whole that he wanted to make him eaſy in the world. An action of ſo uncommon a nature could not fail of introducing our Divine to the acquaintance of Dr. Clarke, which was followed by a mutual eſteem and friendſhip, and by a free diſcuſſion of theological ſubjects. The reſult of the converſations that paſſed between them, was Dr. Clayton's embracing thoſe religious principles to which he adhered during the remainder of his life. This he hath been heard frequently to declare to his friends.

Dr. Clarke carried to Queen Caroline an account of Dr. Clayton's remarkable beneficence, and it made a powerful impreſſion on her Majeſty's mind in favour of his character; which impreſſion was ſtrongly enforced by the good offices of Lady Sundon. This accompliſhed Lady, the favourite of the Queen, and the particular friend of Clarke and Hoadly, had been married to a Mr. Clayton, no very diſtant relation of our worthy Divine. Indeed, it is by her name of Mrs. Clayton, rather than that of Lady Sundon, that ſhe has been moſt known in the world. Such a powerful intereſt, in connexion with Dr. Clayton's perſonal merit, procured for him an immediate recommendation, from her Majeſty, to Lord Carteret, then Chief Governor of Ireland, for the very firſt biſhoprick that ſhould become vacant. An opportunity of this kind ſoon happened, by the tranſlation of Dr. Robert Howard, Biſhop of Killala, to the See of Elphin (*a*). It appears from Dr. Boulter's letters, at that time Primate of Ireland, that he was well acquainted with the deſign which was then formed in England for raiſing Dr. Clayton to the Prelacy. Nor does the Archbiſhop appear to have had any objection to this intention; only he would have preferred Dr. Clayton's being appointed to the Biſhoprick of Clonfert (*b*). He was, however, advanced to the epiſcopal Seat of Killala, in January, 1729-30. In this ſituation he continued till November, 1735, when he was tranſlated to the See of Cork, upon the death of Dr. Peter Brown. The Biſhoprick of Derry having become vacant ſome months before, the Primate Boulter was apprehenſive leſt Dr. Clayton ſhould immediately be removed thither from Killala. This did not ariſe from any diſlike which his Grace had to our Prelate, but from his being of opinion that ſo young a man, and ſo young a Biſhop, ought not to be promoted with ſuch rapidity to the richeſt See in the kingdom, as it would create great uneaſineſs to thoſe who had been longer ſeated on the Epiſcopal Bench. It appears, from two of the good Archbiſhop's Letters, that he was afraid of Mrs. Clayton's activity on this occaſion; from which it may be collected, that ſhe was a woman of intereſt and ſpirit, and probably of ambition. What the primate propoſed was, that Dr. Hort, Biſhop of Kilmore, ſhould be removed to Derry, and Dr. Clayton to Kilmore (*c*). This arrangement, however, did not take place. It was thought neceſſary for the public ſervice that the excellent Dr. Rundle, who had been unjuſtly and malignantly perſecuted in England, ſhould be promoted to the Biſhoprick of Derry; and the Government took the opportunity, which happened not long after, of advancing Dr. Clayton to the See of Cork, from which he was tranſlated to that of Clogher, in 1745 (*d*).

(*a*) Harris's edition of Sir James Ware's works, vol. i. p. 657.

(*b*) Lord Primate Boulter's Letters, vol. i. p. 340.

(*c*) *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 127. 129, 130.

(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 134.

Hitherto we have ſeen little or nothing of our Prelate in his literary capacity; and it is remarkable, that he had been many years a Biſhop before he was at all known in the world as a man of eminent learning. It is certain, that he laid a good foundation of literature in early life, and his progreſs in it might be greater than was commonly apprehended; but this was a ſecret, at leaſt to his acquaintance in general. Being diſtinguiſhed for the politeneſs of his manners, converſing much with the ladies, and mixing frequently in public ſociety, the character of the ſcholar was loſt in that of the gentleman. It is indeed, probable, that his application to ſtudy grew more intenſe as he advanced in years; and he is mentioned as an inſtance (we preſume not to ſay that it is an uncommon one) of a man's having been rendered better by his exaltation to a Biſhoprick. So unfavourable an idea was entertained of his erudition, that when he publiſhed his firſt work it was not believed to be his own. But this prejudice, which aroſe from an ignorance of the valuable manner in which Dr. Clayton had ſpent his time, was ſoon removed; and the whole world became convinced of his ſolid, various, and extenſive learning (*e*). Excepting a letter written to the Royal Society, upon a ſubject of no great conſequence, his firſt publication was an "Introduction to the "Hiſtory of the Jews," which was afterwards tranſlated into French, and printed at Leyden. Not having ſeen this performance, we cannot aſcertain the year of its appearance. Our Prelate's next work was, "The Chronology of the Hebrew Bible vin-"dicated; the Facts compared with other ancient Hiſtories, and the Difficulties ex-"plained,

(*e*) From private and very reſpectable information, diſtinct from that of Dr. Thomas Campbell.

" plained, from the Flood to the Death of Moſes; together with ſome Conjectures in " Relation to Egypt, during that Period of Time; alſo two Maps, in which are at- " tempted to be ſettled the Journeyings of the Children of Iſrael." This elaborate production was printed in quarto, in 1747, and contains a variety of obſervations, which deſerve the attention of the learned reader. From the time of Uſher, the chronology of the Hebrew Bible has been generally adopted by the Divines of our own country. Of late, indeed, *that* of the Septuagint has been ably defended by Mr. Jackſon; and ſpeculative men will find abundant cauſe for doubt, with regard to a ſubject which will always be attended with difficulties that are not capable of being eaſily and fully explained. In 1749, Biſhop Clayton publiſhed a " Diſſertation on Prophecy;" in which he endeavoured to ſhew, from a joint compariſon of the Prophecies of Daniel, and the Revelations of St. John, that the final end of the diſperſion of the Jews will be coincident with the ruin of the Popedom, and take place about the year 2000. If in diſcuſſing matters of ſo diſputable a nature, our author ſhould be thought to have failed in preciſely eſtabliſhing the point he had in view, it may be remembered, that, if he has been miſtaken, he has only erred with many able men who have gone before him in the ſame walk of theological literature. The Diſſertation on Prophecy was followed by an " Impartial Enquiry into the Time of the Coming of the Meſſiah," in two letters to an eminent Jew, printed firſt ſeparately, and then together, in 1751. In theſe letters, and eſpecially in the ſecond of them, the Biſhop of Clogher diſplays himſelf to great advantage. The arguments are addreſſed ſolely to the Jews, to convince them of their error in rejecting the Meſſiahſhip of Jeſus; and the ſubject is treated of with true learning, candour, and judgment. In the ſame year (1751) appeared the " Eſſay on " Spirit;" a performance which excited a very general attention, which has not yet loſt its celebrity, and which was productive of a large and fruitful controverſy [*A*]. The whole

(*f*) Confeſſional, p. 246—258. Third edition.

[*A*] *Which was productive of a large and fruitful controverſy.*] We ſhall here give a catalogue of the publications which were owing to the " Eſſay on Spirit," ſo far as we have been able to do it, either by our own perſonal knowledge of them, or by conſulting the volumes of the Monthly Review. 1. " A " Letter to the Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop of " Clogher, occaſioned by his Lordſhip's Eſſay on " Spirit," 8vo. 1752. This letter does not oppoſe the general doctrine advanced in the eſſay, but finds fault with the metaphyſical garb in which it is cloathed, and is accompanied with a few ſtrictures on what had been advanced, in the dedication, relative to the neceſſity of ſubſcribing to ſome articles of Religion. 2. " A Diſſertation on the Scripture Expreſſions, the " Angel of the Lord, and the Angel of Jeſus Chriſt, " proving that the Word Angel is put to ſignify, on " theſe Occaſions, material Bodies, and not Spirit: " interſperſed with many other curious Obſervations " quite new; and containing a full Anſwer to a late " Eſſay on Spirit: which is calculated to ſet aſide " the Doctrine of the Trinity and Unity." 8vo. 1752. 3. " A Sequel to the Eſſay on Spirit: Being the Re- " ſult of a fair and ſerious Enquiry concerning a " very important Doctrine of the Chriſtian Religion, " as delivered in the ſacred Scriptures. With ſome " Obſervations relating to the Athanaſian and Nicene " Creeds. Addreſſed to his Grace the Lord Arch- " biſhop of Canterbury." 8vo. 1752. This tract, the deſign of which is to ſupport the principles maintained in the eſſay, is written with great candour and modeſty, and does not endeavour to determine the queſtion concerning the Trinity by having recourſe to any metaphyſical refinements, but by a ſober appeal to the plain declarations of the New Teſtament. The Author is well known to be a Clergyman of the Church of England of the moſt reſpectable character, who hath publiſhed various other pieces in Vindication of the Supremacy of the Father over the Son and the holy Spirit. The " Sequel" has gone through ſeveral editions, and is highly eſteemed by many Chriſtian Readers. 4. " The genuine Sequel to the " Eſſay on Spirit," 8vo. 1752. This was a kind of a burleſque performance, in which the humour was not ſuſtained with much ability. 5. " An effectual " and eaſy Demonſtration, from Principles purely " philoſophical, of the Truth of the ſacred, eternal, " coequal Trinity of the Godhead; and of the per- " fect Inextenſion of Matter in Space." By John Kirkby, Rector of Blackmanſtone in Kent, 8vo. 1752. 6. " A Defence of the Eſſay on Spirit; with Re- " marks on the ſeveral pretended Anſwers; and " which may ſerve as an Antidote againſt all that " ſhall ever appear againſt it," 8vo. 1752. 7. " A " plain and proper Anſwer to the Queſtion, Why " does not the Biſhop of Clogher, ſuppoſing him to " be Author of the Eſſay on Spirit, reſign his pre- " ferments? Wherein ſome Obſervations are made " on the Articles of the Liturgy. By a Friend to " the Eſtabliſhed Church," 8vo. 1753. This is a curious and ſenſible pamphlet, the deſign of which is to ſhew, that every Clergyman in the Church ſubſcribes to Doctrines which he neither does nor can believe; and, therefore, that it muſt appear ridiculous for one Clergyman to object to another upon the buſineſs of ſubſcription. 8. " A ſecond Letter to " the Right Rev. the Lord Biſhop of Clogher, in " Ireland: being an Anſwer to the Defence of the " Eſſay on Spirit, ſo far as it relates to the Author " of the firſt Letter," 8vo. 1753. 9. " An Anſwer " to the Eſſay on Spirit, wherein is ſhewn, that the " Author's Interpretation of Scripture is imperfect, " and his Repreſentation of the Opinions of the " ancient Fathers unfair." By Thomas Knowles, M. A. Chaplain to the Right Hon. the Lady Harvey, 8vo. 1753. 10. " A full Anſwer to the Eſſay on " Spirit; wherein all the Author's Objections, both " ſcriptural and philoſophical, to the Doctrine of the " Trinity; his Opinions relating to the Uniformity " of the Church; his Criticiſms upon the Anathaſian " and Nicene Creeds, &c. are examined and con- " futed: with a particular Explanation of the Her- " metic, Pythagorean, and Platonic Trinities: and " a Preface giving ſome Account of an Author who " hath lately publiſhed in Defence of the Eſſay," 8vo. 1753. The writer of this tract, the Rev. Mr. William Jones, hath appeared ſince, upon various occaſions, as a zealous advocate for the Trinity; and hath diſtinguiſhed himſelf, likewiſe, by ſeveral other publications. 11. " Some Thoughts on Self-Love, " innate Ideas, Free-Will, Taſte, Sentiment, Liberty, " and Neceſſity, &c. occaſioned by reading Mr. " Hume's Works, and the ſhort Treatiſe written in " French by Lord Bolingbroke, on Compaſſion; to- " gether with a few Remarks on the genuine Sequel, " and Mr. Knowles's Anſwer to the Eſſay on Spirit. " In a Letter to a Friend. By the Author of the " Eſſay on Spirit," 8vo. 1753. The ingenious and learned writer here diſplays the ſame acuteneſs which he had diſplayed in his former performance, and ſhews himſelf to be not unequal to a diſpute with his antagoniſts. 12. " The Negative on that Queſtion, " Whether is the Arch-angel Michael our Saviour? " examined and defended. An Argument deſigned

whole title of the book is, " An Eſſay on Spirit, wherein the Doctrine of the Trinity " is conſidered in the Light of Reaſon and Nature, as well as in the Light in which it " was held by the ancient Hebrews, compared alſo with the Doctrine of the Old and " New Teſtament; with an Enquiry into the Sentiments of the primitive Fathers of " the Church, and the Doctrine of the Trinity, as maintained by the Egyptians, Py- " thagoreans, and Platoniſts; together with ſome Remarks on the Athanaſian and Ni- " cene Creeds," 8vo. It is plain, from this long title page, that the work abounds with various diſcuſſion; and, indeed, the author hath given free ſcope to his ſpeculations. Beginning with a ſeries of metaphyſical obſervations, he riſes, by degrees, to his principal object, which is to aſſert the inferiority of the Son, and of the Spirit, to the Father; and this point he hath ſuſtained with ſingular ingenuity, and with no ſmall degree of ability. We think, at the ſame time, that he hath indulged too freely to imagination and conjecture; and that he might have confined the queſtion, with greater advantage, to the direct and ſimple ſtandard of Scripture. In the dedication of the work to Dr. George Stone, then Lord Primate of Ireland, the matter of ſubſcription is conſidered; and it is contended, that the Articles of Religion are only required to be ſubſcribed as Articles of Peace. What the writer has advanced upon this head hath had ſome proper ſtrictures made upon it by the acute and learned author of the Confeſſional (*f*). But though our eſſayiſt was for admitting ſubſcription with a certain latitude, he thought that the doctrines impoſed ought to be as plain, few, and fundamental as poſſible; and he ardently wiſhed for ſome degree of reformation in the Church, and eſpecially for the abolition of the Athanaſian Creed.

(*f*) Confeſſional, p. 246—258. Third edition.

It is a remarkable fact, and hitherto not known in the world, that the Eſſay on Spirit was not actually written by the Biſhop of Clogher. The real author of it was a young Clergyman in our Prelate's dioceſe, who ſhewed the manuſcript to his Lordſhip, and, for reaſons which may eaſily be conceived, expreſſed his fear of venturing to print it in his own name. The Biſhop, with that romantic generoſity which marked his character, readily took the matter upon himſelf; and determined to ſuſtain all the obloquy that might ariſe from the publication. He did not, indeed, abſolutely avow the work, nor could he do it with truth: but by letting it paſs from his hands to the preſs, and covering it with the dedication, which was of his own writing, he managed the affair in ſuch a manner, that the treatiſe was univerſally aſcribed to him; and it was openly conſidered as his, in all the attacks to which it was expoſed. Few perſons, excepting Dr. Barnard, the preſent Dean of Derry, knew the fact to be otherwiſe; and he hath authorized Dr.

" to prove the real humanity of Chriſt. To which " are annexed, Obſervations for illuſtrating the " Doctrine of thoſe appearances under the Old Teſ- " tament, which are generally termed angelical: to- " gether with a full Interpretation of ſuch of thoſe " Narratives as are particularly referred to by the " Author of the Eſſay on Spirit. In a Letter to the " Right Rev. the Lord Biſhop of Clogher." By Sayer Rudd, M. D. Miniſter of Walmer, in Kent, 8vo, 1753. 13. A Vindication of the Doctrine of " the Trinity, from the Exceptions of a late Pam- " phlet, entitled, an Eſſay on Spirit, &c. By a " Divine of the Church of England." In two parts, 8vo. 1753. 14. " The holy ſcriptural Doctrines of " the divine Trinity in eſſential Unity, and of the " Godhead of Jeſus Chriſt being one and the ſame " with his Father's, ſhewn to be not only wholly ſcrip- " tural, but demonſtrative, and moſt clearly conceiv- " able Truths. Wherewith is occaſionally ſhewn, " that the Newtonian Philoſophy, although formally " and mathematically true, however is materially and " phyſically falſe. To which is prefixed, a prefatory " Diſcourſe, wherein the phyſical and metaphyſical, " and theological Errors of a late Treatiſe, entitled, " An Eſſay on Spirit, are clearly ſet forth and con- " futed." By John Scott, D. D. 1754. 15. " A " moral Diſcourſe on the Attributes of God; or a " ſhort Review of the Chriſtian Religion, on the " Principles of Reaſon. By a Layman. Occaſioned " by a ſmall Book, entitled, An Eſſay on Spirit," 8vo. 1754. 16. " The Doctrine of the Trinity, as " uſually explained, inconſiſtent with Scripture and " Reaſon; and the pernicious Conſequences, that " attend ſuch Miſrepreſentations of Chriſtianity, ſet " forth. In a Letter to the Author of the late Vin- " dication of the Doctrine of the Trinity, in two " Parts," 8vo. 1754. 17. " A Vindication of the " Doctrine of the Trinity from the Exceptions of a " late Pamphlet, entitled, an Eſſay on Spirit. Alſo " an Appendix, containing ſome Remarks on the " Dedication prefixed to the Eſſay," 8vo. 1754. The three parts of this Vindication, and the Appendix, were written by the late Dr. Randolph, of Oxford. 18. " An Eſſay towards an Anſwer to a Book, enti- " tled, an Eſſay on Spirit." By the Rev. Thomas M'Donnel, D. D. 12mo. Dublin, 1754. This was followed by a ſhort vindication, by the ſame author, in anſwer to ſome ſtrictures that were made upon him. 19. " The Doctrine of the ever-bleſſed Trinity proved, " in a Diſcourſe on the 18th Chapter of Geneſis." By George Watſon, M. A. 8vo. 1756. 20. " A ſin- " cere Chriſtian's Anſwer to the Appeal to the com- " mon Senſe of all Chriſtian People, concerning an " important Point of Doctrine, impoſed upon their " Conſciences, by the Authority of Church-Go- " vernment; and in particular to the Members of " the Church of England. In a Letter to the Ap- " pellant. Together with a Preface, wherein, occa- " ſionally, the Cenſures of the Authors of the " Monthly Review, upon the Eſſay towards an An- " ſwer to the Eſſay on Spirit, written by the Author " of this Anſwer, are examined, and obviated." By the Rev. Thomas M'Donnel, D. D. 8vo. 1756. In reflecting upon this controverſy, to which, when it was carried on, we paid a conſiderable degree of attention, we find reaſon to obſerve, that it did not exhibit that diſplay of great talents and literature which appeared in the controverſy occaſioned by Dr. Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity. The only able and formidable antagoniſt of the author of the Eſſay on Spirit, ſeems to have been Dr. Randolph. The reſt of the eſſayiſt's opponents, by the bigotry of their temper, by making uſe of ſome arguments apparently weak, and by urging others manifeſtly foreign to the purpoſe, contributed but little to the ſupport of the cauſe in which they engaged. Upon the whole, the Eſſay on Spirit, and the tracts on the ſame ſide of the queſtion, were the means of diffuſing the Arian opinions; which opinions, however, are, at preſent, upon the decline; many unitarian Chriſtians tending faſt to the doctrine of Socinus.

Thomas

Thomas Campbell to aſſure the public, that the Biſhop of Clogher was only the adopted father of the "Eſſay on Spirit." One effect of our Prelate's conduct in this matter was, his being prevented from riſing to a higher ſeat in the Church. In 1752, upon the death of Dr. Hort; he was recommended, by the Duke of Dorſet; then Viceroy of Ireland, to the vacant Archbiſhoprick of Tuam. But a negative was put upon him in England, ſolely on account of his being regarded as the writer of the eſſay.

The next appearance of Dr. Clayton from the preſs, was in a work undoubtedly his own; and that was his "Vindication of the Hiſtories of the Old and New Teſtament; "in Anſwer to the Objections of the late Lord Bolingbroke; in two Letters to a young "Nobleman," 8vo. 1752. This was only the firſt part of his deſign, and it is executed with great ability. The miſtakes, in particular, to which Lord Bolingbroke's objections to ſeveral parts of ſcripture were owing, are well expoſed and confuted. In 1753, the Biſhop of Clogher publiſhed "A Journal from Grand Cairo to Mount Sinai, and "back again. Tranſlated from a Manuſcript, written by the Prefetto of Egypt, in "Company with the Miſſionaries *de propaganda Fide* at Grand Cairo. To which are "added, ſome Remarks on the Origin of Hieroglyphics and the Mythology of the "ancient Heathens." Dedicated to the Society of Antiquaries, London, 4to. An edition was likewiſe printed in octavo. The Biſhop, having become poſſeſſed of the original Journal from Grand Cairo to Mount Sinai, and which had been mentioned by Dr. Pococke in his Travels through the Eaſt, communicated this tranſlation of it to the Society of Antiquaries, with a view of exciting them to make ſome enquiry into certain ancient characters, which, as appears from the Journal, are diſcovered in great numbers in the wilderneſs of Sinai, at a place well known by the name of *Gebel el Mokatab*, or the *written* Mountains. By carefully copying a good quantity of theſe letters, his Lordſhip apprehended that the ancient Hebrew character, which is now loſt, might be recovered; and he was of opinion, that if a perſon were ſent on purpoſe to live for ſome time at *Tor*, on the coaſt of the Red Sea, he might make ſuch an acquaintance with the Arabs living near the *written* Mountains, by the civility of his behaviour, and frequently making them ſmall preſents, that it would be no great difficulty, in ſix months, or thereabouts, to attain the deſired end. As this would require a good capacity in the perſon employed, and be attended, likewiſe, with conſiderable expence, Dr. Clayton thought proper to apply to the Society above-mentioned, to look out for ſome man of ſuch education and character as well qualified him for the undertaking. The Biſhop, at the ſame time, offered to bear any proportion of the expence the Society ſhould think fit, in order to have the deſign thoroughly effected (*g*). The ſum which he propoſed to give, agreeably to the cuſtomary generoſity of his temper, was a hundred pounds a year, for five years (*b*). Beſides procuring a copy of the unknown characters to be found on the mountains of *Mokatab*, our Prelate had another object in view, which was, to have a particular deſcription of the ſecond ſtone ſtruck by Moſes, as mentioned in the twentieth chapter of Numbers. Of this ſtone, which has lain unnoticed by any traveller of conſequence for ſo many thouſand years, mention is made in the Journal from Cairo; and it was looked upon by his Lordſhip as an atteſtation of the truth of the Moſaical Hiſtory written by the finger of God. For this reaſon, independently of all curioſity, the Biſhop thought it would be worth while to employ ſome perſon to go thither, who ſhould be very exact in his deſcription of it (*i*). It doth not appear, that any meaſures were taken by the Society of Antiquaries, in conſequence of theſe propoſitions. However, what Dr. Clayton had publiſhed excited the attention of ſucceeding travellers. The celebrated Mr. Edward Wortley Montagu, in particular, made a journey from Cairo to the Deſart of Sinai, with the expreſs purpoſe of ſeeing and deſcribing the objects propoſed by the Biſhop. With regard to the written mountains, the reſult of his enquiry was not agreeable to the expectations which our good Prelate had formed upon the ſubject. On examining the characters, Mr. Montagu was greatly diſappointed, in finding them every where interſperſed with figures of men and beaſts, which convinced him that they were not written by the Iſraelites. It will be difficult, he ſays, to gueſs what the inſcriptions were; and he expreſſes his fear, that if ever it ſhould be diſcovered what they contain, nothing important would be the effect of the diſcovery (*k*). If our recollection doth not fail us, the reſearches of more recent travellers have been equally unſucceſsful.

(*g*) Monthly Review, vol. viii. p. 414.

(*b*) New and General Biographical Dictionary. Article Clayton, in the edition ſhortly to be publiſhed.

(*i*) Monthly Review, *ubi ſupra*.

(*k*) Monthly Review, vol. xxxvii. p. 380.

In 1754, the Biſhop of Clogher favoured the literary world with the ſecond part of his "Vindication of the Hiſtories of the Old and New Teſtament. Wherein the Mo-"ſaical Hiſtory of the Creation and Deluge is philoſophically explained; the Errors "of the preſent Theory of the Tides detected and rectified: Together with ſome Re-"marks on the Plurality of Worlds. In a Series of Letters to a young Nobleman. "Adorned with ſeveral explanatory Cuts," 8vo. This tract abounds with curious diſquiſitions, and with learned criticiſm [*B*]; in the whole of which the author hath diſplayed ſingular

[*B*] *This tract abounds with curious and difficult diſquiſitions, and with learned criticiſm.*] As the work is well known, it is not our intention to give an account of the ſubjects diſcuſſed in it. But as a ſpecimen of the

ſingular ingenuity: but that his judgment is equal to his ingenuity, we dare not take upon ourſelves abſolutely to aſſert. Dr. Clayton's account of the formation of the earth and of the deluge, was attacked by Mr. Alexander Catcott, a gentleman of the Hutchinſonian principles, but of greater learning and candour than uſually have appeared in the advocates for Mr. Hutchinſon's method of explaining the ſcriptures of the Old Teſtament. Our Prelate's next publication was in 1755, and conſiſted only of ſome letters which had paſſed between his Lordſhip, when Biſhop of Cork, and Mr. William Penn, on the ſubject of baptiſm. The point in debate was, What is the Baptiſm of Chriſt, and wherein does it conſiſt? Mr. Penn urged the arguments of Mr. Barclay, to ſhew that the baptiſm of the Spirit is the ſame with the true Chriſtian baptiſm commanded by our Saviour, Matthew xxviii. 19. Our author contended, on the other hand, that the true Chriſtian baptiſm is to continue to the end of the world; whereas the baptiſm of the Holy Ghoſt has not continued, but ceaſed with the ceaſing of miracles (*l*).

(*l*) Monthly Review, vol. xiii. p. 478, 479.

We come now to an event of great conſequence in the Biſhop of Clogher's life. He had long been diſſatisfied with the Athanaſian Creed, nor did he approve of the Nicene Creed in every particular; on which accounts he was not a little diſturbed, that they continued to be a part of the Liturgy of the Church. Theſe ſentiments he had declared in his writings; but this, upon mature deliberation, did not appear to him to be a ſufficient diſcharge of his Chriſtian duty. He determined, therefore, to avow the ſame ſentiments in his legiſlative capacity; and accordingly, on Monday, the 2d of February, 1756, he propoſed, in the Iriſh Houſe of Lords, that the Nicene and Athanaſian Creeds ſhould, for the future, be left out of the Liturgy of the Church of Ireland. The ſpeech which our Prelate delivered upon this intereſting occaſion, being

the Biſhop's manner of thinking, we ſhall inſert what he hath ſaid concerning the peopling of America.

" As to the peopling of America, I am fully of " opinion with Biſhop Stillingfleet, Dr. Burnet, and " Mr. Whiſton, that it is no impeachment of the ve- " racity of the Sacred Hiſtory, to ſuppoſe the con- " tinent of America to have been ſeparated from that " of Europe, when the fountains of the great deep " were broken up, at the time of the deluge; in " which ſome few of its inhabitants, with the birds " and beaſts peculiar to that country, were, by the " will of God, ſaved from the general deſtruction, " for the continuance of the ſeveral ſpecies upon earth. " But, that the Sacred Hiſtorian takes no notice of " it, any more than he does of what became of Noah " and the progeny that was born to him after the " flood, during the time that he lived afterwards " upon the earth, which was three hundred and fifty " years; in which long ſpace of time, it is not to be " ſuppoſed, that he and his wife, who was left alive " with him, ſhould have no children; but Moſes " does not take any notice of it, becauſe the menti- " oning of this was not neceſſary to the general de- " ſign of this Hiſtory. Which ſeems to have been " firſt, to eſtabliſh the belief of one God, Creator of " heaven and earth; then to give us an account of " the fall of man, and of the ſubſequent gracious " promiſe made to Adam, that the ſeed of the woman " ſhould bruiſe the head of that ſpirit, who, under " the guiſe of a ſerpent, had contributed to his fall. " In which promiſe it is agreed, both by Jewiſh and " Chriſtian Divines, that the promiſe of a Redeemer " under the character of the Meſſiah, was metapho- " rically included. And therefore, the ſubſequent " purport of the writings of Moſes in the book of " Geneſis, is principally calculated to trace out the " birth of the Meſſiah from Eve, through Noah and " Abraham to his own times.

" And accordingly, as ſoon as he hath conducted " Noah ſafe out of the ark, and brought his three " ſons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, into the plains of " Shinar, and diſperſed them from thence over the " weſtern world, he ſays nothing about the progeny " of Ham, or Japhet, any more than he does of " Noah; but confines his hiſtory entirely to the poſ- " terity of Shem, from whence the Meſſiah was to be " lineally deſcended.

" And, whereas, it is ſaid by Moſes, when ſpeak- " ing of the deluge, that *all fleſh died that moved* " *upon the earth, both of fowl and of cattle, and of* " *beaſts, and of every creeping thing that creepeth upon* " *the earth, and every man. All in whoſe noſtrils was* " *the breath of life, of all that was in the dry land* " *died. And every living ſubſtance was deſtroyed, that* " *was upon the face of the ground, both man and cattle,* " *and the creeping things, and the fowl of the heaven,* " *and they were deſtroyed from the earth; and Noah* " *only remained alive, and they that were with him in* " *the ark*; it is manifeſt, from what hath been al- " ready ſaid, concerning the expreſſion made uſe of " by Moſes, Gen. viii. 9. where he ſays, *for the wa-* " *ters were on the face of* THE WHOLE EARTH, that " theſe words are not always to be ſtrictly and lite- " rally interpreted, according to the exact meaning " of the letter: but that great allowances are to be " made for the elevated language of the Eaſtern na- " tions, who indulged themſelves in a warmer ſtyle, " and greater latitude of expreſſion than is generally " practiſed in theſe more temperate regions. They " therefore frequently put *the whole* for the greateſt " part; as for example, where it is ſaid, that *who-* " *ſoever ſhall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one* " *point, he is guilty of all*; ſince it is impoſſible for " him who keepeth the whole law, to offend in one " point: and ſo in numberleſs other places.—

" And therefore, although I look upon that part " of this narration, relating to the deſtruction of " mankind, and of birds, and of beaſts, at the deluge, " to be literally true, in reſpect only of that part of " the world, in which Noah lived before the flood, " and which was afterwards peopled by his three " ſons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet; yet I cannot but " acknowledge, that this deluge, which happened at " the time of Noah, muſt have been general in ſome " degree; as manifeſtly appears from the general ele- " vation of mountains over the whole world, and " from the immenſe quantity of ſea-ſhells, which " are frequently found in the moſt diſtant regions of " the earth. Nevertheleſs, I cannot but ſuppoſe, " that other parts of the then habitable world, which, " by the force of the deluge, were ſeparated into " iſlands, and were divided from the continent " whereon the ark landed, were in ſome ſort ex- " empted from the common calamity, brought upon " the reſt of the world by the deluge; inaſmuch as " the continent of America, and many iſlands in the " Eaſt-Indies, are at preſent partly inhabited by wild " beaſts, and noxious animals, which, it is not rea- " ſonable to imagine, that any body could or would, " have imported thither ſince that time. Therefore " I own, I cannot ſee any other probable ſolution of " this difficulty, than to ſuppoſe them protected by " the providence of God from the general deſtruc- " tion, in ſome extraordinary manner, for the propa- " gation of their own ſpecies (1)."

(1) Vindication of the Hiſtories of the Old and New Teſtament, p. 354—356. 358, 359.

taken down in ſhort-hand, was afterwards publiſhed [*C*], and hath gone through ſeveral editions. When the Biſhop returned from the Houſe of Peers, he expreſſed to a gentleman,

[*C*] *The ſpeech, &c. was afterwards publiſhed.*] To give an extract or two from it, will, perhaps, not be diſagreeable to our readers. Part of what the Biſhop ſaid concerning the Nicene Creed is as follows, and will be found to contain ſentiments well worthy of a ſerious conſideration.

" The great Lord Bacon, in his excellent treatiſe " on the Advancement of Learning, a work that can- " not ſufficiently be praiſed, and to which Mr. Boyle, " Mr. Locke, and the great Sir Iſaac Newton, owe " the firſt rudiments of the ſeveral ſyſtems which they " have ſince carried to ſo great perfection: in this " wonderful treatiſe, wherein Lord Bacon is ſhewing " the deficiency of each ſpecies of learning, and is " pointing out the errors which have prevented the " progreſs and advancement of it, the ſcience of " Theology comes, among others, under his conſi- " deration, upon which he has this remark, which " for fear of being miſtaken in the quotation, I have " written down, and ſhall beg leave to read to your " Lordſhips. ' Here, therefore, I note this defici- " ency, that there hath not been, to my underſtand- " ing, ſufficiently enquired and handled, the true li- " mits and uſe of reaſon in ſpiritual things, as a kind " of divine dialect; which for that it is not done it " ſeemeth to me a thing uſual, by pretext of true " conceiving that which is revealed, to ſearch and " mine into that which is not revealed.' You have " now heard, my Lords, the ſentiment of this great " man, which is, that the ſearching and mining into " things not revealed, under pretence of their being " contained in that which is revealed, is the error " which he notes in the *advancement of Theology*. " Accordingly, if we enquire into the event and con- " ſequence of the afore-mentioned determination in " the Council of Nice, we ſhall find, that the courſe " of religion was thereby diverted into a wrong chan- " nel; and that Chriſtianity from thenceforward, " inſtead of being conſidered as a practical obligation, " was changed into a ſpeculative ſcience: mens " minds were irritated againſt one another, on ac- " count of niceties that were of no conſequence to " religion; and the doctrine of faith, or of belief in " punctilios of this kind, was ſo magnified and ex- " tolled, as being neceſſary to ſalvation, that the " righteouſneſs of works was entirely neglected. " Polemical Divinity was introduced into religion, " whereby the Church was rendered, if I may be al- " lowed the expreſſion, literally militant, and the di- " vine precept of *univerſal love*, which our Saviour " recommended to his Diſciples, as his command, " was changed into that *of hatred to all who would* " *not ſubſcribe.*"

Of Athanaſius, and of the Creed which goes under his name, our conſcientious Prelate thus ſpeaks:

" As to the Athanaſian Creed, as that is a ſuper- " ſtructure built upon the foundation of the Nicene " Creed, it is not only liable to all the objections, " which can be made againſt that, but has alſo many " blemiſhes of its own to anſwer for; ſince it has " not ſo much as the authority of a Council to ſup- " port it, but is now a known forgery, detected by " the criticiſms of the learned Voſſius, and cannot " be traced within two hundred years of the time of " Athanaſius.

" But, then it may probably be aſked, how comes " it to bear the name of Athanaſius? The anſwer to " which is, becauſe it agrees perfectly with the Atha- " naſian doctrine; and had the name of Athanaſius " affixed to it by the church of Rome, becauſe he " was a perſon much eſteemed by that Church; and " whoſe principles, as well political as religious, " the members of that Church have long laboured " to propagate among mankind. But, as the true " character of this Athanaſius is not commonly " known; and therefore, ſome of your Lordſhips may " poſſibly be unacquainted with it, I ſhall beg leave " to inform you who, and what he was.

" Athanaſius was a young, forward, petulant " Deacon in the Church of Alexandria, of an am- " bitious ſpirit, with a talent fitted for diſputation. " And as he could have no hopes of getting into that " Biſhoprick, unleſs he could drive Arius out of " Alexandria, who was the principal Preſbyter in " that Church next to the Biſhop; this he effected, " by fomenting this diſpute about the Trinity, be- " tween Arius and the Biſhop; on which account, " having got Arius excommunicated, he had him " then baniſhed out of Alexandria. Which, when " done, no ſooner was the old Biſhop Alexander dead, " but Athanaſius, though then only a young man, " of about twenty-ſeven or twenty-eight years of " age, by the aſſiſtance of a ſet of murdering Aſce- " tics, forced himſelf at once into that high Arch- " biſhoprick, without ever paſſing through any of the " intermediate degrees. And, having gotten him- " ſelf illegally conſecrated, contrary to all the rules " and canons of the Church, he prevailed on the " Emperor Conſtantine to confirm him therein, by " the power of bribes, that were given to one of the " Emperor's favourites. And no ſooner was he tho- " roughly eſtabliſhed in it, but he immediately flew " in the Emperor's face. And when the Emperor " Conſtantine the Great was dead, treated his ſon " and ſucceſſor Conſtantius, with more contempt and " inſolence than could have been borne from an " equal. And when he was diſpoſſeſſed of his Biſhop- " rick for other irregularities, by a numerous " Council of Biſhops, regularly ſummoned and aſ- " ſembled, he forced his way into that See again, " more than once or twice, over the murdered corpſes " of his antagoniſts; and waded into his cathedral " through ſeas of blood.

" But it may, perhaps, be farther aſked, Why " ſhould this recommend him to the See of Rome? " The reaſon of which is, becauſe this was all done " by the connivance, and with the concurrence of " that See: Athanaſius, while he treated all the reſt " of mankind, and even his own royal maſter, with " the utmoſt inſolence, having paid a ſervile court to " the papal Chair. Inſomuch, that in the books of " the canon-law, the firſt precedent that is, or can " be produced, in ſupport of the papal Supremacy, " is this inſtance of the ſervile ſubmiſſion that was " paid by Athanaſius to Pope Julius. And there- " fore, I ſhould apprehend, that all Proteſtants, who " have renounced the Supremacy of the Pope, and " the independency of the Church upon the State, " ought to be for obliterating the name of Athana- " ſius out of their Liturgy, into which it was proba- " bly inſerted, only with a view of recommending " his political principles, under the ſhelter and influ- " ence of his religious doctrines.—

" My Lords, I deſire you will be ſo good as to ob- " ſerve, that I have not taken upon me to ſay, that " the doctrine contained in the Athanaſian Creed is " falſe; I only ſay, it is not plainly and clearly re- " vealed. Nor do I preſume to condemn thoſe, " who think they have evidence ſufficient to juſtify " their being peremptory, and poſitive, in the ſup- " port of it. I judge no man; and only ſay, it " contains a doctrine of ſo nice, ſo diſputable, and ſo " metaphyſical a nature, as is hardly fit to be treated " on in the ſchools; but is, I am certain, by no means " ſufficiently revealed to be made the ſubject of a " Creed, which is commanded, by public authority, " to be read by the Miniſter, and repeated by the " people, in the public ſervice of the Church, where " the low, as well as the high, are ordered to aſ- " ſemble themſelves; and which ſhould be, accord- " ing to St. Paul, not to doubtful diſputations, " but that they may, with one mind, and one mouth, " glorify God, even the Father of our Lord Jeſus " Chriſt.

" But, my Lords, let us now, on the contrary, " only for argument's ſake, ſuppoſe, that the doc- " trine contained in the Athanaſian Creed is wrong; " and, unleſs the author of it was infallible, there is " a poſſibility that it may be ſo; and then let us con- " ſider what would be the conſequence——I dread

" to

tleman, who accompanied him in his coach, his entirē ſatisfaction with what he had done. He ſaid, that his mind was eaſed of a load which had long lain upon it; and that he now enjoyed a heart-felt pleaſure, to which he had been a ſtranger for above twenty years before.

Whatever happineſs the Biſhop of Clogher might derive from thus complying with the dictates of his own conſcience, he had not the additional felicity of obtaining the approbation of his auditors. His ſpeech gave great and general offence, and was particularly diſguſting to the eccleſiaſtical Lords. The Primate ſaid, that *it made his ears tingle*. But, though ſo declared and avowed an attack upon the eſtabliſhment was regarded in a very atrocious light, no meaſures were taken for calling Dr. Clayton to an account for it, till he had publiſhed the third part of his "Vindication of the Hiſtories "of the Old and New Teſtament." In this part, which did not appear till the year 1757, he purſued his ſpeculations with as much freedom and ardour as ever. The nature of angels, and the ſcriptural account of the fall and redemption of mankind, were the objects of his particular examination; beſides which, he renewed his attacks upon the Trinity, and contended earneſtly for the utmoſt freedom of enquiry in matters of religion. In ſhort, he gave up ſo many doctrines as indefenſible, and advanced others ſo contradictory to the thirty-nine Articles, that the governors of the Church of Ireland determined to proceed againſt him; and in conſequence of this determination, his late Majeſty, King George the Second, was adviſed to order the Lord-Lieutenant of the kingdom, then the Duke of Bedford, to take the proper ſteps toward a legal proſecution of the Biſhop of Clogher. A day was accordingly fixed for a general meeting of the Iriſh Prelates at the houſe of the Primate, to which Dr. Clayton was ſummoned, that he might receive from them the notification of their intentions. A cenſure was certain; a deprivation was apprehended. But, before the time appointed arrived, he was ſeized with a nervous fever, which brought him to his diſſolution, on the 26th of February, 1758. It is on all hands agreed, that the agitation of mind, into which the Biſhop was thrown by the proſecution commenced againſt him, was the immediate cauſe of his death. We have been informed, that nothing affected him ſo much as the conſideration that he ſhould, on this occaſion, be forſaken by his royal Maſter. It does, indeed, reflect diſgrace on the memory of King George the Second, that he ſhould thus have been prevailed upon to give countenance to any meaſures of perſecution. Had Queen Caroline been living, ſhe would undoubtedly have protected the Prelate of her own creation; and who, ſuppoſing him to have been miſtaken in ſome of his opinions, was, nevertheleſs, diſtinguiſhed above ſeveral of his brethren on the Epiſcopal Bench, both by his abilities and his virtues. He was far ſuperior, in theſe reſpects, to the Primate, Dr. George Stone; who, whatever political talents he might poſſeſs, will not be tranſmitted to poſterity, with any extraordinary luſtre, in the hiſtory of religion and learning.

The perſon of Biſhop Clayton was not above the middle ſize; but his aſpect was commanding, and his countenance extremely pleaſing. His hair was dark, his eyes of the ſame colour, and though large they were piercing. His complexion was clear, and all his features in ſymmetry. The lineaments of his mind were not leſs fairly drawn. In private life he was much eſteemed, his manners being polite and chearful, his accompliſhments high and finiſhed, his addreſs open and engaging. He happily united the dignity of the great Eccleſiaſtic with the eaſe of the fine Gentleman. His elocution was diſtinct and ready, his preaching frequent, and, as it ought to be, plain and practical. The objects of his charity were uncommonly numerous, the ſums beſtowed by him large; and, in the true ſpirit of chriſtianity, they were given with ſuch privacy, that his beneficiaries ſeldom ſaw the hand by which they were relieved. A peculiar elegance diffuſed itſelf through every department of his domeſtic œconomy. His table was ſuch as became his rank; but, in the enjoyments of it, the Biſhop himſelf was ſingularly temperate. His favourite amuſement was angling, in which he was a great proficient. Though he lived much in ſociety, he found ſufficient time for ſtudy, by always riſing at five o'clock in the morning, both in ſummer and winter. By the union of temperance and exerciſe, he preſerved an uncommon ſhare of health till the 64th year of his age; and, from the goodneſs of his conſtitution, a far longer duration of life might have been hoped for, had not the preternatural agitation of ſpirits abovementioned, thrown him into the acute diſorder of which he died (*m*).

On Dr. Clayton's literary abilities and character, after what has been already ſaid, it is not neceſſary to enlarge. It is apparent, from his writings, that he was a man of a great

(*m*) In this pleaſing delineation of the Biſhop's private manners, we have almoſt entirely confined ourſelves to the exact words of Dr. T. Campbell.

"to name it; as it would be no leſs than blaſphemy "——For, if the Father, and the Son, have not "from all eternity been conſubſtantial, and co-equal, "the aſſertion of that propoſition would be blaſ- "phemy.

"My Lords, I will own freely to your Lordſhips, "that it is the dread and terror of a wrong determination, in a point of ſo delicate a nature, that "makes me ſolicitous for having this Creed removed "out of our Liturgy. In a matter of ſuch great "conſequence, and where the honour of God the Father is ſo nearly concerned, I own, that I am fearful how I put any other Being, or Perſon, upon a "level with him."

great capacity, of a vigorous imagination, and of extenſive learning. The accuracy of his judgment does not ſeem to have been equal to his other qualities. From the livelineſs of his fancy, he was ſometimes carried, perhaps too boldly, into the regions of conjecture: but theſe occaſional faults were amply compenſated for, by the liberal views of things, the general good ſenſe, and the variety of uſeful information with which his works abound. The very learned Mr. Markland, in one of his letters to Mr. Bowyer, ſays, "I thank you for the Biſhop of Clogher, who I think was a great man (*n*)."

(*n*) Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer, p. 448.

Our Prelate left behind him ſeveral works in manuſcript, which are now in the poſſeſſion of his executor, Dr. Barnard, Dean of Derry. This gentleman is of opinion, that they would do no diſhonour to the Biſhop; but perſonal regard to the deceaſed, and a tenderneſs to his memory, which the Dean thinks has already ſuffered ſufficiently for what was publiſhed in his life-time, have hitherto induced him to ſuppreſs them, leſt they ſhould again revive a ſubject, which were better buried in oblivion. Such is Dr. Barnard's view of the matter; while other perſons may, perhaps, be diſpoſed to entertain a different ſentiment. It is impoſſible to prevent the Trinitarian controverſy from being perpetually renewed; but it is probable that, in the preſent ſtate of it, the publication of Dr. Clayton's manuſcripts would not excite an extraordinary attention, or be attended with any very material advantage.

We forgot to mention, in the proper place, that the Biſhop of Clogher was a Member of the Royal Society, and of the Society of Antiquaries. He maintained a regular correſpondence with ſeveral gentlemen of eminent literature in this country; and, among the reſt, with the learned Printer, Mr. Bowyer; to whom he made a preſent of the copy-right of all his works publiſhed in England (*o*). His Lancaſhire eſtate he bequeathed to his neareſt male heir, Richard Clayton, Eſq; Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas in Ireland; but the greateſt ſhare of his fortune is inherited by Dr. Barnard, who married his niece, and of whom we need not ſay, that he is a gentleman whoſe reſpectable character is well known in the world.] K.

(*o*) New and General Biographical Dictionary, in the edition ſhortly to be publiſhed. Article Clayton.

* For this article we are indebted to the Right Rev. Dr. Percy, Lord Biſhop of Dromore.

[CLEIVELAND (JOHN),* a noted Loyaliſt and popular Poet in the reign of King Charles I. was ſon of the Reverend Thomas Cleiveland (*a*), M. A. ſome time Vicar of Hinckley, and Rector of Stoke, in the county of Leiceſter [*A*]. John, who was his eldeſt ſon, was born in 1613, at Loughborough (*b*), where his father was then aſſiſtant to the Rector; but he was educated at Hinckley, under the Rev. Richard Vynes (*c*), a man of genius and learning, who was afterwards as much diſtinguiſhed among the Preſbyterian party, as his ſcholar was among the Cavaliers [*B*]. In his fifteenth year our Poet was removed to Cambridge, and admitted of Chriſt's-College, 4th September, 1627 (*d*), where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1631 (*e*). He was thence tranſplanted to the ſiſter foundation of St. John's-College, in the ſame univerſity, of which he was elected Fellow on the 27th of March, 1634 (*f*), and proceeded to the degree of Maſter of Arts in 1635 (*g*). Of this ſociety he continued many years a principal ornament, being one of the tutors, and highly reſpected by his pupils, ſome of whom afterwards attained to eminence [*C*]. By the ſtatutes of that College, he ſhould have

(*a*) So he and his family ſpelt their name themſelves.

(*b*) Baptized 20th of June, 1613. Loughborough Regiſter.

(*c*) Entry of his admiſſion in Chriſt's-College, Cambridge.

(*d*) *Ibid.*

(*e*) Liſt of Graduates by the late Dr. Richardſon, Maſter of Emanuel-College.

(*f*) In the Regiſters of St. John's-College.

(*g*) Liſt of Graduates.

[*A*] *Son of the Rev. Thomas Cleiveland, &c.*] Of this Thomas Cleiveland, M. A. we have the following eulogium in Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy (1):

"He was a very great *ſufferer*, [for epiſcopacy, "&c.] was father to the famous John Cleaveland "the Poet, and had, at the time of his *ſequeſtration*, "nine [eight] children, (ſeveral of which, beſides "the Poet, were *ſufferers* alſo); but how many of "them were then provided for, I know not. He "was *diſpoſſeſt* by the Committee of Leiceſter, died "in October 1652, and was a very worthy perſon, "and of a moſt exemplary life."

(1) Page 221.

He was of an ancient family in Yorkſhire, that derived their name from that tract of country in the North-Riding, which is ſtill called CLEVELAND, wherein they had formerly large poſſeſſions, as may be ſeen in Dr. Naſh's Hiſtory of Worceſterſhire, 1782, fol. (2), and in Nichols's Hiſtory of Hinckley, 1783, 4to. (3), where their GENEALOGY is inſerted at large. One of the Poet Cleiveland's brothers, JOSEPH, had iſſue, which ſettling in Liverpool, acquired there a large fortune; and two of this family repreſented that Borough in Parliament, viz. John Cleiveland, Eſq; (ſon of Joſeph) in 1710, and William Cleiveland, Eſq; his ſon, in 1722. Another of the Poet's brothers, WILLIAM, was Rector of Oldbury and Quat, near Bridgnorth, in Shropſhire, and dying in 1666, left a ſon, who was grandfather of the Rev. William Cleiveland, M. A. now Rector of All-Saints pariſh in Worceſter; and four daughters, whereof the youngeſt was grandmother of Dr. Percy, the preſent Biſhop of Dromore in Ireland (4).—A ſiſter of theirs, ELIZABETH, married Mr. William Iliff, of Hinckley, from whom are deſcended a reſpectable family, to which, by marriage, is allied the ingenious author of the Hiſtory of Hinckley above-mentioned: A work to which this article is indebted for many curious particulars.

(2) Vol. ii. p. 94, 95.

(3) Page 135.

(4) Naſh's Hiſt. of Worceſterſhire, vol. ii. p. 318, 319.

[*B*] *Richard Vynes, a man of genius and learning.*] David Lloyd, in his Memoirs (5), tells us, that Cleiveland owed "the heaving of his natural fancy, "by choiceſt elegancies in Greek and Latin, more "elegantly Engliſhed, (an exerciſe he improved "much by), to Mr. VINES, there ſchool-maſter."

(5) Of Perſons who ſuffered for King Charles I. 1668, fol. p. 617.

Of this learned perſon, who was afterwards one of the Aſſembly of Divines, the reader will find a particular account in the Hiſtory of Hinckley, ſo often quoted (6).

(6) Page 141.

[*C*] *Some of his pupils attained to eminence.*] One of theſe, JOHN LAKE, D. D. ſometime Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, had, "before he "was complete thirteen years of age, been com-"mitted there to the tuition of the famous Mr. "Cleiveland, for whoſe memory he always retained "a great reverence (7);" and under whoſe inſtructions he ſo far profited, that he became ſucceſſively Vicar of Leeds, and Biſhop of Man, Briſtol, and Chicheſter. "He and his friend Dr. [Samuel] Drake, "Vicar of Pontefract (9)" who had been Fellow of St. John's College, and borne arms in the garriſon at

(7) Thoreſby, Vicaria Leodenſis, p. 99.

(9) *Ibid.*

have taken holy orders within ſix years after his being elected Fellow: but he was admitted on the Law line (*h*), (as the phraſe there is) and afterwards on that of Phyſic (*), which excuſed him from complying with this obligation; though it does not appear that he made either Law or Phyſic his profeſſion; for remaining at College, he became the Rhetoric Reader there, and was uſually employed by the ſociety in compoſing their ſpeeches [*D*] and epiſtles to eminent perſons (of which ſpecimens may be ſeen in his works), being in high repute, at that time, for the purity and terſeneſs of his Latin ſtyle. He alſo became celebrated for his occaſional poems in Engliſh, and at the breaking out of the Civil Wars, is ſaid to have been the firſt champion (*i*) that appeared in verſe for the Royal Cauſe; which he alſo ſupported by all his perſonal influence: particularly by exerting his intereſt in the town of Cambridge, to prevent Oliver Cromwell (then an obſcure candidate, but ſtrongly ſupported by the Puritan party) from being elected one of its members (*k*). Cromwell's ſtronger genius in this, as in every other purſuit, prevailing, Cleiveland is ſaid to have ſhown great diſcernment, by predicting, at ſo early a period, the fatal conſequences that long after enſued to the Cauſe of Royalty [*E*]. The Parliament party carrying all before them in the eaſtern counties, Cleiveland retired to the royal army, and with it to the King's head quarters at Oxford (*l*), where he was much admired and careſſed for his ſatirical poems on the oppoſite faction, eſpecially for his ſatire on the Scottiſh Covenanters, intitled, THE REBEL SCOT [*F*]. In his abſence he was deprived of his Fellowſhip,

(*h*) 2d November, 1640. Regiſter of St. John's.

(*) 31ſt January, 1642. *Ibid.* In St. John's-College "he lived about nine years, the delight and ornament of that Society." To the ſervice he did it "the Library oweth much of its learning, the Chapel much of its pious decency, and the College much of its renown." Life by Biſhop Lake, &c. prefixed to his Poems, 1677, 8vo.

(*i*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. 2d edit. vol. ii. p. 274.

(*k*) Life by Biſhop Lake, &c. *ubi ſupra.*

(*l*) *Ibid.*

at Newark (10), collected their tutor's compoſitions into one volume, which they intitled "*Clievelandi* "*Vindiciæ*, or Cleveland's genuine Poems, Ora- "tions, Epiſtles, &c. purged from the many falſe "and ſpurious ones, &c. Lond. 1677, 8vo." Prefixing to it his Life and Parentalia, and a dedication (ſigned with the initials of their names, J. L. and S. D. (11) to Francis Turner, D. D. then Maſter of St. John's-College, but afterwards ſucceſſively Biſhop of Rocheſter and Ely, who is believed to have been a pupil of Cleiveland's alſo.

(10) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, &c.

(11) In ſome copies erroneouſly printed W. D.

[*D*] *Speeches to eminent Perſons.*] One of theſe was ſpoken before the King (Charles I.), and his ſon the Prince of Wales, at St. John's-College in Cambridge: with which the King was ſo well pleaſed, that after it was over, his Majeſty "called for him, "and (with great expreſſions of kindneſs) gave him "his hand to kiſs, and commanded a copy to be ſent "after him to Huntington, whither he was haſten- "ing that night (12)." This, according to Winſtanley (13), was in 1642. But a MS. dates it in 1641.

(12) Life by Biſhop Lake, &c. *ubi ſupra.*

[*E*] *He predicted the fatal conſequences.*] For this fact we are indebted to the authors of his life, prefixed to his works, in 1677, who having obſerved, that "no man had more ſagacious prognoſticks," tell us, that after the election was over, Cleiveland ſaid, "with much paſſionate zeal, That ſingle vote had "ruined both Church and Kingdom." Whence it ſhould ſeem, that Cromwell gained this ſeat in Parliament by the majority of one vote only.

(13) See his Lives, &c. See Nichols's Hiſt. of Hinckley, 4to. p. 139.

The ſame writers mention another inſtance of his being "*Vates* in the whole import of the word, both "Poet and Prophet." When the King withdrew from Oxford, and ſurrendered himſelf to the Scots army, "upon ſome private intelligence three days "before the King reached them, Cleiveland foreſaw "the pieces of ſilver paying upon the banks of "Tweed, and that they were the price of his So- "vereign's blood, and predicted the tragical events."

[*F*] *He was careſſed at Oxford for his ſatire, &c.*] Cleiveland had been before at Oxford in the year 1637, and was then incorporated Maſter of Arts, with ſeveral other Cambridge men (14). But now his ſarcaſtic attacks on the oppoſite party would make him exceedingly popular there, eſpecially the ſatire above-mentioned. Of which we have the following proof: while he was now at Oxford he had his portrait painted by Fuller, (a three-quarter's length, now in poſſeſſion of his great-nephew the Biſhop of Dromore) wherein he is drawn holding a paper, inſcribed *The Rebel Scot.* An engraving from it is prefixed to the VIIth volume of Nichols's "Select Collection "of Miſcellany Poems, 1781," 12mo. where ſeveral of Cleiveland's poems are reprinted; and particularly this ſatire, which we ſhall here extract* as a ſpecimen of Cleiveland's manner; premiſing only, that it was intended by the author for a *party* rather than a *national* ſatire, as appears by his excepting the *loyal* Scots, &c.

(14) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Faſti, 1637.

* With ſome corrections, from the edition 1647, 4to.

THE REBEL SCOT.

HOW! Providence! and yet a Scottiſh crew!
Then, Madam Nature wears black patches too!
What ſhall our nation be in bondage thus
Unto a land that truckles under us?
Ring the bells backward; I am all on fire:
Not all the buckets in a country quire
Shall quench my rage. A Poet ſhould be fear'd
When angry, like a Comet's flaming beard.
And where's the Stoick can his wrath appeaſe
To ſee his country ſick of Pym's diſeaſe?
By Scotch invaſion, to be made a prey
To ſuch Pig-wiggen Myrmidons as they?
But that there's charm in verſe, I would not quote
The name of Scot without an antidote;
Unleſs my head were red, that I might brew
Invention there that might be poiſon too.
Were I a drowzy Judge whoſe diſmal note
Diſgorgeth halters, as a jugler's throat
Doth ribbands; could I in Sir Emperick's tone
Speak pills in phraſe, and quack deſtruction;
Or roar like Marſhal, that Geneva Bull,
Hell and damnation a pulpit full;
Yet to expreſs a Scot, to play that prize,
Not all thoſe mouth-granados can ſuffice:
Before a Scot can properly be curſt,
I muſt, like Hocus, ſwallow daggers firſt.
Come, keen Iambics, with your badgers feet,
And badger-like, bite till your teeth do meet:
Help, ye tart Satiriſts, to imp my rage
With all the ſcorpions, that ſhould whip this age.
Scots are like Witches; do but whet your pen;
Scratch till the blood come, they'll not hurt you then.
Now as the Martyrs were enforc'd to take
The ſhapes of beaſts, like hypocrites, at ſtake;
I'll baite my Scot ſo, yet not cheat your eyes,
A Scot within a beaſt, is no diſguiſe.
No more let Ireland brag, her harmleſs nation
Foſters no venom, ſince the Scot's plantation.
Nor can our's feign'd antiquity maintain;
Since they came in, England hath Wolves again.
The Scot, that kept the Tower, might have ſhown,
Within the grate of his own breaſt alone
The Leopard and the Panther, and ingroſs'd
What all thoſe wild Collegiates had coſt
The honeſt high-ſhoos, in their termly fees
Firſt to the ſalvage Lawyer, next to theſe.
Nature herſelf doth Scotchmen beaſts confeſs,
Making their country ſuch a wilderneſs;
A land that brings in queſtion and ſuſpenſe
God's omnipreſence, but that Charles came thence;
But that Montroſe' and Crawford's loyal band
Aton'd their ſins, and chriſten'd half the land.
Nor is it all the nation hath theſe ſpots;
There is a Church, as well as Kirk of Scots;
As in a picture, where the ſquinting paint
Shews Fiend on this ſide, and on that ſide Saint.

Fellowſhip, 13th February, 1644 (*m*), by the Earl of Manchester, who, under the authority of an ordinance of Parliament, for regulating and reforming the Univerſity of Cambridge, ejected ſuch Fellows of Colleges, &c. as refuſed to take the ſolemn league and covenant. From Oxford Cleiveland was appointed to be Judge-Advocate in the garriſon at Newark, under Sir Richard Willis the governor, and has been commended (*n*) for his ſkilful and upright conduct in this difficult office [*G*], where he alſo diſtinguiſhed his pen occaſionally, by returning ſmart anſwers to the ſummons, and other addreſſes to the garriſon (*o*). Newark, after holding out the laſt of all the royal fortreſſes, was at length, in 1646, by the expreſs command of the King (then a priſoner in the Scots army), ſurrendered upon terms, which left Cleiveland in poſſeſſion of his liberty [*H*], but deſtitute of all means of ſupport, excepting what he derived from the hoſpitality

(*m*) From the Regiſters of St. John's-College, which correct the erroneous date in Walker's Sufferings, &c.

(*n*) Life by Biſhop Lake, &c. prefixed to edit. 1677, 8vo.

(*o*) See his works, edit. 1677, p. 119, &c. and edit. 1687, p. 92, &c.

He that ſaw Hell in's melancholy dream,
And, in the twi-light of his fancy's theme,
Scar'd from his ſins, repented in a fright,
Had he view'd Scotland, had turn'd proſelyte.
A land where one may pray with curſt intent,
O may they never ſuffer baniſhment!
Had Cain been Scot, God would have chang'd his doom,
Not forc'd him wander, but confin'd him home.
Like Jews they ſpread, and as infection fly,
As if the Devil had ubiquity.
Hence 'tis they live at rovers, and defy
This or that place, rags of Geography,
They're citizens o' th' world; they're all in all,
Scotland's a nation epidemical.
And yet they ramble, not to learn the mode
How to be dreſt, or how to liſp, abroad:
To return knowing in the Spaniſh ſhrug,
Or which of the Dutch States a double jug
Reſembles moſt in belly, or in beard,
(The card by which the mariners are ſteer'd)
No; the Scots-Errant fight, and fight to eat;
Their oſtrich-ſtomachs make their ſwords their meat.
Nature with Scots as Tooth-drawers hath dealt,
Who uſe to hang their teeth upon their belt.
Yet wonder not at this their happy choice,
The Serpent's fatal ſtill to Paradiſe.
Sure England hath the hæmorrhoids, and theſe
On the North-poſtern of the patient ſeize,
Like Leeches; thus they phyſically thirſt
After our blood, but in the cure ſhall burſt.
Let them not think to make us run o' the ſcore,
To purchaſe villenage, as once before,
When an act paſs'd, to ſtroak them on the head,
Call them good ſubjects, buy them ginger-bread.
Nor gold, nor acts of grace, 'tis ſteel muſt tame
The ſtubborn Scot: a Prince that would reclaim
Rebels by yielding, doth like him (or worſe)
Who ſaddled his own back, to ſhame his horſe.
Was it for this you left your leaner ſoil,
Thus to lard Iſrael with Egypt's ſpoil?
They are the Goſpel's life-guard, but for them
(The garriſon of New-Jeruſalem)
What would the Brethren do? The Cauſe! The Cauſe
Sack-poſſets, and the fundamental laws?
Lord! what a godly thing is want of ſhirts!
How a Scotch ſtomach, and no meat, converts!
They wanted food and raiment; ſo they took
Religion for their Seamſtreſs, and their Cook.
Unmaſk them well; their honours and eſtate,
As well as conſcience, are ſophiſticate.
Shrive but their titles, and their money poize,
A Laird and twenty pound pronounc'd with noiſe,
When conſtrued, but for a plain Yeoman go,
And a good ſober ten-pence, and well ſo.
Hence then, you proud Impoſtors; get you gone,
You Picts in gentry and devotion;
You ſcandals to the ſtock of verſe, a race
Able to bring the Gibbet in diſgrace.
Hyperbolus by ſuffering did traduce
The Oſtraciſm, and ſham'd it out of uſe.
The Indian, that Heaven did forſwear,
Becauſe he heard ſome Spaniards were there,
Had he but known what Scots in Hell had been,
He would, Eraſmus like, have hung between.
My Muſe hath done. A voider for the nonce;
I wrong the Devil ſhould I pick their bones.
That diſh is his; for when the Scots deceaſe,
Hell, like their nation, feeds on barnacles.
A Scot, when from the gallows-tree got looſe,
Drops into Styx, and turns a Soland Gooſe.

[*G*] *Has been commended for his ſkilful and upright conduct.*] "His next ſtage was the garriſon of New-"ark, where he was Judge-Advocate, until the ſur-"render: and by an excellent temperature of both, "was a juſt and prudent Judge for the King, and a "faithful advocate for the country (15)."

(15) Life by Biſhop Lake, &c. *ubi ſupra.*

The Biſhop of Dromore has in his poſſeſſion an authentic copy of the commiſſion, (ſigned by King Charles I. with his *own hand*) dated at "our Court "at Newarke," 12th October, 1645, by which Sir Richard Willis the governor, and other commiſſioners therein mentioned, are impowered to puniſh all offences committed by the ſoldiers, and to determine all differences between them and the countrymen by martial law.

A particular reaſon for fixing Cleiveland in the garriſon at Newark, has been produced by the ingenious and diligent Hiſtorian of Hinckley (16), from a periodical publication of the oppoſite party, intitled, "The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer," No. 101. p. 811. for Tueſday, 27 May, 1645. "But to "ſpeak ſomething of our friend Cleveland, that "grand malignant of Cambridge, we heare that he "is now at Newarke, where he hath the title of Ad-"vocate put upon him. His office and employment "is, to gather all the Colledge rents within the "power of the King's forces in thoſe parts, which "he diſtributes to ſuch as are turned out of their "Fellowſhips at Cambridge for their malignancie. "If the royal party be thus careful to ſupplie their "friends, ſure it is neceſſary to take ſome courſe to "relieve thoſe who are turned out of their houſes "and livings for adhering to the Parliament."

(16) See page 136, and in the Appendix to the VIIth vol. of "A ſelect Collection of Miſcel. Poems, 1781," 12mo. by the ſame editor.

From a collection of old pamphlets and journals during the great rebellion between 1639 and 1660, and ſorted by Mr. Carte, in Sir John Hinde Cotton's library at Madingley, near Cambridge.

[*H*] *Newark—ſurrendered,—which left him in poſſeſſion of his liberty.*] On the occaſion of this ſurrender, a late periodical Critic (17) has given us a remarkable ſtory, which is thus introduced:

(17) See the Critical Review, in its account of Granger's Biog. Hiſtory.

"Mr. Granger ſays, that Cleaveland never was in "holy orders; Lloyd tells us, that he was Fellow of "St. John's, and that he was turned out of his Fel-"lowſhip. Be that as it will, his famous ſatire againſt "the Scotch rendered him extremely obnoxious to "that nation, and he happened to be taken priſoner "by a party of their troops in the North, commanded "by David Leſley, afterwards Lord Newark. Being "diſcovered by the papers he had about him, the of-"ficers who took him, gave him an aſſurance of the "gallows, and Cleaveland received the news with "that magnanimity and pride, which is the conco-"mitant of great ſelf-conſequence; for he conſoled "himſelf with the thoughts of dying a martyr in the "cauſe of his ſovereign, and having his name tranſ-"mitted to poſterity with peculiar encomiums in the "annals of loyalty. He was introduced, with ſome "other priſoners, to Leſley, who could neither read "nor write, and who awarded to each his proper "fate, by hanging, whipping, or impriſoning. "When it came to be Cleaveland's turn, he preſented "himſelf at the bar with a conſcious dignity, and "his enemies did not fail to aggravate his offences, "producing at the ſame time a bundle of verſes. 'Is "this all, ſaid the General, ye have to charge him "with; for ſhame, for ſhame! let the poor fellow

hospitality and generosity of his brother Loyalists (*p*), among whom he lived up and down some years, obscure and unnoticed by the ruling party, till in November, 1655, he was seized at Norwich, as "a person of great abilities," adverse and dangerous to the reigning government [*I*]; and being sent to Yarmouth, he was there imprisoned for some time, till he sent a petition to the Lord-Protector, wherein the address of the writer hath been much admired, who, while he honestly avows his principles, has recourse to such moving topics, as might sooth his oppressor, and procure his enlargement [*K*]: in which he was not disappointed, for the Protector generously set him at liberty,

(*p*) See below, note [*I*].

"go about his business, and sell his ballads.' This "contemptuous slight affected Cleaveland so much, "that he is said to have drowned the remembrance of "it in strong liquors, which hastened his death. "It appears, however, by Thurloe's papers, that "Cleaveland was a person of note amongst the Roy-"alists, and that he had a place of some consequence "in their army."

As this article was attributed to a countryman of Lesley's (18), shall we suppose that he took this method to be revenged on the author of the REBEL SCOT?—It is strange, however, that quoting Thurloe (19), he should not have observed that Cleiveland was nine years after the surrender of Newark, possessed of so much health and vigour, as to alarm the adverse government: being at last cut off by an epidemical disease, after he had a dozen years survived this pretended suicide of himself by *strong liquors*.

(18) The late Mr. Guthrie.

(19) See below, note [*I*].

[*I*] *He was seized at Norwich, &c.*] We have the following heads of his examination preserved in Thurloe's State Papers, 1742, fol. vol. IV. page 185.

"Major-General Haynes, &c. to the President of the Council.

"May it please your Lordship,

"IN observance to the orders of his Highness and Council, sent unto us, We have this day sent to the garrison of Yarmouth one John Cleveland, of Norwich, late Judge-Advocate at Newark, who we have deemed to be comprized within the second head.

"The Reasons of Judgment are;

"1. He confesseth, that about a year since he came from London to the city of Norwich, and giveth no account of any business he hath there, only he pretends, that Edward Cooke*, Esq; maketh use of him to help him in his studies.

* Was not this the ancestor of the late Earl of Leicester, Lord Viscount Coke, of Holkam, in Norfolk, &c.?

"2. Mr. Cleveland confesseth, that he hath lived in Mr. Cooke's house ever since he came to the said city; and that he but seldom went into the city, and never but once into the country. Indeed his privacy has been such, that none, or but few, save Papists, or Cavileeres, did know, that there was any such person resident in these parts.

"3. For that the place of the said Mr. Cleveland his abode, viz. the said Mr. Cooke's, is a family of notorious disorder, and where Papists, delinquents, and other disaffected persons of the late King's party do often resort, more than to any family in the said city or county of Norfolk, as is commonly reported.

"4. Mr. Cleveland liveth in a genteel garbe; yet he confesseth, that he hath no estate but 20l. per annum allowed by two gentlemen, and 30l. per annum by the said Mr. Cooke.

"5. Mr. Cleveland is a person of great abilities, and so able to do the greater disservice: all which we humbly submit, and remain

Your honour's

Truly humble servants,

H. Haines,	H. King,
Rob. Woode,	Richard Copeman,
Edw. Warde,	John Ballestone,
Bram. Gurdon,	Ro. Swallowe,
Nich. Bell,	Ralph Woollmer,
Nich. Salter,	Richard Harbie,
Tho. Garett,	William Stewart."

Norwich, November 10, 1655.

[*K*] *He sent a petition to the Lord-Protector—who generously set him at liberty.*] This Lloyd seems to hint was a singular instance, and therefore the greater compliment paid to the petitioner. His words are (speaking of the petition) "the only thing that ever "I heard wrought upon him, that had been too hard "for all swords (20)."

(20) Memoires, p. 618.

The reader will, probably, not be displeased to see a composition of so delicate a nature, yet so successfull in its effect; it is therefore subjoined here at length.

"May it please your Highness,

"RULERS, within the circle of their government, have a claim to that which is said of the Deity, 'They have their centre every where, and their circumference no where.' It is in this confidence that I address to your Highness, knowing that no place in the nation is so remote, as not to share in the ubiquity of your care; no prison so close, as to shut me up from partaking of your influence. My Lord, it is my misfortune, that after ten years retirement from being engaged in the differences of the state, having wound up myself in private recess, and my comportment to the public so inoffensive, that in all this time neither fears nor jealousies have scrupled at my actions: being about three months since at Norwich, I was fetched by a guard before the commissioners, and sent prisoner to Yarmouth; and if it be not a new offence to make an enquiry wherein I offended (for hitherto my fault was kept as close as my person), I am induced to believe, that, next to my adherence to the Royal party, the cause of my confinement is the narrowness of my estate; for none stand committed, whose estate can bail them. I only am the prisoner, who have no acres to be my hostage. Now if my poverty be criminal, (with reverence be it spoken) I implead your Highness, whose victorious arms have reduced me to it, as accessory to my guilt. Let it suffice, my Lord, that the calamity of the war hath made us poor; do not punish us for it! Who ever did penance for being ravished? Is it not enough that we are stript so bare, but it must be made in order to a severer lash! must our sores be engraven with our wounds? must we first be made cripples, and then beaten with our own crutches? Poverty, if it be a fault, 'tis its own punishment; who pays more for it, pays use upon use. I beseech your Highness put some bounds to the overthrow, and do not pursue the chace to the other world. Can your thunder be leveled so low as our groveling condition? Can your towering spirit, which hath quarried upon kingdoms, make a stoop at us, who are the rubbish of these ruins? Methinks I hear your former atchievements interceding with you, not to sully your glories with trampling upon the prostrate, nor clog the wheel of your chariot with so degenerous a triumph. The most renowned heroes have ever with such tenderness cherished their captives, that their swords did but cut out work for their courtesies. Those that fell by their prowess, sprung by their favour, as if they had struck them down only to make them rebound the higher. I hope your Highness, as you are the rival of their fame, will be no less of their virtues. The noblest trophy that you can erect to your honour is to raise the afflicted. And since you have subdued all opposition, it now remains, that you attack yourself, and with acts of mildness vanquish your victory. It is not long since, my Lord, that you knocked off the shackles from most of our party, and, by a grand release, did spread your clemency as far as your territories. Let not new proscriptions interrupt your jubilee.

liberty, disdaining to remember on the throne, the opposition he had received in his canvas for Parliament as a private Burgess. Cleiveland thence retired to London, where he is said to have found a generous Mæcenas (*q*), and being much admired among all persons of his own party, became member of a club of Wits and Loyalists (*r*), which Butler, the author of Hudibras, also frequented [*L*]. Cleiveland then lived in chambers at Gray's-inn (of which Butler is said to have been a member (*s*), and being seized with an epidemic intermitting fever, died there on Thursday morning, 29th April, 1658 (*t*). His friends paid the last honours to his remains by a splendid funeral: for his body was removed to Hunsdon-house (*u*), and thence carried for interment, on Saturday, 1st May, to the parish church of St. Michael Royal, on College-Hill, London [*M*], followed by a numerous attendance of persons eminent for their loyalty or learning: to whom his funeral sermon was preached by his intimate friend Dr. John Pearson, afterwards Bishop of Chester, author of the learned exposition of the Creed [*N*].

(*q*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. i. Fasti, A. D. 1637.

(*r*) Aubrey and Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. i.

(*s*) *Ibid.*

(*t*) Life by Bishop Lake, &c. to edit. 1677, 8vo.

(*u*) Lloyd's Memoirs of Sufferers for King Charles I. 1668, fol. p. 617. Fuller's Worthies, in Leicestershire, p. 135.

Cleiveland has had the fate of those Poets, who, "paying their court to temporary "prejudices, have been at one time too much praised, and at another too much neglected (*w*)." Both his subjects, and his manner of writing, made his poems extremely popular among his contemporaries, but entirely forgotten and disregarded since. For his Manner, he excelled among that class of writers, so much admired in the last century, whom our great Critic (*x*) has aptly termed "Metaphysical Poets," who abound with witty rather than just thoughts, with far-fetched conceits, and learned allusions, that only amuse for a moment, utterly neglecting that beautiful simplicity and propriety, which will interest and please through every age. For his Subjects he generally chose the party disputes of the day, which now are no longer understood or regarded. Contemporary with Milton, he was in his time exceedingly preferred before him; and Milton's own nephew tells us, he was by some esteemed the best of the English Poets [*O*]. But Cleiveland is now sunk into oblivion, while Milton's fame is universally diffused. Yet Milton's works could, with difficulty, gain admission to the press, at the time when it was pouring forth those of Cleiveland in innumerable impressions. But behold the difference! The press now continually teems with re-publications of the Paradise Lost, &c. whereas the last edition of Cleiveland's Works was in 8vo. 1687 [*P*].

(*w*) Dr. Johnson's Life of Cowley.

(*x*) *Idem, ubi supra.*

jubilee. Let not that your lenity be slandered as the ambush of your further rigour. For the service of his Majesty (if it be objected) I am so far from excusing it, that I am ready to alledge it in my vindication. I cannot conceit that my fidelity to my Prince should taint me in your opinion: I should rather expect it should recommend me to your favour: had we not been faithful to our King, we could not have given ourselves to be so to your Highness; you had then trusted us *gratis*, whereas now we have our former loyalty to vouch us. You see, my Lord, how much I presume upon the greatness of your spirit, that dare prevent my indictment with so frank a confession, especially in this which I may so safely deny that it is almost arrogancy in me to own it; for the truth is, I was not qualified enough to serve him; all I could do, was to bear a part in his sufferings, and give myself to be crushed with his fall. Thus my charge is doubled; my obedience to my Sovereign, and what is the result of that, my want of fortune. Now whatever reflection I have upon the former, I am a true penitent for the latter. My Lord, you see my crimes; as to my defence, you bear it about you. I shall plead nothing in my justification, but your Highness's clemency, which, as it is the constant inmate of a valiant breast, if you graciously be pleased to extend it to your suppliant, in taking me out of this withering durance, your Highness will find that Mercy will establish you more than Power; though all the days of your life were as pregnant with victories as your twice auspicious third of September.

Your Highness's humble and submissive Petitioner,

J. CLEIVELAND."

[*L*] *He was member of a club, which Butler frequented.*] Butler was a great admirer of Cleiveland's wit; and has copied many of his images and thoughts into his celebrated Poem above-mentioned. The learned and ingenious Dr. Farmer has in his possession a copy of Cleiveland's Poems, in which he has marked many passages that have been imitated in Hudibras. From this judicious Critic a more compleat commentary of that mock-heroic Poem could be given, than the world has yet seen.

[*M*] *The church of St. Michael Royal, on College-Hill.*] The "church of St. Michael Royal, com-"monly called College-Hill, (because Whitington-"College stood there (21)" was about that time the receptacle of the last remains of several eminent Loyalists, as we are informed by A. Wood, in the passage referred to. It was destroyed in the fire, 1666.

(21) Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. See his account of Robert Waring, sub ann 1658.

[*N*] *His funeral sermon, &c.*] "Dr. John Pear-"son, his good friend, preached his funeral sermon; "who rendred this reason, why he cautiously de-"clined all commending of the party deceased, be-"cause such praysing of him would not be adequate "to any expectation in that audience; seeing some, "who knew him *not*, would think it far above him, "while those who *knew* him, must know it far be-"low him (22)."

(22) Lloyd's Mem. p. 618. Fuller's Worthies, p. 135.

[*O*] *Milton's nephew tells us, Cleiveland was esteemed the best of the English Poets.*] This is Edward Phillips, who, in his *Theatrum Poetarum*, or Compleat Collection of the Poets, 1675, 12mo. (23), has the following article:

(23) Page 104, 105.

"*John Cleaveland*, a notable high-soaring witty "Loyalist of Cambridge, whose verses in the time "of the Civil War, begun to be in great request, "both for their wit and zeal to the King's cause, for "which indeed he appeared the first, if not only, "eminent champion in verse against the Presbyterian "party; but most especially against the Kirk and "Scotch Covenant, which he prosecuted with such "a satirical fury, that the whole nation fares the "worse for it, lying under a most grievous poetical "censure. In fine, so great a man hath Cleaveland "been in the estimation of the generality, in regard "his conceits were out of the common road and "wittily far-fetcht, that grave men, in outward ap-"pearance, have not spared, in my hearing, to affirm "him the BEST OF ENGLISH POETS, and let them "think so still, who ever please, provided it be made "no article of faith."

[*P*] *Cleiveland's works in* 1687, 8*vo.*] This is the last and most compleat edition of his works (for if there is any of later date, it is only this with the title page re-printed). This edition, 1687, is made up of the following separate publications. The first part from "*Cleveland's Vindiciæ*," containing only genuine

genuine pieces collected by J. L. and S. D. as is described above in note [C]: The second part from "J. Cleaveland revived: Poems, Orations, and "Epistles, and other of his genuine incomparable "Pieces; With some other exquisite Remains of the "most eminent Wits of both Universities, that were "his Contemporaries. This second edition *, &c. Lond. 1660, 12mo. (with a curious preface, signed E. Williamson, Newark, Nov. 21, 1658, in which he speaks of "the intimacy he had with Mr. Cleaveland "before and since these Civil Wars," and of that Poet's "ever-to-be-honoured friend of Gray's-inn," who was probably the Mecænas mentioned by Wood (24). To these is added a third piece, being the History of Wat Tyler's Insurrection, under the quaint title of "The Rustick Rampant," &c. In the second part of this edition, 1687, the notice is suppressed, that occurred in the original title-page and preface, that this part contained "other Re-"mains of eminent Wits, &c." which is indeed the case with most of the poems in it, only a few of them being of Cleiveland's own writing. For the verses in page 186, were by Tho. Weaver (25). All that occur between page 200 and 265, are from R. Fletcher's "*Ex otio negotium*, &c." being poems printed 1656, 8vo. and the following are from the "poems "of John Hall, 1646," 12mo. viz. those here printed in page 297, 298. 302. 309. 315. 334. 353. 358. 375. 377. The Elegy, in page 310, is by Jasper Mayne (26). The Song, in page 336, has been attributed to Sir J. Denham. And some of the rest belong to other writers.

But to show how popular Cleiveland was among his contemporaries, we shall here enumerate several of his editions (27); which were printed with more or fewer of his pieces, in 1647 (28), 1651, 1653, 1654 twice, 1658, 1659, 1660, 1661, 1662, 1665, 1667, 1668; and then in 1677 (which last date, Wood says, he has seen misprinted 1617; but the writer of this note has now before him two copies of this edition, containing some variations, yet both rightly dated 1677). Lastly, in 1687, 8vo.]

* The first edit. was in 1659 12mo.

(24) See above, note (*g*). The name of this friend is no where mentioned.

(25) Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 317.

(26) In *Jonsonus Virbius*, p. 33.

(27) See the Hist. of Hinckley, p. 140.

(28) Yet this was not the first; being styled *novissima editio*. It is in 4to; all the rest in 8vo, or 12mo.

CLIFFORD (George), the third Earl of Cumberland, of that noble and ancient family [A], was a person very eminent for his skill in Navigation. He was born in the year 1558 (*a*), and educated at Peter-House in Cambridge, where he had for his tutor the celebrated John Whitgift, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. In this place, he applied himself chiefly to the study of the Mathematicks, which his genius led him to; whereby he became qualified for the several great expeditions he undertook afterwards (*b*). The first time he had any public employment, was in the year 1586, when he was one of the Peers who sat in judgment upon Mary Queen of Scots (*c*). But having a greater inclination to act by sea than by land; and (according to the fashion in the brave and warlike reign of Queen Elizabeth) being bent on making foreign discoveries, and defeating the ambitious designs of the Spaniard, who was preparing his invincible Armada for conquering England; he fitted out, at his own charge, a little fleet, consisting of three ships, and a pinnace [B], with a view to send them into the South-Sea, on purpose to annoy the Spanish settlements there [C]. They sailed from Gravesend the 26th of June, 1586, and from Plymouth the 17th of August; but were forced back by contrary winds into Dartmouth. From whence putting out again on the 29th, they fell in with the coast of Barbary the 17th of September, and the next day halled in with the road of Santa Cruz. On the 25th, they came to the Rio del Oro, just under the northern tropic, where they anchored (*d*). Searching up that river the next day, they found it to be as broad fourteen or fifteen leagues upward, as at the mouth, which was two leagues over: but met with no town nor house. The last of September they departed for Sierra Leona, where they arrived the 21st of October. Going on shore, they burnt a town of the negroes, and brought away to their ships about fourteen or fifteen tons of rice: and having furnished themselves with wood and water, they sailed the 21st of November from Sierra Leona, making the Straights of Magellan. The second of January, 1586-7, they discovered land; and, on the 4th day of that month, fell in with the American shore in 30 deg. 40 min. south latitude. Continuing their course southward, they took, January 10, not far from Rio de la Plata, a small Portuguese ship; and the next day another: out of which they furnished themselves with what necessaries they wanted (*e*). The 12th of January they came to Seal-Island, and two days after to the Green-Island, near which they took in water. Returning to Seal-Island, a consultation was held on the 7th of February, whether they should continue their course for the South-Sea, and winter in the Straights of Magellan, or spend three or four months upon the coast of Brasil, and proceed on their voyage in the spring? The majority being for the former, they went as far as 44 degrees of southern latitude. But, meeting with storms and contrary winds, they took a final resolution, on the 21st of February, to return to the coast of Brasil: accordingly, they fell in with it the 5th of April;

(*a*) This appears from hence, because he was above eleven years of age in 1569-70, January 8, when his father died. Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 345.

(*b*) *Ibid.*

(*c*) Camdeni Annales Elizabethæ, ad. ann. 1586.

(*d*) Voyages, Navigations, &c. published by R. Hakluyt, edit. 1600, vol. iii. p. 769. Purchas's Pilgrims, edit. 1625. Part iv. p. 1141.

(*e*) Hakluyt, as above, p. 770, 771; and Purchas, *ubi supra*.

[A] *The third Earl of Cumberland, of that noble and ancient family.*] They derive their descent from —— *Pontz*, who is supposed to have come into England with William the Conqueror. His younger son, *Richard* de Pontz, was father of *Walter*, who seating himself at *Clifford* in Herefordshire, took his surname from that place. Lineally descended from him, was, *Henry* Lord Clifford, who, on the 18th of June 1525, was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Cumberland. His eldest son and heir was *Henry*, father of *George*, of whom we are treating in this article (1).

(1) See Dugdale, *ubi supra*, vol. i. p. 335—345.

[B] *Consisting of three ships, and a pinnace.*] They were; The Red Dragon, Admiral, of 260 tons, and 130 men, commanded by Captain Robert Withrington. The Bark Clifford Vice-Admiral, of 130 tons, and 70 men, Captain Christopher Lister Commander. The Roe, Rear-Admiral, commanded by Captain Hawes. The Dorothy pinnace, which was Sir Walter Raleigh's (2).

(2) Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 769; and Purchas, *ubi supra*.

[C] *To annoy the Spanish settlements there.*] It was resolved by the judicious in that age, as Dr. Fuller rightly observes (3), that the way to humble the Spanish greatness, was not by pinching and pricking him in the Low Countries, which only emptied his veins of such blood as was quickly refilled: but the way to make it a cripple for ever, was by cutting off the Spanish sinews of war, his money from the West-Indies.

(3) Worthies of England, in Yorkshire, p. 203.

and, after taking in water and proviſions in the bay of Camana, came into the port of Baya the 11th. Eight Portugueſe ſhips being there, they found means to carry off four of them, (the leaſt of which were of a hundred and thirty tons) notwithſtanding all the enemies reſiſtance: and alſo fetched a ſupply of freſh proviſion from the ſhore. The 16th and 17th of May they got a quantity of ſugar out of the Portugueſe ingenio's (*f*). The 26th of the ſame month, they made themſelves maſters of a new ſhip, of a hundred and twenty tons burthen, laden with meal and ſugar. On the 3d of June, ſome were for purſuing their voyage to the South-Sea [*D*]. But finding themſelves, upon examination, in want of a due number of men, and ſufficient proviſions, they reſolved, on the 10th, to ſail back to England; where they arrived September 29, after an unproſperous voyage (*g*). This ſame year, the Earl of Cumberland went, with many other Engliſh noblemen and gentlemen, to the relief of Sluys, then beſieged by the Duke of Parma; but at his arrival, he found the place ſurrendered (*h*). In 1588, he was one of thoſe brave perſons who put themſelves on board the Engliſh fleet, to oppoſe the Spaniſh Armada that was advancing to invade England. He commanded, on that occaſion, the Elizabeth Bonaventure, and ſignalized himſelf in a remarkable manner; eſpecially in the laſt engagement with the Spaniards, near Calais (*i*). Queen Elizabeth was ſo pleaſed with his good ſervices, that ſhe granted him a commiſſion, dated October 4, 1588, to purſue his intended voyage to the South-Sea: and, for his greater honour and encouragement, lent him one of her own royal ſhips, named the Golden Lion, to be the Admiral. This he victualled and furniſhed at his own charge; and ſailed about the end of October, attended with many brave Engliſh gentlemen. In the Channel, he took a ſhip of Dunkirk, named the Hare, laden with merchandize for Spain, which he ſent home. But contrary winds at firſt, and afterwards a violent ſtorm, which forced him to cut his main-maſt by the board, deprived him of farther hopes and ability to proſecute his deſigns on the Spaniſh coaſts; ſo that he returned to England (*k*). However, not diſcouraged by this unhappy diſappointment, he undertook a *third* voyage to the Weſt-Indies in 1589. For that purpoſe, he obtained the Queen's leave, and one ſhip of the royal navy, called the Victory; to which adding three other ſmall ſhips, furniſhed, at his own expence, with about four hundred men, and all neceſſaries [*E*], he ſet ſail from Plymouth the 18th of June (*l*). Three days after, they took three French ſhips belonging to the Leaguers (*m*) in that nation. Meeting, on the 13th of July, with eleven ſhips bound for Hamburgh, and other neighbouring ports, they took out of them a quantity of pepper and cinnamon belonging to a Jew of Liſbon, valued at about four thouſand five hundred pounds. The firſt of Auguſt, they came within ſight of St. Michael, one of the Azores, and put out Spaniſh colours, the more eaſily to execute the project they had formed, of carrying off in the night ſome ſhips that were in the harbour. Accordingly, they cut the cables of three of them, and towed them away: they were loaded with wine and oil from Seville. The 7th, they took another little veſſel, whoſe lading was Madeira wine, woollen cloth, ſilks, *&c.* Having gotten information that the Spaniſh carracks (a very valuable booty) were at Tercera, they made haſte thither: and by the way looked into Fyal Road, Auguſt the 27th, whence they brought away a ſhip of two hundred and fifty tons, and fourteen guns, that was moored to the caſtle, and loaded with ſugar, ginger, and hides. They fetched out likewiſe five other ſmall ſhips, newly come from Guinea, notwithſtanding the briſk fire of the enemy, and ſent four of them to England on the 30th of Auguſt. At their coming near Tercera, being told that the carracks had been gone thence eight days, they returned back to Fyal on the 10th of September; and having made themſelves maſters of the town with much eaſe, obliged the inhabitants to ranſom it for two thouſand ducats (*n*). They took there alſo fifty-eight pieces of iron ordnance. The 27th of that month they went to St. Michael; and the 1ſt of October to Gratioſa, where they got a new ſupply of proviſions. On the 14th they took a French ſhip loaden with fiſh from Newfoundland. The ſame day, and the five following, the Earl of Cumberland endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of fifteen ſail of the Spaniſh Weſt-India fleet, that had put into the port of Angra, in Tercera: but finding it too dangerous an attempt, he deſiſted. Next he ſailed to St. Michael's; where being hindered from taking in freſh water, he went for it to St. Mary's Iſland; and finding two Braſil ſhips there, which the people were trying to bring a-ground, Captain Liſter boldly carried one of them off,

(*f*) That is, houſes where they purge and refine the ſugar.

(*g*) Hakluyt, p. 772—778. Purchas, p. 1142.

(*h*) Purchas, *ubi ſupra*, p. 1142.

(*i*) Account of the Spaniſh Invaſion, by P. Morant: joined to the *Tapeſtry Hangings of the Houſe of Lords*, &c. engraven by J. Pine, Lond. 1739, fol. p. 9. 18.

(*k*) Purchas, *ubi ſupra*, p. 1142.

(*l*) Navigations, Voyages, *&c.* publiſhed by R. Hakluyt, vol. ii. edit. 1599. P. ii. p. 155. Purchas, *ubi ſupra*.

(*m*) That is, to the faction formed in France againſt King Henry III. They were looked upon as enemies by the Engliſh.

(*n*) Hakluyt, *ubi ſupra*, p. 157, 158.

[*D*] *Some were for purſuing their voyage to the South-Sea.*] Captain Liſter, in particular, had ſo great a deſire to perform that voyage, according to the Earl of Cumberland's direction, that he went to the Admiral, and requeſted him to give him ſix buts of wine, one barrel of oil, three or four barrels of fleſh, and to have one Thomas Hood a Pilot, and ſeven or eight ſeamen in exchange for ſome landmen; and, by God's help, he, with the Bark Clifford, would alone proceed for the South-Sea: but the Admiral mightily withſtood his motion, and would grant none of his requeſts (4).

[*E*] *To which adding three other ſmall ſhips*, &c.] Namely, The Meg, commanded by Captain William Monſon, Vice-Admiral: the Margaret, by Captain Edward Careles, alias Wright, Rear-Admiral: and a Caravel, by Captain Pigeon. The Earl himſelf was Commander of the Victory, having under him Capt. Chriſtopher Liſter (5).

(4) Hakluyt, *ubi ſupra*, p. 777.

(5) Hakluyt, as above, p. 155; and Purchas, p. 1142.

notwith-

notwithſtanding the enemy's violent fire. But the Earl attempting to take the other, had two parts of his own men killed or wounded; and received himſelf three ſhot upon his ſhield, and a fourth on his ſide, though not deep: his head was likewiſe broken with ſtones, and all covered with blood, and both his head and legs were much burnt with granadoes (*o*). Not being able to have water there, he took ſome in at St. George's Iſland, October 29; and then reſolved to ſail for England, taking the coaſt of Spain in his way. On the 4th of November, they had the good fortune to make themſelves maſters of a Portugueſe ſhip of one hundred and ten tons, freighted with ſugar and Braſil wood: and two days after, of another, between three and four hundred tons, loaden with hides, cochineal, ſugar, china diſhes, and ſilver. Both were valued at fourteen thouſand pounds, and forthwith were ſent to England: but the latter was ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of Cornwall, and all the men periſhed except five or ſix: however, ſome of the goods were ſaved (*p*). The Earl himſelf being kept out at ſea, by ſtorms and contrary winds, longer than he expected, was, for want of proviſions, reduced to the greateſt extremities [*F*]. But at length, on the 2d of December, reaching Bantry-Bay, in the weſt of Ireland, and having there refreſhed himſelf and his men, he arrived ſafe at Falmouth the 29th of December, after a tedious paſſage of nine days from Ireland (*q*). In 1591, his Lordſhip undertook a *fourth* voyage to the coaſt of Spain, with five ſhips [*G*], fitted out at his own charge (*r*). He ſailed from England in May; and, in his way to the Spaniſh coaſts, found ſeveral Dutch ſhips coming from Liſbon loaden with ſpices, which he took out of them. Theſe ſpices he determined to ſend to England, in a ſhip guarded by the Golden Noble, his Rear-Admiral; but they were taken in a calm, by ſome Portugueſe gallies from Penicha; one of the Captains, with ſeveral of the men, ſlain; and the reſt carried priſoners to Penicha, and from thence to Liſbon. His Lordſhip took, beſides the ſpices juſt now mentioned, a veſſel freighted with wine, which he unloaded into his own: and two ſhips laden with ſugar; but one having a leak that could not be found, he left it: the other he ſent for England; and, by contrary winds, and want of victuals, it was forced into the Groyne, where it fell into the enemy's hands. Theſe ſeveral misfortunes obliged the Earl to return to England, after having ſent advice to the Lord Thomas Howard, Admiral of the Engliſh fleet, then waiting at the Azores, to intercept the Weſt-India plate fleet, that there was a large Spaniſh ſquadron ready to put out to ſea (*s*). The next year the Earl of Cumberland undertook a *fifth*

(*o*) Purchas, *ubi ſupra*, p. 1143.

(*p*) Hakluyt, as above, p. 162, 163. 166.

(*q*) *Ibid.* p. 164, 165, 166; and Purchas, p. 1143, 1144.

(*r*) Purchas, as above, p. 1144.

(*s*) Purchas, p. 1144; and Sir Will. Monſon's Tracts.

[*F*] *Was, for want of proviſions, reduced to the greateſt extremities.*] The tragical account left us by one of the ſufferers (6), of the great extremities they were reduced to for want of drink, is equal to the ſcene of hunger in Beaumont and Fletcher's ſea-voyage. 'Soon after, *ſays he*, the wind came about to 'the eaſtwards, ſo that we could not fetch any part 'of England. And hereupon alſo our allowance of 'drinke, which was ſcant ynough before, was yet 'more ſcanted, becauſe of the ſcarcitie thereof in the 'ſhippe. So that now a man was allowed but halfe a 'pinte at a meale, and that many times colde water, 'and ſcarce ſweete. Notwithſtanding this was an 'happie eſtate in compariſon of that which followed: 'for from halfe a pinte we came to a quarter, and that 'laſted not long neither; ſo that by reaſon of this 'great ſcarcitie of drinke, and contrarietie of winde, 'we thought to put into Ireland, there to relieve our 'wants. But when wee came neer thither, we were 'driven ſo farre to Lee-ward, that we could fetch no 'part of Ireland. In the mean time we were allowed 'every man three or foure ſpoones full of vineger to 'drinke at a meale: for other drinke we had none, 'ſaving onely at two or three meales, when we had 'inſtead hereof as much wine, which was wringed out 'of wine-lees that remained. With this hard fare '(for by reaſon of our great want of drinke, wee durſt 'eate but very little) wee continued for a ſpace of a 'fortnight or thereabouts: ſaving that now and then 'wee feaſted for it in the meane time; and that was 'when there fell any haile or raine: the hail-ſtones 'wee gathered up and did eate them more pleaſantly 'than if they had bene the ſweeteſt comfits in the 'world. The raine-drops were ſo carefully ſaved, 'that ſo neere as wee coulde, not one was loſt in all 'our ſhippe. Some hanged up ſheetes tied with cordes 'by the foure corners, and a weight in the midſt that 'the water might runne downe thither, and ſo be re-'ceived into ſome veſſel ſet or hanged underneth: 'ſome that wanted ſheetes, hanged up napkins, and 'cloutes, and watched them till they were thorow wet, 'then wringing and ſucking out the water. And that 'water which fell downe and waſhed away the filth 'and ſoyling of the ſhippe, trod under foote, as bad 'as running down the kennell many times when it 'raineth, was not loſt, but watched and attended 'carefully, yea ſometimes with ſtrife and contention, 'at every ſcupper-hole, and other place where it ran 'down, with diſhes, pots, cannes, and jarres, where-'of ſome drunk hearty draughts even as it was, mud, 'and all, without tarrying to cleanſe or ſettle it: others 'cleanſed it firſt, but not often, for it was ſo thicke 'and went ſo ſlowly thorow, that they might ill en-'dure to tary ſo long, and were loth to loſe too much 'of ſuch precious ſtuff: ſome licked with their 'tongues, like dogges, the boards under feete, the 'ſides, railes, and maſts of the ſhippe: others that 'were more ingenious, faſtened girdles or ropes about 'the maſtes, dawbing tallow betwixt them and the 'maſte, that the rain might not run down between, in 'ſuch ſort, that thoſe ropes or girdles hanging lower 'on the one ſide than on the other, a ſpout of leather 'was faſtened to the loweſt part of them, that all the 'raine-drops that came running downe the maſte, 'might meete together at that place, and there be re-'ceived.——Some alſo put bullets of lead into their 'mouthes to ſlake their thirſt. Now in every corner 'of the ſhippe were heard the lamentable cries of 'ſicke and wounded men ſounding wofully in our 'eares, crying out and pitifully complaining for want 'of drinke, being ready to die, yea many dying for 'lacke thereof, ſo as by reaſon of this great extremitie 'we loſt many more men, then wee had done all the 'voyage before.'

(6) Edward Wright, a famous Mathematician. See Hakluyt, vol. ii. Part ii. p. 163, 164.

[*G*] *With five ſhips.*] Namely, a new ſhip of the Queen's of ſix hundred tons, named the Garland, being the Admiral: The Samſon, Vice-Admiral, a ſhip of his Lordſhip's, of two hundred and ſixty tons: together with the Golden Noble, Rear-Admiral: the Allagarta: and a ſmall pinnace called the Diſcovery (7).

(7) Purchas, *ubi ſupra*, p. 1144.

expedition,

expedition, in which he choſe not to make uſe of any of her Majeſty's ſhips [*H*]. He intended to have commanded in this voyage in perſon; but he was ſo croſſed with winds, that three months proviſions were ſpent in harbours, before they could get to the weſtward of Plymouth: whereupon, being diſappointed in his principal deſign, namely, the taking of the outward-bound Spaniſh carracks, he transferred the chief command to Captain Norton, with inſtructions to go to the Azores, and returned himſelf to London. His little fleet purſued their voyage, and one of the ſhips (*t*) took, near Caſcais, and within ſhot of the caſtle, a Portugueſe ſhip, which was conducted to England by the Golden Noble. The reſt went to the Azores, and, with the aſſiſtance of other Engliſh ſhips [*I*], attacked the Santa Cruz, a large carrack, in the road of Lagowna, which the Spaniards ſet on fire, after having put the beſt of its cargo on ſhore; but the Engliſh landed, and made themſelves maſters both of it and the town. The 3d of Auguſt they took another rich carrick, named Madre de Dios, or the Mother of God, valued at a hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling, which was brought to Dartmouth (*u*). The Earl of Cumberland's ſhare, in proportion to his number of ſhips and men employed in that ſervice, muſt have amounted to a very conſiderable ſum: but, becauſe his commiſſion had not provided for the caſe of his return, and the ſubſtituting another in his room, it was adjudged, that he ſhould depend on the Queen's mercy and bounty; and, by reaſon of ſeveral embezzlements, not above the fifth part of the ſhip's value being brought to account, his Lordſhip was forced to ſit down contented with thirty-ſix thouſand pounds; and that too as a mere matter of bounty and favour, not as his juſt right (*w*). The Earl, not hereby diſcouraged, undertook a *ſixth* voyage, in the year 1593. Queen Elizabeth lent him, for this expedition, two ſhips of her royal navy, namely, the Golden Lion, Admiral, which his Lordſhip commanded in perſon; and the Bonadventure, Vice-Admiral: to which he added four other ſhips (*x*). He had not been long at ſea, before he took two French ſhips of great value, guarded by fourteen great hulks, one of which he carried with him, and ſent the other to England. When he came near the Azores, hearing that the Spaniards had a fleet there to intercept him; and perceiving, by an advice-boat of theirs which he took, that they were much ſuperior to him in ſtrength, he kept company with them one day, and then withdrew at ten or twelve leagues diſtance, and ſo continued for three weeks. In this time, being ſeized with a violent fit of illneſs, he left the command of his little fleet to Captain Monſon, (who took one prize afterwards) and returned to England: this proving the moſt gainful voyage he ever made. Whilſt he was near the coaſt of Spain, he ſent three of his ſhips (*y*) to the Weſt-Indies. They firſt touched at St. Lucia and Martinico, where they refreſhed themſelves; and then proceeding to Margarita, an iſland famous for the pearl-fiſheries, ſeized there a large quantity of pearl, to the value of two thouſand pounds, beſides other booty; and obliged alſo the inhabitants to pay them two thouſand ducats in pearl, to ſave their town from being plundered. They ſailed next to Cumana, to the iſlands of Aruba and Curaſſow, and to Rio de la Hache, which they intended to have taken, but found the people ready for them, and learned that they had carried their goods up to the mountains: they therefore ſet ſail for Hiſpaniola, and having viſited ſeveral ports round it, and alſo the iſlands of Mona and Savona, went up the river Socko in Hiſpaniola, where they exacted large contributions, threatning otherwiſe to pillage the Spaniards farm-houſes. At Domingo they took a fine frigate, which they brought to England. Thence they went to Jamaica, to Cuba, Cape Corientes, and Cape St. Antonio, where they waited for ſome time in vain for ſhips coming from the Havannah. After eight months ſpent in thoſe parts, the Pilgrim ſailed for England, and arrived at Plymouth May 14, 1594. But the Antonio, and the frigate, went to the Bay of Honduras, where, near Porto Cavallo, they found ſeven Spaniſh ſhips: from ſix of them the Spaniards had taken off the rudders, that they might be diſabled from ſailing; and refuſing to ranſom them, the Engliſh ſet them on fire. But they firſt took out the beſt effects, and put them on board the Spaniſh Admiral, a ſhip of two hundred and fifty tons, which they brought to England; and arrived at Plymouth the 15th of May, the next day after the Pilgrim (*z*). Before the return of theſe ſhips, the Earl of Cumberland had, at his own

(*t*) The Golden Noble.

(*u*) Hakluyt, vol. ii. P. ii. p. 196—198.

(*w*) Purchas, p. 1145.

(*x*) *Viz.* The bark Chaldon, the Pilgrim, the Antony, and the Diſcovery. Purchas, p. 1146.

(*y*) The Antony of 120 tons, Capt. Jam. Langton, Commander: the Pilgrim of 100 tons, commanded by Capt. Fr. Slingſby; and the Diſcovery. Purchas, *ubi ſup.*

(*z*) Purchas, as above, p. 1146, 1147.

[*H*] *He choſe not to make uſe of any of her Majeſty's ſhips.*] By reaſon of the inconvenience of her Majeſty's command, 'Not to lay any Spaniſh ſhip a-board with 'her ſhips, leſt both might together be deſtroyed by 'fire.' So he hired of the Merchants, the Tigre, a ſhip of 600 tons, furniſhed by the owners for three hundred pounds a month wages, in which he went in perſon; adding thereto his own ſhip the Samſon, and the Golden Noble, with two ſmall ſhips more (8); commanded by Captain Nicolas Downton, and Capt. Abraham Cocke (9).

(8) Purchas, p. 1144.

(9) Hakluyt, p. 197.

[*I*] *And with the aſſiſtance of other Engliſh ſhips.*] That had been ſent into thoſe ſeas by Sir Walter Raleigh, to watch the return of the Spaniſh Eaſt and Weſt-India fleets. The particular ſhips that aſſiſted in fighting againſt the Santa Cruz, were, The Roebuck, a ſhip of Sir Walter Raleigh's, commanded by Sir John Burrough: the Foreſight, belonging to the Queen, Sir Robert Croſſe, Commander: the Dainty, a ſhip of Sir John Hawkins, Captain Tomſon: and the Golden Dragon, commanded by Captain Chriſtopher Newport (10).

(10) Hakluyt, p. 195—197; and Purchas, p. 1145.

charge,

charge, with the help of ſome adventurers, fitted out a ſmall fleet [*K*], deſigned for the Azores, and particularly for the iſland of Tercera. They ſailed from Plymouth, April 6, 1594, and about the 25th, took a ſmall bark of Viana in Portugal, loaden with Galicia wines, and other commodities, which they divided amongſt themſelves. On the 2d of June, they came within ſight of St. Michael's Iſland, one of the Azores; and, on the 13th of the ſame month, met (*a*) with a large Portugueſe carrack, of two thouſand tons, called *Las cinque Llagas*, or the Five Wounds, returning from the Eaſt-Indies. They attacked it very vigorouſly, and would probably have become maſters of it; but it being accidentally ſet on fire during the engagement, was blown up, with a great quantity of powder it had on board. After this diſaſter they ſailed for the iſland of Flores, where they refreſhed themſelves; and then putting out again to ſea, came up, the 1ſt of July, with another large carrack of fifteen hundred tons, which, after a few ſhot, they ſummoned to ſurrender. But it ſtanding upon its defence, and, in the engagement with the former carrack, the Vice-Admiral and ſeveral men having been killed, and the Admiral, with many more, wounded, the reſt began to grow faint and diſcouraged. So leaving this carrack, they went and waited about Corvo and Flores, for ſome prize from the Weſt-Indies. None coming, and their victuals beginning to grow ſhort, they returned for England, and arrived at Portſmouth about the end of Auguſt, having done much harm to the enemy, and little good to themſelves (*b*). Notwithſtanding that, the Earl of Cumberland reſolved upon an *eighth* expedition in the year 1595. Thinking himſelf ill-uſed by the Queen, in the ſmall ſhare he received of the treaſure found in the Madre de Dios; and not liking to be tied to ſuch ſtrict orders as he was when he went out with any ſhips of the royal navy; likewiſe, being highly diſpleaſed at the loſs of the two laſt-mentioned carracks, for want of a ſufficient ſtrength, he built, at Deptford, a ſhip of his own, of nine hundred tons: which the Queen, at the launching of it, named The Scourge of Malice. It was the beſt and largeſt ſhip, that, till then, had ever been built by any Engliſh ſubject. In this his Lordſhip intended to have gone in perſon, and had prepared three other ſhips to accompany him [*L*]. But when he had gone as far as Plymouth, the Queen ſent him an order, by Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir John Hawkins, to return; and he complied. The ſhips, however, purſued their voyage [*M*]: three of them (*c*) went to the Azores, where they took a carvel from St. Thomas, of a hundred tons, laden with ſugar. They attacked, afterwards, near Flores, a large ſhip, which they ſuppoſed to be a carrack, but found it to be the St. Thomas, Vice-Admiral of the Spaniſh fleet, waiting there to convoy the Eaſt and Weſt-India fleets to Europe. Being like to be overpowered by the Engliſh, it went and joined the other Spaniſh ſhips: all which together were too ſtrong for the Earl of Cumberland's ſmall ſquadron: whereupon, theſe latter ſailed for the coaſt of Spain. Near it they took three Dutch ſhips, laden with wheat, copper, and other ammunitions and proviſions; which being for the King of Spain, were on that account thought lawful prize. By this time their victuals being nearly ſpent, they returned to England (*d*). In 1596, his Lordſhip fitted out a ſecond time the Scourge of Malice: in which he went in perſon, accompanied with the Dreadnought, belonging to the Queen, and ſome other ſmall ſhips. About thirty or forty leagues from England he met with a ſtorm, wherein the Scourge ſprang her main-maſt, and was made unſerviceable for that voyage: ſo that he was forced to return for England in the Dreadnought (*e*). The Queen having at that time prepared a large fleet to go on the coaſt of Spain, under the command of the Earl of Eſſex and the Lord Admiral, the Earl of Cumberland thought it proper to ſend alſo thither the Aſcenſion, a ſhip of three hundred tons, four and thirty pieces of ordnance, with a hundred and twenty men, commanded by Captain Francis Slingſby, on purpoſe to wait for ſuch ſhips as were expected from Liſbon. Near the Goodwin Sands it had like to be loſt in a ſtorm: but, however, having been able to proceed to Plymouth, and being refitted there, they proceeded on their voyage. Meeting with a carvel, they made a fruitleſs attempt upon it, in which the Captain was grievouſly wounded. Afterwards they happened to be vigorouſly attacked by ſeven Spaniſh ſhips, one of them the Admiral, againſt which they as vigorouſly defended themſelves. They continued on the coaſt of Spain till they had but fourteen days proviſions left; and then returned to England, without ſo much as one prize to make good the damage and loſs they and the

(*a*) Off the Sound between Fyall and Pico, ſix leagues to the ſouthward.

(*b*) Hakluyt, vol. ii. P. ii. p. 199—201. Purchas, p. 1147, 1148.

(*c*) The Scourge, the Antony, and the Frigate.

(*d*) Purchas, p. 1148.

(*e*) *Ibid.*

[*K*] *Fitted out a ſmall fleet.*] Which conſiſted of, The Royal Exchange, Admiral, commanded by Capt. George Cave: the May-flower, Vice-Admiral, under the conduct of Captain William Anthony: and the Sampſon, Captain Nicolas Downton. They had each the like quantity of victuals; and the ſame number of men, that is 420, of all ſorts. Beſides theſe three ſhips, there was a pinnace, called the Violet, or The Why not I (11).

[*L*] *And had prepared three other ſhips to accompany him.*] Namely, The Alcedo, Vice-Admiral, commanded by Captain Monſon: the Antony commanded by Captain Daniel Jarret: and the Old Frigate (12).

[*M*] *The ſhips, however, purſued their voyage.*] Excepting the Alcedo: the Commander of which, Capt. Monſon, was ſo highly diſpleaſed at Captain Langton's being appointed Admiral, and Commander of the Scourge, that he quitted the others, and betook himſelf to his own adventure in the Alcedo. That bred a quarrel, afterwards, between the Earl of Cumberland and him, and it was a long time before they were reconciled (13).

(11) Hakluyt, as above, p. 199; and Purchas, p. 1147.

(12) Purchas, p. 1148.

(13) See Sir Will. Monſon's Tracts; and Purchas, p. 1148.

(f) *Ibid.* p. 1149. ſhip had ſuſtained (*f*). The laſt, and moſt conſiderable expedition undertaken by the Earl of Cumberland, was in the year 1598. Having then fitted out, and victualled his own ſhip the Scourge of Malice, with nineteen others [*N*], chiefly at his own charge; he undertook a voyage in perſon to the Weſt-Indies. For that purpoſe, he ſet ſail from Plymouth, March 6, 1597-8; and, on the coaſt of Spain, took a Hamburgh ſhip laden with corn, copper, powder, and prohibited commodities; and a French ſhip laden with ſalt going into Liſbon; but had, in taking the firſt, three men killed, five or ſix wounded, and his ſhip ſhot in ſeveral places. Soon after he received intelligence, that there were at Liſbon five very rich carracks ready to ſail for the Eaſt-Indies, and five and twenty ſhips for Braſil. But they hearing of the approach of the Earl's fleet, and he being tired of waiting for them, ſailed on the 5th of April for the South-Cape. The 8th day they went from thence towards the Canaries; and, on the 13th, made themſelves maſters of Lancerota, where they hoped to have met with a very great treaſure, that iſland being then governed by a Marquis, reputed worth an hundred thouſand pounds, but they found little or nothing in the place (*g*). On the 21ſt of April, ſailing from Lancerota, they directed their courſe towards Dominica, where they arrived the 23d of May, and ſtaid till the 1ſt of June. Next they went to the Virgin-Iſlands, then uninhabited, where the Earl muſtered his men, and acquainted them with his deſign upon the Iſland of St. Juan de Porto Rico (*h*). Accordingly, they ſet ſail for that place, where they arrived the 6th of June, and immediately landed the ſoldiers, which were about a thouſand in number. After a very difficult paſſage over a cauſeway to the town [*O*], and two violent aſſaults, the enemies quitted the place, of which his Lordſhip took poſſeſſion June the 8th (*i*). Within a few days, the ſtrong fort of Mora, in which were four hundred ſoldiers, ſurrendered alſo to the Engliſh, and was afterwards razed. This town being accounted the very key of the Weſt-Indies, and a paſſage to all the gold and ſilver in the continent of America, his Lordſhip determined to keep it, and make it a place of war. For that purpoſe he ſent away the inhabitants, on the 7th of July, to Carthagena (*k*), though they made great offers to be permitted to ſtay [*P*]. But a bloody-flux, that carried off about four or five hundred of his men (*l*), made him alter his reſolution. In the mean time, a carvel coming, on the 19th of July, into the harbour, from Margarita, with about a thouſand ducats worth of pearl, was ſeized upon by the Engliſh: by which they being informed, that the King of Spain's pearl-cheſt at Margarita was very rich, and but ſlenderly guarded, the Earl of Cumberland ſailed with three ſhips, in order to have that great booty, but was hindered by contrary winds from executing his purpoſe. Before he quitted the Iſland of St. Juan de Puerto Rico, he endeavoured to prevail upon the chief inhabitants for a ſum of money, to ranſom their iſland and city. But finding that they trifled with him, and ſuſpecting ſome treach-

(g) *Ib.* p. 1149—1156.

(h) *Ibid.* p. 1152, 1153. 1159.

(i) *Ibid.* p. 1160, 1161, 1162.

(k) *Ibid.* p. 1166.

(l) Of the thouſand that landed, the greater part was dead, or made unſerviceable, *ibid.* p. 1167.

[*N*] *With nineteen others.*] The whole fleet was as follows: The Scourge of Malice, commanded by the Earl himſelf; and, under him, by Captain John Watts outward, and Captain James Langton homewards. The Merchant Royal, Vice-Admiral, commanded by Sir John Berkley. The Aſcenſion, Rear-Admiral, Captain Robert Flicke. The Sampſon, Captain Henry Clifford, and after his death at Porto Rico, Captain Chriſtopher Colthurſt. The Alcedo, Captain John Ley, and homewards Captain Thomas Cotch. The Conſent, Captain Francis Slingſby. The Proſperous, Captain James Langton, and homewards Captain John Watts. The Centurion, Captain Henry Palmer, and after his death, his ſon William Palmer. The Gallion Conſtance, Captain Hercules Folyambe. The Affection, Captain Flemming. The Guiana, Captain Chriſtopher Colthurſt, and homewards Captain Gerard Middleton. The Scout, Capt. Henry Jolliffe. The Anthony, Capt. Robett Careles, and, after his death, Andrew Andrews. The Pegaſus, Captain Edward Goodwin. The Royal Defence, Captain Henry Bromley. The Margaret and John, Captain John Dixon. The Berkley-bay, Capt. John Lea. The Old Frigate, Captain William Harper. And two barges uſed for landing of men (14). For this expedition, the Earl was authorized by the Queen's letters Patents dated the 14th of January 1597-8, to raiſe forces ſerviceable by ſea and land: accordingly he levied twelve companies of eighty men each; and appointed officers for them, when he was within one day's ſail of Porto Rico (15). The chief officers were, Sir John Berkley, General; William Meſey, Lieutenant-Colonel; Hercules Folyambe, Serjeant-Major, *&c* (16).

(14) Purchas, p. 1149.

(15) *Ibid.* p. 1155.

(16) *Ibid.* p. 1149.

[*O*] *After a very difficult paſſage over a cauſeway to the town.*] For the town ſtood in a little iſland, to which there was no other paſſage but over a beach, or narrow cauſeway, guarded by two forts; not to be croſſed but at low-water. At the farther end of it, there was a bridge, which had been pulled up, and a ſtrong barricado. Beſides, the cauſeway had been purpoſely made ſo rugged, that the Engliſh could not keep on their feet, and therefore choſe to wade in the water by the ſide of it. To add to their misfortunes, the Earl of Cumberland, by the ſtumbling of him that bore his target, had a violent fall, and was in danger of drowning. For his armour ſo overburdened him, that the Serjeant-Major, who by chance was next to him, had much ado at the firſt and ſecond attempt to raiſe him. When he was up, he found he had ſwallowed a great deal of ſalt-water: which made him ſo ſick, that he was forced to lie down for a while upon the cauſeway; till, being a little recovered, he was able to be led to a place of more eaſe and ſafety (17).

(17) Purchas, p. 1160, 1161.

[*P*] *Though they made great offers to be permitted to ſtay.*] The Earl, in a letter of his after the taking of this place, affirmeth, That if he would have left the place, he might have had by good account as much ſugar and ginger in the country as was worth 500,000 pounds. But he intended to keep it as the key 'of 'the Indies, which whoever poſſeſſeth (as his words 'were) may at his pleaſure go into any chamber in the 'houſe, and ſee how they ſleepe before he bee either 'ſtopped or deſcried: ſo as they muſt at every doore 'keepe ſo great a force to guard them, as will conſume 'a great part of their yeerely revenue; and ſend it 'from place to place with ſo great a waſtage, as will 'cauſe them to curſe their new Porter: for when 'they have done what they can, they ſhall beare his 'charge to their owne deſtructions, and ſtill be loſing 'places both of ſtrength and wealth (18).'

(18) *Ibid.* p. 1817.

Ary,

ery, he left the ſtrength of his fleet with Sir John Berkley [Q]; to whom he gave full power and commiſſion to tranſact all affairs in his abſence. He took, for his own part, nine ſhips with him [R]; on board of which he put what hides, ginger, ſugar, and ammunition he could get; the bells of the churches; and all the braſs cannons that were in the iſland, being fourſcore in number. With theſe nine ſhips he ſet ſail, on the 14th of Auguſt, for the Azores, where he hoped to intercept the Spaniſh Mexico fleet; or ſome of the carracks (*m*). After many tedious calms, and one violent ſtorm, he arrived at Flores on the 15th of September: but, at his coming there, was told, that he came too late. It was in all likelihood much for his ſafety and advantage: for, but a few days before, there had been at that place nine and twenty large Spaniſh men of war, which undoubtedly would have proved too ſtrong for him (*n*). Here he was joined by Sir John Berkley, with the reſt of his fleet. After having taken in ſome proviſions, they ſailed all together, the 16th of September, for England, where they arrived about the beginning of October (*o*). In this expedition, his Lordſhip loſt a barge, ſunk by his order in the haven, to the prejudice of the enemy; another barge, caſt away in a ſtorm at Bermudas; the Pegaſus, wrecked upon the Goodwin Sands; and the old Frigate upon the Uſhant; in which two laſt ſhips, forty perſons were drowned. He loſt otherwiſe about ſeven hundred men, whereof ſix hundred died of the bloody-flux and calenture at Porto-Rico; and ſixty were ſlain in fight (*p*). And, for the vaſt expences he was at in hiring and fitting up ſhips, *&c.* he got nothing in this voyage, only ſome quantities of hides, ginger, and ſugar, eighty pieces of ordnance, with ſome ammunition, the bells of the churches, and about the value of a thouſand ducats of pearl. It was, however, of conſiderable ſervice to the Engliſh nation, and did great damage to the Spaniards; in that it hindered the carracks from making their voyage to the Eaſt-Indies for this year, and obſtructed the return of the Spaniſh plate-fleet from America (*q*). By the eleven voyages above-mentioned, and by building of ſhips, horſe-racing, tilting, and the like expenſive exerciſes, this noble Earl waſted more of his eſtate than any of his anceſtors (*r*). I ſhould have obſerved, that, in 1592, he was elected Knight of the Garter (*s*). In 1601, he was one of the Lords that were ſent with forces to reduce the Earl of Eſſex to obedience (*t*). He departed this life at the Savoy, in London, October 30, 1605, and was buried at Skipton, in Craven in Yorkſhire, the 30th of March following; where a fine tomb was afterwards erected to his memory (*u*). He married Margaret, the third daughter of Francis Earl of Bedford, by whom he had two ſons, who died young; and a daughter named Anne [S]. Dying thus without iſſue-male, he was ſucceeded

(*m*) Purchas, *ubi ſupra*, p. 1168, *&c.*

(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 1176.

(*o*) *Ibid.* p. 1174, 1175, 1176.

(*p*) *Ibid.* p. 1149.

(*q*) *Ibid.* p. 1176. Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, under the year 1598.

(*r*) Dugdale's Baronage, *ubi ſupra*.

(*s*) *Ibid.* And Sept. 27, the ſame year, was created Maſter of Arts at Oxford, Wood, Faſti. edit. 1721, vol. i. col. 144.

(*t*) Camden, as above, *ad ann.* 1601.

(*u*) Dugdale, p. 345, 346.

[Q] *He left the ſtrength of his fleet with Sir John Berkley.*] Namely, The Aſcenſion, the Gallion, the Alcedo, the Conſent, the Pegaſus, the Centurion, two ſtrong Fly-boats, and the Antony (19).

(19) *Id.* p. 1169.

[R] *He took, for his own part, nine ſhips with him.*] *viz.* His own ſhip, The Scourge of Malice, and the Sampſon: and of leſſer veſſels, The Royal Defence, the Frigate, the Scout, the Elizabeth, the Guiana, and two little ones that were found in the harbour of Porto Rico; the one a French ſhip, and the other a Spaniſh frigate, which were rigged during their abode there (20).

(20) *Ibid.*

[S] *And a daughter named Anne.*] She was born at Skipton-caſtle, January 30, 1589; and married, *firſt*, to Richard Lord Buckhurſt, afterwards Earl of Dorſet. By whom ſhe had three ſons, who died young: and two daughters; Margaret, the wife of John Lord Tufton Earl of Thanet; and Iſabel, of James Lord Compton, Earl of Northampton. She married, *ſecondly*, Philip Herbert Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, by whom ſhe had no iſſue. On the 23d of April 1651, ſhe laid the firſt ſtone of an hoſpital at Appleby in Weſtmoreland, for thirteen widows. And alſo purchaſed lands for the repair of the church, ſchool-houſe, town-hall, and bridge, at Appleby. She likewiſe rebuilt a great part of the church there: and rebuilt, and repaired, the greateſt part of the church at Skipton. Moreover, ſhe totally rebuilt the churches of Bongate, and Ninekirke; and the chapels of Brougham, and Mallerſtang: and purchaſed lands of eleven pounds yearly value, for the perpetual ſupport of a perſon qualified to read prayers, with the Homilies of the Church of England in this laſt; and to teach the children of the Dale, to write and read Engliſh (21).* M.

(21) Dugdale, *ubi ſupra*, p. 346.

* She alſo repaired, and in part rebuilt, ſix caſtles belonging to her anceſtors, ſome of which had long been in a ruinous condition.

*** [From ſome papers which have been put into our hands by an ingenious and learned friend, John Baynes, Eſq; Barriſter at Law, we have been enabled to aſcertain, with exactneſs, the place and time of the Earl of Cumberland's birth. He was born at Brougham Caſtle, in Weſtmoreland, on the 8th of Auguſt, 1558. A few particulars concerning him, which were not known to our biographical predeceſſor, have been related by Mr. Pennant, in the ſecond part of his Tour in Scotland. At an audience which the Earl had after one of his expeditions, Queen Elizabeth, perhaps deſignedly, dropped one of her gloves. His Lordſhip took it up, and preſented it to her; upon which ſhe graciouſly deſired him to keep it, as a mark of her eſteem. In this manner his ambition was gratified with a reward that ſuited her Majeſty's avarice. He adorned the glove with diamonds, and wore it in the front of his high-crowned hat on days of tournament. This is expreſſed in the fine print of him, by Robert White. Another inſtance of the Queen's favour to the Earl of Cumberland, was her appointing him her champion in all her tilting matches, from the thirty-third year of her reign. In this office he ſucceeded the gallant old Knight Sir Henry Lea, who reſigned it with much ceremony, in 1590. Mr. Walpole, in his Miſcellaneous Antiquities, has obliged the public with an entertaining account of his Lordſhip's inveſtiture. He excelled all the nobility of his time in the exerciſes of tiltings, turnings, and courſes of the field. His magnificent armour worn on ſuch occaſions, adorned with roſes and *fleurs de lis*, is actually preſerved at Appleby Caſtle (22). In Skipton Caſtle is a picture of the Earl of Cumberland and his family, which is deemed a curious performance. It is tripartite, in form of a ſcreen. The Earl, who occupies the center, is dreſſed in armour, ſpotted with ſtars of gold; but much of it is concealed by a veſt and ſkirts reaching to his knees: his helmet and gauntlet, lying on the floor, are ſtudded in like manner (23). His Lady ſtands by him in a purple gown, and white petticoat, embroidered with gold. She pathetically extends one hand to two beautiful boys, as if in the action of diſſuading her Lord from the dangerous voyages

(22) Pennant's Tour in Scotland, Part 2d, p. 354, 355.

(23) *Ibid.* p. 354.

ſucceeded in his honours by his brother *Francis*; who deceaſed in 1641, and had for ſucceſſor his only ſon *Henry*. And he alſo dying the 11th of December, 1643, left one only

voyages in which he engaged, when more intereſting and tender claims urged the preſence of a parent. "How muſt he have been affected, ſays Mr. Pennant, by his refuſal, when he found that he had "loſt both on his return from two expeditions, if "the heart of a hero does not too often diveſt itſelf "of the tender ſenſations (24)!" The letters of Margaret, the Earl of Cumberland's Lady, are extant in manuſcript, and alſo her Diary; from which it appears, that ſhe unfortunately married without liking, and met with the ſame return. She complains greatly of the coolneſs of her Lord, and of his neglecting their daughter, Anne Clifford. The Counteſs of Cumberland even endured great poverty, of which ſhe writes in a moſt moving ſtrain to King James the Firſt, to ſeveral great perſons, and to the Earl himſelf. Mr. Pennant obſerves, that all her letters are humble, ſuppliant, and pathetic, though the Earl was ſaid to have parted with her on account of her high ſpirit (25).

(24) *Ibid.* p. 355, 356.

(25) *Ibid.* p. 356.

Though this Lady might ſometimes be obliged, from peculiar circumſtances, to write in a ſtrain of humiliation, it is certain that ſhe was a woman who poſſeſſed great fortitude and magnanimity of mind. This is apparent from the account her daughter hath given of her; nor do we perceive, in that account, any traces of the poverty which the letters ſeen by Mr. Pennant repreſent her to have endured. Her conduct, after the death of her Lord, in the conteſt between her and Francis Earl of Cumberland, her brother-in-law, for the family eſtate, was truly ſpirited, as ſhe would never ſubmit to give up her daughter's right. With regard to her quarrel with her huſband, the blame was principally on his ſide, as he was irregular in his manners, and appears, particularly, to have engaged in an amour with a lady of quality. A reconciliation, however, ſeems to have been effected between the Earl and the Counteſs; for ſhe was preſent with him at the time of his deceaſe, and he then expreſſed much affection towards her (26). We learn, from the inſcription on the picture before mentioned, that, during the latter part of his life, he felt the good effects of his early education; for he died *penitently*, *willingly*, and *chriſtianly* (27). It is evident, from all that is related concerning Margaret Counteſs of Cumberland, that ſhe was a woman of a moſt excellent character. Her daughter always manifeſts the higheſt ſenſe of her virtues, ſhews the greateſt veneration for her memory, and ſeldom ſpeaks of her under any other epithet than that of "my bleſſed mother."

(26) Mr. Baynes's Communications, and Lady Anne Clifford's manuſcript.

(27) Pennant's Tour, *ubi ſupra*, p. 355.

This daughter, Lady Anne Clifford, who was ſucceſſively married to Richard Earl of Dorſet, and to Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, and who, at length, by the failure of the male line, poſſeſſed the great hereditary eſtates of the Clifford Cumberland family, has lately become extremely celebrated. What hath brought her ſo much into the public eye, is a letter of her's, which was printed, April the 5th, 1753, in the periodical paper, entitled the "World," N° 14. This letter was addreſſed to Sir Joſeph Williamſon, who, when Secretary of State to King Charles the Second, had written to name a candidate to her for the Borough of Appleby. The brave Counteſs, with all the ſpirit of her anceſtors, and with all the eloquence of independent Greece, returned the following laconic anſwer:

"I have been bullied by an Uſurper, I have been "neglected by a Court, but I will not be dictated "to by a Subject: your Man ſhan't ſtand.

"Anne, Dorſet, Pembroke and Montgomery (28)."

(28) "The World," vol. i. p. 86. Edition of 1772.

Few letters have excited a more general admiration; and the reaſon of it is thus explained by Dr. Campbell, in his Philoſophy of Rhetoric. "We "ſhall find, ſays he, that the very ſame ſentiment "expreſſed diffuſely, will be admitted barely to be "juſt; expreſſed conciſely, will be admired as ſpi"rited. To recur to examples, the famous anſwer "returned by the Counteſs of Dorſet, to the letter "of Sir Joſeph Williamſon, Secretary of State to "Charles the Second, nominating to her a Member "for the Borough of Appleby, is an excellent illuſ"tration of this doctrine.—If we conſider the mean"ing, there is mention made of two facts, which it "was impoſſible that any body of common ſenſe, in "this lady's circumſtances, ſhould not have ob"ſerved, and of a reſolution in conſequence of theſe, "which it was natural for every perſon who had a "reſentment of bad uſage to make. Whence then "reſults the vivacity, the fire which is ſo manifeſt "in the letter? Not from any thing extraordinary "in the matter, but purely from the laconiſm of the "manner. An ordinary ſpirit would have employed "as many pages to expreſs the ſame thing, as there "are affirmations in this ſhort letter. The epiſtle "might in that caſe have been very ſenſible, and "withal very dull; but would never have been "thought worthy of being recorded as containing "any thing uncommon, or deſerving a reader's no"tice (29)."

(29) Philoſophy of Rhetoric, vol. ii. p. 263, 264.

Mr. Pennant characterizes Lady Anne Clifford as the moſt eminent perſon of her age for intellectual accompliſhments, for ſpirit, magnificence, and deeds of benevolence; and he has given a particular deſcription of two portraits of her, in the ſide-leaves of the family picture already noticed. Both the paintings are full lengths; one repreſenting her at the age of thirteen, and the other in her middle age, in the ſtate of widowhood. The books, in the firſt of theſe pictures, inform us of the faſhionable courſe of reading among people of rank in her days. There are among them Euſebius, St. Auguſtine, Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia, Godfrey of Boulogne, the French Academy, Camden, Ortelius, and Agrippa on the Vanity of occult Sciences. Above are the heads of Mr. Samuel Daniel, her tutor, and Mrs. Anne Taylor, her governeſs; and this memorial of the inſtructors of her youth, is a moſt grateful acknowledgment of the benefits ſhe received from them. The books in the ſecond picture conſiſt wholly of the Bible, Charron on Wiſdom, and pious Treatiſes, excepting one of Diſtillations and excellent Medicines (30); from which may be collected what were the chief objects of the Counteſs's ſtudies, in the retirement of her later days.

(30) Pennant's Tour, *ubi ſupra*.

Mr. Walpole, who has given a place to this celebrated Lady, in his Catalogue of noble Authors, repreſents her as having written "Memoirs of her "Huſband Richard Earl of Dorſet;" and "Sun"dry Memorials of herſelf and her Progenitors (31)." With regard to the firſt of theſe articles, we apprehend that he is miſtaken; there having never appeared in the Counteſs's manuſcripts any diſtinct work relative to her firſt huſband, or any other account of him than what is occaſionally to be met with in the Hiſtory of her own Life. The writer of the paper in the "World," before referred to, hath fallen into the ſame miſtake.

(31) Royal and noble Authors, vol. ii. p. 192.

Mr. Baynes hath obliged us with a tranſcript of the original narrative left of herſelf by the Counteſs of Dorſet. The title of the manuſcript is, "A "Summary of the Records, and a true Memorial of "the Life of me the Lady Anne Clifford, who by "Birth being ſole Daughter and Heir to my illuſ"trious Father George Clifford the third Earl of "Cumberland, by his virtuous Wife Margaret Ruſ"ſel my Mother, in right Deſcent from him, and "his long continued noble Anceſtors the Veteri"ponts, Cliffords, and Veſeys, Baroneſs Clifford, "Weſtmoreland, and Veſey, High Sheriffeſs of "Weſtmoreland, and Ladye of the Honor of Skyp"ton in Craven, was by my firſt Marriage Counteſs "Dowager of Dorſet, and by my ſecond Marriage "Counteſs Dowager of Pembroke and Montgo"mery." We muſt confeſs, that the peruſal of this manuſcript has given us very little ſatisfaction. It is written in a manner extremely tedious, abounds with repetitions, and the facts related in it are, for the moſt part, equally minute and unintereſting. Though the Counteſs was undoubtedly a woman of a ſound under-

only daughter, Elizabeth, born in 1613, and married July 5, 1635, to Richard Boyle, Viſcount Dungarvan, heir-apparent to Richard Earl of Cork; created, in 1644, Lord Clifford

underſtanding, and a great ſpirit, yet her work by no means correſponds with Mr. Pennant's character of her, as the moſt eminent perſon of her age for intellectual accompliſhments. There are few things in it that relate to the general events of the times; and the inſtances of this kind which are to be met with are perfectly inſignificant, being nothing more than the ordinary news of the day; ſuch as the reſtoration and marriage of King Charles the Second, the death of his brother Henry, the coming over of the Queen Dowager to this country, and her return to France, the viſit of the Grand Duke of Tuſcany to England, the deceaſe of the Queen of Bohemia, and the plague and fire of the city of London. With regard to the plague, her Ladyſhip has mentioned, that there died eight thouſand a week, for ſeveral weeks together. Her imagination was principally occupied with every incident, how trifling ſoever, which happened to herſelf, or any of her family. The different places of her reſidence, the time ſhe ſtaid in them, the repairs of her houſes, her journies from one caſtle to another, the marriages of her daughters, the births of her grandchildren and great-grandchildren, the deaths of the great perſons ſhe was connected with, the viſits ſhe received from her noble relations, the way by which they came and returned, the number of nights they lodged with her, the rooms in which they lay, her repeated entertainment of the Judges of Aſſize, and many other particulars of the like nature, are recorded with the moſt circumſtantial exactneſs, and with an uniformity of ſtyle that is very unpleaſant. It will not, therefore, be expected from us, that we ſhould enter into the detail of the Counteſs of Dorſet's and Pembroke's life. Our readers would not thank us for doing any thing more than ſelecting a few paſſages from the manuſcript, which appear moſt deſerving of notice.

The circumſtances reſpecting her being brought into the world, are related with an accuracy which Biographers will never, perhaps, in any other inſtance be able to attain. She informs us, that, through the merciful providence of God, ſhe was begotten by her valiant father, and conceived with child by her worthy mother, the firſt day of May in 1589, in the Lord Wharton's houſe in Channel-Row, in Weſtminſter, hard by the river of Thames, as Pſalm 139; yet that ſhe was not born till the 30th day of January following, when her bleſſed mother brought her forth in one of her father's chief houſes, called Skypton Caſtle, in Craven. Of her own natural accompliſhments, corporal and mental, ſhe has given this account. "I "was, ſays ſhe, very happy in my firſt conſtitution "both in mind and body, both for internal and ex- "ternal endowments; for never was there child "more equally reſembling both father and mother "than myſelf. The color of mine eyes were black "like my father's, and the form and aſpect of them "was quick and lively like my mother's. The hair "of my head was brown and very thick, and ſo long "that it reached to the calf of my legs, when I "ſtood upright; with a peak of hair on my fore- "head, and a dimple on my chin; like my father "full cheeks, and round face like my mother; and "an exquiſite ſhape of body reſembling my father; "but now time and age hath long ſince ended all "thoſe beauties, which are to be compared to the "graſs of the field. Iſaiah 40. 67, 8. 1 Pet. 1. "24. For now, when I cauſed theſe memorables of "myſelf to be written, I have paſſed the ſixty-third "year of my age. And though I ſay it, the per- "fections of my mind were much above thoſe of my "body. I had a ſtrong and copious memory, a "ſound judgment and a diſcerning ſpirit, and ſo "much of a ſtrong imagination in me, as that many "times even my dreams and apprehenſions before- "hand proved to be true; ſo as old Mr. John Den- "ham, a great Aſtronomer that ſome time lived in "my father's houſe, would often ſay, that I had "much in me in nature, to ſhew that the ſweet in- "fluence of the Pleiades and the bands of Orion, "mentioned in that 38th chapter of Job ver. 31, 32, 33, "were powerful both at my conception and nati- "vity." Lady Anne Clifford farther acquaints us, that, by the bringing up of her dear mother, ſhe did, as it were, even ſuck the milk of goodneſs, which made her mind grow ſtrong againſt the ſtorms of fortune, which few avoid that are greatly born and matched. In her infancy and childhood, by the means of her aunt of Warwick, ſhe tells us, that ſhe was much beloved by that renowned Queen Elizabeth. The various perils to which ſhe was expoſed, are thus recorded. "I muſt not forget to acknow- "ledge, that in my infancy and youth, and a great "part of my life, I have eſcaped many dangers, "both by fire and water, by paſſage in coaches, and "falls from horſes, by burning fevers, and exceſſive "extremity of bleeding, many times to the great "hazard of my life; all which, and many cunning "and wicked devices of my enemies, I have eſcaped "and paſſed through miraculouſly; and much the "better by the help of the prayers of my devout "mother, who inceſſantly begged of God for my "ſafety and preſervation. James 5. 16." The following account, which ſhe has given of herſelf, may not perhaps be diſpleaſing to our readers. "I "muſt confeſs, with unexpreſſible thankfulneſs, that "though, through the goodneſs of Almighty God, "and the mercies of my Saviour Chriſt Jeſus, Re- "deemer of the world, I was born a happy creature "in mind, body, and fortune, and that thoſe two "Lords of mine, to whom I was afterwards by the "divine Providence married, were in their ſeveral "kinds worthy Noblemen as any then were in this "kingdom; yet was it my misfortune to have con- "tradictions and croſſes with them both; with my "firſt Lord, about the deſire he had to make me ſell "my rights in the lands of my ancient inheritance "for a ſum of money, which I never did, nor never "would conſent unto, inſomuch as this matter was "the cauſe of a long contention betwixt us, as alſo "for his profuſeneſs in conſuming his eſtate, and "ſome other extravagances of his; and with my "ſecond Lord, becauſe my youngeſt daughter, the "Lady Iſabella Sackvill, would not be brought to "marry one of his younger ſons, and that I would "not relinquiſh my intereſt I had in five thouſand "pounds, being part of her portion, out of my lands "in Craven: nor did there want diverſe malicious "illwillers, to blow and foment the coals of diſſen- "tion betwixt us; ſo as in both their life times, the "marble pillars of Knowle in Kent, and Wilton in "Wiltſhire, were to me oftentimes but the gay ar- "bour of anguiſh, inſomuch as a wiſe man that "knew the inſides of my fortune, would often ſay "that I lived in both thoſe my Lords great families, "as the river of Roan, or Rodanus, runs through "the lake of Geneva, without mingling any part of "its ſtreams with that lake: for I gave myſelf wholly "to retiredneſs as much as I could in both thoſe "great families, and made good books and virtuous "thoughts my companions, which can never diſcern "affliction, nor be daunted when it unjuſtly happens; "and by a happy genius I overcame all thoſe trou- "bles, the prayers of my bleſſed mother helping me "therein."

On the 18th and 20th of January, 1616-17, the Counteſs of Dorſet was brought before King James in Whitehall, to give her conſent to the award which his Majeſty then intended to make, and afterwards performed, concerning all the lands of her inheritance. This, however, ſhe utterly refuſed; for which we are informed, that ſhe was afterwards brought into many and great troubles.

On the 28th of March, 1624, died Richard, Earl of Dorſet, whoſe character his Lady has thus deſcribed: "This firſt Lord of mine was in his own "nature of a juſt mind, of a ſweet diſpoſition, and "very valiant in his own perſon. He had a great "advantage in his breeding, by the wiſdom and de- "votion of his grandfather, Thomas Sackvill, Earl "of

(w) Peerage of England, by A. Collins, vol. ii. p. 335.

Clifford of Lanſborough; and on the 20th of March, 1644, Earl of Burlington, anceſtor of the Earls of that name (w).

" of Dorſet, and Lord High Treaſurer of England, " who was then held one of the wiſeſt men of that " time; by which means he was ſo good a ſcholar in " all manner of learning, that, in his youth, when " he lived in the Univerſity of Oxford, (his ſaid " grandfather being at that time Chancellor of that " Univerſity) there was none of the young Nobility " then ſtudents there, that excelled him. He was " alſo a good Patriot to his country, and generally " well beloved in it; much eſteemed of by all the " Parliaments that ſate in his time, and ſo great a " lover of ſcholars and ſoldiers, as that with an ex- " ceſſive bounty towards them, or indeed any of " worth that were in diſtreſs, he did much diminiſh " his eſtate, as alſo with exceſſive prodigality in houſe- " keeping, and other noble ways at court, as tilting, " maſquing, and the like; Prince Henry being then " alive, who was much addicted to thoſe noble ex- " erciſes, and of whom he was much beloved."

Soon after the Earl's deceaſe, the Counteſs had the ſmall-pox with ſuch violence, that ſhe was brought to death's door; and the diſeaſe ſo martyred her face, that it confirmed more and more her mind never to marry again. This reſolution, however, was changed, by her marriage, in 1630, with Philip, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery; which ſecond marriage, ſhe ſays, was wonderfully brought to paſs by the providence of God, for the croſſing and diſappointage of the envy, malice, and ſiniſter practices of her enemies. The character of this Nobleman, who died in 1650, ſhall conclude our extracts from the Counteſs's Memorials. " He was no ſcholar at all to ſpeak of; " for he was not paſt three or four months at the " Univerſity of Oxford, being taken away thence by " his friends preſently after his father's death, in " Queen Elizabeth's time, at the latter end of her " reign, to follow the Court, as judging himſelf fit " for that kind of life when he was not paſſing fif- " teen or ſixteen years old: yet he was of a very " quick apprehenſion, a ſharp underſtanding, very " crafty withal, and of a diſcerning ſpirit, but ex- " tremely cholerick by nature, which was increaſed " the more by the office of Chamberlain to the King, " which he held many years. He was never out of " England but ſome two months, when he went into " France with other Lords, in the year 1625, to at- " tend Queen Mary, at her firſt coming over into " England to be married to King Charles her huſ- " band. He was one of the greateſt Noblemen of " his time in England in all reſpects, and was " throughout the realm very well beloved."

It is evident from this account of the Earl of Pembroke, with whom the Counteſs lived in a ſtate of diſſenſion, and from whom ſhe was afterwards ſeparated, that he was by no means ſo weak a man as he is repreſented by ſeveral of our writers. Mr. Walpole calls the Earl a memorable ſimpleton, and Mr. Pennant ſtyles him a brutal ſimpleton. But both theſe gentlemen have been miſled, by relying too much on the authority of Butler. Mr. Baynes, in a letter with which he hath favoured us, and which we ſhall probably hereafter have occaſion to make uſe of, hath clearly ſhewn, that Philip Earl of Pembroke was, in various reſpects, a far more conſiderable character than hath commonly been imagined.

The Counteſs's funeral ſermon was preached on the 14th of April, 1676, at Appleby, by Dr. Edward Rainbow, Biſhop of Carliſle. The text choſen by him, in reference to the numerous works of architecture in which ſhe was perpetually employed, was from the Proverbs of Solomon: " Every wiſe woman " buildeth her houſe." The Biſhop hath entered very largely into her character, and in deſcribing the extent of her underſtanding, informs us, that Dr. Donne ſaid of her Ladyſhip, in her younger years, " That ſhe knew well how to diſcourſe of all things, " from predeſtination to flea-ſilk." One of the firſt things ſhe built, was a pillar, in the highway, at the place where ſhe and her mother laſt parted, and took their final farewell (32). She erected a monument to her tutor Samuel Daniel, the poetical hiſtorian, and another to Spenſer (33).

(32) Funeral Sermon, p. 22.

(33) Walpole's noble Authors, vol. ii. p. 192.

There are no traces, in the Counteſs of Dorſet and Pembroke's Memoirs, of the letter which has rendered her name ſo famous, or of any application to her from Sir Joſeph Williamſon, relative to the Borough of Appleby. Though we do not call in queſtion the truth of the fact, we ſhould have been glad to have met with the original authority on which it is founded.] K.

(a) A. Wood, Faſti, edit. 1721, vol. ii. col. 93. Prince, Worthies of Devon, &c. Exeter, 1701, p. 217. The Peerage of Engl. &c. by Ar. Collins, Eſq; 8vo. Lond. 1735, vol. iii. p. 313.

(b) Wood, and Collins, *ibid.*

CLIFFORD (THOMAS), Lord High Treaſurer of England in the reign of King Charles II. was born Auguſt 1, 1630, at Ugbrook, in the pariſh of Chudlegh, in Devonſhire, about nine miles from Exeter (a). His father was Hugh Clifford, of Ugbrook, Eſq; Colonel of a regiment of foot in King Charles the Firſt's expedition againſt the Scots, in 1639 [A]; and his mother, Mary, daughter of Sir George Chudlegh, of Aſhton, in the county of Devon, Bart. (b). His grandfather, Thomas Clifford, Eſq; a very eminent perſon [B], derived his pedigree from the noble family of the Cliffords, Earls of Cumberland [C], by Sir Lewis Clifford, Knight of the Garter, who died in the ſixth

[A] *His father was Hugh Clifford of Ugbrook, Eſq;* &c.] And therefore Biſhop Burnet is miſtaken, when he ſays, That 'he was ſon of a Clergyman, born to 'a ſmall fortune (1).'

(1) Hiſtory of his own Time, edit. 1724, fol. vol. i. p. 225.

[B] *His grandfather Thomas Clifford, Eſq; a very eminent perſon.*] He ſerved in his youth in the Netherlands; but afterwards became a Scholar in the Univerſity of Oxford, and attended Robert Earl of Eſſex in his naval expedition to Cadiz, in the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, by whom he was twice ſent as Envoy to ſome of the German and Italian Princes. And having paſſed the age of fifty, applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity; in which he became ſo great a proficient, that doing all his exerciſes, he took the degree of Doctor in the Univerſity of Oxford; and in that function continued, without accepting any preferment in the Church, but preached gratis all his time; to ſhew others the way of avoiding thoſe rocks whereon he himſelf had in his youth ſometimes run, as he often expreſſed. He died in the year 1634 (2). This gentleman's taking orders, is what probably occaſioned the miſtake animadverted upon in the foregoing note.

(2) Peerage of England, by Ar. Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 312.

[C] *Derived his pedigree from the noble family of the Cliffords, Earls of Cumberland.*] The founder of this ancient family was *William Fitz-punz* (3), who came into England with William the Conqueror. His grandſon, Walter, took the ſurname of *Clifford* from the pariſh of Clifford in Herefordſhire. Deſcended from him, was *Lewis* de Clifford, who lived in the reigns of King Richard II. and Henry IV. and was the immediate anceſtor of the preſent Lords Cliffords. His great grandſon was Thomas Clifford of Borſcombe in the county of Wilts; whoſe great grandſon Antony Clifford, of Borſcombe aforementioned, and King's Teignton in Devonſhire, married Anne, daughter, and one of the heirs, of Sir Peter Courtenay of Ugbrook, Knt. by which means that eſtate came into the family of the Cliffords. Antony's eldeſt ſon, was Henry Clifford, Eſq; from whom deſcended the Cliffords of Borſcombe and King's Teignton; and by a female heir that eſtate is now come into the family of Bampfield. —— His ſecond ſon was William —— and the third ſon, Thomas, mentioned in the laſt note, had the ſeat of Ugbrook, now enjoyed by the preſent Lord Clifford (4).

(3) Dugdale ſays it was Richard the ſon of Ponce, Baronage, vol. i. p. 335; but I follow Ar. Collins, Peerage, vol. iii. p. 307.

(4) See Dugdale's Baronage, edit. 1675, p. 334, &c. Peerage of Engl. &c. by Ar. Collins, vol. iii. p. 307, &c. and British Compend.

of King Henry IV. (*c*).—Thomas, who is the ſubject of this article, having in his youth had an education ſuitable to his birth and quality, was, on the 25th of May, 1647, admitted Gentleman-Commoner of Exeter-College in Oxford (*d*). In 1650, he ſupplicated for the degree of Bachelor of Arts; but whether he was admitted appears not (*e*). However, after having made ſome conſiderable ſtay in the Univerſity, and well furniſhed himſelf with academical learning, he became a ſtudent in the Middle-Temple, London (*f*). Having there continued awhile, he travelled into foreign parts, 'being accounted, 'by his contemporaries, a young man of a very unſettled head, or of a roving ſhat-'tered brain (*g*).' Notwithſtanding that, we are aſſured by Mr. Prince (*h*), that having an excellent genius, highly improved by education, he returned home a moſt accompliſhed gentleman. In the beginning of April, 1660, he was elected one of the Burgeſſes for Totneſs, to ſerve in that Parliament, which began at Weſtminſter the 25th of the ſame month, and reſtored King Charles II. And, after his Majeſty's reſtoration, he was choſen again Burgeſs for the ſame place, in the Parliament which began the 8th of May, 1661 (*i*). In this Parliament he began to make a conſiderable figure [*D*]: for, being a man of great vivacity (*k*), of a good preſence of mind and body, a ſound judgment, and ready elocution, he became a frequent and celebrated ſpeaker in the Houſe; at firſt againſt, but at length in behalf of, the royal prerogative: for which being taken notice of at Court, he was admitted into the King's favour; and ſoon after received the honour of Knighthood (*l*). He was one of thoſe Members of the Houſe of Commons, who formed, ſoon after the Reſtoration, the *wicked project* of raiſing the King's authority, and increaſing his revenue, which was defeated by the honeſt Earl of Clarendon (*m*). Being a perſon of a bold ſpirit, and martial temper, he attended, in 1665, James Duke of York at ſea, and was in that ſea-fight with the Dutch, which happened on the 3d of June. After this, continuing in the fleet when it was commanded by Edward Earl of Sandwich, Vice-Admiral, he was in the expedition at Bergen, in Norway; when, on the 2d of Auguſt, the Engliſh attacked the Dutch Eaſt-India fleet, which had taken refuge in that port (*n*). Soon after, he was ſent Envoy to the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, with full power to conclude new treaties and alliances with them (*o*). The next year, 1666, he attended Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle at ſea, in the expedition againſt the Dutch, and was in that great engagement which laſted the four firſt days of June: he was alſo with the ſame Generals on the 25th of July following, in another fight with the Dutch (*p*). In conſideration of theſe great ſervices, he was, on the 8th of November following, made Comptroller of the King's Houſhold, in the room of Sir Hugh Pollard, Knt. and Bart. who died the day before; and on the 5th of December enſuing, was ſworn one of his Majeſty's Privy-Council (*q*). The 13th of June, 1668, he was conſtituted Treaſurer of the King's Houſhold, upon the deceaſe of Charles Viſcount Fitz-harding; and, about the ſame time was made, by patent, one of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury (*r*). In 1670, he became one of the King's Cabinet-Council, known by the name of the *Cabal*; who contrived to render the King abſolute; to eſtabliſh Popery, and deſtroy the Proteſtant religion; to break the Triple Alliance, and to make war upon Holland (*s*): in all which they acted as the tools of France [*E*]. The next year his Majeſty granted him a ſixty years leaſe of the paſtures of Creſlow, in Buckinghamſhire (*t*). And the ſame year he finiſhed a new chapel at Ugbrook, which was conſecrated and dedicated to St. Cyprian, by Anthony, Biſhop of Exeter (*u*). Upon the death of Sir John Trevor, which was on the 28th of May, 1672 (*w*), and in the abſence of Henry Earl of Arlington, Sir Thomas executed the office of Principal Secretary of State, till the return of the Lord Arlington from his embaſſy in Holland, and of Mr. Henry Coventry from his embaſſy into Sweden (*x*). For his great ſervices to King Charles II. and his brother the Duke of York, he was, on the 20th of April, 1672, created, by patent, Baron Clifford, of Chudlegh, in the county of Devon, to him and his heirs male; and, in June following, his Majeſty gave him the manors of Cannington, and Rodway Fitz-payn, in Somerſetſhire (*y*). Moreover, having adviſed King Charles to ſhut up the Exchequer [*F*], he was, for that important advice, rewarded, on

(*c*) See Dugdale's Baronage, edit. 1675, vol. i. p. 334. 342.

(*d*) Wood, *ubi ſupra*. Prince, p. 218.

(*e*) Wood, *ibid.*

(*f*) Prince, *ubi ſupra*.

(*g*) Wood, *ubi ſupra*. 'Twas probably in his travels that he turned Roman Catholick, for he was ſo before the Reſtoration. See Biſhop Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, edit. 1725, Lond. vol. i. p. 522.

(*b*) Worthies, *ubi ſupra*.

(*i*) Wood and Prince, *ubi ſupra*. See alſo *Notitia Parliamentaria*, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; 8vo. edit. 1716, vol. ii. p. 285.

(*k*) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 225.

(*l*) Wood, *ubi ſupra*; and Prince, p. 219.

(*m*) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 251.

(*n*) Wood and Prince, *ubi ſupra*.

(*o*) *Ibid.*

(*p*) *Ibid.*

(*q*) *Ibid.*

(*r*) Prince, p. 219.

(*s*) Echard's Hiſt. of England, edit. 1707, vol. iii. p. 251. 278. Rapin's Hiſt. of England, edit. fol. 1733, vol. ii. p. 655, &c.

(*t*) Wood, *ubi ſupra*.

(*u*) *Ibid.*

(*w*) Gazette.

(*x*) Wood and Prince, *ubi ſupra*.

(*y*) *Ibid.* and Peerage of Engl. &c. by Ar. Collins, Eſq; *ubi ſupra*.

[*D*] *In this Parliament he began to make a conſiderable figure.*] When he firſt appeared in the Houſe, he got one to recommend him to the Lord Clarendon's favour; but this Lord, who had many ſpies among the Prieſts, being informed of Clifford's being turned Roman Catholick, excuſed himſelf the beſt he could. So Clifford ſtruck in with his enemies; and tied himſelf particularly to Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington (5).

(5) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 225.

[*E*] *In all which they acted as the tools of France.*] They had all of them great preſents from France, beſides what was openly given them: for the French Ambaſſador gave each of them a picture of the King of France ſet in diamonds, to the value of 3000*l* (6). This conduct of theirs, in making our Court ſubſervient to the deſigns of France, and which, for that purpoſe, rendered even King Charles dependent upon Lewis XIV. was agreeable to the ſentiments of the Lord Clifford in particular; who once ſaid inadvertently, 'That if the King [Charles II.] muſt be 'in a dependance, it was better to pay it to a great and 'generous King [namely Lewis,] than to five hun-'dred of his own inſolent ſubjects (7).'

(6) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 308.

(7) *Ibid.* p. 614.

[*F*] *Having adviſed King Charles to ſhut up the Exchequer.*] The occaſion of that advice, was this: The King, under preſſing neceſſities, promiſed the White Staff to any one of his Miniſters, who could put him in a way to raiſe fifteen hundred thouſand pounds, without applying to his Parliament. The next day Lord Aſhley told Sir Thomas Clifford, That there was a way to do this; but it was dangerous, and might in its conſequences inflame both Parliament and people,

on the 28th of November, with the moſt profitable office of Lord High-Treaſurer of England, which had been executed by Commiſſioners ever ſince the death of Thomas, Earl of Southampton (z). But being heated with the deſign of bringing in Popery, even to enthuſiaſm (a), he was guilty of ſome indecencies, which occaſioned his loſing ſoon that place: for, in purſuance of his and the reſt of the Cabal's deſigns [G], King Charles having, for the ſervice of Popery, publiſhed, March 15, 1671-2, a Declaration for Indulgence, or Liberty of Conſcience (b), wherein the execution of penal Laws, againſt whatſoever ſort of Nonconformiſts or Recuſants, was ſuſpended; the Houſe of Commons, which began to perceive the King's deſigns, voted that Declaration to be againſt law (c). In oppoſition to this vote, and two addreſſes to the King ſubſequent thereupon, the Lord Clifford reſolved to maintain, in the Houſe of Lords, the validity of that Declaration, with all the force and all the arguments he could bring for it. He began the debate with rough words; calling the vote of the Commons a horrible monſter (d), and running on in a very high ſtrain. He ſaid, in ſhort, all that could be ſaid, with great heat, and many indecent expreſſions (e). Though this ſpeech was agreeable to the King, it raiſed ſuch a flame in the Parliament [H], that the Cabal durſt not purſue their projects; and the Earl of Shafteſbury deſerting them, the King was prevailed upon [I] to recall and cancel his Declaration (f). Thereupon the Lord Clifford was diſgraced [K], and reſigning the White Staff on the 19th of June, 1673 (g), retired to

(z) Echard, *ubi ſupra*, p. 288. Upon his being ſworn into that office, the Lord Chancellor Aſhley made him a very flattering ſpeech; which ſee in Rapin, vol. ii. edit. 1733, fol. p. 665.

(a) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 346.

(b) Complete Hiſt. of Engl. vol. iii. by Biſhop Kennet, edit. 1719, p. 313.

(c) Votes of the Commons. See alſo Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 346.

(d) *Monſtrum horrendum ingens.*

(e) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 348.

(f) *Idem*, p. 351. Echard, *ubi ſup.* Rapin. edit. 1733, fol. vol. ii. p. 669.

(g) Peerage, by Ar. Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 314.

people. Sir Thomas, impatient to know the ſecret, plied the Lord Aſhley with viſits, and having drunk him to a proper height, led him inſenſibly to the ſubject of the King's indigence: Lord Aſhley, warm and unguarded, dropt the important ſecret of ſhutting up the Exchequer. Sir Thomas took the hint, left Aſhley as ſoon as he could, went the ſame night to Whitehall, and attending till the King roſe, demanded the White Staff. The King renewed his promiſe, if the money could be found; and then Sir Thomas diſcloſed the ſecret, and was accordingly made Lord Treaſurer (8). That affair was propoſed in Council January 2, 1671-2 (9).

(8) Sir Joſ. Tyley's MS. cited by Mr. Echard, *ubi ſupra*, vol. iii. p. 288.

(9) Life of Sir W. Temple, p. 189, 8vo.

[G] *In purſuance of his and the Cabal's deſigns.*] The Lord Clifford, a man of a daring and ambitious ſpirit, took the opportunity of the war with Holland the King was then engaged in, to propoſe the Declaration of Indulgence, that the Diſſenters of all ſorts, as well Proteſtants as Papiſts, might be at reſt, and ſo vaſt a number of people not be made deſperate at home, while the King was engaged with ſo potent an enemy abroad.——This Lord's notion was, That the King, if he would be firm to himſelf, might ſettle what religion he pleaſed, and carry the government to what height he would: for if men were aſſured in the liberty of their conſciences, and undiſturbed in their properties, able and upright Judges made in Weſtminſter-hall to judge the cauſes of *Meum* and *Tuum*; and if, on the other hand, the fort of Tilbury was finiſhed to bridle the city, the fort of Plymouth to ſecure the Weſt, and arms for twenty thouſand men in each of theſe, and in Hull for the northern parts; with ſome addition (which might be eaſily and undiſcernedly made) to the force now on foot, there were none who had either will, opportunity, or power to reſiſt (10).

(10) Letter from a Perſon of Quality, Lond. 1675, 4to. See Complete Hiſtory of Engl. edit. 1719, vol. iii. p. 312, note.

[H] *This ſpeech raiſed a great flame in the Parliament.*] Upon a diviſion, the Court had the majority. But againſt it about thirty of the moſt conſiderable of the Houſe of Lords proteſted. So the Court ſaw, they had gained nothing in carrying a vote, that drew after it ſuch a proteſtation. Thereupon, it was debated in the Cabinet, what the King ſhould do. Lord Clifford and Duke Lauderdale were for the King's ſtanding his ground. The Lord Clifford in particular ſaid to the King, his people did now ſee through all his deſigns: and therefore he muſt reſolve to make himſelf maſter at once, or be for ever ſubject to much jealouſy and contempt. However, his Majeſty followed the advice of the Earls of Shafteſbury and Arlington, who preſſed him to give the Parliament full content. Whereupon he recalled his Declaration, as is related above (11).

(11) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 348, 349.

[I] *The King was prevailed upon*, &c.] At firſt, he was all in a fury to be forſaken by his Chancellor, the Earl of Shafteſbury: and told Lord Clifford, how well he was pleaſed with his ſpeech, and how highly he was offended with the other. But, the ſame afternoon in which that affair had been argued in the Houſe of Lords, the Earls of Shafteſbury and Arlington got all thoſe members of the Houſe of Commons on whom they had any influence (and who had money from the King, and were his ſpies, but had leave to vote with the party againſt the Court, for procuring them the more credit) to go privately to the King, and to tell him that upon Lord Clifford's ſpeech, the Houſe was in ſuch fury, that probably they would have gone to ſome high votes and impeachments; but the Lord Shafteſbury ſpeaking on the other ſide, reſtrained them. So they made the King apprehend, that the Lord Chancellor's ſpeech, with which he had been offended, was really a great ſervice done him. And they perſuaded him farther, that he might now ſave himſelf, and obtain an indemnity for his Miniſters, if he would part with the Declaration. This was ſo dextrouſly managed by Lord Arlington, who got thus a great number of the members to go one after another to the King, and by concert to ſpeak all the ſame language, that before night the King was quite changed, and ſaid to his brother, that Lord Clifford had undone himſelf, and had ſpoiled their buſineſs by his mad ſpeech; and that though Lord Shafteſbury had ſpoken like a rogue, yet that had ſtopt a fury which the other's indiſcretion had kindled, to ſuch a degree that he could ſerve him no longer. He gave him leave to let him know all this. Accordingly, the Duke told Lord Clifford what the King had ſaid. The Lord Clifford, who was naturally a vehement man, went upon that night to the King, who ſcarcely knew how to look him in the face. Lord Clifford ſaid, he knew how many enemies he muſt needs make to himſelf by his ſpeech: but he hoped that in it he both ſerved and pleaſed the King, and was therefore the leſs concerned in every thing elſe: but he was ſurprized to find by the Duke, that the King was now of another mind. The King was in ſome confuſion: he owned that all he had ſaid was right in itſelf: but he ſaid, that he, who ſat long in the Houſe of Commons, ſhould have conſidered better what they could bear, and what the neceſſity of his affairs required (12).

(12) Burnet, *ubi ſupra*, p. 349, 350.

[K] *Thereupon the Lord Clifford was diſgraced.*] In his firſt heat he was inclined to have laid down his White Staff, and to have expoſtulated roundly with the King. But a cooler thought ſtopped him; he reckoned he muſt now retire; and therefore he had a mind to take ſome care of his family in the way of doing it: ſo he reſtrained himſelf, and ſaid, he was ſorry that his beſt meant ſervices were ſo ill underſtood. Soon after, he went to the Duke of Buckingham, who had contributed much to the procuring the White Staff to him; and told him, he brought him the firſt notice that he was to loſe that place to which he had helped him, and that he would aſſiſt him to procure it to ſome of his friends. After they had talked round all that were in any ſort capable of it, and had found great objections to every one of them, they at laſt pitched on Sir Thomas Oſborne, created afterwards Duke of Leeds (13). M.

(13) Burnet, *ibid.* p. 350.

his

his country-ſeat at Ugbrook: where, in September following, he died of the ſtone, being aged forty-three years, and about a month (*h*). He was buried in a vault under the chapel he had built, as is related above (*i*). This Lord's character is ſufficiently evident from what is ſaid of him in this article: but, beſides that, Mr. Prince informs us (*k*), that he was a gentleman of a proper manly body, of a large and noble mind, of a ſound head, and a ſtout heart. He not only had, but had the command of, moſt excellent parts, and knew how to employ them to his own beſt advantage. He had a voluble flowing tongue, a ready wit, a firm judgment, and an undaunted courage and reſolution. He married Elizabeth, daughter and coheir to William Martin, of Lindridge, in Devonſhire, Eſq; by whom he had fifteen children; and was ſucceeded, in honour and eſtate, by his eldeſt ſurviving ſon George, who, dying in 1690, the title devolved on his brother, Hugh, who departed this life October 12, 1730; and had for ſucceſſor Hugh, who dying March 25, 1732, was ſucceeded by Hugh, the preſent Lord Clifford (*l*).

(*i*) *Ibid.*

(*b*) Prince, *ubi ſupra*, p. 219.

(*k*) *Ubi ſupra*, p. 220.

(*l*) Peerage of England, by Ar. Collins, *ubi ſupra*, p. 314—316. *Ibid.* vol. vii. p. 160—162. Edition of 1779.

*** [This is one of the articles which might well have been ſpared by our learned predeceſſors. There was nothing ſo extraordinary either in the abilities or perſonal character of Sir Thomas Clifford, as to entitle him to a place in the Biographia Britannica; eſpecially when it is conſidered, that his political principles and conduct have only handed down his name with eminent diſhonour to poſterity. Mr. Macpherſon, with his uſual predilection for arbitrary maxims and meaſures of government, hath ſpoken with higher praiſe of Lord Clifford than he is entitled to receive (14). He certainly was a man of talents; but his powers were uniformly exerted for the ruin of the civil and religious liberties of his country.

The aſſertion, in note [*E*], that all the members of the Cabal had great preſents from France, is not true, at leaſt with regard to the Earl of Shafteſbury; neither was that Nobleman privy to the ſecret treaty with the French Monarch, as will ſufficiently be ſhewn in its proper place. There is good reaſon, likewiſe, to believe, that the ſtory told, from Echard, in note [*F*], and which has found its way into ſo many of our hiſtories, is entirely deſtitute of foundation.] K.

(14) Hiſtory of Great-Britain, vol. i. p. 132.

*** [CLIVE (Robert), * Baron of Plaſſey, one of the moſt extraordinary characters which this, or any age, has produced, was born at Styche, in the pariſh of Moreton-Say, near Market-Drayton in Shropſhire, on the 29th day of September, in the year 1725. His father, Richard Clive, inherited the eſtate of Styche, the antient poſſeſſion of his family; but thinking the income, which ſcarcely exceeded five hundred pounds a year, too ſmall a proviſion, he followed the buſineſs of the law (*a*). His mother, Rebecca, was the daughter of Mr. Gaſkell, of Mancheſter. In his early youth he was ſent to a private ſchool, Dr. Eaton's, of Loſtock, in Cheſhire. The Doctor obſerved that, in courage and ſagacity, he far ſurpaſſed his fellows, and diſcerned in the ſchool-boy the character of the future hero. "If," ſaid he, "that lad ſhould live to be a man, and an opportunity be "given for the exertion of his talents, few names will be greater than his."

From this ſchool, at the age of eleven, he was removed to another, of which the Reverend Mr. Burſlem, of Market-Drayton, was the maſter. In that town there ſtands, on the edge of a high hill, an antient Gothic Church, from the lofty ſteeple of which, at the diſtance of a few feet from the top, there projects an old ſtone ſpout, in the form of a dragon's head (*b*). On this head he once ſeated himſelf, to the great aſtoniſhment and terror of his ſchoolfellows, who were gazing from below (*c*). Yet he was not inſenſible to danger, nor ever ſought it unleſs when it produced applauſe; but then he flew with eagerneſs to meet it; for even when a boy, he loved honour more than he feared death. From the tuition of Mr. Burſlem, with whom his ſtay was ſhort, he was ſent to Merchant-Taylors ſchool in London. This celebrated ſeminary, however, did not long retain him: for his father reſolved once more to try the effect of a private ſchool, and entruſted him to the care of Mr. Sterling, of Hemel Hempſtead, a village in Hertfordſhire; where he continued till he obtained the appointment of a Writer in the ſervice of the Eaſt-India Company (*d*).

From a diſlike to reſtraint, and an abhorrence of all compulſion, young Clive's academical attainments ſeldom received, or deſerved, from his maſters, any particular applauſe; but they all agreed in giving him the character of the moſt unlucky boy they ever had in their ſchools. Such were the firſt aſpects of a character, that ſoon afterwards commanded the admiration of the world *!

In conſequence of Mr. Clive's appointment, in 1743, as a Writer in the Company's ſervice, he embarked in one of their ſhips, and arrived at Madraſs in the year 1744, in the nineteenth year of his age. The ſame diſlike to the drudgery of the deſk, the ſame impatience of controul, which diſtinguiſhed him at ſchool, ſtill marked his character, and rendered his appointment as troubleſome to his ſuperiors, as it was irkſome to himſelf. On one occaſion, his conduct to the Secretary, under whom the writers are placed, was ſo inconſiſtent with the diſcipline of office, that the Governor, to whom it was reported, commanded him to aſk the Secretary's pardon. The ſubmiſſion was made in terms of extreme contempt; but the Secretary received it graciouſly, and invited him to dinner. "No, Sir, (replied Clive) the Governor did not command me to *dine* "with you (*e*)."

On the ſurrender of Madraſs to the French Admiral, Monſieur de la Bourdonnais, in September, 1746, the Company's ſervants, both civil and military, became priſoners

(*a*) From the information of the family, and from Lord Clive's ſecond ſpeech, printed in Almon's Debates, *anno* 1773.

(*b*) The writer has heard this anecdote related by ſeveral of the inhabitants of Drayton.

(*c*) His object was to get a ſmooth ſtone which lay on this projecting ſtone ſpout, for the pleaſure of jerking it.

(*d*) From the information of the family.

* After his arrival in India, he devoted his leiſure hours to ſtudy, and became ſo good a Latin ſcholar, that a particular friend of his remembers to have heard him, in 1753, tranſlate an Ode of Horace into very proper Engliſh, extempore.

(*e*) From the information of Mr. Burman.

* For this article, the Editor is indebted to his ingenious and worthy friend, Henry Beaufoy, Eſq; Member of Parliament; and for many of the materials, to the obliging attention of the Rev. Mr. Arch-deacon Clive, and —— Burman, Eſq.

on parole. But as Monſieur Dupleix, who was commander in chief of the French forces in India, and who was not preſent at the ſurrender, refuſed to ratify the treaty, and made the Engliſh *priſoners to the town*, inſiſting upon their taking a freſh parole from the new governor; the Engliſh, on their part, conſidered their engagement to Bourdonnais as broken, and thought themſelves at liberty to make their eſcape, if poſſible, and to take up arms, when occaſion might offer. Accordingly, Mr. Clive, diſguiſed as a Moor in the dreſs of the country, and a few others, eſcaped to St. David's, which lies on the ſame coaſt, at the diſtance of twenty-one miles to the ſouth (*f*). (*f*) *Ibid.*

Soon after his arrival, he happened to be engaged in a party at cards, with two Enſigns, who were detected in a combination to cheat the reſt of the company. The Enſigns had won conſiderable ſums, which, as their knavery was proved, the loſers, at firſt, refuſed to pay: but the threats of the two gamblers ſoon intimidated all but Clive, who ſtill perſiſted in his refuſal, and accepted the challenge, which the boldeſt of them gave. Clive delivered his fire; but his antagoniſt, as each had only a ſingle piſtol, reſerved his, and quitting his ground, preſented the piſtol to Mr. Clive's head, and bid him aſk his life. After ſome heſitation Clive complied; but his antagoniſt telling him he muſt alſo recant the expreſſions he had uſed to his diſhonour, and promiſe payment of the money, for that otherwiſe he would fire; "Fire and be d——n'd (ſaid Clive); I ſaid "you cheated; I ſay ſo ſtill, nor will I ever pay you." The Enſign, finding that all remonſtrances were vain, called him a madman, and threw away his piſtol. When Clive's acquaintance complimented him on his behaviour on this occaſion, he made the following remark. "The man has given me my life, and I have no right in future to "mention his behaviour at the card-table, although I never will pay him, nor ever "keep him company (*g*)." (*g*) *Ibid.*

In 1747, Mr. Clive, being diſguſted with his former ſituation at Madraſs, and weary of an idle life at St. David's, ſolicited, and immediately obtained a commiſſion in the military ſervice. The events of the two firſt years, 1747 and 1748, gave him few opportunities of exerting the talents he poſſeſſed: yet, even in thoſe few, he exhibited ſuch proofs of an ardent, inflexible mind, as raiſed the admiration, and engaged the confidence of the troops. After the capture of Madraſs, the power of the French had obtained the aſcendancy through the whole Carnatic: but the arrival of Admiral Boſcawen with two thouſand regular troops, in July 1748, raiſed the hopes of the government of St. David's, and determined them to retrieve their ſinking reputation, by an attack on Pondicherry, a neighbouring fort, and the enemy's principal ſettlement. At this ſiege our young Enſign diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his gallant behaviour in the defence of the advanced trench, which the enemy attacked with ſo much reſolution, that ſome of the officers in the ſame detachment fell, and he himſelf received a ſhot in his hat, and another in his coat. But notwithſtanding this partial ſucceſs, the early ſetting in of the rains, and the total inexperience of Admiral Boſcawen in military operations, compelled the Engliſh, ſoon afterwards, to raiſe the ſiege, and to return to Fort St. David's (*h*). (*h*) *Ibid.*

During the attack upon the entrenchment, Mr. Clive obſerved that his powder was almoſt ſpent; and in his eagerneſs for more, inſtead of diſpatching a ſerjeant, ran himſelf to the trench behind, and brought a freſh ſupply. This circumſtance was afterwards repreſented to his prejudice by another officer, who inſinuated in company, when Clive was not preſent, that he had quitted his poſt from fear. Clive, informed of the aſperſion, requeſted his friend who brought him the account, to go with him to the officer; when finding that the charge, though denied at firſt, was ſtrictly true, he told the officer they muſt inſtantly withdraw. The officer followed as if to attend him, but whilſt ſome other officers, who were preſent when Clive accoſted him, were ſtill nigh, he gave him from behind a blow upon the ear. Clive inſtantly drew: the other, knowing that the company would interpoſe, followed his example. Both were put under an arreſt, and a Court of Enquiry was ordered, who were of opinion, that the officer ought to aſk Mr. Clive's pardon at the head of the battalion, for having aſperſed his character without a cauſe; but that they might not be obliged to break the officer, they took no notice of the blow. Clive, unwilling to injure the ſervice, was ſilent on this head, till the return of the army to St. David's, when he called on the officer, and reminded him of what had paſſed at the camp. He acknowledged, that with reſpect to that part of the affront on which the Court had given an opinion, their judgment, and the officer's conſequent compliance, had afforded him entire ſatisfaction; but as no notice was taken of the blow, he muſt now call him to an account for *that*. The officer inſiſted, that his compliance with the opinion of the Court ought to be accepted as a full ſatisfaction, and perſevered in refuſing every other; upon which Mr. Clive laid his cane gently on his head, and told him that he did this merely to ſtigmatize him, for that he was too contemptible a coward even for a beating. The next day the officer reſigned his commiſſion (*i*). (*i*) *Ibid.*

The ſeaſon for military operations being over, the troops remained inactive at St. David's; and before the return of ſpring, the news of a ceſſation of arms between Britain and France arrived. But though the ſubjects of the two ſtates had no longer a national

tional pretence for war, yet antient rivalſhip and recent injuries, oppoſition of intereſts, and a mutual conſciouſneſs of ſtrength, ſeemed to announce a ſpeedy renewal of the conteſt. At this time the dominions of a neighbouring chief, the Rajah of Tanjore, were claimed by his brother, a fugitive, who declared, that the preſent Rajah was an uſurper, and that he himſelf, though depoſed by his ſubjects, was their rightful Lord [*A*].

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[*A*] *And that he himſelf, though depoſed by his ſubjects, was their rightful Lord.*] To enable a writer to deſcribe, with perſpicuity, that part of Lord Clive's life which was paſſed in Hindoſtan, ſome account of the country itſelf appears to be abſolutely requiſite. Such an account will naturally divide itſelf into two parts. 1ſt, A ſhort hiſtorical deſcription of the aborigines of the country, the Hindoos; from whom the name of the country, Hindoſtan, appears to be derived. 2d, A ſhort hiſtorical deſcription of the Mahometan conquerors of Hindoſtan, who ſettled in the country in much the ſame manner, as another branch of that people ſettled in China. The Hindoos (1), or Gentoos, as the Engliſh have named them, are an antient people, perhaps as antient as any now exiſting in the world: they are more antient than the Chineſe; for the antiquities of China are ſaid to be the ſame, or nearly the ſame, with the latter works of Hindoſtan; while the antiquities of Hindoſtan are to be traced to no foreign ſource, and have an obvious relation to the works of their modern times.

(1) This account is collected partly from Halhed, Holwel, Orme, and other writers, and partly from converſations with perſons who were long reſident in the country.

The Hindoos have been divided, from all antiquity, into various tribes; the principal of which are four. The firſt is compoſed of their prieſts, who are alſo their legiſlators. The ſecond is compoſed of the civil officers, and the military men; that is to ſay, of all thoſe who conſtitute the executive power. The third is compoſed of the cultivators of the ſoil, the mechanics, the merchants, and the tradeſmen. The fourth is compoſed of the menial ſervants. It has been thought, rather fancifully perhaps, that in this diviſion the Hindoos have a reference to the four principal parts of the human body; and that the names by which the four tribes are reſpectively diſtinguiſhed, imply the head, the arms, the belly, and the feet.

The firſt tribe, it was obſerved, is compoſed of their prieſts, who are alſo their legiſlators, and is called the tribe of Brahmins. Their ſyſtem of religion is the pureſt Deiſm, and inculcates the pureſt morality; but the ceremonies that accompany its worſhip are ridiculous, and in the explanation of its ſpeculative doctrines, the ſenſe is loſt in the allegory. They believe that the ſoul, after its preſent mode of exiſtence, ſucceſſively animates other bodies, brute or human, according to the merits of its paſt life; but that when it has finiſhed its allotted courſe, it returns to the ſupreme Intelligence, like a drop of water to the boundleſs ocean whence it firſt aroſe. Thus they imagine, that the ſupreme Mind detaches, as it were, a portion of his own ſpirit, to animate ſuch of his works as he chooſes ſhould have life; and that the ſins committed in the human body, are atoned for by the ſufferings that attend the ſucceeding periods of the ſoul's exiſtence, till all pollution being waſhed away, it returns again pure as at firſt, to the univerſal Being. This idea of the tranſmigration of the ſoul, naturally inſpires the people with benevolence, and a ſtrong affection for their ſpecies: for they think they behold the ſpirits of their departed parents, and kindred, in ſome of the people around them; and the uncertainty of the perſons leads them to ſentiments of friendſhip and kindneſs for all.

Such is the religion eſtabliſhed by the Brahmins: their laws will be taken notice of in deſcribing the nature of their government.

The Brahmins have never made thoſe advances in ſcience, which diſtinguiſh the preſent Philoſophers of Europe. Unaccuſtomed to the ſight of any country but their own, they are utterly ignorant of geography; and their knowledge of aſtronomy, though not inconſiderable, (for they have ſufficient to calculate eclipſes) is ſtill inferior to our own. Their ſkill in mechanicks ſeems at preſent to be equally confined; but that in former times their knowledge of the mechanical powers was extenſive, appears from many of their antient buildings. The ſtones which compoſe the gateway of the great Pagoda of Seringham, excite, by their vaſtneſs, the ſame kind of admiration, as that which is produced by the ſtupendous obeliſks of Egypt; and the height to which ſome of thoſe enormous maſſes are raiſed, changes admiration to aſtoniſhment. Their knowledge of metaphyſicks is enlarged: the ſyſtem of the non-exiſtence of matter, which the Biſhop of Cloyne has rendered ſo famous in Europe, is very antient among them; but the Brahmins in general deny the truth of the ſyſtem, for they ſay, if matter does not exiſt, what is it that acts upon the imagination? The imagination cannot act upon itſelf. The Brahmins eat nothing that has life.

The ſecond tribe, as I obſerved before, is compoſed of the military, and the other officers of the executive power. The ſoldiery, in the northern parts of Hindoſtan, are brave and vigorous in war; while thoſe of the ſouthern, enervated as they are by the climate, are leſs capable of manly exertion: hence it has always been difficult to invade this people by the northern frontier. Alexander experienced an obſtinate reſiſtance; and Ghengis Khan, the great conqueror of the Eaſt, was repulſed when, in the year 1300 of our æra, he attempted to ſubdue them. Thoſe, on the contrary, who arriving by ſea, attacked them on the ſouth, were never ſucceſsfully oppoſed. To this tribe the uſe of fiſh, mutton, and veniſon is allowed.

The third tribe, or that of the landed and commercial intereſts, is conſidered as leſs honourable than either of the two preceding. Thoſe of this tribe, who inhabit the interior parts of the country, are juſt and fair in their dealings; but the experience which thoſe on the coaſts have had of that utter diſregard to honeſty and honour, which, of late years, has marked the proceedings of the Europeans towards them, has made them extremely expert in the arts of ſimulation and diſſimulation, the uſual defence of the weak againſt the ſtrong.

The fourth tribe is compoſed entirely of ſervants, who labour, as with us, for a certain ſtipulated pay.

The four tribes have many ſubordinate diviſions.

No perſon can riſe from an inferior to a higher tribe. Hence many individuals of the inferior tribes endeavour, by an appearance of extraordinary devotion, and by the ſeverities of a voluntary penance, to obtain that reſpect to which the Brahmins are entitled by their birth: theſe are called Facquires.

Beſides the four tribes I have mentioned, there is alſo another part of the community: it conſiſts of thoſe who have been degraded from the tribes, or whoſe anceſtors, on their firſt inſtitution, were thought unworthy to be admitted. They are employed in burying the dead, and ſuch other offices as are moſt offenſive to humanity: their touch is ſuppoſed to carry with it a pollution which nothing but death can wipe away: yet for this, as for all offences of a religious kind, atonement may be made by preſents to the Church, and a ready ſubmiſſion to the penances the Prieſts preſcribe.

Such are the diſtinctions which prevail among the Hindoos, and which ſeem to be coeval with their firſt political eſtabliſhments. Their executive government, while they had a government of their own, conſiſted of a chief magiſtrate, who claimed by deſcent; and of many inferior magiſtrates, in whoſe appointment regard was alſo had to hereditary claims. The moſt conſiderable of theſe were the governors of a thouſand towns; ſubordinate to them, and next in rank, were the governors of a hundred towns; and ſubject to theſe were the governors of ten towns, who had alſo under them the governors of five towns; theſe again controuled the governors of three towns, who on their part ſuperintended the governors of two towns; while to them the governor of each ſingle town was in ſome degree reſponſible.

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The facts appeared to the Engliſh of St. David's ſo convincing, that they applauded their own reſolution to ſupport his cauſe, conſidering it as the cauſe of juſtice, which all men are bound, by the law of nature, to defend. Near their own ſettlement was a fort of the Rajah's, called Devi Cotah, with the attack of which they reſolved to begin their operations. When they appeared before it, they found the approaches difficult, and the ramparts covered with innumerable troops, whoſe military proweſs experience had not yet taught them to deſpiſe. Clive alone inſiſted, that the enterpriſe, though hazardous, was far from being deſperate; for by advancing the cannon in the night, the gates might be deſtroyed, and the town taken by ſtorm (*k*). The commanding officer, Captain Cope, refuſed to liſten to his advice, as too bold to be followed, and continued a fruitleſs cannonade, till having exhauſted his ammunition, he was compelled to lead back his troops, with diſgrace, to Fort St. David's. Their ſhame at this diſcomfiture, its ill effects upon their trade, and, above all, the triumphs of the French, determined the Engliſh to make a ſecond attempt for the reduction of Devi Cotah. The detachment conſiſted of eight hundred Britiſh troops, and fifteen hundred ſeapoys, a name which is given to the natives when diſciplined by the Europeans, and enliſted in their ſervice. The command was entruſted to Major Lawrence, whoſe great abilities, at that time but little known, ſoon afterwards raiſed him to the higheſt rank in the ſervice. A breach being made in the walls, Clive, then a Lieutenant, ſolicited the

(*k*) Orme's Hiſtory of Hindoſtan, 2d edition.

The governors of the larger diſtricts were called Rajahs, or Princes; a name afterwards aſſumed by thoſe of leſs extended juriſdiction. Such was the diſtribution of the executive power. The legiſlative power was compoſed of a council of ten Brahmins, nominated by the chief magiſtrate: they iſſued their ordinances, not as new laws, but as interpretations of the old: for, as their code is of divine original, having been communicated, as is ſuppoſed, by the ſupreme Being, to the inſpired Brahmins of antiquity, it can admit of no improvement or addition.

The laws which conſtitute this code are few in number, and from many circumſtances appear to have been compoſed, when civil ſociety among them was ſtill but young: yet they form a wiſe ſyſtem of juriſprudence.

In the deſcent of property, the male children ſucceed to equal ſhares of the inheritance, and the right of repreſentation takes place; for the ſon ſucceeds to his father's ſhare, in preference to his uncle.

In their criminal code, the puniſhment for almoſt every crime varies with the reſpective ranks; that is to ſay, with the reſpective tribes of the offender, and the party injured. Fines and confiſcation of goods, baniſhment, degradation from the tribe, breaking the bones of the hands and feet, mutilation, crucifixion, and burning, are the puniſhments in uſe among them. To execute Juſtice, is a rule generally obſerved in the pains and penalties preſcribed by their laws; but to execute juſtice in Mercy, is a maxim to which they are ſtrangers.

The Brahmins are exempted from the puniſhment of death; but pains more terrible are often inflicted in its room. Their police is remarkably good. If the magiſtrate does not recover the effects ſtolen, or apprehend the thief, he is obliged to indemnify the ſufferer for his loſs. While their police prevailed there were no robberies.

Such were the Hindoos, the native poſſeſſors of Hindoſtan.

The empire of Hindoſtan had preſerved its independence, its cuſtoms, and its laws, from the earlieſt known period of antiquity, when in the year 1003 of our æra, the Affghans, a nation from the mountains that bound Hindoſtan to the north, made themſelves maſters of the country. The Affghans had been converted very early to the Mahometan faith; and poſſeſſed, in a high degree, that enthuſiaſtic ſpirit for conqueſt, by which the profeſſors of that religion have been ſo often diſtinguiſhed. The native inhabitants, however, preſerved their cuſtoms, religion, and laws; many of the Rajahs were continued in their governments, on condition of their paying a tribute; and though the diſtinction between the Hindoos and the Affghans remained, yet the difference between the conquerors and the conquered was ſoon forgotten.

In this ſituation the empire continued till the year 1398, when Tamerlane, whoſe predeceſſors had attempted the conqueſt in vain, made himſelf maſter of the country. His progreſs, like that of Attila, was every where marked with deſolation. An hundred thouſand priſoners, collected in his march, were maſſacred in cold blood; the greateſt part of the citizens of Delhi, the capital of the empire, were given up to the ſword; while the flames of the burning houſes increaſed the horror of the carnage. Tamerlane returned to Samarcand, the ſeat of his empire, in Tartary, without regarding his conqueſt, or taking any meaſures to preſerve it; but one of his ſucceſſors, Homaion, the ſon of Babr, fixed himſelf in Hindoſtan; and from him all the ſucceeding Emperors deſcended. Among theſe, Aurengzebe, who died in the year 1707, was exceedingly diſtinguiſhed for the greatneſs of his talents, and the uncommon ſplendor of his reign.

This conqueſt of the Tartars differed but little in its effect from the former conqueſt by the Affghans. The Mahometan laws never extended farther than the capital cities, and even there the old cuſtoms were regarded. Two-thirds of the conquered lands were left in the hands of the Rajahs, on conſideration of their paying an annual tribute; and though it is now almoſt eight hundred years ſince the Hindoos firſt loſt their independence, their number exceeds that of the Mahometans, in the proportion of at leaſt ten to one.

From the time that the Tartar government was completely eſtabliſhed in Hindoſtan, its arbitrary power has always been tempered with peculiar mildneſs: for the precepts of the Koran, together with the commentaries on that book, form a code of laws to which the deſcendants of Tamerlane have paid a particular regard. For the more eaſy management of their conqueſt, they divided the empire into diſtricts of great extent, and ſubdivided theſe into provinces: over each diſtrict they appointed a Viceroy, with the title of Subahdar; and over each of the provinces they appointed an inferior officer, with the title of Navob, or Nabob, as it is uſually pronounced by the Engliſh. Subordinate again to the Nabob, there were often many Hindoo Rajahs, whom the Emperors left in poſſeſſion of their reſpective territories, reſerving to themſelves, as mentioned before, an annual tribute. It appears then, that a province formed the government of a Nabob, and that ſeveral provinces united formed the government of a Subahdar.

The power of the Nabob extended to the appointment and diſmiſſion of all the officers, civil and military, of his government, a few only excepted, who received their commiſſions from the Crown. Of theſe few, the principal was the collector of the imperial revenues, called, in the language of the country, the Duan.

Such was the plan of government that prevailed in Hindoſtan, till the late invaſion in the year 1738, by the famons Kouli-Khan. The extreme debility to which he reduced the empire, and the confuſion that took place on his return to Perſia, encouraged the Nabobs to aſſume an independent power.

command

command of the forlorn hope. Lawrence, though he knew his character, was ſurpriſed at his requeſt, and told him that the ſervice did not fall to his turn. Clive replied, that he knew it did not, he ſhould otherwiſe have claimed it as his right; but that he hoped, on ſuch an occaſion, the requeſt of a volunteer would not be refuſed (*l*). Major Lawrence having given his conſent, a platoon of four and thirty Britiſh, ſupported by ſeven hundred ſeapoys, was ordered to ſtorm the breach. Clive and the Engliſh led the way. Between the camp and the fort was a rivulet, in paſſing which four of the Engliſh fell by the enemy's fire. The frightened ſeapoys halted as ſoon as they had paſſed the brook; but the Engliſh puſhed reſolutely on, and being now cloſe upon the breach, had levelled their muſkets, when a party of horſe, whom a tower of the fort had hitherto concealed, ruſhed upon their rear, and cut down ſix and twenty of their number. One of the horſemen aimed a ſtroke at Clive; but having eſcaped it, by ſtepping aſide as the horſe paſſed him, he ran towards the rivulet, and had the good fortune to join the ſeapoys. Of the whole four and thirty, himſelf and three others were all that were left alive. Major Lawrence, ſeeing the diſaſter, commanded all the Europeans to advance. Clive ſtill marched in the firſt diviſion. The horſe renewed their attack, but were repulſed with ſuch ſlaughter, that the garriſon, diſmayed at the ſight, gave way as the Engliſh approached the breach, and flying through the oppoſite gate, abandoned the town to the victors (*m*).

(*l*) From the information of Mr. Burman.

(*m*) Orme, 3d edition, p. 115, 116.

Alarmed at the ſucceſs of the Engliſh, the Rajah ſent them overtures of peace; to which, on condition that a ſettlement ſhould be made on his rival, and the fort of Devi-Cotah, with the adjoining diſtrict, be ceded to the Company, the Engliſh readily agreed.

The war being thus concluded, Lieutenant Clive, to whoſe active mind the idleneſs which, in time of peace, attends a ſoldier's life, was intolerably irkſome, returned to the civil eſtabliſhment, and was admitted to the ſame rank as that he would have held, had he never quitted the civil for the military line. His income was now conſiderably increaſed by his appointment to the office of Commiſſary to the Britiſh troops; an appointment which the friendſhip of Major Lawrence had procured him. He had not long been ſettled at Madraſs, when a fever of the nervous kind deſtroyed his conſtitution, and operated ſo banefully on his ſpirits, that the conſtant preſence of an attendant became abſolutely requiſite *. As the diſeaſe abated, his former ſtrength was in ſome degree renewed; but his frame had received ſo rude a ſhock, that during the remainder of his life, excepting when his mind was ardently engaged, the oppreſſion on his ſpirits frequently returned (*n*).

* For this complaint, which was attended with a hard ſwelling at the pit of his ſtomach, he went to Bengal, and returned much improved by the cold weather of that climate.

(*n*) From the information of the family.

The ceſſation of hoſtilities between the Engliſh and the French, had given to the latter an opportunity of executing the important projects they had formed. At that time their affairs were conducted by the renowned Dupleix; a man whoſe ſuperior mind gave courage to the timid, and conduct to the bold; who led the wiſe, and added ſtrength to the efforts of the weak; who rendered all characters and all intereſts ſubſervient to his views, and ſeemed born to be the arbiter of empires. Unſatisfied with the ſlow and precarious aggrandizement which commerce, however flouriſhing, affords, he had formed a plan for the acquiſition of wealth and power, by the ſhorter road of conqueſt. To his penetrating eye, the mutual claims, and various oppoſing intereſts of the native Princes of Hindoſtan, opened the faireſt proſpect of ſucceſs; and nothing remained but to ſelect a proper aſſociate in his ſchemes.

Among the natives of the country, was a man of the name of Chundaſaheb, diſtinguiſhed by the greatneſs of his talents, the celebrity of the part he had acted, and the deſperate ſtate of his fortunes. He had been the confidential Miniſter of a former Nabob of Arcot, who gave him his daughter in marriage; and, truſting to his gratitude, employed him to obtain poſſeſſion of the neighbouring province of Tritchinopoly, the government of which was at that time diſputed by the widow of the late chieftain, and the neareſt of his male relations. Chundaſaheb, by an act of treachery to the widow, obtained, in 1736, poſſeſſion of the province; and, by an act of ſtill greater treachery to his maſter, kept it for himſelf (*o*). At the end of five years (*p*) he was dethroned, and taken captive by the Morattoes, who hoped to obtain a conſiderable ranſom for his releaſe, and therefore kept him a priſoner. Six years he paſſed in confinement, during which ſuch revolutions had taken place in the province of Arcot, that the old Nabob, his ſon, and his grandſon, had all of them been ſwept away. A new Nabob, unconnected with the family of the former, had been appointed by the Soubah to the government of Arcot; but the people, diſaffected to his perſon, wiſhed anxiouſly for a change, and carried on a ſecret correſpondence with Chundaſaheb, as the only man whoſe abilities were equal to the conduct of ſo hazardous an enterprize. The talents, the diſtreſſes, and the connections of this man, all recommended him to Dupleix, as the beſt inſtrument of his ſchemes: and, fortunately for him, the Subahdar of the Carnatic, the immediate ſuperior of all its Nabobs, died at this juncture, and left the ſucceſſion in diſpute.

(*o*) Orme, 3d edition, p. 37, 38, 39.

(*p*) In 1741.

Dupleix, in the year 1749, directed his colleague, whoſe liberty he had purchaſed from the Morattoes, to inform the youngeſt of the candidates, that the troops of France ſhould ſupport his claims, and ſeat him in his government, provided he would confer on Chundaſaheb the Nabobſhip of Arcot. In purſuance of this ſcheme, the French marched to the aſſiſtance of their new ally, ſtormed the camp of his rival, whoſe death followed his defeat, and proclaimed their favourite, Subahdar of all the Carnatic. In return for theſe ſervices, the Subah conferred on Chundaſaheb the government of Arcot, and ſtigmatized, as an uſurper, the ſon of the laſt Nabob; who, on the death of his father, in a late engagement with Chundaſaheb, had not only aſſumed the title, but had obtained a confirmation from the late rival of the victorious Subah. To Dupleix, he and his ſucceſſor gave, in 1750, the government of all the country on the ſouth of the river Kiſtnah, a province little leſs than France, and appointed him receiver of all the revenues in that diſtrict of the Hindoo empire (*q*).

(*q*) Orme, 3d edition, p. 132. 161.

While the French, in this manner, were advancing with haſty ſtrides to the conqueſt of Hindoſtan, and had already obtained ſuch an eminence of power, that all the other Europeans ſeemed but dependents on their will, the Engliſh were plunged in a profound lethargy, forgetful of their intereſt, their ſafety, and their martial fame. Boſcawen had returned to England, and had taken with him almoſt all their troops: Major Lawrence too had left them: Chundaſaheb was in poſſeſſion of the capital of Arcot, and was acknowledged as Nabob by almoſt all the chieftains of the diſtrict; while his rival, and the natural ally of the Engliſh, Mahomed-Alli-Khan, the ſon of the late Nabob, ſtood on the verge of ruin. Happily for our countrymen, the oſtentatious vanity of the French, in 1751, at laſt effected what no regard to intereſt, ſafety, or honour had been able to accompliſh: for the French having marked with white flags, in every field, that part of the crop which belonged to themſelves as collectors of the imperial revenue, the ſight of thoſe flags ſurrounding them on every ſide, and encroaching on their lands, excited the indignation of the Engliſh, and revived their antient hatred (*r*). They now reſolved to ſupport, with their utmoſt ſtrength, the Nabob's expiring cauſe. But ſuch was their ill-conduct, or their ill-fortune, that they retreated before the enemy, were foiled in every attempt, and ſeemed haſtening to the period of their final and complete deſtruction.

(*r*) *Ibid.* p. 171.

Such was the ſtate of the Company's affairs, when Clive reſumed the military character. Being then at St. David's, and having obtained a Captain's commiſſion, he undertook to conduct a detachment ſent to the relief of a fort of the Nabob's, which, at that time, was cloſely beſieged by a neighbouring chieftain, the ally of his rival Chundaſaheb. Led on by him, the Engliſh broke through the chieftain's troops in the night, and entered the fort amid the applauſe of the garriſon. No ſooner had he ſeen them ſafe, than he attempted to return, accompanied by his ſervants, and a guard of twelve ſeapoys: but they had not proceeded far, when they found themſelves ſurrounded by the chieftain's troops. Captain Clive reſolved to force his way, and the attempt ſucceeded; but ſeven of the ſeapoys, and ſeveral of his ſervants, fell by the ſabres of the enemy (*s*). In the mean time, the important town of Tritchinopoly, the only remaining hope of Mahomed-Alli-Khan, and the only obſtacle to the full eſtabliſhment of Dupleix's and Chundaſaheb's power, was inveſted by a numerous army. Senſible of the urgency of the danger, Clive propoſed to attack the city of Arcot, the capital of the province, as the only means of ſaving Tritchinopoly. His advice prevailed; for in times of danger and diſtreſs, pride and envy naturally ſubſide, and ſuperior minds obtain their juſt aſcendancy. But ſuch was the exhauſted ſtate of the Company's affairs, that two hundred Europeans, and three hundred ſeapoys, were all that the united ſtrength of St. David's and Madraſs were able to ſupply. The firſt intelligence which the garriſon received of their approaching danger, was given them by ſome horſemen, who reported that they had ſeen the Britiſh army marching, with great unconcern, through a tremendous ſtorm of lightning and thunder. Panick-ſtruck with an account which impreſſed their ſuperſtitious minds with more than uſual dread, they ſurrendered the town, and its adjoining fort, without the leaſt reſiſtance (*t*).

(*s*) Orme, 1ſt edition.

(*t*) Orme, 3d edition, p. 183.

Captain Clive immediately iſſued a proclamation, giving to all who choſe to quit the fort, full liberty to take with them whatever they poſſeſſed, excepting proviſions and military ſtores; and declaring, that for theſe the utmoſt value ſhould be paid. A conduct ſo generous, and ſo very unuſual in the wars of Hindoſtan, engaged the affections of the people; and in the ſiege which ſoon afterwards enſued, enabled him, by their means, to procure the moſt certain intelligence of the enemy's deſigns (*u*).

(*u*) From the information of the family.

The news that the fort of Arcot was in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, produced the effect which Captain Clive foreſaw; for Chundaſaheb diſpatched his ſon, at the head of a numerous army, the engineers of which were French, to retake the place. The fort was more than a mile in circumference; the works were in a ruinous condition; and the whole garriſon fell ſhort of five hundred men: but their greateſt diſtreſs aroſe from the ſmall number of their cannon, which determined Clive to ſtorm a battery of the enemy's, and bring away the guns. The firſt part of the attempt ſucceeded; for not-

withſtanding the efforts of the French, the battery was ſeized by the detachment, which he himſelf commanded; but the miſcarriage of a ſecond party, that was to have co-operated with him, rendered it impoſſible to bring the guns away.

In this attempt fifteen of his Europeans fell, and among them Lieutenant Trenwith. This brave officer, obſerving a ſeapoy at a window taking aim at Clive, pulled him on one ſide; on which the ſeapoy changed his mark, and ſhot the Lieutenant dead. The place was now completely inveſted; and the enemy's guns were ſo admirably ſerved by the engineers Dupleix had ſent, that the number of the beſieged was ſoon exceedingly reduced. Three ſerjeants, who, at different times, ſingly accompanied Captain Clive in viſiting the works, were killed cloſe by his ſide (*w*); and at length the defences of the fort were ſo much injured, that two breaches were made, one of which was thirty yards in extent. Intelligence was now received, that the next morning, at day-break, the enemy were reſolved to ſtorm the fort, and an account was alſo brought of all their diſpoſitions. Chundaſaheb's troops, intoxicated with opium, and therefore inſenſible to danger, crowded to the breaches, where the garriſon were ſo prepared to receive them, that they encountered certain death. Diſheartened by the greatneſs of the ſlaughter, and alarmed with a report that ſix thouſand Morattoes were approaching, the enemy raiſed the ſiege after it had continued ſeven weeks, and had reduced the number of the garriſon, who were fit for ſervice, to eighty Europeans, and a hundred and twenty ſeapoys (*x*). Having received a reinforcement, Captain Clive left a garriſon in the fort, and took the field with two hundred Europeans, ſeven hundred ſeapoys, and a thouſand Morattoe horſe, part of a detachment, which the Mahomed-Alli-Khan had purchaſed to ſupport his now-reviving cauſe. With theſe troops the Captain defeated an army of three hundred Europeans, two thouſand five hundred ſeapoys, and two thouſand horſe, which Dupleix and Chundaſaheb had ſent againſt him; and before the end of the campaign, he had made himſelf maſter of ſeveral forts belonging to the enemy.

(*w*) Orme, p. 189.

(*x*) *Ibid.* p. 195.

Early in the next year, (1752) Captain Clive took the field with three hundred and eighty Europeans, two thouſand ſeapoys, and two thouſand five hundred horſe; and finding that the enemy intended an attack on Arcot, haſted to its relief. The enemy, who had intelligence of his motions, had formed a plan to ſurpriſe him on his march; and having with them a numerous party of French, had taken their meaſures with ſo much judgment, that before he ſuſpected an attack, the fire of nine pieces of cannon, at the diſtance of two hundred and fifty yards on his right, was poured upon his men. The extremity of danger increaſed the activity, but never diſturbed the compoſure of his mind. The battle hung in ſuſpenſe till evening, when a detachment of his troops attacked the enemy in the rear, and having made themſelves maſters of their cannon, a general defeat enſued (*y*).

(*y*) Orme, p. 211, 212.

Arcot, the capital of the province, being now in ſafety, Captain Clive received orders to conduct his forces to St. David's, it being reſolved to ſend them to the relief of Tritchinopoly. Before their departure from St. David's, Major Lawrence arrived from England, and took upon him the command of all the troops which were deſtined for this ſervice, and which conſiſted of four hundred Europeans, and eleven hundred ſeapoys. When they arrived within ſight of the town, the enemy, whoſe detachments had attempted, without ſucceſs, to intercept them on their march, determined to give them battle. Clive, at his own requeſt, took poſſeſſion of a large ſtone building which ſtood on the plain between the two armies, and which the French, intent on forming their line, had happily neglected. This movement decided the fortune of the day: for as the French were expoſed to the fire from the guns, while his troops were protected from theirs, they ſoon gave ground, and the horſe in Chundaſaheb's ſervice, diſmayed by the loſs of their commander Allum Khan, whoſe head was taken off by a cannon-ball, fled with great precipitation. The ſiege of Tritchinopoly being raiſed, the army was divided into two bodies, and Clive, though the junior Captain, was appointed to the command of one; for the Morattoes, and the reſt of the Indian allies of Mahomed-Alli-Khan, declared their reſolution to follow no other leader. Major Lawrence's corps remained on the ſouth of the river Caveri, while Captain Clive proceeded a day's march to the northward, and encamped a few miles beyond the banks of the Coleroon. Soon after the ſeparation, he received intelligence that a large reinforcement, under the conduct of D'Autueil, had been ſent from Pondicherry, by Dupleix, to the relief of the French troops on the Coleroon, who were commanded by Mr. Law. This detachment Clive reſolved to intercept; but finding that D'Autueil had retired on his approach, he returned again to his camp. In the mean time, Mr. Law, who had received an account of his departure, but had not heard of his return, had ſent a party of ſeven hundred ſeapoys, and eighty Europeans, forty of whom were deſerters from the Engliſh, to ſtorm the camp, which he imagined they would find very weakly defended. The advanced guard, deceived by the language of the deſerters, and by the darkneſs of the night, ſuppoſed them a detachment of Major Lawrence's troops, and allowed them to paſs without moleſtation or enquiry. In this manner they marched on

to

to the center of the camp, where, being challenged by the centinels, they inſtantly gave their fire. Clive, ſtarting from his ſleep, imagined the fire had proceeded from his own troops, who, for ſome unknown reaſon, had taken the alarm. With this idea impreſſed upon his mind, he ran to the quarters of the Engliſh, and found them under arms in conſequence of the fire, but as ignorant as himſelf of the cauſe. He proceeded with them to that part of the camp where they heard the alarm, and finding a body of ſeapoys firing at random towards the enemy's encampment, he concluded, as before, that they were his own men, and ordering the Europeans to halt, proceeded towards the ſeapoys, to enquire the reaſon of their conduct. One of the firſt he accoſted, knowing from his language that he was an Engliſhman, wounded him in two places, and then ran towards a Pagoda, or Indian Temple, which ſtood in the camp, and of which the French were maſters. Captain Clive, ſtill miſtaking the ſeapoy for one of his own troops, and enraged at his inſolence, followed him to the gate of the Pagoda, where, to his great ſurpriſe, he was challenged by ſix Frenchmen. This circumſtance inſtantaneouſly ſuggeſted to his mind all that had paſſed. He told them, with a calmneſs which gained belief, that he was come to offer them their lives, on condition of their inſtantly laying down their arms; a propoſal which he imagined they would gladly accept, as they would ſee that the Pagoda was ſurrounded by his troops. Three of the Frenchmen returned to conſult their companions, while the other three accompanied him as his priſoners. He then haſtened to the Europeans, with an intention to attack the ſeapoys; but they, alarmed at their ſituation, had marched away unmoleſted by the Engliſh, who imagined that they had left their ground in obedience to Captain Clive's commands. Having taken ſuch meaſures as muſt effectually prevent the eſcape of the French from the Pagoda, Captain Clive, at the dawn of day, went down in perſon to parley with them. Being weary with fatigue, and weak with the loſs of blood, he leaned for ſupport on the ſhoulders of two ſerjeants, when one of the deſerters, who knew him, fired at him as he ſtood at the gateway, and killed the two ſerjeants who ſupported him (z). The French, fearful that ſuch an outrage, if countenanced by them, would exclude them from the hope of quarter, threw down their arms and ſurrendered. The ſeven hundred ſeapoys, with an appearance of better fortune, had left the camp, but the Morattoes being ordered to purſue them, executed their commiſſion with ſuch effectual ſlaughter, that before noon, not a ſingle man of the whole ſeven hundred was left alive. On returning to his quarters, Captain Clive diſcovered that the fire of the ſeapoys, when they were firſt challenged in the centre of the camp, had ſhattered a box which was under his feet, and killed a ſervant who was ſleeping by his ſide (a). The enemy, weakened by their loſs, were driven from two of their poſts; and ſoon afterwards D'Autreuil, and his whole detachment, were taken priſoners. This rapid ſucceſſion of misfortunes entirely diſheartened Chundaſaheb's Indian troops, and produced ſo great a defection, that two thouſand of his horſe, and fifteen hundred of his ſeapoys, deſerted to Captain Clive; and ſo many thouſand others returned to their different homes, that the troops which remained with him, excluſively of the French battalion, amounted only to three thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe. Thus abandoned, the unfortunate old man, with the concurrence of Mr. Law, the commanding officer of the French, threw himſelf on the mercy of the chief of the Tanjorines, who was then in Major Lawrence's camp, and who had ſolemnly ſworn to convey him in ſafety to the French ſettlement at Karical. No ſooner was Chundaſaheb in his power, than the faithleſs Tanjorine acquainted Mahomed-Alli-Khan with the news, who immediately inſiſted that the priſoner ſhould be given up to him. The Morattoes, and the regent of Myſore, made the ſame demand, each inſiſting on his preferable right; till at length the Tanjorine, wearied with their importunity, alarmed at their threats, and enraged to be diſappointed of the vaſt advantage he expected from his perfidy, ordered one of his ſervants, a remorſeleſs Affghan, whom he kept for ſuch purpoſes, to diſpatch the unhappy priſoner (b). A few days before this event, Mr. Law's whole French battalion capitulated, and were made priſoners (c).

There being now no army to oppoſe him in the field, Captain Clive returned to Madraſs, where he accepted the command of five hundred new-raiſed ſeapoys, and a hundred raw recruits from Europe, none of whom had ever ſeen an enemy. Yet with theſe men he beſieged, and made himſelf maſter of two ſtrong forts, garriſoned by French and natives; for he inſpired them with courage, by expoſing himſelf to the hotteſt of the fire; and his own knowledge and experience ſupplied the deficiency of theirs. This ſervice being completed, and the enemy diſpoſſeſt of all that part of the Carnatic, Captain Clive returned to Madraſs, and continued there till the month of February, 1753, when the ruined ſtate of his health compelled him to embark for England (d).

Whoever reflects on the circumſtances which mark the military life of this extraordinary hero, will not be ſurpriſed that the number of men, whom hiſtory has recorded as the authors of revolutions in empires, ſhould be ſo extremely ſmall. For of thoſe who poſſeſs that ardent courage, that commanding genius, that unconquerable mind, which are requiſite for great exploits, how few are the perſons whoſe ſituation will permit

(z) As it may, perhaps, be difficult to conceive how one ſhot ſhould deſtroy his two ſupporters, and leave him unhurt, Mr. Arch-deacon Clive mentioned this difficulty to Lord Clive, who anſwered, that the two men on whoſe ſhoulders he leaned were ſhorter than himſelf, and were both of them in the line of the ſhot, his own body being ſo much behind as to be out of the line.

(a) Orme, *ubi ſupra*, p. 222-226.

(b) *Ibid.* p. 241.

(c) *Ibid.* p. 239.

(d) From the information of the family.

mit ſuch talents to produce their natural effects? And of thoſe few, how very ſmall muſt be the number, who eſcape the perils to which their caſt of character generally leads them!

Upon Captain Clive's arrival in his own country, he was received by the Eaſt-India Company with all that affection and eſteem which his extraordinary actions deſerved. As a mark of their gratitude for his ſervices, they requeſted him to accept of an elegant diamond-hilted ſword. This, however, he declined, unleſs the ſame preſent ſhould be made to Colonel Lawrence, which was accordingly done. The ſwords coſt ſeven hundred pounds each (*e*).

(*e*) From the information of the family.

Not long after Captain Clive's return to England (*f*), he was ſolicited by the Directors of the Eaſt-India Company, to accept the appointment of Governor of Fort St. David, with a right of ſucceſſion to the government of Madraſs: and as he expreſſed his willingneſs to ſerve them, they procured for him the commiſſion of Lieutenant-Colonel in his Majeſty's ſervice; together with the conduct of three companies of the Royal Artillery, and of three or four hundred of the King's troops (*g*).

(*f*) In 1755.

(*g*) Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, who went to Hindoſtan the year before, as Engineer-general to the Company, had been appointed to the command of theſe troops, but he died before their arrival. See Orme, p. 406.

With this force he was ordered to join the Morattoes on the weſtern coaſt of Hindoſtan; and, in conjunction with them, to attack the French, whoſe power was at that time extremely formidable to the company. But finding, on his arrival at Bombay, that the peace was already concluded, he determined to employ his troops againſt Angria, a neighbouring Pirate, whoſe frequent depredations were injurious to the Engliſh ſettlements (*h*). This reſolution he communicated to Admiral Watſon and Sir George Pocock, who were then at Bombay; and as their judgments coincided with his own, the expedition was immediately undertaken, and was attended with complete ſucceſs. But though the original plan was his, and though, as commander in chief of the land-forces, he had alſo a very diſtinguiſhed ſhare in its execution, yet the prize-money was divided among the captors, by a rule that entitled the Colonel to no more than every Captain of a ſhip received. Admiral Watſon, indeed, would have given the ſame ſhare to him as to Sir George Pocock; but, with ſingular diſintereſtedneſs, the Colonel declined the offer (*i*).

(*h*) Firſt Report from the Select Committee on India affairs, *anno* 1772.

(*i*) *Ibid.*

Having thus performed the only ſervice in his power on the weſtern coaſt of Hindoſtan, the Colonel ſailed for Fort St. David, of which he was Deputy-Governor, and arrived there in April, 1756; but his ſtay was ſhort: for, in the following Auguſt, in conſequence of the capture of Calcutta, and of the ruinous ſituation of the Company's affairs in that their principal ſettlement, he was ſummoned to Madraſs, where he was appointed to the command of the troops which were ſent from thence to the relief of the Engliſh in Bengal (*k*).

(*k*) *Ibid.*

On the death of Allaverdee Khan, Nabob of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, in April, 1756, the government deſcended to his nephew Surajah-Dowlah, a young man of turbulent paſſions, of great ambition, and ſtill greater avarice. A wiſh to diſtinguiſh himſelf by ſome uncommon exploit, and a deſire to gratify his ruling paſſion, by a ſeizure of the wealth which the Engliſh factors, eſpecially thoſe of Calcutta, were reported to poſſeſs, induced him, without cauſe or plauſible pretext, to attack their different ſettlements.

By much the greateſt part of the wars that have ariſen between the Europeans and the natives of Hindoſtan, are undoubtedly to be attributed to the injuſtice and rapacity of the former. But, in the preſent inſtance, the war appears to have proceeded from no other cauſe, than the violent and vicious character of the young Nabob (*l*). The factories of Dacca and Coſſimbuzar were taken without reſiſtance. Calcutta, though conſidered as utterly untenable, was defended for a few days; after which, the Nabob's troops broke into the town, and ſuch of the inhabitants as could not eſcape to the ſhips, were either put to the ſword, or were taken priſoners. Of the latter, a hundred and fifty (of whom many were wounded) were confined, on the night after the ſurrender, in a ſmall cloſe dungeon, where heat, and the ſtench of putrid wounds, where thirſt, ſuffocation, deſpair, and madneſs, produced ſo frightful a mortality, that when the ſun roſe, no more than twenty-two of the hundred and fifty were left alive (*m*).

(*l*) *Ibid.*

(*m*) *Ibid.*

On the 15th of December, the Colonel embarked on board Admiral Watſon's ſquadron, having with him twelve hundred ſeapoys, and ſeven hundred Europeans, two hundred and fifty of whom were in his Majeſty's ſervice (*n*). He arrived in Ballaſor Road in the beginning of December, and in conjunction with the Admiral, determined on an attempt which was conſidered as ſingularly daring, but which, in their circumſtances, was highly expedient; that of bringing up the ſhips to the very town of Calcutta. No ſooner was this ſervice performed, than the troops were landed, and the ſhips guns were brought to bear upon the fort, from which, as well as from the town, the enemy fled with great precipitation (*o*).

(*n*) *Ibid.*

(*o*) *Ibid.*

The ſatisfaction of the army and navy in this important ſucceſs, was diſturbed by a difference which aroſe between their reſpective commanders: for the government of the fort being claimed by Captain Coote, in conſequence of a commiſſion from the Admiral, Colonel Clive reſented the demand as highly irregular; Mr. Watſon's authority as

Admiral, giving him no right to ſuperſede the commander in chief of the land-forces, and appoint an inferior officer to the government of the fort. Hence the Colonel refuſed to reſign the command of the fort to Captain Coote, and threatened that officer with an immediate arreſt, if he preſumed to diſobey; but he declared, at the ſame time, that he would give up the fort to Admiral Watſon, if he himſelf would demand the keys. The Admiral ſent him word, in anſwer to this declaration, that if he did *not* quit the fort, he ſhould be driven from it by the ſhip's guns. The Colonel replied, "that he could not be anſwerable for the conſequences, but he would not quit the fort." His firmneſs induced the Admiral to adopt the expedient of aſking in perſon for the keys, which were accordingly delivered to him, and by him were entruſted, not to Captain Coote, but to the Governor and Council of Calcutta (*p*). (*p*) *Ibid.*

Colonel Clive had now with him twelve hundred ſeapoys, and ſeven hundred Europeans, which were all his force, for a conſiderable part of the Madraſs detachment was not yet arrived. With theſe troops, however, few as they were, he took the field, in 1757, and entrenched himſelf at five miles diſtance from Calcutta, to which town he knew that the Nabob, and his whole army, were then upon their march. The Nabob paſſed the Engliſh entrenchments at the diſtance of but a mile and a half, and encamped at the back of Calcutta (*q*). (*q*) *Ibid.*

The Colonel now found his ſituation truly deſperate. The terror of the Nabob's approach had frightened moſt of the natives from his camp; and, to the apparent impoſſibility of effecting any thing with his ſeven hundred Europeans, was added the proſpect of diſtreſs by famine. He thought it, therefore, adviſeable to ſend two of his friends to the Nabob, to treat for peace: but their return convinced him, that the Nabob was fixed in his hatred to the Engliſh, and would not negotiate, excepting with a view of gratifying that hatred in the ſureſt manner, and by the eaſieſt means. In this ſituation, which ſcarcely preſented a ray of hope, Colonel Clive determined to attack the Nabob's camp, to ſeize his cannon, and, above all things, to carry deſtruction to his head quarters. With this view he applied to Admiral Watſon for the aſſiſtance of five hundred ſeamen, to draw his cannon, and carry his ammunition; and theſe being ſent, he began his march at midnight: but as the day approached, ſo thick a fog came on with it, that, though he had reached the camp, it was no longer poſſible to execute the deſign of ſeizing the cannon, or of proceeding, by the ſhorteſt road, to the head quarters. Yet he ſtill continued the enterpriſe, and paſſed through the midſt of the camp. Of this attack, the Colonel himſelf, in a letter to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, gave the following account:

"May it pleaſe your Grace,

"THE countenance your Grace was pleaſed to ſhew me when in England, has em-
"boldened me to addreſs a few lines to your Grace, on the ſubject of the Eaſt-India
"Company.

"No doubt your Grace has been acquainted with the capture of the town of Cal-
"cutta, and of Fort-William, by the Moors, the principal ſettlement in the kingdom
"of Bengal, and of the utmoſt conſequence to the Eaſt-India Company. To give
"your Grace ſome idea of the richneſs of the place, the loſs of private property only
"is valued at more than two millions ſterling.

"When this unfortunate news arrived at Madraſs, the Preſident and Council applied
"to Vice-Admiral Watſon, for his aſſiſtance in recovering the Company's rights, pri-
"vileges, and poſſeſſions, in the province of Bengal; and for the purpoſe, ordered a
"large body of land-forces to embark under my command; and I have the pleaſure to
"inform your Grace, this expedition, by ſea and land, has been crowned with all the
"ſucceſs that could be wiſhed.

"The town of Calcutta and Fort-William were ſoon re-taken, with ſeveral other
"forts belonging to the enemy; and, laſt of all, Hughly, the ſecond city in the Ben-
"gal Nabob's dominions. This news brought down the Nabob, or Prince of the
"country, at the head of twenty thouſand horſe, and thirty thouſand foot, twenty-five
"pieces of cannon, with a great number of elephants. Our little army, conſiſting of
"ſeven hundred Europeans, and twelve hundred blacks, armed and diſciplined after
"the Engliſh manner, lay encamped about the diſtance of five miles from the town of
"Calcutta. On the 3d of February, the Nabob's army appeared in ſight, and paſt
"our camp at the diſtance of a mile and a half, and encamped at the back of the town,
"about the like diſtance from Fort-William. Several parties of horſe paſſed within
"four hundred yards of our advanced battery, but as we entertained great hopes of
"peace from the Nabob's promiſes, we did not fire upon them.

"On the 4th, agreeably to the Nabob's deſire, I diſpatched two gentlemen to wait
"upon him, in hopes every thing might be ſettled without drawing the ſword; but the
"haughtineſs and diſreſpect with which he treated them, convinced me that nothing
"could be expected by mild meaſures. This determined us to attack his camp in the
"night-

" night-time; for which purpoſe, I applied to Vice-Admiral Watſon for five hundred " ſailors, to draw our cannon, &c. which he very readily complied with; and, at three " o'clock in the morning, our little army, conſiſting of ſix hundred Europeans, eight " hundred blacks, ſeven field-pieces, and the ſailors above-mentioned, ſet out for the " attack. A little before day-light we entered the camp, and received a very briſk " fire. This did not ſtop the progreſs of our troops, who marched through the ene- " my's camp upwards of four miles in length. We were more than two hours paſſing, " and what eſcaped the van was deſtroyed by the rear. We were obliged to keep up " a conſtant fire of artillery and muſketry the whole time. A body of three hundred " horſe made one gallant charge, and were received with ſo much coolneſs by the mili- " tary, that few eſcaped. Several other briſk charges were made upon our rear, but " to no manner of purpoſe. We returned ſafe to camp, having killed, by the beſt " accounts, thirteen hundred men, and between five and ſix hundred horſe, with four " elephants. The loſs, on our ſide, amounted to two hundred men killed and wounded, " including ſoldiers, ſailors, and blacks. This blow had its deſired effect; for the " next day the army decamped, and the Nabob ſent me a letter, offering terms of ac- " commodation.

" I have the pleaſure of acquainting your Grace, a firm peace is concluded, greatly " to the honour and advantage of the Company. The Nabob has entered into an al- " liance, offenſive and defenſive, and is returned to his capital of Muxadavad (*r*)."

(*r*) Manuſcript communicated by the family.

Such is the modeſt, unaffected manner, in which this great man relates an exploit that hiſtory can ſcarcely parallel. His reluctance to ſpeak of himſelf, would not permit him to mention, in this narrative, his Secretary's having been wounded, and his Aid-de-Camp killed by his ſide; though he takes notice of both theſe circumſtances, in a letter to his father.

No ſooner was the treaty ſigned, than Colonel Clive, notwithſtanding the Nabob's interference, and repeated threats, led his force againſt the French ſettlement at Chandernagore, and with the aſſiſtance of the fleet, made himſelf maſter of the place.

This ſucceſs of the Engliſh left them little to fear from the future operations of the French; but they had much to dread from the reſentments of Surajah-Dowlah: for they had attacked the French in oppoſition to his will, and in contempt of his threats to declare himſelf their enemy, if they preſumed to diſobey. Of his rooted antipathy to the Engliſh, his conduct had exhibited a continued proof: the ruins of Calcutta were before their eyes, and the horrors of the night, which followed the ſurrender, were freſh in every mind. He had then received no provocation; he had now received the greateſt. No hope, therefore, of laſting peace remained, but by depriving him of the power to injure; and that could only be effected by a revolution in his government.

The firſt idea of ſuch a change was ſuggeſted by Colonel Clive; and to him, and to Mr. Watts, the execution was entruſted (*s*). The ſituation of the Nabob's court was highly favourable to their wiſhes: for his conduct had ſo entirely alienated the affections of his principal officers, that one of them, Meer Jaffier by name, became their aſſociate in the enterpriſe; and it was ſoon agreed, that if ſucceſs ſhould attend their views, his maſter's titles, dignity, and power, ſhould be transferred to him. The conduct of this negotiation neceſſarily required the aſſiſtance of one of the natives of the country; for no European could have the ſame acceſs to Meer Jaffier, or have paſſed unſuſpected between him and the Engliſh. The perſon made choice of was a Gentoo Merchant at Calcutta, whoſe name was Omichund, and who was well known to the officers of the Nabob's court, as well as to the Engliſh. He was accordingly employed, and by his aſſiſtance the terms of the agreement were eaſily adjuſted. But before the actual ſigning of the treaty, when ample proofs of the particulars of the plot were in his power, he determined to draw from his ſituation much larger advantages than any which had yet been offered. He, therefore, inſiſted on a moſt enormous ſum, in addition to that which had been promiſed him; and threatened, that in caſe of refuſal, he would go to the Nabob, and diſcloſe to him all he knew (*t*).

(*s*) Firſt Report from the Select Committee on India affairs, *anno* 1772.

The life of Meer Jaffier was in Omichund's hands: the life of Mr. Watts, who was then at Muxadabad, the capital of Bengal, was equally in his power: the intereſts of the Company, and perhaps its exiſtence, were at ſtake. In ſuch circumſtances, to refuſe the demand was impoſſible; and to comply with it, and reward the traitor, was an indignity, to which Colonel Clive could not be induced to ſubmit. In this dilemma, he projected the expedient of ſigning a real and a fictitious treaty. The real treaty contained the different ſtipulations agreed on by Meer Jaffier, and the repreſentatives of the Company, but nothing more; whereas the fictitious treaty contained, beſide thoſe ſtipulations, an article in favour of Omichund, which granted to him the enormous ſum he had demanded, as the price of ſecrecy. Both the agreements were ſigned (*u*); but the laſt being the only one of which Omichund had any knowledge, he renounced his threatened treachery (*w*).

(*t*) *Ibid.* See alſo Lord Clive's ſecond ſpeech, printed in Almon's Debates, *anno* 1773.

(*u*) Ives's Journal, p. 25, 26.

(*w*) Firſt Report of the Select Committe, and Lord Clive's ſecond ſpeech.

The arrangement being now made, the Engliſh began their march, in full expectation of being joined at Cutwa by Meer Jaffier and his ſon, who had promiſed to meet them there,

there, with a conſiderable force. But inſtead of an army, they found letters from Meer Jaffier, to inform them that the Nabob had ſuſpected his deſign, and had compelled him to ſwear on the Koran, that he would not act againſt him: he added, however, that he was ſtill determined to join his forces to the Engliſh, as ſoon as the armies ſhould engage. The ſituation of the Colonel, and of thoſe he commanded, was now extremely embarraſſing. They received an account from the Nabob's camp, that Meer Jaffier had betrayed them, and that their whole deſign was known. To retreat would be productive of the moſt pernicious effects to the Company, probably of ruin. To advance would be perilous in the extreme; for the river on which they lay, was fordable but in a ſingle place; and ſhould they croſs it, they would have to march the diſtance of many miles before they could reach the enemy. There would then be no retreat, and of courſe ſhould they loſe the battle, the inevitable deſtruction of every individual muſt enſue (*x*).

(*x*) Firſt Report of the Select Committee on India affairs.

Full of ſolicitude for the preſervation of the Company, and of thoſe whoſe lives were committed to his care, the Colonel ſummoned a council of war. It was the only one he ever called, and he was afterwards known to ſay, that if their advice had been followed, it would have proved the deſtruction of the Company (*y*).

(*y*) *Ibid.*

The Council reſolved, that the army ſhould not paſs the river: but notwithſtanding this reſolution, the Colonel ordered the troops to croſs over, early in the morning, and marched with ſuch expedition, that in the evening of the next day, he arrived at the Grove of Plaſſey, in the neighbourhood of which the Nabob and his whole army were encamped. The Engliſh took poſſeſſion of the Grove, and retiring behind the bank, with which it was ſurrounded, waited the return of day. The riſing ſun diſcovered to their view the camp of the Nabob extended over all the plain. Fifty thouſand foot, eighteen thouſand horſe, and fifty pieces of cannon, compoſed his force: while their own fell ſhort of three thouſand two hundred men, of whom the Europeans did not exceed nine hundred (*z*). In conſequence of this exceſſive diſparity of ſtrength, Colonel Clive reſolved, that during the day his operations ſhould be all defenſive; but that at midnight, at which time the united powers of ſleep and opium produce, among the Hindoos, a general ſtupefaction, his troops ſhould ſtorm the camp. For the preſent, therefore, he made no other diſpoſitions than thoſe that were requiſite to repel the enemy's aſſaults. Two ſucceſſive nights and days he had paſſed without repoſe; for he ſhared the fatigues and dangers of his troops, much more conſtantly than he ſhared their reſt. Now, therefore, that all precautions had been taken, and that a ſhort interval ſeemed likely to precede the enemy's attack, he threw himſelf on the ground, and from that tranquillity of mind which never left him, was ſoon aſleep. While, in this manner, the Britiſh General ſlept undiſturbed on the perilous edge of battle, the Nabob was ſitting penſive and ſilent in his tent, revolving in his mind the doubtful iſſue of the conteſt. When he caſt his eyes towards the countleſs multitudes that ſpread themſelves around him, he ſeemed aſſured that danger could not reach him; and, confident of victory, indulged his proudeſt thoughts. But when the remembrance of the ſlaughter with which Clive had formerly filled his camp, forced itſelf upon him, apprehenſions the moſt terrible took poſſeſſion of his mind. During this gloomy reverie, his attendants had withdrawn, one after another, to the outſide of the tent. The Nabob ſtarted to find himſelf alone, and exclaimed, with horror, "Surely they have ſeen me dead (*a*)." His artillery was now brought to bear upon the Grove, and a heavy cannonade immediately enſued: but the Engliſh, protected by the bank, ſuffered very little from the fire, while their own carried deſtruction through all the Nabob's lines. The Nabob had committed the conduct of the battle to a man of approved fidelity, and diſtinguiſhed reſolution; but while this brave commander was encouraging his troops to advance upon the Engliſh, and drive them from their poſt, he fell to the ground, a headleſs trunk. Terrified with the news, the Nabob ſent for Meer Jaffier to his tent, and throwing down his turban, ſaid to him, with great emotion, "Jaffier, that turban you muſt "defend (*b*)." Meer Jaffier repeated his former proteſtations of fidelity, and then withdrew to diſpatch a meſſenger to the Engliſh, informing them of the confuſion that prevailed among the Nabob's troops, and ſtrongly adviſing them to ſtorm his camp in the night. In the mean time, accounts were brought to the Nabob, that the havoc of his troops increaſed, but that the Engliſh ſtill continued in the Grove. This laſt circumſtance ſuggeſted to his mind the deſign that Clive had formed; for which reaſon he reſolved to march back to his capital, where an aſſault in the night might be repelled with much more eaſe than it could be in an open camp. No ſooner had Colonel Clive diſcovered, from their movements and the ſlackning of their fire, that the enemy were preparing to retreat, than he led a detachment of the Britiſh againſt a battery on his left, and driving away a party of French who defended it, turned the guns upon the Nabob's troops. Their retreat was inſtantly converted to a confuſed and precipitate flight; but the Engliſh having no horſe, were unable to purſue. The victory being gained, Meer Jaffier ſent a meſſage to the Colonel, to ſay, that he himſelf, and a conſiderable part of the army, waited his commands, and ſoon afterwards came in perſon to pay him his reſpects. He made many apologies for his former conduct, and ſubmitted

(*z*) Orme, vol. ii.

(*a*) *Ibid.*

(*b*) *Ibid.*

to

to his compaſſion, both his fortune and his life. The Colonel aſſured him, that the Engliſh would religiouſly obſerve the treaty they had made. He adviſed him, at the ſame time, to employ the troops he commanded, in the purſuit of the defeated enemy; and ſaid, that he himſelf would follow with the Engliſh forces (*c*).

(*c*) Report from the Select Committee on India affairs.

In the mean while, the unfortunate Nabob had fled to his capital, and was employed, during the night, in diſtributing his treaſures among the principal officers of his army; to induce them, if poſſible, to try the fortune of another engagement. Whilſt he was thus employed in fruitleſs endeavours to ſecure their attachment, an account was brought him, that Meer Jaffier and his troops had entered the town, and were marching directly to the palace. Terrified at the news, he made his eſcape through one of the windows, in hopes of finding ſome place of concealment in the neighbourhood of the city. But ſo entirely bereft of friends was this unfortunate youth, that he could think of no one from whom he could aſk protection in this his uttermoſt diſtreſs, except a Prieſt, whoſe noſe and ears, by his orders, had formerly been cut off (*d*). The Prieſt, too reſentful for the paſt injury to be appeaſed by this mark of preſent confidence, gave him up to a brother of Meer Jaffier's; of which Meer Jaffier's ſon was no ſooner informed, than he commanded the executioner to do his office (*e*).

(*d*) *Ibid.*

(*e*) *Ibid.*

Early the next morning, Meer Jaffier waited on Colonel Clive, to apologiſe for the conduct of his ſon, and to repreſent it as the effect of neceſſity. He, at the ſame time, invited the Engliſh, who were encamped without the walls, to make their entrance into the city of Muxadabad. This city the Colonel himſelf deſcribes as containing as many inhabitants as the city of London, ſome of whom are poſſeſſed of fortunes, beyond compariſon greater than any which are found in the capital of the Britiſh empire. So ſmall was the number of the Engliſh, that the people might have deſtroyed them with clubs and ſtones, as they marched along the ſtreets (*f*): yet the inhabitants conſidered their lives and fortunes as wholly in their power, and offered ſuch immenſe ſums to Colonel Clive, as the condition of ſecurity, as would have enabled him, had money been his object, to have gratified his largeſt wiſhes (*g*). But the Nabob had made him a preſent of two hundred and ten thouſand pounds, at the ſame time that he had diſtributed largeſſes among his own officers: and though that preſent was trifling in value, when compared to the offers which were made Colonel Clive by the citizens of Muxadabad, (offers which correſponded with the cuſtom of the country, and which they expected would not have been refuſed) yet he thought that the ſecuring of private property to its owners, was an act of juſtice which ought not to be purchaſed with a bribe (*h*). The preſent from the Nabob he conſidered in a different light: for being given from choice, at a time too when ſimilar preſents were made by him to his own officers, the receiving it was no injury to the giver: nor was it an injury to thoſe in whoſe ſervice he was engaged, ſince every deſirable advantage was already obtained for them, and ſince they would not have received more, if he had received leſs (*i*).

(*f*) *Ibid.*

(*g*) *Ibid.*

(*h*) *Ibid.*

(*i*) *Ibid.*

Meer Jaffier being now perſuaded that his power was completely eſtabliſhed, formed a deſign of governing, without the aſſiſtance of thoſe to whom he owed his elevation (*k*). But before he entered on his plan, he determined to remove all danger of rivalſhip from the family of the depoſed Nabob; for which reaſon he ordered the brother of the late Surajah-Dowlah to be put to death (*l*). Thus ſecure, as he thought, he took the field, in order to quell, without the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, three different rebellions which had ariſen in different parts of the country [*B*]. But when, as the time of action approached, he weighed his own ſtrength againſt that of his enemies, he ſhuddered at the probable event, and ſolicited Colonel Clive to grant him his farther aid. The Colonel accordingly joined him, and two of the three rebels were ſoon entirely ſubdued: but the third, being a man of conſiderable influence, and poſſeſſed of the government of an extenſive and powerful diſtrict, the Colonel thought the intereſts of the Company would be beſt promoted by ſuch an accommodation between the Nabob and this inſurgent, as would leave the latter in poſſeſſion of his power, and enable him, with the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, to prevent the execution of thoſe ambitious deſigns which the Nabob had evidently formed (*m*).

(*k*) *Ibid.*

(*l*) *Ibid.*

(*m*) *Ibid.*

The peace of the country being now ſettled, the Nabob fulfilled the engagements he had made with Colonel Clive, for granting a compenſation to the Company for the loſſes they had ſuſtained by the capture of Calcutta. Nor was compenſation made to the

[*B*] *In order to quell, without the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, three different rebellions which had ariſen in different parts of the country.*] The Nabob, feeling his own ſtrength, thought he did not want the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, and ſaid that he ſhould ſuppreſs the rebellion himſelf. This was on the Colonel's repreſenting to him the danger of the undertaking. Colonel Clive acquieſced, and withdrew his forces, under the idea of their being ſoon wanted again, when the Nabob had drawn himſelf into a ſcrape. At this juncture, the officers of the Engliſh army urged the Colonel to compel the Nabob to take other meaſures, and to keep him in ſubjection. To this ſolicitation, Colonel Clive returned the following anſwer: "We ſhall always be able to relieve him in "his diſtreſſes. But let him feel them firſt, and call "upon us; and this will be the way to ſecure his "adherence. If we compel him, he will conſider "us as his tyrants, and ſoon get out of our hands. "But whilſt he thinks us his friends, and beſt ſup-"porters, we may depend upon his attachment (2)."

(2) From the information of Mr. Burman.

Company only, but to the Engliſh Merchants and inhabitants, and alſo to the Armenians. Scarcely was this buſineſs compleated, when four gentlemen in the Company's ſervice arrived at Calcutta, and brought with them a commiſſion to act as governors in rotation; each being allowed to retain his authority, for no more than the ſhort term of four months. The nature of this appointment, which, at all times, muſt have been highly inconvenient, was, in the preſent ſtate of the country, ſo obviouſly impolitic, that the very perſons in whoſe favour it was made, were unwilling to accept the truſt, and unanimouſly requeſted that Colonel Clive, who alone, in their opinion, ſeemed equal to the office, would act as governor, and exerciſe the authority intended to be conferred on them. The members of the council having alſo joined in this requeſt, the Colonel accepted the appointment, which (as ſoon afterwards appeared) had already been conferred on him, in conſequence of the battle of Plaſſey, by the Court of Directors in England (*n*).

(*n*) *Ibid.*

In the mean while, an account arrived that Madraſs was beſieged by the French, who, at that time, were commanded by General Lally. In conſequence of this information, Governor Clive directed Colonel Ford to drive the French, if poſſible, from the provinces called the Four Northern Circars; the revenues of which were computed at four hundred thouſand pounds per annum, and conſtituted their chief reſource (*o*). During the abſence of Colonel Ford, and of half the army, on this expedition, Governor Clive was haſtily ſummoned to Patna, at that time beſieged by the ſon of the Great Mogul, who had formed a deſign of reducing, by force of arms, to his father's government, the now independent provinces of the antient Hindoo empire. In this expedition, the Governor had an opportunity of ſaving the life of the Nabob, who, but for his interference, would have periſhed in a mutiny of his troops. After this Mr. Clive raiſed the ſiege of Patna, and drove the Prince from the province (*p*).

(*o*) *Ibid.*

(*p*) *Ibid.*

On his return to Calcutta, he was informed that the Dutch were preparing to invade Bengal, with a formidable force; and the truth of this intelligence was ſoon confirmed by the arrival of ſeven Dutch ſhips, with eight hundred Malays, and ſeven hundred Europeans (*q*).

(*q*) *Ibid.*

(*x*) *Ibid.*

A variety of circumſtances induced him to believe, that the Nabob himſelf, who had repeatedly written to the Governor of Batavia, had invited this army to accompliſh the deſtruction of the Engliſh. Now if this ſhould prove to be the caſe, it was evident that the danger was great and immediate: nor was it eaſy to form a plan that ſhould ſecure the Company, without expoſing the commanding officer to the moſt imminent hazard; for he could not commence hoſtilities againſt a nation with whom the Engliſh were at peace, without ſubjecting his life and fortune to the riſk of a deciſion in a court of law. The hardſhip of Mr. Clive's ſituation was ſtill farther increaſed, from the circumſtance of his having remitted, by the Dutch Company, two-thirds of his whole fortune, which, in caſe he ſhould attack them, they would probably retain (*r*). He determined, however, that all regard to private ſafety, and to private intereſt, ſhould give way to public conſiderations. He called, therefore, upon the Nabob to fulfil his engagements with the Company, and iſſue his commands, that the Dutch ſhould inſtantly quit the river. The Nabob reluctantly complied; but as the Dutch, relying on his former aſſurances of friendſhip, not only diſregarded his orders, but landed their troops, and proceeded on their march towards the factory at Chinſura, the Governor reſolved, in the name, and under the ſanction of the Nabob, to attack them without delay. He gave the command, in this perilous ſervice, to Colonel Ford *, who was now returned from his laſt expedition, in which he had been completely ſucceſsful. The Colonel had with him three hundred Europeans, eight hundred ſeapoys, and one hundred and fifty of the Nabob's horſe, a force much inferior to that of the Dutch. Yet ſuch was the ability with which the Colonel conducted the enterprize, that, of the whole Dutch army, only fourteen arrived at Chinſura (*s*). The Dutch ſhips were attacked by three of the Company's veſſels, fitted out for the purpoſe; and after an engagement of ſeveral hours, five of the number were taken. The two others alſo were afterwards captured by ſome of the Company's ſhips, that were lower down in the river.

(*r*) *Ibid.*

(*y*) *Ibid.* Vanſittart narrative.

* Ford, in great doubt, ſent to Clive for orders. Clive, who was playing at cards, took a pencil, and wrote on a bit of Ford's letter; "Dear Ford; fight 'em immediately; I'll ſend an order of Council to-morrow." This was a great mark of his ability and firmneſs of mind.

(*s*) *Ibid.*

(*z*) The letter to tart, pu Vanſitt rative, p. 80.

The Dutch were now ſo effectually humbled, that they readily agreed to pay all the expences of the war; on which condition their ſhips and effects were reſtored to them. They alſo conſented to two different treaties, the terms of which were dictated by the Governor; the one with their rivals the Engliſh Company; the other with the Nabob; in which laſt it was ſtipulated, that they ſhould not enter his country again with an armed force, without his conſent; and that in all their ſettlements in Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, no more than a hundred and twenty-five Europeans ſhould at any time be employed (*t*).

(*t*) *Ibid.*

The ability, the courage, and the good fortune of the Governor, had impreſſed the people of Hindoſtan with ſentiments of veneration towards him: but in the mind of Meer Jaffier, whoſe life he had ſaved, that veneration was accompanied with a ſenſe of gratitude and perſonal eſteem. Hence Meer Jaffier prevailed on the Emperor (who at that time was a priſoner of ſtate in Delhi, but who was ſtill conſidered as the fountain of honour) to

to confer on the Governor the dignity of Omrah, or Noble of the empire (*u*); and, according to the cuſtom of the country, he himſelf beſtowed on him, for the ſupport of this ſplendid title, a grant of an ample revenue. This revenue, which amounted to twenty-eight thouſand pounds per annum, conſiſted of the quit-rents paid by the Company, for the lands they held in the neighbourhood of Calcutta (*w*).

(*u*) *Ibid.*

(*w*) *Ibid.*

The peace of the Company's ſettlement was no ſooner completely eſtabliſhed, by the treaties with the Dutch, than the Governor ſailed for England, where he arrived in the year 1760. His arrival was welcomed by the warmeſt acknowledgments of the Company; by the general applauſe of his countrymen; and by the ſtrongeſt approbation of his Sovereign, who conferred upon him, on the firſt of December, in the year 1761, the dignity of Baron in the kingdom of Ireland, by the title of Lord Clive, Baron Plaſſey, in the county of Clare. But while his friends and the public paid him their various congratulations, they ſaw, with concern, that his health was irrecoverably loſt; and even the hopes they entertained, that his reſidence in England might gradually leſſen, though it could not entirely remove the baneful effects of the Indian climate, were but of ſhort continuance: for the troubles which aroſe in the Company's ſettlements, in leſs than three years from his departure, appeared ſo truly alarming, that the Directors, with the earneſtneſs of men who had ſcarcely another hope, beſought him to return to India. The cauſe of their alarm, and the objects of the extenſive commiſſion with which they inveſted their favourite, will beſt appear from an account of the events which, ſince his departure, had taken place in the Company's principal ſettlement.

At the time that he left Calcutta, Mr. Vanſittart, whom the Company had appointed to ſucceed him, not being arrived, the government devolved on Mr. Holwell. The Nabob, unhappily for his own intereſts, did not conſider Mr. Holwell as inveſted with the dignity, though he exerciſed, for a time, the powers of a Governor; nor could he feel the ſame attachment to his perſon, or the ſame veneration for his talents, as he had done for thoſe of Mr. Holwell's great predeceſſor. This difference in the Nabob's feelings, produced a difference in his conduct that offended Mr. Holwell, and excited mutual ill-will (*x*).

(*x*) *Ibid.*

The pernicious effects of this reciprocal diſguſt, appeared ſoon afterwards, on a very important occaſion. For the ſon of the Great Mogul, notwithſtanding his ill ſucceſs in the preceding year, having invaded the Nabob's dominions, and laid ſiege to the city of Patna, the Nabob and his army encamped at a diſtance from the Engliſh, and refuſed to co-operate with them. This conduct of the Nabob, though the enemy was ſoon repulſed, increaſed the reſentment of the Engliſh; and the death of his ſon, who was killed in his tent by a ſtroke of lightning, having bereft him of his beſt ſupport, a ſcheme for depoſing him was formed (*y*).

(*y*) *Ibid.* and Vanſittart's Narrative.

Such was the ſituation of affairs when Mr. Vanſittart arrived at Calcutta, and ſucceeded to Mr. Holwell's reſentment, as well as to his place. Nor was it long before the project of transferring the government from Meer Jaffier to his ſon-in-law, Coſſim-Alli-Khan, was carried into actual execution.

The Nabob's injuſtice and cruelty to his ſubjects, were alledged by the Engliſh, as the reaſon of this indecent and arbitrary meaſure. But the Nabob himſelf, who juſtly aſſerted that the Engliſh were not his judges, attributed their conduct to a very different motive. "How much (ſaid the unfortunate old man, addreſſing himſelf to Vanſittart) "how much has my ſon-in-law promiſed to give you for depoſing me? I will give you "twice the ſum to continue me in the government."

No ſooner was the authority of the new Nabob acknowledged by his ſubjects, than the power of the Engliſh, to which he owed his elevation, became the object of his fears. Independently too of the future hazard, the preſent intereſts of his government were deeply affected: for the revenue that was deſtined for the ſupport of his own dignity, and for the defence of his people, was daily and hourly diminiſhed, and that too in a rapid progreſſion, by the violence and frauds of the factors, and other ſervants of the Company (*z*).

(*z*) The Nabob's letter to Vanſittart, publiſhed in Vanſittart's Narrative, vol. iii. p. 80.

To explain the nature of this grievance, to which the troubles that enſued may truly be aſcribed, a retroſpect to an earlier period will perhaps be requiſite.

When the Engliſh were firſt permitted to eſtabliſh a factory in the province of Bengal, they were conſidered, by the Governor of the province, as a trading people, whoſe commerce was beneficial to the country, and highly advantageous to the revenue. Hence they received the ſame protection, and were ſubject to the ſame occaſional impoſitions, as the Armenians, the Dutch, and other Merchants, who traded with the people of the empire. Their ſecurity was of courſe precarious; the indulgences they obtained were of uncertain continuance; and the extortions of the revenue officers were frequent and exceſſive. At length, however, they had the good fortune to obtain a fixed and legal eſtabliſhment: for, having ſent an Embaſſador to the Court of Delhi, in the year 1716, they procured, though at a vaſt expence, an imperial edict for the free importation and exportation of goods, upon condition of a ſmall annual acknowledgment to be paid to the Royal Treaſury at Hughly (*a*).

(*a*) See the original firmaun in Vanſittart.

This privilege of exporting and importing all goods, without the payment of the duties impoſed by the country government, was extended by the Directors to their different ſervants. And though the privilege, as enjoyed by the Company, as well as its ſervants, was ſtrictly confined to imports and exports, (for it did not extend to the inland trade) yet, during the weakneſs that prevailed in the latter part of Meer Jaffier's adminiſtration, the Company's ſervants, in trading on their own account, extended the ſame privilege, with great injuſtice, to all the articles of home conſumption; among which were ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco (*b*). Hence the Engliſh traders, and ſuch of the Hindoos, as purchaſed of the Engliſh the right of buying and ſelling, engroſſed the commerce of the country.

(*b*) See Lord Clive's firſt Speech.

Coſſim-Alli-Khan ſaw, with indignation, his Merchants ruined, and his revenue converted to a means of raiſing the fortunes of a few obſcure individuals, the ſervants of a company of foreign Merchants. He, therefore, reſolved, and this reſolution he communicated to the Governor, that as his cuſtoms were ruined, his own ſubjects ſhould be admitted to a ſhare in the benefit which exemption from taxes gave, and the trade of the country be equally free to all (*c*). This determination, however equitable, armed againſt the Nabob the ſelf-intereſt of every ſervant of the Company, and produced in the Council a reſolution to depoſe him, and reinſtate Meer Jaffier in the government.

(*c*) See the Nabob's letter in Vanſittart's Narrative.

Hoſtilities were ſcarcely begun, when the Engliſh factory at Patna, not two hundred in number, ſupported by two thouſand five hundred ſeapoys, attacked the inhabitants of that great city in the night, and made themſelves maſters of the place. But having diſperſed in purſuit of plunder, they were aſſaulted in the morning by the Nabob's troops, and being driven out of the city, were ſurrounded and made priſoners. The triumph of the Nabob was ſhort: for the Engliſh troops, commanded by Major Adams, defeated him in ſeveral engagements, and obliged him to fly for protection to Sujah-ul-Dowlah, who governed the neighbouring province of Oude. Before his flight, the Nabob, exaſperated to madneſs with this ſudden, and to him incredible ruin, gave orders that the Engliſh, who were taken priſoners in the neighbourhood of Patna, and whoſe number was ſtill a hundred and fifty, ſhould be maſſacred; a commiſſion which a German, who had deſerted from the Company, executed with the cooleſt deliberation (*d*).

(*d*) See the firſt Report from the Select Committee, and Vanſittart's Narrative.

Sujah-ul-Dowlah, the Nabob of Oude, had now drawn his army together, and, attended by Coſſim-Alli-Khan, waited the attack of the Engliſh.

At the very time that the Nabob of Bengal ſolicited and obtained the ſupport of Sujah-ul-Dowlah, it happened that the late Emperor's ſon, who had now ſucceeded to the titles of his father, but who was ſtill a fugitive, had taken refuge in the ſame hoſpitable court; and, on this occaſion, attended his benefactor to the field.

The engagement ended in the total defeat of Sujah-ul-Dowlah. He was compelled to ſue for peace: Coſſim-Alli-Khan wandered as a fugitive till his death: and the Emperor threw himſelf on the protection of the Engliſh (*e*).

(*e*) Firſt Report from the Select Committee on India affairs, *anno* 1772.

This was the ſituation of affairs in May 1765, when Lord Clive, and four of his friends, whom the Directors had aſſociated with him, arrived at Calcutta. Their powers were ſo extenſive, that, during the continuance of the troubles, they were commiſſioned to act with the full authority of Governor and Commander in Chief. Their commiſſion ſuperſeded every other, and rendered them ſupreme in the Company's ſettlements in India. The principal objects recommended to them, were, Firſt, The adjuſtment of all diſputes with the country powers: and, Secondly, The reformation of the many abuſes which prevailed among the Company's ſervants, both in the military and civil departments (*f*).

(*f*) *Ibid.* and Lord Clive's Speeches.

For the accompliſhment of the firſt point, Lord Clive thought it neceſſary to oppoſe the ſentiments of ſome of the Council at Calcutta, who wiſhed to transfer to the Emperor, all the dominions of his former benefactor, Sujah-ul-Dowlah, Nabob of Oude. For he was well convinced, that ſuch an eſtabliſhment could not long be ſupported, without the conſtant aſſiſtance of a Britiſh army; as the people, attached to their immediate Sovereign, were neither from intereſt, nor opinion, diſpoſed to transfer their allegiance: whereas the reſtoration of Sujah-ul-Dowlah would not only prevent the ruinous expence of ſupporting a tottering government, but would likewiſe preſerve the Company from the burthen of defending their frontier againſt the hoſtile attacks of the Morattoes. Hence the treaty was concluded on the following terms:

I. An eſtabliſhment was provided for the Emperor, by conferring upon him as much of the province of Oude, as annually yields a revenue of two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds; in addition to which ſum, the Company agreed to pay him three hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds per annum.

II. The remaining part of the province of Oude was reſtored to the Nabob Sujah-ul-Dowla.

III. The Company engaged to pay to the Nabob of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, an annuity of ſix hundred and ſixty-two thouſand five hundred pounds, to enable him to defray the expence of the military and civil eſtabliſhments.

IV.

IV. The Emperor conferred on the Company the right of collecting the imperial revenues, in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa (*g*).

(*g*) See the treaty with the Nabob, and the Emperor's Firmaun, in the Appendix to the third Report of the Select Committee.

Thus it appears, that the whole revenue of the three provinces, excepting the payment of three hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds to the Emperor, was, in fact, reſerved by the Company for their own diſpoſal. For though the ſums appropriated to the civil and military eſtabliſhments paſſed through the Nabob's hands, yet, as the Nabob was utterly dependent on the Company, they ſtill directed the expenditure. The annual revenue, which the Company would derive from its territorial poſſeſſions, after all expences ſhould be paid, was eſtimated by Lord Clive at one million ſeven hundred thouſand pounds per annum (*b*).

(*b*) Appendix to the Third Report of the Select Committee.

In this manner the ſettlement of all diſputes with the country powers, (the firſt object of Lord Clive's extraordinary commiſſion) was happily completed.

The ſecond object, the reformation of abuſes, was a much more arduous undertaking. Of theſe abuſes, the one which moſt required, and leaſt admitted of a remedy, was the cuſtom that prevailed among the Company's ſervants, both military and civil, of accepting, and, too often perhaps, of extorting, preſents from the natives of the country. If this cuſtom ſhould be permitted to continue, the endeavours of the Engliſh would conſtantly be exerted in effecting new revolutions. Every factor would become a trader in blood; and the Company itſelf, exhauſted by repeated conteſts, be eventually deſtroyed. But notwithſtanding the firmneſs of Lord Clive and his aſſociates in the Select Committee, corruption is too conſonant to the principles and views that generally prevail among thoſe who ſeek their fortunes in diſtant and unwholeſome climates, to be ever, by any efforts, completely ſubdued in India.

Two other extravagant abuſes engaged the attention of the committee. The firſt of theſe was the allowance of double ſubſiſtence-money, claimed by the officers on the Bengal eſtabliſhment, as their peculiar privilege. The reformation of this abuſe produced a mutiny in each of the three detachments into which the Bengal army was, at that time, divided; and roſe to ſuch a height, that almoſt all the officers (the field-officers excepted) threw up their commiſſions, with many threats againſt the perſon of Lord Clive. The danger to the Company's ſettlement was great and immediate: for, at that very time, ſixty thouſand hoſtile Morattoes had taken the field. Yet ſuch was the reſolution, ſuch the admirable addreſs of this great man, that the tumult was ſoon appeaſed.

For the better defence of the country, he formed the troops into three diviſions; each of which conſiſted of one regiment of Europeans, ſeven battalions of diſciplined natives, (every battalion containing ſeven hundred rank and file) and a company of artillery. One of theſe diviſions was ſtationed in barracks at Halehabad, on the confines of the Emperor's and Sujah-ul-Dowlah's dominion; another in barracks at Patna; and a third in barracks at, or near Calcutta (*i*).

(*i*) Ninth Report from the Secret Committee on India affairs, *anno* 1773.

Another dangerous abuſe, the principal ſource of the late war, ſtill remained; which was, the private trade of the Company's ſervants in the principal articles of inland conſumption. This private trade, which has often been called, from ſome of the chief commodities, the trade in ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, was not only oppreſſive, but utterly ruinous to the natives. The Engliſh and their agents became the ſole dealers in theſe articles; by which a numerous claſs of the natives were deprived of the means of ſubſiſtence. But this was a partial evil: the miſchief was much more widely diffuſed. Power was become the meaſure of price; and it was ſaid, that the Engliſh, when they *bought*, *gave* what they pleaſed; and when they *ſold*, *took* what they pleaſed, till property was rendered ſo inſecure, that the miſerable native no longer knew what he could call his own. So flagrant a violation of the common maxims of equity and prudence, was neither unnoticed nor uncenſured by the Court of Directors in England: for they ſtrictly and repeatedly prohibited the inland trade, as contrary to juſtice, to the intereſts of the Company, and to the rights of the natives (*k*). But Lord Clive, and the other members of the Select Committee, ſeem to have conſidered the evil as ſo inveterate, that no expedient would operate as an effectual cure. Hence, as they poſſeſſed diſcretionary powers, they reſolved to regulate an abuſe, which they could not remove; and to render the trade in ſalt beneficial to the Company and its ſervants, without oppreſſing the natives (*l*). With this view, a ſociety was formed for carrying on the principal branches of the inland trade; and to this ſociety the Company's ſervants, both military and civil, were admitted; their different ſhares in the profits being proportioned to their reſpective ranks. Certain duties were alſo impoſed for the benefit of the Company itſelf; and various regulations reſpecting the price, were made for the benefit of the natives (*m*).

(*k*) Fourth Report from the Select Committee on India affairs, *anno* 1773.

(*l*) *Ibid.* Lord Clive's firſt Speech.

(*m*) *Ibid.*

Lord Clive's line was military, not commercial. Under his direction the trade of the ſociety might, perhaps, have been confined to ſalt, its original object, and have proved an uſeful inſtitution. Under that of his ſucceſſors, it extended to the other neceſſaries of life, and became a cruel monopoly, the forerunner of a hideous famine.

Such, indeed, was the power of the Engliſh, with reſpect to the natives; and ſo weak in India were the reſtraints of law, that remedies for old grievances became the inſtruments of new oppreſſions.

Lord Clive ſailed from Calcutta, on his return to England, in the beginning of the year 1767, and arrived there in the following July.

Whoever contemplates the forlorn ſituation of the Company, when Lord Clive firſt arrived at Calcutta, in the year 1756, and then conſiders the degree of opulence and power they poſſeſſed when he finally left that place, in the year 1767, will be convinced, that the hiſtory of the world has ſeldom afforded an inſtance of ſo rapid and improbable a change. At the firſt period, they were merely an aſſociation of Merchants ſtruggling for exiſtence. One of their factories was in ruins, their agents were murdered, and an army of fifty thouſand men, to which they had nothing to oppoſe, threatened the immediate deſtruction of their principal ſettlement. At the laſt period, diſtant from the firſt but ten years, they were become powerful Princes, poſſeſſed of vaſt revenues, and ruling over fifteen millions of people (*n*).

(*n*) Lord Clive's firſt Speech.

When the merits of thoſe, who contributed to this great revolution, ſhall be weighed in the impartial judgment of future times, it will be found, that Watſon, Pocock, Adams, and Monro, deſerved well of the Company; but that Clive was its ſaviour, and the principal author of its greatneſs.

After Lord Clive's laſt return from India, he was made, in 1769, one of the Knights Companions of the noble order of the Bath.

Though his exploits will excite the admiration, and receive the plaudits of poſterity, yet, in his life-time, the ſame ingratitude was ſhewn him, which the greateſt men, in all ages and countries, have experienced. For, on the pretence "that all acquiſitions "made under the influence of a military force, or by treaty with foreign powers, do, "of right, belong to the ſtate," a party in the Houſe of Commons, countenanced by the Miniſter, attempted to ruin both his fortune and his fame. A motion was made in this aſſembly, on the 21ſt of February, 1773, to reſolve, "that in the acquiſition of his "wealth, Lord Clive had abuſed the powers with which he was entruſted (*o*)" The ſpeech he made on the occaſion, concluded with the following words: "If the reſolution "propoſed ſhould receive the aſſent of the Houſe, I ſhall have nothing left that I can call "my own, except my paternal fortune of five hundred a year, and which has been in the "family for ages paſt. But upon this I am content to live; and perhaps I ſhall find more "real content of mind and happineſs, than in the trembling affluence of an unſettled for-"tune. But to be called, after ſixteen years have elapſed, to account for my conduct in "this manner; and after an uninterrupted enjoyment of my property, to be queſtioned, "and conſidered as obtaining it unwarrantably, is hard indeed! and a treatment of which "I ſhould not think the Britiſh Senate capable. Yet if this ſhould be the caſe, I have "a conſcious innocence within me, that tells me my conduct is irreproachable.—"*Frangas, non flectes.*—They may take from me what I have; they may, as they think, "make me poor, but I will be happy. Before I ſit down, I have one requeſt to make "to the Houſe, that when they come to decide upon my honour, they will not forget "their own (*p*)."

(*o*) Journals of the Houſe.

(*p*) Lord Clive's ſecond Speech, printed in Almon's Debates, *anno* 1773.

The Houſe of Commons rejected the motion, and reſolved, "That Lord Clive had "rendered great and meritorious ſervices to his country (*q*)."

(*q*) Journals of the Houſe.

Such was the iſſue of this diſgraceful perſecution. If, indeed, the Miniſter had made his attack upon thoſe men, whoſe names are recorded only in the regiſter of a people's ſufferings; upon thoſe men who, under the pretence of cuſtomary preſents, extorted from wretches, who had nothing but their ſubſiſtence to give, two thouſand a year for their footman, two thouſand a year for their toilet, two thouſand five hundred a year for the expences of their table (*r*); upon men who, under the pretence of keeping the banks of rivers in repair, harraſſed the people by exactions, that had neither rule nor limit (*s*); upon men who, under the pretence of a traffic in ſalt, ſeized the neceſſaries of life, and eſtabliſhed a trade, the currents of which were ſtained with blood; upon men, who aggravated the horrors even of peſtilence and famine; and when half the inhabitants were ſwept away, inſiſted that the living ſhould pay the taxes of the dead, he would then have acted as the guardian of his country's honour, and as the friend of human kind (*t*).

(*r*) Examination of Mr. Wilks (Examiner of the Company's Records) at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons, *anno* 1772. See Almon's Debates for that year.

(*s*) Fourth Report from the Committee of Secrecy; and the Appendix (No. 60) to that Report.

(*t*) Sixth Report from the Committee of Secrecy, *anno* 1773.

When the diſputes between Great-Britain and her Colonies had ariſen to ſuch a height, that they were not likely to be terminated any other way than by open hoſtilities, overtures were made to Lord Clive to accept of the chief command in America. But he declined the propoſal, on account of the ill ſtate of his health, and from a conſciouſneſs that the vigour of his mind was not equal to what it had heretofore been. He did not dare, in theſe circumſtances, to undertake an affair of ſuch importance, leſt, in the end, he ſhould be found unequal to the undertaking. The Americans, and the friends of American liberty, will probably think they have cauſe to rejoice, that his military abilities were not on this occaſion brought to a trial.

Lord

Lord Clive was one of the few men, whoſe conduct was always directed by the dictates of his own mind, and whoſe deciſions were therefore ſecret. Like the firſt of the Cæſars, the talents of other men could add nothing to the reach of his genius, or the correctneſs of his judgment. He was indeed (as Mr. Pitt emphatically called him) "a heaven-born General, who without experience, or being verſed in military affairs, "ſurpaſſed all the officers of his time."

In Parliament he repreſented, from the year 1760 to the time of his deceaſe, the antient borough of Shrewſbury, the principal town of the county in which he was born. The intereſt which he took in the diſputations of this Aſſembly, was ſeldom ſufficient to induce him to ſpeak: but when the attack upon his conduct had called into action the powers of his mind, his eloquence was ſuch as has not often been ſurpaſſed.

The ſevere illneſs with which Lord Clive was attacked, during his firſt reſidence in the Eaſt-Indies, gave an injury to his conſtitution which was never fully repaired; and his health was farther weakened by his ſucceſſive viſits to the unwholeſome climates of that country. Hence it was, that he became ſubject, at times, to a depreſſion of ſpirits. His ardent and active mind, when not called into exertion by ſome great occaſion, frequently preyed upon itſelf. In the latter part of his life, having nothing peculiarly important and intereſting to engage his attention, and his body growing more and more infirm, the depreſſion increaſed; and to this was owing his deceaſe, on the twenty-ſecond of November, 1774, not long after he had entered into the fiftieth year of his age. He was interred at Moreton-Say, the pariſh in which he was born.

In the various relations of private life, Lord Clive was highly beloved and eſteemed; for he was a man of the kindeſt affections, and of every ſocial virtue. His ſecret charities were numerous and extenſive; but the preſent he made of ſeventy thouſand pounds, as a proviſion for the invalids of the Company's ſervice, was the nobleſt donation of its kind, that ever came from a private individual.

His perſon was of the largeſt of the middle ſize; his countenance inclined to ſadneſs; and the heavineſs of his brow imparted an unpleaſing expreſſion to his features. It was a heavineſs that aroſe, not from the prevalence of the unſocial paſſions, (for of theſe few men had a ſmaller ſhare) but from a natural fulneſs in the fleſh above the eye-lid. His words were few; and his manner, among ſtrangers, was reſerved; yet it won the confidence of men, and gained admiſſion to the heart. Among his intimate friends he had great pleaſantry and jocoſeneſs, and on ſome occaſions was too open.

In February, 1753, immediately before he embarked for England, he married Margaret Maſkelyne, daughter of Edmund Maſkelyne, Eſq; of Purton, in Wiltſhire, and ſiſter to the Rev. Dr. Nevil Maſkelyne, the preſent Aſtronomer Royal. By this Lady, who is ſtill living, he had Edward, the preſent Lord Clive, born March 7, 1754; Rebecca, born September 15, 1760; Charlotte, born January 15, 1762; Margaret, born Auguſt 15, 1763; and Robert, born Auguſt 31, 1769.]

*** [COCKBURN (CATHARINE), a Lady much diſtinguiſhed by her literary accompliſhments, and author of ſeveral ingenious works, was born in London, on the 16th of Auguſt, 1679 (*a*). She was the daughter of Captain David Trotter [*A*], who was a native of Scotland, and a commander in the royal navy, in the reign of King Charles the Second. Her mother was Mrs. Sarah Ballenden, who was nearly related

(*a*) Life of Mrs. Catharine Cockburn, by Dr. Birch, prefixed to his edition of her works, in two volumes, 8vo. printed in 1751, p. 4.

[*A*] *She was the daughter of Captain David Trotter.*] Dr. Birch informs us, that 'her father was highly in 'favour with King Charles II. and his brother the 'Duke of York; and his known probity and integrity gained him an univerſal eſteem, being generally diſtinguiſhed by the epithet of *honeſt David*; 'and James, Earl of Perth, Lord High-Chancellor 'of Scotland in the latter end of that King's reign, 'and the following one, in a very pathetic letter, 'which he wrote to his widow upon his death, ſtyles 'him an *ornament to his country*. He ſerved the crown 'from his youth, with great gallantry and fidelity, 'both by land and ſea; and during the Dutch war 'took, beſides other prizes, one which was ſold by 'the government for thirty thouſand pounds. He 'attended Lord Dartmouth, as Commodore, in the 'demolition of Tangier, in the latter end of the year '1683; and ſoon after was ſent by his Majeſty, with 'a view of making his fortune, to convoy the fleet 'of the Turkey Company; but being ſeized by the 'plague, then raging at Scandaroon, died there. 'His death was an irreparable loſs to his family, who 'were defrauded of all his effects on board his ſhip, 'which were very conſiderable, and of all the money, which he had advanced to the ſeamen, during 'a long voyage, by the diſhoneſty of the Purſer and 'others; the chief officers of the ſhip being likewiſe 'dead of the ſame diſtemper, which had proved ſo 'fatal to the Captain. And, to add to the misfortune of his widow, the Goldſmith, in whoſe hands 'the greateſt part of his money was lodged, became 'ſoon after a bankrupt. Theſe accumulated circumſtances of diſtreſs excited the compaſſion of 'King Charles II. which, concurring with his regard for the memory of an old and faithful ſervant, 'induced his Majeſty to give a favourable reference 'to the Admiralty for a penſion to the widow, which 'ended with that King's life; nor had ſhe any conſideration for her loſſes in the two ſucceeding reigns. 'But Queen Anne, upon her acceſſion to the throne, 'granted her an annual penſion of twenty pounds, 'which was conſtantly paid by the Ducheſs of Marlborough into the hands of Dr. Burnet, Biſhop of 'Saliſbury, till the removal of her Grace from 'Court; when, upon the widow's renewing her application, her Majeſty continued it as before.

'Capt. Trotter, at his death, left only two 'daughters, the elder of whom being afterwards 'married to Dr. Inglis, late Phyſician-general to the 'army, had by him two ſons, one of whom died 'Vicar of Lewiſham in Kent, and the other was 'Chaplain to Mr. Trelawney, Governor of Jamaica, 'in which iſland he had a conſiderable benefice, where 'he died a few years ago (1).'

(1) Life of Mrs. Cockburn, p. 2, 3, 4.

to the noble Lord of that name, and to the illuſtrious families of Maitland, Duke of Lauderdale, and Drummond, Earl of Perth (*b*). She had the misfortune to loſe her father when very young; an event which alſo reduced her mother to narrow circumſtances. She gave early evidences of genius; and was yet in her childhood, when ſhe ſurprized a company of her relations and friends with ſome extemporary verſes, on an incident which had happened in the ſtreet, and which excited her attention. Her uncle, who was a commander in the navy, being preſent on the occaſion, was much ſtruck with this inſtance of the pregnancy of her wit; and took notice of the great ſatisfaction which it would have given to her father, if he had been then living, as he had a peculiar taſte and love for poetry (*c*). By her own application and diligence, without any inſtructor, ſhe learned to write, and alſo made herſelf miſtreſs of the French language. But ſhe had ſome aſſiſtance in the ſtudy of the Latin Grammar and Logic; and of the latter ſhe drew up an abſtract for her own uſe (*d*). She was educated in the Proteſtant religion, but having an early intimacy with ſeveral Roman Catholic families of diſtinction, ſhe was led, when very young, to form ſtrong prejudices in favour of Popery. She had ſome conferences on the ſubjects in diſpute between the Proteſtants and Papiſts, with ſeveral eminent and learned members of the Church of England; but they were not ſucceſsful in their attempts to convince her of the errors of Popery; ſo that ſhe embraced the Romiſh communion, and continued in it for ſome years (*e*).

(*b*) Birch, *ut ſupra*, p. 2.

(*c*) Birch, p. 4.

(*d*) Birch, p. 5.

(*e*) *Id. ibid.*

In 1693, when ſhe was only fourteen years of age, ſhe wrote ſome verſes, and ſent them to Mr. Bevil Higgons, "on his ſickneſs and recovery from the ſmall-pox." In theſe lines, ſhe ſpeaks of that gentleman as having been diſtinguiſhed by uncommon perſonal beauty, before he was ſeized with that diſorder (*f*). She was only in her ſeventeenth year, when ſhe produced a tragedy, entitled, "Agnes de Caſtro," which was acted, with applauſe, at the Theatre-Royal, in 1695. It was printed the following year, in quarto, without her name, but with a dedication to the Earl of Dorſet and Middleſex [*B*]. The play is founded upon a French novel of the ſame title, printed at Paris in 1688, of which Mrs. Behn has given an Engliſh tranſlation (*g*).

(*f*) *Vide* Poems on ſeveral Occaſions, by Mrs. Cockburn, at the end of the ſecond volume of her works, p. 557.

(*g*) Birch, p. 6.

In 1697, our authoreſs addreſſed ſome verſes to Mr. Congreve [*C*] on his "Mourning Bride;" which gave riſe to an acquaintance between her and that celebrated writer [*D*]. In 1698, her tragedy, intitled, "Fatal Friendſhip," was performed at the new Theatre in Lincoln's-inn-fields, and printed the ſame year in 4to. with a dedication to the Princeſs Anne of Denmark. This play is conſidered as the moſt perfect of her dramatic performances; it was acted with great applauſe, and poſſeſſes conſiderable merit; though, perhaps, ſome circumſtances in the plot are rather unnatural. Several complimentary copies of verſes were ſent to her upon her producing this tragedy, and which were prefixed to it when it was printed. One of theſe, which was ſent to her anonymouſly, was written by Mr. John Hughes, author of the Siege of Damaſcus. Mr. George Farquhar was likewiſe ſo much pleaſed with her tragedy, that he ſoon after took the opportunity of ſending to her his firſt comedy, called "Love and a Bottle,"

[*B*] *With a dedication to the Earl of Dorſet and Middleſex.*] In this dedication, ſhe obſerved, that "this little offſpring of her early Muſe had been firſt "ſubmitted to his Lordſhip's judgment, whether it "ſhould be ſtifled in the birth, or preſerved to try "its fortune in the world (2)."

(2) Birch, p. 5, 6.

[*C*] *Addreſſed ſome verſes to Mr. Congreve.*] Among which are the following lines:

'Sublime thy thoughts, eaſy thy numbers flow,
'Yet, to comport with them, majeſtic too.
'But to expreſs how thou our ſouls doſt move,
'How, at thy will, we rage, we grieve, we love,
'Requires a lofty, almoſt equal flight,
'Nor dare I aim at ſuch a dang'rous height,
'A taſk which well might Dryden's Muſe engage,
'Worthy the firſt, beſt Poet of the age;
'Whoſe long retreat, that we might leſs bemoan,
'He left us thee, his greateſt darling ſon,
'Poſſeſſor of the ſtage, once his alone (3).'

(3) Poems, in Birch's Collection of Mrs. Cockburn's works, vol. ii. p. 565.

[*D*] *Gave riſe to an acquaintance between her and that celebrated writer.*] On the receipt of her verſes, Mr. Congreve ſent her the following letter:

'I can never enough acknowledge the honour you 'have done me, nor enough regret the negligence 'of thoſe to whom you delivered your valuable let-'ter. It is the firſt thing that ever happened to me, 'upon which I ſhould make it my choice to be vain. 'And yet ſuch is the mortification, that attends even 'the moſt allowable vanity, that at the ſame inſtant 'I am robbed of the means, when I am poſſeſſed of 'the inclination. It is but this moment that I re-'ceived your verſes; and had ſcarce been tranſported 'with the reading them, when they brought me the 'play from the preſs, printed off. I hope you will 'do me the juſtice to believe, that I was not ſo in-'ſenſible, as not to be heartily vexed; and all the 'ſatisfaction that I can take, and all the ſacrifice 'that I make to you, is only to ſtifle ſome verſes on 'the ſame barren ſubject, which were printed with 'it, and now, I aſſure you, ſhall never appear, what-'ever apology I am forced to make to the authors. 'And ſince I am deprived of the recommendation 'you deſigned me, I will be obliged to no other, till 'I have ſome future opportunity of preferring your's 'to every body's elſe. In the mean time, give me 'leave to value myſelf upon the favour you have 'done me; and to aſſure you, it was not wanting to 'make me more ready, than I have been, in my in-'clinations of waiting on all your commands: and 'if Mr. Betterton's buſineſs does not very ſpeedily 'diſengage him, I will not wait for his being a wit-'neſs of my profeſſing myſelf

'Your admirer, and

'obliged humble ſervant,

'W. Congreve.'

'I know not what time the Princeſs will give me 'leave to preſent her with the play, it being dedi-'cated to her; but as ſoon as that form is over, I 'will make bold to ſend you one (4).'

(4) Birch, p. 6, 7.

accompanied

accompanied with a complimentary letter [*E*]. On the death of Mr. Dryden, in 1701, our Poeteſs joined with ſeveral other ladies, in paying a juſt tribute to his memory in verſe. Their performances were publiſhed together, in that year, under the title of, "The nine Muſes; or, Poems written by ſo many Ladies, upon the Death of the late famous John Dryden, Eſq; (*b*)." The ſame year ſhe alſo brought upon the ſtage a comedy, called, "Love at a loſs; or, moſt Votes carry it." It was acted at the Theatre-Royal, and publiſhed in quarto, with a dedication to Lady Piers, wife of Sir George Piers, an officer of conſiderable rank under the Duke of Marlborough. That lady, who had a literary taſte, and was particularly fond of poetry, had contracted a great eſteem and friendſhip for our authoreſs. But this comedy, on account of her abſence from London while it was in the preſs, was ſo incorrectly printed, that ſhe would gladly have ſuppreſſed the edition, if it had been eaſily practicable; and many years after ſhe reviſed the piece, and made great alterations in it, having ſome thoughts of bringing it again on the ſtage, under the title of "The honourable Deceivers; or, All right at the laſt (*i*)." But this deſign was never effected. Soon after, before the cloſe of the year 1701, ſhe produced another tragedy, called "The Unhappy Penitent," which was performed at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-lane. It was printed in 4to, with a dedication to Charles, Lord Halifax, in which ſhe expreſſes her doubts, whether love was a proper ſubject for tragedy; as it appeared to her not to be a paſſion ſufficiently noble or ſublime for that ſpecies of writing (*k*). To this tragedy ſome complimentary verſes were prefixed, written by her friend Lady Piers (*l*).

(*b*) Birch, p. 9.

(*i*) *Id. ibid.*

(*k*) *Id.* p. 12.

(*l*) *Id.* p. 14.

But her attention was far from being wholly engroſſed by poetry and dramatic writing. On the contrary, ſhe ſometimes applied herſelf cloſely to ſubjects of a very different nature; and, in particular, ſpent much of her time in metaphyſical ſtudies. She was a great admirer of Mr. Locke's Eſſay on human Underſtanding; and, therefore, drew up a defence of that work, againſt ſome remarks which were publiſhed againſt it, without a name, but which were afterwards known to be written by Dr. Thomas Burnet, Maſter of the Charter-Houſe (*m*). Mrs. Trotter's defence of Mr. Locke's Eſſay was finiſhed at the beginning of the month of December, 1701, when ſhe was only twenty-two years of age (*n*). It was publiſhed in the May following; but ſhe concealed the name of the author, partly from an apprehenſion, that the public would be prejudiced againſt a metaphyſical treatiſe written by a woman. She alſo profeſſed herſelf to be deſirous of concealing her name, from an unwillingneſs to be known to Mr. Locke, under the character of his defender. In an anonymous addreſs to that great man, prefixed to her piece, ſhe ſtyles her performance "a bold unlicenſed undertaking;" ſhe declares, that though ſhe had ventured to publiſh her defence of Mr. Locke, it was "not without much apprehenſion and awe of his diſpleaſure;" and in a letter to George Burnet, Eſq; of Kemnay, a gentleman who had much friendſhip for her, and with whom ſhe often correſponded, ſhe ſays, "I am more afraid of appearing before him I defend, than of the public cenſure; and chiefly, for the honour I bear to him, reſolve to conceal myſelf (*o*)." But her name as the writer of this piece was not long concealed; and Mr. Locke deſired his couſin, Mr. King, afterwards Lord-Chancellor, to pay her a viſit, and make her a preſent of books; and upon her owning her performance, he wrote her a letter of acknowledgment [*F*]. She alſo received a letter of thanks for this

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 15.

(*n*) *Id. ibid.*

(*o*) Letters between Mrs. Cockburn and ſeveral of her Friends, in the ſecond volume of her works, p. 155.

[*E*] *Accompanied with a complimentary letter.*] Mr. Farquhar's firſt comedy was performed in the ſame year in which our authoreſs's tragedy of *Fatal Friendſhip* appeared; and in his letter to her, after complaining, that his play "had been ſcandalouſly aſperſed for affronting the ladies," he obſerved, that "as an argument of its innocence, he ſent it to ſtand "its trial before one of the faireſt of the ſex, and "the beſt judge. Beſides, madam," added he, "it "is an offering due to the favour and honour ſhewed "me, in your appearance on my third night; and "a ſtranger cannot be denied the privilege of ſhewing his gratitude. But humbly to confeſs the "greateſt motive, my paſſions were wrought ſo high "by the repreſentation of *Fatal Friendſhip*, and "ſince raiſed ſo high by a ſight of the beautiful author, that I gladly catched this opportunity of "owning myſelf your moſt humble ſervant (5)."

(5) Birch, p. 8, 9.

[*F*] *He wrote her a letter of acknowledgment.*] Mr. Locke's letter was as follows:

'Oates, 30 Dec. 1702.

'Madam,

'There was nothing more public, than the obligation I received from you, nor any thing more concealed, than the perſon I was obliged to. This is a generoſity above the ſtrain of this groveling age, and like that of ſuperior ſpirits, who aſſiſt without ſhewing themſelves. I uſed my beſt endeavours to draw from you, by your Bookſeller, the confeſſion of your name, the want whereof made me, that I could, while you kept yourſelf under that reſerve, no more addreſs myſelf to you with good manners, than I could without rudeneſs have pulled off your maſk by force, in a place where you were reſolved to conceal yourſelf. Had not this been ſo, the bearer hereof had not the firſt time have come to you, without a letter from me, to acknowledge the favour you had done me. You not affording me an opportunity for that, I deſigned to make you ſome ſmall acknowledgment, in a way, that chance had opened to me, without your conſent. But this gentleman tranſgreſſed my order in two main points of it. The one was, in delaying it ſo long: the other was, in naming me to you, and talking of matters, which he had no commiſſion from me to mention. What he deſerves from you for it, muſt be left to your mercy. For I cannot in earneſt be angry with him for procuring me, without any guilt of mine, an opportunity to own you for my protectreſs, which is the greateſt honour my eſſay could have procured me. Give me leave, therefore, to aſſure you, that as the reſt of the world take notice of the ſtrength and clearneſs of your reaſoning, ſo I cannot but be extremely ſenſible, that it was employed in my defence. You have herein not only

this piece from Mrs. Burnet [G], the laſt wife of the celebrated Prelate of that name.

It appears, that at the latter end of the year 1701, ſhe was ſome time at Saliſbury, on a viſit to her relations in that city. In a letter to her friend, Mr. George Burnet, dated from Saliſbury, the 9th of December, in that year, are the following paſſages: 'The 'Biſhop goes next week, whom I ſaw laſt night, being at his palace, to wait on his 'Lady. I am much obliged to them both, and have not a little reaſon to be vain, 'upon the advantageous things they have ſaid of my laſt plays; eſpecially the comedy. 'At leaſt, I may prefer the judgment of two ſuch perſons, to the raſh cenſures of a 'giddy multitude. My Lord's character is univerſally known; but give me leave to 'tell you, upon my particular obſervation of his Lady, what every body, that knows 'her, does allow; that ſhe has an extraordinary clear and ſolid judgment, the trueſt 'goodneſs and prudence, and the moſt charming affability in her behaviour: in ſhort, 'I have not met with ſuch perfection in any of *our* ſex.'—'You deſired news from me, 'but this place affords none; and I keep no correſpondence with intelligencers. I can 'only tell you of an unexpected pleaſure I had here. Abel came this way to the Bath, 'and complimented the Biſhop with a concert, where I was charmed with him enough 'to ride ſix miles after him to my Lord Arundel's for the ſame pleaſure, which has 'only increaſed my deſire of hearing him (*p*).'

(*p*) *Ibid.* p. 156.

Mrs. Trotter ſtill continued in the communion of the Church of Rome; and the ſincerity of her attachment to it, in all its outward ſeverities, obliged her to ſo ſtrict an obſervance of its faſts, as proved extremely injurious to her health. This occaſioned Dr. Denton Nicholas, an ingenious and learned Phyſician of her acquaintance [*H*], to adviſe her by a letter, dated October 19, 1703, to abate of thoſe rigours of abſtinence to which ſhe addicted herſelf; which he repreſented as inſupportable to a conſtitution naturally infirm: and he deſired her to ſhew his letter to her friends and confeſſor for their ſatisfaction (*q*). This was probably the ſame Phyſician, who is mentioned in one of her letters to Mr. Burnet; and by whom ſhe ſpeaks of herſelf as having been inſtructed in geography, and kindly furniſhed with globes, maps, and books (*r*).

(*q*) Life, p. 21.

(*r*) Letters, *ubi ſupra*, p. 166.

But though ſhe continued to be a member of the Romiſh Church, ſhe expreſſed herſelf with great candour reſpecting thoſe of different ſentiments; and, indeed, with a moderation, hardly conſiſtent with the character of a ſound Catholic. In a letter to Mr. Burnet, ſhe ſays, 'I am ſorry, Sir, the difference there is between us, in the con-'troverted points of religion, ſhould abate any thing of the little happineſs you could 'vanquiſhed my adverſary, but reduced me alſo ab-'ſolutely under your power, and left no deſires more 'ſtrong in me, than thoſe of meeting with ſome op-'portunity, to aſſure you, with what reſpect and 'ſubmiſſion, I am,

'Madam, your moſt humble,
'and moſt obedient ſervant,
'J. Locke (6).'

(6) *Ibid.* p. 19, 20.

In her defence of Mr. Locke, Mrs. Trotter proved, that there was nothing in his ſentiments which weakened the evidences of a future ſtate, or which was inconſiſtent with the principles of morality, or with any of the doctrines of Chriſtianity: and ſhe maintained, that it was of dangerous conſequence to aſſert, that the doctrine of the immortality of the ſoul depended on its immateriality.

[*G*] *A letter of thanks for this piece from Mrs. Burnet.*] That lady's letter, which we ſhall alſo lay before our readers, was as follows:

'Madam,

'If I have not more haſtily returned my thanks for 'the valuable preſent you ſent me, it has been, in 'part, out of a deſire to ſend you better judgments 'than my own, for its approbation and praiſe. The 'Biſhop, Mr. Norris, and ſome others, no ill judges 'of ſuch a performance, have, with great readineſs, 'profeſſed themſelves extremely pleaſed: and it is 'not without difficulty ſome can believe, that any 'one, not bred to ſcience, and logic in particular, 'could be capable of ſo cloſe and clear reaſoning. I 'am no fit judge of this, nor of the certainty of all 'the proofs, which are things ſo nice, as to make me 'ſuſpect my capacity to determine about them; ſo 'can only ſay, I am ſatisfied and pleaſed. But that 'can be no confirmation, were you doubtful; but 'what I cannot but obſerve and commend, is, that 'the whole is written ſhort and clear, without affec-'tation of wit or eloquence, needleſs reflections on 'your adverſary, or making him more in the wrong 'than he is; rather bringing him nearer, than 'driving him farther from truth; taking his words 'in as good a ſenſe, as they would bear, in which I 'heartily wiſh the ſearchers after truth would imitate 'you. If they did, I am perſuaded, there would be 'both more light, as well as more charity in the 'world, than at preſent, while ſuch deſtructive me-'thods to both are taken, can be expected. I confeſs, 'I cannot but repeat what I ever think, and have 'generally found, ſo ſure a mark of a good judg-'ment, modeſty, and freedom from affectation, 'which is alone a beauty, but when accompanied 'with other excellencies, makes them much more 'valuable, and the want of them makes wit and 'knowledge itſelf diſagreeable. I heartily wiſh you 'may improve to the beſt uſes ſuch excellent talents, 'that nothing may obſcure their luſtre, but that you 'may be delivered from *every error*. I ſhould be 'glad to be in any ways ſerviceable to theſe good 'ends, or in any other reſpect expreſs my readineſs 'to be

'Your faithful humble ſervant,

'June 19, 1702. E. Burnet.

'To ſhew I will find fault, I think a few lines in 'the *dedication* below the reſt of the book (7).'

(7) *Ibid.* p. 17, 18.

[*H*] *Dr. Denton Nicholas, an ingenious and learned Phyſician of her acquaintance.*] Dr. Birch informs us, that to this gentleman ſhe wrote, in the beginning of the year 1704, 'a letter upon the truth of the Chriſ-'tian religion, which, it is to be regretted, is not 'recoverable, ſince in his anſwer he obſerves, that 'ſhe had proved *unanſwerably* what ſhe had under-'taken, and had done it *more clearly and effectually in 'half a ſheet, than Grotius in a whole volume*; though 'he differed with her in one point, where, from her 'prejudices in favour of Popery, ſhe leſſened the au-'thority of the ſcriptures, which, he remarked, 'would neceſſarily make way for oral tradition, and 'too great an authority in the Church (8).'

(8) Life of Mrs. Cockburn, p. 21.

6 'find

'find in my company. For my part, I conſider nothing in the opinions of my friends, 'but what is likely to influence their morals; and provided they worſhip the true God, 'and acknowledge the doctrine and authority of Jeſus Chriſt, I think we are ſuffici-'ently united in religion for all the ends of friendſhip. To ſay the truth, I have of 'late almoſt forgot all diſtinction of churches; for having had ſome occaſion of ob-'ſerving, more than before, the great growth of infidelity; that there are many, who 'diſbelieve, and more, who doubt, that there ever was any divine revelation, I have 'employed myſelf much in conſidering the proofs, and defending the truth of the 'Chriſtian religion; which has ſo entirely engaged my concern, that when I am with 'thoſe, who ſincerely ſubmit to the authority of Jeſus Chriſt, what ſenſe ſoever they 'underſtand him in, I am ſatisfied, and really think myſelf with one of my own com-'munion (s).'

(s) *Ibid.* p. 167, 168.

Her friend Mr. Burnet, continued to keep up a correſpondence with her during his travels; and upon his arrival at the court of Berlin, where he was received with great marks of reſpect by Sophia Charlotte, Queen of Pruſſia, daughter to the Princeſs Sophia, he took an opportunity of writing to that Princeſs in ſuch advantageous terms of Mrs. Trotter, that her Royal Highneſs, in her anſwer to him from Hanover, on the 29th of July, 1704, declared herſelf "charmed with the agreeable picture, which he "had drawn of the new Scots Sappho, who ſeemed to deſerve all the great things "which he had ſaid of her." *Je ſuis charmée du portrait avantageux, que vous me faites de la nouvelle Sappho Ecoſſoiſe, qui ſemble meriter les eloges, que vous luy donnez* (t). In 1704, Mrs. Trotter addreſſed ſome verſes to the Duke of Marlborough, upon his return from Germany, after the battle of Blenheim. They were honoured with the approbation of the Duke and Ducheſs, and of the Lord-Treaſurer Godolphin. In 1706, after the battle of Ramillies, ſhe alſo addreſſed a ſecond poem to the Duke of Marlborough, upon that important event (u). The ſame year, her tragedy, called "The "Revolution of Sweden," was acted at the Queen's Theatre in the Haymarket, and printed at London in quarto, with a dedication to the Lady Harriet Godolphin, eldeſt daughter to the Duke of Marlborough [I]. About three years before this tragedy was brought upon the ſtage, ſhe had communicated the firſt draught of it to Mr. Congreve, who returned her an anſwer, containing ſome remarks upon the conduct of the drama, which have been publiſhed by Dr. Birch (w). The play is founded upon the revolution in Sweden under Guſtavus Erickſon. She had now for ſome time begun to entertain doubts concerning the Romiſh religion; which led her into a thorough examination of the grounds of it, by conſulting the beſt books on both ſides of the queſtion, and converſing with perſons of the beſt judgment, both Papiſts and Proteſtants, amongſt her acquaintance. The reſult of her enquiries was, a full conviction of the falſeneſs of the pretenſions of the Romiſh Church, and a return to the communion of the Church of England. This important change in her ſentiments took place about the beginning of the year 1707; and ſhe continued a firm Proteſtant during the remainder of her life. In the courſe of her enquiries, the great queſtion concerning "a Guide in Con-"troverſies," was particularly diſcuſſed by her; and two letters which ſhe wrote on this ſubject, were publiſhed this year under the following title: "A Diſcourſe concerning "a Guide in Controverſies, in two Letters [K]: Written to one of the Church of "Rome, by a Perſon lately converted from that Communion."

(t) Life, p. 25.

(u) *Ibid.* p. 29.

(w) *Ibid.* p. 22, 23.

A conſiderable part of the ſummer of the year 1707, was ſpent by Mrs. Trotter at Ockham-Mills, near Ripley, in the county of Surrey. During her retirement there, Mr. Fenn, a young Clergyman of an excellent character, who was accidentally in the neighbourhood on a viſit to his relations, received ſuch impreſſions from her company and converſation, as inſpired him with a paſſion for her, which he ſoon after diſcovered to her by a letter. But ſhe had previouſly engaged in a friendſhip, and correſpondence

[I] *With a dedication to the Lady Harriet Godolphin*, &c.] In this dedication ſhe obſerves, that poetry is not unworthy the protection of the wiſe and good, but has been cheriſhed as an inſtrument of virtue, in the politeſt and beſt-governed commonwealths, and as ſuch called a *divine art*; "a character," continues ſhe, "it might ſtill pretend to, if reſcued from "the trifling, or ill ends, to which it has been de-"baſed. At leaſt, it muſt be owned very advanta-"geous in a nation, where public diverſions are al-"lowed and frequented, to contrive, that our plea-"ſures ſhould be uſeful to our morals, ſerve to cor-"rect our vices, and animate the mind to virtue: a "deſign, which is the only merit that can recom-"mend this play; and the particular virtue it tends "to incite, a diſintereſted and reſolute care of the "public good (9)."

(9) *Ibid.* p. 29.

[K] *A Diſcourſe concerning a Guide in Controverſies, in two Letters.*] A ſhort preface was prefixed to theſe letters, written by Biſhop Burnet; in which he ſpoke of them as commendable for "the ſtrength and clear-"neſs of the reaſoning;" and obſerves, that they were written "with that judgment, and withal with "that plainneſs, that they may be at all times uſe-"ful to thoſe of our own communion, that want to "be fortified againſt the bold pretences to infallibi-"lity in the Church of Rome."

Dr. Birch has preſerved a letter, written by Mrs. Burnet to Mrs. Trotter; whence it appears, that the former, by the deſire of the latter, had communicated a paper, containing ſome of the Popiſh arguments in favour of the neceſſity of a guide in controverſies, to Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Samuel Clarke, requeſting his ſentiments; and Mrs. Burnet's letter contains an account of what he ſaid to her on the ſubject in converſation (10).

(10) Life, p. 31, 32.

A ſecond edition of Mrs. Trotter's "Diſcourſe "concerning a Guide in Controverſies," was printed at Edinburgh in 1728, in 8vo.

by

by letters, with Mr. Cockburn; and their friendſhip terminated in a marriage [*L*], in the beginning of the year 1708 (*x*). Mr. Cockburn had taken orders in the Church of England but a ſhort time before his marriage; and ſoon after that event, he had the donative of Nayland in Suffolk. He immediately repaired thither, bur Mrs. Cockburn continued for ſome time in London [*M*]. They were afterwards ſettled at Nayland; but did not long continue at that place, Mr. Cockburn removing thence to the metropolis, to be Curate of St. Dunſtan's Church in Fleet-ſtreet (*y*). In this ſituation he remained till the acceſſion of King George the Firſt, when entertaining ſome doubts about taking the oath of abjuration, though he always prayed for the King and royal family by name, he was obliged to quit his curacy; and for the ten or twelve following years, he was reduced to great difficulties in procuring ſubſiſtence for his family. During that period, he was employed in inſtructing the youth of an Academy in Chancery-lane in the Latin tongue (*z*). But in the year 1726, by conſulting the Lord-Chancellor King, and his own father, upon the meaning and intent of the oath of abjuration, and by reading ſome papers which were put into his hands upon the ſubject, he was at length reconciled to taking it. In conſequence of this, being the following year invited to be Miniſter of the Epiſcopal Congregation at Aberdeen in Scotland, he qualified himſelf conformably to the law; and on the day of King George the Second's acceſſion, he preached there a ſermon on the duty and benefit of praying for the government. This ſermon was printed, and being animadverted upon, he publiſhed a reply to the remarks on it, with ſome papers relative to the oath of abjuration, which were much commended. Soon after his ſettlement at Aberdeen, the Lord-Chancellor King preſented him to the living of Long-Horſeley, near Morpeth, in Northumberland, in order to enable him the better to ſupport and educate his family. With this view, he was permitted to continue to diſcharge the duties of his function at Aberdeen, till the negligence and ill-behaviour of the Curates, whom he employed at Long-Horſeley, occaſioned Dr. Chandler, Biſhop of Durham, to call him to reſidence on that living in 1737; which obliged him to quit his ſtation at Aberdeen, whereby his income was conſiderably leſſened (*a*).

(*x*) *Ibid.* p. 32, 33.

(*y*) *Ibid.* p. 34.

(*z*) *Id. ibid.*

(*a*) *Ibid.* p. 35.

Mrs. Cockburn, after her marriage, was almoſt entirely prevented from any application to her ſtudies, for many years, in conſequence of her cloſe attention to the duties of a wife, and of a mother. To the ordinary cares of an increaſing family, were added thoſe reſulting from the ſtraitened circumſtances of her huſband; ſo that ſhe had little time for reading [*N*], being almoſt wholly occupied in her domeſtic duties. But in

[*L*] *Their friendſhip terminated in a marriage.*] Dr. Birch informs us, that ſeveral advantageous offers of that kind had been made to Mrs. Trotter before; but he adds, that 'being exempt from ambition, and 'finding too general a libertiniſm among the men, 'ſhe thought the beſt ſecurity of her happineſs in the 'conjugal ſtate would be the choice of a Clergyman. 'And as piety was the ground of their mutual af-'fection, ſo their chief view in their union was the 'improvement of themſelves in that great principle 'of all religious and moral excellence, and the aſ-'ſiſtance of each other in the duties flowing from 'it (11).'

(11) *Ibid.* p. 33.

The father of Mrs. Cockburn's huſband 'was Dr. 'Cockburn, an eminent and learned Divine of Scot-'land, at firſt attached to the court of St. Germain's, 'but obliged to quit it, on account of his inflexible 'adherence to the Proteſtant religion; then for ſome 'time Miniſter of the Epiſcopal Church at Amſter-'dam, and at laſt collated to the rectory of Northaw 'in Middleſex, by Dr. Robinſon, Biſhop of London, 'at the recommendation of Queen Anne, who in-'tended him for one of the Biſhops of our American 'Plantations, if the ſcheme of eſtabliſhing them had 'been executed (12).'

(12) *Id. ibid.*

Dr. Birch alſo obſerves, that Mr. Cockburn, the huſband of the ſubject of this article, 'was a man of 'conſiderable learning,' and 'publiſhed, in the '*Weekly Miſcellany*, a defence of Prime Miniſters, in 'the character of Joſeph;' and likewiſe wrote 'a 'Treatiſe on the Moſaic Deluge, publiſhed ſince his 'death (13).'

(13) *Ibid.* p. 35.

[*M*] *Mrs. Cockburn continued for ſome time in London.*] In a letter to Mr. Burnet, dated from London, Sept. 10, 1708, Mrs. Cockburn informs him, that her huſband went to Nayland in the preceding June; and ſhe adds, 'Our affairs have not ſuffered me to go 'to him yet; ſo that we have been ſeparate near 'three months, except one week, that he was ſo kind 'to come and ſtay with me, when I was ill. I am 'now pretty well recovered, and am haſtening to him 'as much as I can; but I have a great deal of trou-'bleſome buſineſs to buſtle through, before I can 'compaſs it; for we have a houſe in the country to 'furniſh, and I muſt buy moſt things here in order 'to it, which is a new work to me, and a very ex-'penſive one. However, I hope to be at Nayland 'in leſs than a fortnight (14).'

(14) Letters, *ubi ſupra*, p. 206.

[*N*] *She had little time for reading.*] In a letter of Mrs. Cockburn to her niece, dated Oct. 6, 1732, is the following paſſage: "Sundays being privileged "from the needle, I have found time of late to read "three ſhort pamphlets in anſwer to *Chriſtianity as "old as the Creation*, by Dr. Burnet, which, they "ſay, are the beſt that have been written on a ſub-"ject, that has for ſome time employed all pens and "heads (15)." In another letter, dated in the year 1740, ſhe intimates, that ſhe then read and wrote more in the long winter evenings, than ſhe did in the ſummer. The reaſon ſhe aſſigned for this was, that ſhe could not work by candle-light. "But in the "ſummer," ſays ſhe, "I am ſo much employed at "my needle, that I read little, and write leſs (16)."

(15) Letters, *ubi ſupra*, p. 265.

(16) *Ibid.* p. 301.

In a letter that ſhe wrote, with a deſign of ſending it to Mr. Pope, is the following paſſage: 'You had 'but juſt begun to dawn upon the world, when I 'retired from it. Being married in 1708, I bid 'adieu to the Muſes, and ſo wholly gave myſelf up 'to the cares of a family, and the education of my 'children, that I ſcarcely knew, whether there was 'any ſuch thing as books, plays, or poems ſtirring 'in Great-Britain. However, after ſome years, 'your Eſſay on Criticiſm, and Rape of the Lock, 'broke in upon me. I rejoiced, that ſo bright a ge-'nius was riſing on our iſle; but thought no more 'about you, till my young family was grown up to 'have leſs need of my aſſiſtance; and beginning to 'have ſome taſte of polite literature, my inclination 'revived with my leiſure, to enquire after what had 'been moſt celebrated in that kind. I then read 'your Homer (17).'

(17) Life, p. 40.

1726,

1726, when she had been married about eighteen years, she published, "A Letter to "Dr. Holdsworth," in vindication of Mr. Locke [O]. Dr. Holdsworth, who was a Fellow of St. John's College in Oxford, had preached a sermon before the University, on John v. 28, 29. concerning the resurrection of the same body. This sermon he afterwards printed, in 8vo. professing, in his title page, to examine and answer "the ca-"vils, false reasonings, and false interpretations of scripture, of Mr. Locke, and "others, against the resurrection of the same body." Mrs. Cockburn remonstrated, in her publication, against the very unfair and uncandid manner in which Dr. Holdsworth had treated Mr. Locke: she shewed the inconclusiveness and inconsistency of his reasonings against him; and she very properly urged, that it could be of no service to the Church, nor was it in any respect prudent, to take so much pains to rank Mr. Locke amongst Heretics, and the worst enemies of Christianity. Dr. Holdsworth, however, still persisted to attack Mr. Locke, with the same zeal, the same bigotry, and the same want of justice and of candour, in his "Defence of the Doctrine of the Resurrection "of the same Body," which was published in one volume, 8vo. in the year 1727. To this Mrs. Cockburn wrote a reply, which she intitled, "A Vindication of Mr. "Locke's Christian Principles, from the injurious Imputations of Dr. Holdsworth." But though this is a performance of considerable merit, and she was extremely desirous of defending what she had before written, as well as of doing justice to Mr. Locke; yet as she could meet with no Bookseller who would undertake to print it at his own hazard, and as she could not herself afford to defray the expences of the publication, it continued in manuscript: but was afterwards printed in the edition of her works, published by Dr. Birch (*b*).

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 36, 37.

In 1732, she wrote a poem on occasion of "the busts set up in the Queen's Hermi-"tage [P]." This piece was intended to have been presented, with her "Defence of

[O] *A Letter to Dr. Holdsworth*, &c.] Mrs. Cockburn observes in this piece, that Mr. Locke 'very 'frequently and earnestly expresses his belief of the 'last judgment, the resurrection of the dead, and 'that the dead shall rise again with their bodies. 'This,' says she, 'is surely all that is important to 'the great ends of religion, in the article of the re-'surrection; and this certainly should secure a man 'from being taxed of infidelity, or heresy, with re-'spect to that article, whatever he may think of the 'resurrection of the same body (18).'

(18) Works of Mrs. Cockburn, vol. i. p. 126.

In his controversy with the Bishop of Worcester, Mr. Locke says, 'In the New Testament, (wherein, 'I think, are contained all the articles of the Chris-'tian faith) I find our Saviour and the Apostles to 'preach the resurrection of the dead in many places. 'But I do not remember any place, where the resur-'rection of the same body is so much as mentioned. 'Nay, which is very remarkable in the case, I do not 'remember in any place (where the general resur-'rection at the last day is spoken of) any such ex-'pression, as the resurrection of the body, much less 'of the same body.' And Mrs. Cockburn observes, that the *resurrection of the same body* is 'a doctrine so 'doubtful in its meaning, so variously understood, of 'which the scriptures have determined nothing clear-'ly, and which is of so little importance to be deter-'mined, that all that is of consequence to the great 'ends of religion, in the article of the resurrection, 'is sufficiently secured without it. And I must own,' she adds, 'I do not see what service it can be of to 'the Christian Religion, to equal a question of curi-'osity with the most necessary articles of our faith; 'or to arraign an eminent and worthy man, one, 'who on all occasions seems to have his *heart filled 'with sacred awe and sincere veneration for the holy 'scriptures*, as an heretic and an infidel, for doubt-'ing about so useless and undetermined a question. 'That every *man* shall be raised again at the last 'day, in *his own proper body*, to be punished or re-'warded according to what he had done in this life; 'and that those, who have pleased God, shall *with 'their own eyes, and not another's, see God*, are truths, 'in which Mr. Locke, and Dr. Holdsworth agree: 'and what particles of matter their bodies shall be 'made up of, would not have been worth the least 'dispute, if it had no way been imposed as an article 'of faith (19).'

(19) *Ibid.* p. 137. 152, 153.

[P] *A Poem on occasion of the Busts set up in the Queen's Hermitage.*] This poem begins with the following lines:

'Of Albion's splendid court unmov'd I hear;
'Grandeur and pomp at distance can revere,
'Content, nor wish the dazzling scene were near.
'In glories more refin'd my thoughts delight,
'Chief the fam'd hermitage would charm my sight.
'Delicious Richmond! were thy prospect mine,
'With rapture I should view great Caroline,
'Where, in her native lustre, most she'll shine:
'There her superior soul itself displays,
'That Locke and Newton could design to raise.
'Rich in themselves she knew the solid ore,
'And gave the royal stamp to dignify it more.
'Yet each new honour, added to their name,
'Shall back reflect on her's a brighter fame,
'Great Caroline shall gloriously resound,
'While Clarke, and Locke, and Newton are renown'd.
'But not for such illustrious names alone,
'Has that choice seat her care of merit shewn:
'Shar'd by the most obscure, who greatly aim,
'Struggling thro' all impediments to fame.'

She then applauds the Queen for her patronage of Stephen Duck, and intimates a hope, that her Majesty's liberality may also be extended to her own sex, of some of whose hardships she complains.

'Learning deny'd us, we at random tread
'Unbeaten paths, that late to knowledge lead;
'By secret steps break thro' th' obstructed way,
'Nor dare acquirements gain'd by stealth display.
'If some advent'rous genius dare arise,
'Who on exalted themes her talent tries,
'She fears to give the work, tho' prais'd, a name,
'And flies not more from infamy than fame.
'Would royal Caroline our wrongs redress,
'Vouchsafe acceptance of this mean address;
'Favour a muse, who, tho' she weakly soars,
'With glory wing'd, thy patronage implores;
'Yet trembles, whilst she tenders at thy feet
'Her bold essay great Locke to vindicate.
'What worthy thee, or him, can gain the light,
'Whilst black'ning clouds depress, and damp our flight?
'If not the work, give the attempt applause,
'And patronize in her the sex's cause.'

When Mrs. Cockburn wrote this poem, she resided at Aberdeen: she wished to have been enabled to live in England, and speaks with regret of her being confined to Scotland.

'But I, alas! in northern climes grown old,
'No more my native country shall behold;
'Since providence has cast my latest lot,
'Her pleasing streams and shades be now forgot (20).'

(20) Works, vol. ii. p. 572, 573, 574.

" Mr. Locke's Eſſay," to Queen Caroline; but the Lord-Chancellor King declining that office, and the Ducheſs of Hamilton, who then undertook it, being prevented by ſickneſs, and the death of Lady Orkney, her ſiſter-in-law, it ſeems never to have come to the ſight of the Queen (*c*). It was afterwards printed in the Gentleman's Magazine, for May, 1737, though with ſome alterations, which ſhe thought to its diſadvantage (*d*). About two years after, ſhe wrote " Remarks upon ſome Writers in the Controverſy " concerning the Foundation of Moral Duty and Moral Obligation [*Q*]; particularly " the Tranſlator of Archbiſhop King's Origin of Moral Evil, and the Author of the " Divine Legation of Moſes: To which are prefixed, ſome curſory Thoughts on the " Controverſies concerning neceſſary Exiſtence, the Reality and Infinity of Space, the " Extenſion and Place of Spirits, and on Dr. Watts's Notion of Subſtance." Theſe remarks continued in manuſcript till the year 1743, no Bookſeller being inclined to undertake the publication of them; but they were introduced to the world in Auguſt, that year, in " the Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned (*e*)." She had the misfortune this year to loſe a daughter [*R*]; and it appears alſo, that ſhe had at this time a ſon in Germany, in ſome office connected with the army (*f*); and who was afterwards Clerk of the Cheque at Chatham.

(*c*) *Id. ibid.*

(*d*) *Id. ibid.*

(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 38.

(*f*) Letters, *ubi ſupra*, p. 310.

When Dr. Rutherforth's " Eſſay on the Nature and Obligations of Virtue" appeared, it ſoon engaged the attention of Mrs. Cockburn; ſo that, notwithſtanding an aſthmatic diſorder, which had ſeized her many years before, and now left her ſmall intervals of eaſe [*S*], ſhe undertook to write a confutation of that elaborate diſcourſe; and having executed it with great ſpirit, perſpicuity, and judgment, ſhe tranſmitted her manuſcript to Mr. Warburton, afterwards the celebrated Biſhop of Glouceſter. By that gentleman her performance was ſo much approved [*T*], that he himſelf undertook to get it publiſhed, and wrote a preface to it. It was publiſhed in 1747, under the title of " Remarks upon the Principles and Reaſonings of Dr. Rutherforth's Eſſay on the " Nature and Obligations of Virtue, in Vindication of the contrary Principles and

[*Q*] *Remarks upon ſome writers in the controverſy concerning the foundation of moral duty and moral obligation.*] Mrs. Cockburn's name was not prefixed or ſubjoined to theſe remarks; but they were " inſcrib- " ed, with the utmoſt deference, to Alexander Pope, " Eſq; by an admirer of his moral character." She had conceived an high veneration for Mr. Pope, and was deſirous of being made known to him. With this view ſhe wrote a long letter to him, which has been publiſhed by Dr. Birch (21), but which her diffidence prevented her from ever ſending to that celebrated poet.

(21) Life, p. 39—44.

In her remarks on the writers concerning the foundation of morality, Mrs. Cockburn maintained the opinion of Dr. Samuel Clarke, that there are eternal and immutable relations, eſſential differences of things, and fitneſſes reſulting from them, independently of the will of God, which are obligatory on all reaſonable beings, antecedently to any poſitive appointment, or declaration of the will of God concerning them. She ſpeaks very reſpectfully of the writers ſhe oppoſes, particularly of Dr. Warburton, the late biſhop of Glouceſter, Dr. Law, the preſent learned biſhop of Carliſle, and Dr. Watts. Of the latter, whoſe notion of *ſubſtance* ſhe controverted, ſhe ſays, that " his " candour in repreſenting the ſide he oppoſes, and " his modeſty in defending his own opinion, are very " inſinuating (22)."

(22) Works, vol. i. p. 392.

[*R*] *She had the misfortune this year to loſe a daughter.*] Of this affliction ſhe ſpeaks in the following terms, in one of her letters to her niece, Mrs. Arbuthnot. ' The unexpected loſs of my poor child, ' who was ſo uſeful to me, and had been almoſt all ' her life with me, was indeed a ſevere affliction. ' She was a long time every moment in my thoughts. ' Whatever I turned my mind to, ſhe mingled with ' it: all that I found in books, was ſome way or other ' applied to her; and ſtill there is not a day but ſhe ' is frequently the ſubject of my reflections; nor do I ' endeavour to divert them from her, but make the beſt ' uſe I can of them. I ſometimes imagine, that I ' have now a nearer intereſt in another ſtate than I ' had; and pleaſe myſelf with the hopes of joining ' her ſpirit there, and finding her rejoicing in her ' early eſcape from the evils of this world. Some- ' times I conſider, how graciouſly providence often ' makes our diſappointments, and croſſes in one kind, ' turn to our advantage in another. My dear Kitty's ' return to me is an inſtance of this: had ſhe been ' ſettled, as we propoſed, or continued with her bro- ' ther, how deſolate ſhould I have been, when de- ' prived of the only child that was left me! It is ' true, her coming from one ſorrow to another made ' ſome part of my grief; but her being with me, and ' ſharing each other's griefs, was a mighty relief and ' comfort; beſides that ſhe is of the greateſt uſe to ' me. So that I have reaſon to be thankful both for ' her, and the bleſſing I have in the goodneſs of my ' ſon, though at this diſtance from me; and I hope ' God will pleaſe to preſerve them (23).'

(23) Letters, *ubi ſupra*, p. 309, 310.

[*S*] *Left her ſmall intervals of eaſe.*] In a letter to her niece, dated Nov. 20, 1744, is the following paſſage: ' I have very little proſpect of tolerable health ' for any continuance. My cough returned the be- ' ginning of September, and held me about two ' months; but is now ſucceeded by ſuch a difficulty ' of breathing, that I do not know which is moſt ' grievous, but between them I am reduced to great ' weakneſs (24).' And in another letter, to another perſon, dated in Auguſt, 1748, ſhe ſays, ' There are ' about nine months in the year, in which I am un- ' able to write to my neareſt friends, or on the moſt ' important buſineſs: much leſs can I apply myſelf ' to abſtruſe ſpeculations (25).'

(24) *Ibid.* p. 324.

(25) *Ibid.* p. 349.

In a letter to a clergyman, who was of different ſentiments from herſelf, and who appears to have been much prejudiced againſt the opinions of Dr. Clarke, dated March, 1748, ſhe expreſſes herſelf thus: ' Whenever your affairs will allow you to favour me ' with a perſonal conference, I ſhall eſteem it a great ' obligation, as the advantage muſt be wholly on my ' ſide; for you will be much diſappointed, Sir, if you ' expect to encounter an able diſputant. My com- ' panionable capacity (if I may ſo ſpeak) has entirely ' left me; readineſs of thought and expreſſion, ſo ne- ' ceſſary to converſation, are no more; but I can ſtill ' hear with attention, and conſider with impartiality, ' nor am yet too old to learn. Your candour will ' give allowances for the decays of age, and the ill- ' neſſes, that have for ſome years attended it (26).'

(26) *Ibid.* p. 348.

[*T*] *By that gentleman her performance was ſo much approved.*] In a letter to her niece, Mrs. Cockburn ſays, ſpeaking of this piece, ' I have had a letter ' from Mr. Warburton, with an encomium of that ' ſmall performance, far beyond my expectation, as ' he ſays it was beyond his, to hear it was writ by a ' lady. He expreſſes his obligation for the candour ' and politeneſs of that part, in which he is concern- ' ed, and ſtyles it *the ſtrongeſt and cleareſt piece of me- ' taphyſics, that ever was written* (27)."

(27) *Ibid.* p. 322.

" Reaſonings, enforced in the Writings of the late Dr. Samuel Clarke [*U*]." In the preface to this confutation of Dr. Rutherforth, Mr. Warburton ſays, that it contains " all the clearneſs of expreſſion, the ſtrength of reaſon, the preciſion of logic, and at- " tachment to truth, which makes books of this nature really uſeful to the common " cauſe of virtue and religion." The merit of this performance, and the vivacity, acuteneſs, and ſtrength, which were diſplayed in it, in the diſcuſſion of ſome of the moſt intricate and abſtruſe queſtions, ſoon excited the curioſity of the public reſpecting the concealed writer: and their admiration was greatly increaſed, when her ſex and advanced age were known, ſhe being in her ſixty-eighth year when this piece was publiſhed. The reputation which her writings had procured her, at length induced her friends to propoſe to her, the collecting them together, and publiſhing them by ſubſcription. She conſented to this ſcheme, which was encouraged by many perſons of literary taſte, and particularly by Lady Iſabella Finch (*g*). But Mrs. Cockburn did not live to diſcharge herſelf the office of editor; which, in conſequence of her death, was afterwards undertaken and executed by Dr. Birch. She loſt her huſband on the 4th of January, 1748-9, in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age; and this was ſo ſevere a ſhock to her, that ſhe did not long ſurvive him. She died on the 11th of May, 1749, in her 71ſt year, after having long ſupported a painful diſorder, with the utmoſt patience and reſignation. Her memory and underſtanding continued unimpaired, till within a few days of her death. She was interred, near her huſband and youngeſt daughter, at Long-Horſeley, with this ſhort ſentence on their tomb: *Let their works praiſe them in the gates*, Prov. xxxi. 31. (*h*).

(g) Life, p. 45.

(h) *Ibid.* p. 46.

In her younger years, Mrs. Cockburn was much celebrated for her beauty, as well as for her genius and other accompliſhments. She was ſmall of ſtature, but was diſtinguiſhed by the unuſual vivacity of her eyes, and the delicacy of her complexion, which continued to her death (*i*). In her private character ſhe appears to have been ſtrictly virtuous [*W*], and conſtantly under the influence of a ſincere and rational piety. She was

(i) *Id. ibid.*

[*U*] *Remarks upon the principles and reaſonings of Dr. Rutherforth's Eſſay on the nature and obligations of virtue*, &c.] Dr. Warburton, in his preface, ſpeaking of Dr. Rutherforth's Eſſay, ſays, in his ſtrong and ſarcaſtic manner, that there was little or nothing in it 'but ſophiſtical wrangling, and diſingenuous 'tergiverſation; embarraſſed by an underſtanding 'more than ordinarily condenſed with the frigid 'ſubtilty of ſchool moonſhine.' Mrs. Cockburn, however, treated Dr. Rutherforth with much more civility. She ſaid of him, that no one, who had engaged on the ſame ſide, 'had laboured with more 'advantages of learning, of plauſible argument, and 'all the arts his cauſe required (28).'

(28) *Ibid.* p. 8.

Dr. Rutherforth endeavoured to prove, That virtue is that quality in our actions, by which they are fitted to do good to others, or to prevent their harm; that every man's own happineſs is the ultimate end, which nature and reaſon teach him to purſue; and that men neither do purſue, nor does nature or reaſon teach him to purſue, any other end, but every one his own private happineſs. And it having been urged by ſome moraliſts, in proof of the intrinſic excellence of virtue, and of our natural perceptions of its worth, that even thoſe, who do not practiſe it, give teſtimony to it, by their approbation and love of it in others; Dr. Rutherforth ſays, " All that they approve in " virtue or moral goodneſs, is the natural good, " that it either produces, or is fitted to produce; " and all their love ariſes from the ſhare, which " they ſuppoſe they ſhould have in the happy ef- " fects of it, when others practiſe it."

Mrs. Cockburn, on the contrary, maintained, in conformity to the ſentiments of Dr. Clarke, that there are certain fitneſſes, and unfitneſſes, ariſing from the eſſential difference between vice and virtue, which make it our duty to practiſe the one, and avoid the other, even independently of any proſpect of advantage, or reward; and that our natural approbation of virtue is quite diſtinct from, and independent of, all conſideration of the effects of it: and ſhe aſſerted, that Dr. Rutherforth, by denying to mankind all diſintereſted benevolence, and any foundation for the duties of virtue or religion, but the proſpect of advantage or reward, highly injured and diſhonoured both virtue and religion (29).

(29) *Ibid.* p. 9, 10. 21. 105, &c.

It is obſervable, that Warburton, though he publiſhed Mrs. Cockburn's book, and wrote a preface to it, yet differed from her in opinion with reſpect to the true foundation of morality. He thought her wrong in placing the foundation of moral virtue in the eternal relations of things. His own opinion was, that the Divine Being, in order to ſecure the practice of moral virtue, had beſtowed on man that inſtinctive approbation of right, and abhorrence of wrong, to which ſome philoſophers have given the name of the moral ſenſe; and that God had farther eſtabliſhed a real, eſſential difference, in the qualities of human actions, whereby ſome are ſeen to be fit and right, and others wrong and unfit. But as Mr. Warburton thought, that *obligation* without an obliger, and an *obliger* without agency, were mere jargon, he therefore had recourſe to a ſuperior will, as the proper and real ground of moral obligation. For he aſſerted, that though *inſtinct* felt a difference in actions, and *reaſon* diſcovered that difference to be founded in the nature of things; yet it was *will* only, that could make compliance with ſuch difference to be our duty; whereby that, which was before a fitneſs, now became a virtue. On theſe three principles, therefore, he ſuppoſed the whole edifice of practical morality to be erected. However, this admirable proviſion for the ſupport of virtue, was, he ſaid, in great meaſure, defeated by its pretended advocates; who, in their ſquabbles about the true foundation of morality, and the obligations to its practice, had ſacrilegiouſly untwiſted this threefold cord. But of Mrs. Cockburn he ſaid, that though ſhe had placed the foundation of moral virtue, as he thought wrongly, in the eternal relations of things; yet, by allowing the other principles all their efficacy, ſhe had wiſely ſecured the intereſts of practical morality. 'And by this means,' ſays he, 'ſeconded by a fine genius, and infinite ſu- 'periority in reaſoning, this writer (Mrs. Cockburn) 'hath given ſo thorough a confutation of the ex- 'cluſive, exterminating ſyſtem (of Dr. Rutherforth), 'as is rarely to be met with in controverſies on theſe 'ſubjects (30).'

(30) Pref. to Mrs. Cockburn's Remarks, p. 1, 2.

[*W*] *In her private character ſhe appears to have been ſtrictly virtuous.*] But Dr. Birch obſerves, that 'unexceptionable as her character was in all reſpects, 'from a conduct throughout life ſtrictly conformable 'to thoſe principles of morality and religion, of 'which ſhe had the fulleſt and moſt rational convic- 'tion; it could not ſecure her from the malignity 'of a writer of her own ſex, in that comprehenſive 'body of ſcandalous hiſtory, intitled *the Atalantis*, 'and in *the Adventures of Rivella, or the Hiſtory of* 'the

was benevolent and generous; and remarkable for the uncommon evenneſs and chearfulneſs of her temper. Her converſation was innocent, agreeable, and inſtructive: ſhe had not the leaſt affectation of being thought a wit; but was modeſt and diffident, and conſtantly endeavoured to adapt her diſcourſe to her company (*k*). It is much to be regretted, that this excellent, ingenious, and amiable woman, did not meet with more liberal patronage among the great, to many of whom ſhe was not unknown. But they ſeem, in general, to have contented themſelves with ſpeaking well of her, without taking much pains to afford her any effectual aſſiſtance. Throughout the whole courſe of her life, ſhe ſeems to have been in very narrow and ſtraitened circumſtances; and after her marriage, ſhe had little leiſure for ſtudy, and was very ill provided with books (*l*). But ſhe endured the inconveniencies of her ſituation, with a patience and fortitude that were truly exemplary. It is juſtly obſerved by Dr. Birch, that 'her abilities as a writer, and the merit of her works, will not have full juſtice done them, 'without a due attention to the peculiar circumſtances in which they were produced; 'her early youth, when ſhe wrote ſome; her very advanced age, and ill ſtate of health, 'when ſhe drew up others; the uneaſy ſituation of her fortune, during the whole courſe 'of her life; and an interval of near twenty years, in the vigour of it, ſpent in the 'cares of a family, without the leaſt leiſure for reading or contemplation. After 'which, with a mind ſo long diverted and encumbered, reſuming her ſtudies, ſhe 'inſtantly recovered its entire powers, and in the hours of relaxation from her domeſtic 'employments, purſued, to their utmoſt limits, ſome of the deepeſt enquiries of which 'the human mind is capable (*m*).' It was in the year 1751, that her works were publiſhed by Dr. Birch, in two volumes, octavo, under the following title: "The Works "of Mrs. Catharine Cockburn, theological, moral, dramatic, and poetical." None of her dramatic pieces were included in this collection, excepting "the Fatal Friend-"ſhip;" it being found, that all her writings could not be comprized in the two volumes propoſed to be printed for thoſe who had ſubſcribed for her works, and therefore the preference was given to her performances in proſe. Beſides the other pieces already mentioned, in the courſe of this account of her life, Dr. Birch's collection contains, a letter of advice to her ſon; letters between Dr. Sharp, Archdeacon of Northumberland, and Prebendary of Durham, and Mrs. Cockburn, concerning the foundation of moral virtue; letters between Mrs. Cockburn and ſeveral of her friends; and ſome ſhort eſſays in proſe, with ſeveral ſongs [*X*], and other poems.] T.

(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 473.

(*l*) See her letters, p. 260. 262. 273.

(*m*) Life, p. 48.

'*the Author of the Atalantis*, who in this latter piece 'repreſents her own character with almoſt as much 'freedom, as ſhe had in the former treated thoſe of 'others. But ſuch a pen as Mrs. Manley's can injure no reputation but her own; and the occaſion 'of her reſentment does honour to Mrs. Cockburn, 'as the only provocation to it was the withdrawing 'herſelf from the ſlight acquaintance, which ſhe 'once had with Mrs. Manley, on account of the 'licentiouſneſs both of her writings and conduct. 'And, indeed, the libeller herſelf was ſo conſcious 'of the injuſtice and enormity of her calumnies, 'that, upon a remonſtrance to her upon that account, 'ſhe promiſed to make the proper acknowledgments 'in perſon to Mrs. Cockburn for her offence; but 'failed of her engagement in that reſpect, from an 'excuſable reluctance to ſee one, whom ſhe had ſo 'highly injured (31).'

(31) Life, p. 47, 48.

[*X*] *Several ſongs.*] One of theſe we ſhall here inſert:

THE CAUTION.

I.

'Soft kiſſes may be innocent,
'But, ah! too eaſy maid beware;
'Tho' that is all thy kindneſs meant,
'Tis love's deluſive fatal ſnare.

II.

'No virgin e'er at firſt deſign'd
'Through all the maze of love to ſtray;
'But each new path allures her mind,
'Till wand'ring on, ſhe loſe her way.

III.

'Tis eaſy ere ſet out to ſtay;
'But who the uſeful art can teach,
'When ſliding down a ſteepy way,
'To ſtop, before the end we reach?

IV.

'Keep ever ſomething in thy pow'r,
'Beyond what would thy honour ſtain:
'He will not dare to aim at more,
'Who for ſmall favours ſighs in vain (32).'

(32) Works, vol. ii. p. 568, 569.

CODRINGTON (CHRISTOPHER), a brave Soldier, and a man of great politeneſs and conſiderable learning, was born at Barbadoes in the year 1668. He had his firſt education in that iſland; but, as ſoon as he was of age to undergo the hardſhips of a voyage, he was ſent to England; and, after ſome ſtay at a good private ſchool at Enfield, under the care of Dr. Wedale, removed to Chriſt-Church in Oxford (*a*), where he was entered Gentleman Commoner, July 3, 1685 (*b*). Having taken there one degree in Arts, he was admitted Probationer Fellow of All Souls-College in 1689 (*c*): wherein he ſo induſtriouſly improved the fine opportunity he had of ſtoring his underſtanding with all ſorts of learning, that he became not only perfect in Logick, Hiſtory, and the learned and modern languages, but alſo in Poetry, Phyſick, and Divinity. Nor was he leſs careful of thoſe politer exerciſes and accompliſhments, which might qualify him to appear in the world, and at the niceſt courts, with reputation and advantage: inſomuch, that he ſoon acquired the deſerved character of an accompliſhed well-bred gentleman, and univerſal ſcholar. Thus qualified, he betook himſelf to the army, but without quitting his fellowſhip; and his merit and courage ſoon recommended him to his Prince's favour (*d*): for he was made Captain in the firſt regiment of foot-guards (*e*); and

(*a*) From the ſermon preached at his funeral, April 8, 1710, in the church of St. Michael in Barbadoes, by W. Gordon, M. A. Rector of St. James's in Barbadoes; printed the ſame year in London, 4to.

(*b*) From the College books.

(*c*) Gordon, *ibid.*

(*d*) Gordon, *ubi ſupra.*

(*e*) Life, *ſcenes me.*

and seems to have been instrumental in driving the French out of the island of St. Christopher's, which they had seized at the breaking out of the war between France and England (*f*). But it is more certain that he was at the siege of Namur, in 1695 (*g*). Upon the conclusion of the peace of Ryswick, he was made Captain-General, and Governor in Chief, of the Leeward Caribbee Islands (*h*): in which station he had not the happiness of pleasing all, or escaping censure; a thing indeed very difficult; or rather next to impossible! For, in 1701, several articles were exhibited against him to the House of Commons in England [*A*]; to which was published a distinct and particular answer. And at the end are subjoined two attestations from the Lieutenant-Governor, Members of the Council, and the Representatives, of Nevis [*B*], very much in his favour.

(*f*) Complete Hist. of the most remarkable Transactions, &c. by J. Burchett, Esq; Lond. 1720, fol. p. 452, 453. Q. Whether it was not his father?

(*g*) Oratio D. Cotes, p. 11.

(*h*) Gordon, *ubi supra*.

[*A*] *Several Articles were exhibited against him to the House of Commons in England.*] They were XV in number, and tended to charge him with violence, and arbitrary proceedings. As for instance, That having, by the King's Commission and Instructions, power and authority with the Council of the respective Islands under his government, to hear and determine appeals brought before him and them, from the Courts of the said islands; and by the nature of such power and authority ought not to sit and preside in the Courts where such suits are depending; yet he, contrary to the nature of his said Commission and Instructions, and the duty of his place, had sate on the Bench with the Chief Justice and other the Judges in the said Courts, and interested himself in private causes, wherein matters of freehold and titles of land were in controversy, arguing both with the Bench and the Bar in favour of one of the parties. That after an Appeal had been prayed and granted by the said Courts, which is in its nature a Supersedeas to the execution until such appeal be heard; yet, by his order, immediate execution had been granted: and he had treated petitions about appeals as libels; and declared he would not hear them. That letters Patents and other deeds, relating to some persons titles, having been enrolled in the Secretaries Office of the island where the lands lie, according to law and usual custom; he had in passion torn the said Patents, deeds, and writings, out of the said register; and had thereupon encouraged persons pretending a title to those lands, forcibly to take possession of them. Moreover, that he had forcibly and arbitrarily seized a plantation, without any legal trial, but only upon a pretended conviction by the view of the Justices. That he had issued out his warrants under his hand, commanding and requiring persons under his government, to appear at their peril before him to answer matters of freehold and titles of land. That when he was petitioned for remedy against some irregular and unlawful acts and orders made by former Governors in chief of the said islands, he had refused to grant any redress therein, declaring he would justify all they had done. That when he suspected such order would not be made, or rule given, by the Judges, as he desired, he had risen from the Bench, and in a public manner declared, that he was sorry he had given them their commissions. That when exceptions were taken at the commission granted by him to the Judges of the Court of Nisi Prius, he had openly declared, he would justify it; and had ordered, that no copy should be given of the same. That he did usually in his discourses abuse and vilify his Majesty's officers in the said islands in the most gross and abusive language imaginable, slighting their authority and magnifying his own, daily affronting and discouraging them in the execution of their several offices, &c. That after seizure of ships, as trading to the Caribbee islands contrary to the Act of Navigation, and the acquittal of them by the Court of Admiralty; he had caused an appeal from that sentence to be brought before himself alone, and had reversed the said sentence of acquittal; out of a covetous desire to get one third part of the full value of the seized ship, which by the said Act is given to the Chief Governor of the said islands. That whereas by his instructions he was required to transmit authentic copies, under the public seal, of all laws and ordinances, made within the respective islands under his government, to his Majesty and the Commissioners of Trade and foreign Plantations, within three months or sooner after their being enacted; yet he had omitted or refused to transmit several Acts made by himself and the Assembly of the island of St. Christopher's, and notwithstanding such omission, had put the said laws, &c. in full execution there, even to the raising of money.——These Articles were printed at London in 1702, 4*to*. with a distinct answer to each Article; (too long to be inserted here) which answer concludes in these words. 'The gentleman who is 'accused of so many and high misdemeanours had in 'Europe a very fair and honourable character; and 'if the general testimony of Councils and Assemblies, 'and also of particular persons who come or write 'from the Leeward islands, a few who are disobliged excepted, may be relied on, he has increased it 'there; and by a speedy and impartial distribution 'of Justice, has gained an universal esteem: and were 'therefore the accusations against him better supported than by the evidence of a person so highly prejudiced [Mr. Mead] who is one of the petitioners, 'and concerned in point of interest in most of the 'matters complained of, it will be still just and reasonable that he should first be allowed an opportunity of making his own defence, before any kind 'of censure pass to the prejudice either of his interest 'or reputation; for it is very easy to dress up a specious complaint against any man at a distance, which 'his friends who are strangers to the matter may be 'entirely unable to give answer to; and it is certain 'that in the present case, had it not been for some 'very accidental notice and information in some of 'the matters complained of, this accusation would 'have appeared much more to the disadvantage of 'Col. Codrington than it is presumed it now will, 'even in the light it is at present set, without the 'least information or instruction from him.'

[*B*] *And at the end are subjoined two attestations*, &c.] The first, which is from the Lieutenant-Governour, and Members of the King's Council, of Nevis, runs thus. 'Whereas his Majesty has been 'graciously pleased to appoint Christopher Codrington, Esq; Captain-General and Commander in 'Chief over all his Majesties Leeward islands, to the 'great satisfaction of us his Majesties subjects of this 'island, and that the said Captain-General had justly 'merited the thanks of this island, and character of a 'good Governour, We the Lieutenant Governour, 'and Members of his Majesties Council of this island, 'do hereby testifie and declare, that his said Excellency our Captain-General and Chief Governour 'hath ever since his happy arrival to this government, 'and particularly to this island, constantly employed 'himself for the public good thereof, without regard 'to any private interest; that he hath caused good 'laws to be made, and the laws in general to be put 'in execution without favour or affection, hatred or 'malice to any; and that he has in reference to the 'preservation of these islands in case of a war, used 'all means for their being put in a due posture of defence, and for the more effectual performance of 'which in true zeal for his Majesties service, he hath 'been himself present at each island; wherefore his 'great Vertues, Honour, and Reputation being 'highly advantageous to this government which is 'divided into several islands, and therefore has need 'in war of a most sure conduct, we humbly hope and 'request that no frivolous nor scandalous complaints 'may be heard against him, he having deserved no 'such treatment since his being with us. Dated in 'the Council-Chamber, in Charles Town, the 9th 'day of July 1701.'

The other attestation, or certificate, is from the Representatives of Nevis; wherein they certified,

favour. In the year 1703, he was at the attack upon Guadaloupe, belonging to the French (*i*); in which he ſhewed great bravery, though that enterprize happened to be unſucceſsful. Some time after, he reſigned his government of the Leeward-Iſlands, and lived in a ſtudious and retired condition (*k*). He died, at his ſeat in Barbadoes, on Good-Friday, April 7, 1710; and was buried the day following, in the pariſh church of St. Michael, in that iſland; but his body was afterwards brought over to England, and interred, on the 19th of June, 1716, in the chapel of All Souls-College in Oxford, wherein two Latin orations to his memory were ſpoken by two Fellows of that College; the one by Digby Cotes, M. A. the Univerſity-Orator, at his interment; the other the next day by Edward Young, LL. B. at the laying of the foundation-ſtone of his library (*l*). Over his grave a black marble ſtone was ſoon after laid, whereon there is no other inſcription but CODRINGTON (*m*). By his laſt will, he bequeated his two plantations in Barbadoes, and part of the Iſland of Barbuda, to the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in foreign Parts [*C*]: and alſo left a very handſome legacy to All Souls-College, of which he had been Fellow [*D*]. He might be author of ſeveral things; but there is nothing, as far as we can find, publiſhed under his name, excepting verſes to Sir Samuel Garth, in praiſe of his excellent Poem the Diſpenſary [*E*]. We ſhall give his character in the note [*F*].

(*i*) Burchett, as above, p. 603.

(*k*) Gordon, *ubi ſupra.*

(*l*) Theſe two orations were printed together at Oxford, 1716, 8vo.

(*m*) See J. Le Neve's Monumenta Anglicana, from 1650 to 1718, p. 281. He allowed only 20l. for a grave-ſtone for himſelf, but left 1500l. for erecting a monument for his father in Weſtminſter-abbey. Boyer, as above.

That his Excellency Chriſtopher Codrington, Eſq; their Captain-General and Chief Governor, had all along ſince his arrival and being in his government, acted and behaved himſelf with great zeal and vigour for his Majeſty's ſervice, and for the real good of that iſland, by paſſing all ſuch wholſome and convenient laws as the Lieutenant-Governor, Council, and Aſſembly had thought fit to prepare and offer, by adminiſtring true juſtice and right judgment, impartially without favour or affection, profit or gain, to all both rich and poor; ſo that he had moſt juſtly acquired a laudable and honourable reputation, and might without the leaſt flattery be ſtiled a good and careful General, an honeſt and prudent Governor, a true and upright Judge to them, *&c.*

[*C*] *By his laſt will, he bequeathed his two plantations in Barbadoes, and part of the iſland of Barbuda, to the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in foreign parts.*] And deſired, That the plantations ſhould continue entire; and three hundred Negroes at leaſt be always kept thereon. The uſes he chiefly appropriated this great benefaction to, was, for building a college in Barbadoes; in which he appointed, that a convenient number of Profeſſors and Scholars ſhould be maintained: who are to be obliged to ſtudy and practiſe Phyſic and Chirurgery, as well as Divinity: That by the apparent uſefulneſs of the former (as the Will ran) they might endear themſelves to the people, and have the better opportunities of doing good to men's ſouls, while they are taking care of their bodies (1). This gift is valued at two thouſand pounds a year, clear of all charges (2).

(1) Abſtract of the Will.

(2) Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's Additions, vol. ii. B. v. p. 37.

[*D*] *And alſo left a very handſome legacy to All Souls-College, of which he had been Fellow.*] Namely, the ſum of *ten thouſand pounds:* as appears from the following clauſe of his Will.——'*Imprimis*, I give my 'neareſt kinſman, Lieutenant-Colonel William Cod-'rington, all my eſtate in and about Doddington, 'provided, and upon condition, that he pay to All 'Souls-College in Oxford ten thouſand pounds ſter-'ling, in manner following; *viz.* two thouſand 'pounds within one year after my deceaſe, and the 'ſum of two thouſand pounds yearly afterwards, 'until the ſum of ten thouſand pounds be paid. I 'do appoint that ſix thouſand pounds thereof be ex-'pended in the building of the library for the uſe of 'the ſaid College; and that the remaining four 'thouſand pounds be laid out in books to furniſh 'the ſame. *Item*, I give and bequeath unto the ſaid 'College, my library now in the cuſtody of Mr. 'John Caſwell, in Oxford.' This library, we are informed (3), was valued at ſix thouſand pounds.—With the ſaid ſix thouſand pounds, there is built a magnificent library, in length, within the walls, two hundred feet; in breadth, thirty-two feet and a half; and in height, forty feet.

(3) Annual Liſt of the Deaths of eminent Perſons; at the end of Boyer's Hiſtory of Queen Anne, edit. 1735, p. 54, fol.

[*E*] *There is nothing, as far as we can find, publiſhed under his name, excepting verſes to Sir Samuel Garth, in praiſe of his excellent Poem the Diſpenſary.*] They are intituled, 'To my friend the author, deſiring my opi-'nion of his Poem.' And begin thus,

Aſk me not, friend, what I approve or blame,
Perhaps I know not why I like, or damn;
I can be pleaſed; and I dare own I am.

I read Thee over with a lover's eye,
Thou haſt no faults; or I no faults can ſpy;
Thou art all beauty, or all blindneſs I, *&c.*

We have obſerved, ſince the above was written, that he had a hand in *Auctio Daviſiana*, &c. printed in the *Muſæ Anglicanæ*, edit. Lond. 1741, 8vo. pag. 173, *&c.*

[*F*] *We ſhall give his character*, &c.] Being as follows: 'Nature had bleſſed him with vaſt capacious 'parts, exceedingly above the common level of man-'kind. He had a great ſoul, of a fiery genius, happily united to a body of a ſubtle and flexible compoſition, in which the blood and animal ſpirits 'moved with vigour and rapidity, and rendered it 'rather a ſpur, than an hindrance to the operations 'of his mind. He had a quick and piercing appre-'henſion, a ſtrong, ſolid, diſtinguiſhing judgment, a 'retentive memory, a warm imagination, a fruitful 'ſagacious invention, a bold pregnant wit, a ſublime 'way of thinking, a methodical perſuaſive way of 'reaſoning, and a voluble diſtinct utterance, upon 'the moſt unexpected occaſions. After having re-'ſigned his government, he led a very private retired 'life, and ſpent moſt of his time in contemplation 'and ſtudy. For a few years before his death, he 'chiefly applied himſelf to Church-Hiſtory and Me-'taphyſicks. If he excelled in any thing, it was in 'metaphyſical learning, of which he was, perhaps, 'the greateſt maſter in the world. He was a great 'admirer of the Fathers, particularly of St. Baſil, 'whom he ſeems not a little to have reſembled, in 'the univerſality of his genius, the warmth and activity of his temper, and affection for a monaſtic 'life; but chiefly in his eloquent ſublime way of 'ſpeaking and writing. He was particularly careful 'to form his ſtyle upon the great models of antiquity, 'ſome of whom he equalled, and moſt of them excelled. His ſtyle was plain and eaſy, yet powerful 'and lofty; fluent, but not turgid; florid, yet natural and unaffected; elegant, but not overwrought 'or forced. In his ſtudied and elaborate compoſures, 'there was an inimitable beauty and efficacy, whereby 'he would, at once, charm the affections, move the 'paſſions, and convince the underſtanding, with ſuch 'ſurprizing turns, impetuous force, and ſolid reaſons, that, as was ſaid of his forementioned pattern, 'he ſpoke nothing but life, and breathed a ſoul in 'the dulleſt argument he treated of; and yet his care 'of his ſtyle, did not at all cramp the exactneſs, or 'interrupt the chain of his moſt refined and abſtracted 'enquiries; for every thought was placed in the moſt 'advantageous light, as well as dreſſed in the gayeſt 'manner; and every period was juſt, and had a natural cadence. In the ſame diſcourſe, he would 'diſplay the Orator and the Philoſopher, to ſo great 'perfection, that it was hard to determine in which 'he

' he moſt excelled, ſo much did he excel in both. In ' a word, he had, in his Weſt-India retirement, made ' ſo wonderful a progreſs in his ſtudies, that had he ' lived to have returned to his beloved Univerſity, ' he would have been as much the object of their ad- ' miration, as he deſerved to be the object of their ' delight. He was ſo great a lover of learning, and ' learned men, that wherever he met with an inge- ' nious perſon, he courted his acquaintance, and ' readily received him into his friendſhip (4).'

(4) Gordon, as above, and D. Cotes, *ubi ſupra*.

*** [In Cibber's Lives of the Poets, a place is given to Governor Codrington, who is repreſented as having written ſome ſmall pieces of poetry with much elegance and politeneſs, and is ſaid to have been a gentleman of the firſt rank of wit and gallantry (5). The ſpecimen, however, which is inſerted of his talents, from his Epilogue to Southern's tragedy, entitled, "The Fate of Capua," reflects but little credit on the Governor's poetical abilities, and, at the ſame time, affords no recommendation to the delicacy of his ſentiments. The two lines in the verſes to Garth,

(5) Cibber's Lives, vol. iv. p. 292.

" Thou haſt no faults, or I no faults can ſpy,
" Thou art all beauty, or all blindneſs I,"

have been uncommonly fortunate, and obtained a celebrity which hath almoſt rendered them proverbial, ſo often have they been quoted. But this is not owing to any extraordinary poetical excellence in the lines themſelves, but to their happily expreſſing the ſituation of the minds of lovers, with regard to their miſtreſſes.

Biographers are often obliged to draw materials from funeral eulogiums: but then theſe eulogiums are to be received with a due degree of caution. Without calling in queſtion the general truth of the character which is given of Governor Codrington, in note [*F*], we cannot avoid thinking, that the praiſe, in one or two caſes, is carried to an extravagant height. Can any one, for inſtance, believe, that in metaphyſical learning, he was perhaps the greateſt maſter in the world? It is not much more credible, that, in his ſtyle of compoſition, he equalled ſome of the great models of antiquity, and excelled moſt of them. If he had poſſeſſed ſuch ſupereminent qualities, more ſtriking proofs of them would probably have been exhibited to the public. It muſt be ſuppoſed, that Mr. Gordon, the preacher of the Governor's funeral ſermon, was influenced by a ſenſe of gratitude for perſonal obligations. Mr. Codrington's noble benefactions to the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in foreign Parts, and to All Souls-College in Oxford, are the things which have completed his title to an honourable place in the Biographia Britannica.] K.

COKE, or COOKE (JOHN), Secretary of State in King Charles the Firſt's reign, was a younger brother of Sir Francis Cooke, and born at Truſley in Derbyſhire, of an antient family there, allied to the beſt in that country (*a*). He was probably educated at Weſtminſter ſchool; and on the 22d of April, 1580, admitted Scholar of Trinity-College in Cambridge. After having taken his degree of Bachelor of Arts, he was choſen Fellow of the ſame College, about the 4th of April, 1584 (*b*). He continued long in the Univerſity (*c*); and being taken notice of for his learning, was choſen public Profeſſor of Rhetoric: in which employment he ſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ingenious and critical lectures, that Rhetoric ſeemed not to be ſo much an art to him, as his nature. Then he travelled beyond the ſeas for ſome time, in the company of a perſon of quality, and returned rich in languages, remarks, and experience: having avoided all the dangers incident to him on account of his religion, by this prudent declaration, that he came to learn, and not to ſearch (*d*). Afterwards he retired into the country in the condition of a private gentleman, till after he was fifty years of age; when, upon ſome reputation he had for induſtry and diligence, he was called to ſome painful employment in the office of the navy, which he diſcharged well, and was made Secretary thereof. Afterwards, partly through his own merit, and partly through the intereſt of Fulk Greville, Lord Brook, to whom he was related, he was made Maſter of the Requeſts; and at laſt Secretary of State, about the year 1620, in the room of Sir Albert Moreton, deceaſed. He was alſo knighted (*e*). In the firſt and third Parliaments of King Charles I. he was one of the repreſentatives for the Univerſity of Cambridge (*f*); and made ſeveral ſpeeches in Parliament [*A*]. He governed himſelf in the management of his places by the following rules: That no man ſhould let what is unjuſtifiable or dangerous appear under his hand, to give envy a ſteady aim at his place or perſon; nor mingle intereſts with great men, made deſperate by debts or court-injuries, whoſe falls have been ruinous to their wiſeſt followers; nor pry any farther into ſecrecy, than rather to ſecure than ſhew himſelf; nor impart that to a friend, which may impower him to be an enemy (*g*). He likewiſe kept himſelf ſtrictly to the law of the land [*B*]. But, notwithſtanding his great caution, on the 8th of November, 1641, a Meſſenger of the Houſe of Commons was ſent to fetch him up out of Derbyſhire, to anſwer ſome complaints made againſt him, about ſome commitments in the year 1628 (*h*).

(*a*) Fuller's Worthies, edit. 1662, in Derbyſhire, p. 233. By the time of his admiſſion at the Univerſity, he ſeems to have been born about the year 1562, or 1563.

(*b*) From Trinity-College Regiſter.

(*c*) Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, &c. edit. 1732, 8vo. P. i. p. 64.

(*d*) Fuller, as above; and D. Lloyd's State Worthies, edit. 1679, p. 945.

(*e*) Lord Clarendon, Fuller, and D. Lloyd, as above.

(*f*) Notitia Parliamentaria, &c. by Brown Willis, Eſq; 2d edit. of vol. i. 1730, p. 179.

(*g*) D. Lloyd, as above, p. 945, 946.

(*h*) Diurnal Occurrences of Parliament, in 1640 and 1641. Lond. 1641, 4to. p. 405.

[*A*] *And made ſeveral ſpeeches in Parliament.*] Several of his ſpeeches, and meſſages from the King to the Parliament, are printed in *Ephemeris Parliamentaria*; or, ' Faithful Regiſter of the Tranſactions in ' Parliament, in the third and fourth Years of King ' Charles I. (1).' In his firſt ſpeech, ſpeaking of the Papiſts, he hath theſe words:—' They have a Biſhop ' conſecrated by the Pope; this Biſhop hath his ſub- ' alternate officers of all kinds, as Vicars-General, ' Archdeacons, Rural Deans, Apparitors, and ſuch ' like. Neither are thoſe nominal or titular offices ' alone, but they all execute their juriſdictions, and ' make their ordinary viſitations through the king- ' dom, keep courts, and determine eccleſiaſtical ' cauſes.—Neither are the ſeculars alone grown to ' this height, but the regulars are more active and ' dangerous, and have taken deep root; they have ' already planted their ſocieties and colleges of both ' ſexes; they have ſettled revenues, houſes, libraries, ' veſtments, and all other neceſſary proviſions to tra- ' vel or ſtay at home; nay, even at this time, they ' intend to hold a concurrent aſſembly with this Par ' liament,—&c.'

(1) Lond. 1654, fol. p. 33. 43, 44. 138. 161. 167. 238, 239, 240. 242, 243. 246. 258.

[*B*] *He likewiſe kept himſelf ſtrictly to the law of the land.*] Inſomuch, that being ſent to command Biſhop Williams from Weſtminſter; and being aſked by the ſtout Biſhop, by what authority he commanded a man out of his houſe, and his freehold, he was ſo tender of the point, that he never reſted till he had his pardon for it (2).

(2) D. Lloyd, as above, p. 945.

M. He

He is alſo accuſed, though unjuſtly, of having put into the King's hands a paper from the Scots, inſtead of the genuine Articles of Pacification at York: and to have ſo far complied with the change of the times, as to have brought propoſitions from the Parliament to the King, as actively, as formerly he had carried meſſages from the King to the Parliament (*i*). However, after having continued Secretary of State about twenty years (*k*), he was removed to make room for Sir Henry Vane (*l*); and died the 8th of September, 1644 (*m*). With regard to his character: we are informed, that he was a grave and prudent man, in gait, apparel, and ſpeech; one that had his intellectuals very perfect in the diſpatch of buſineſs, till he was eighty years old (*n*). He is alſo ſaid to have been a very zealous Proteſtant, and to have done all good offices for the advancement of true religion (*o*). But the Lord Clarendon, who ſeems to have had a prejudice againſt him, gives him a more unfavourable character. He was, ſays he (*p*), a man rather unadorned with any parts of vigour and quickneſs, and unendowed with any notable virtues, than notorious for any weakneſs or defect of underſtanding, or tranſported with any vicious inclinations; appetite to money only excepted. His cardinal perfection was induſtry, and his moſt eminent infirmity covetouſneſs. His long experience had informed him well of the ſtate and affairs in England; but of foreign tranſactions, or the common intereſt of Chriſtian Princes, he was entirely undiſcerning and ignorant. But another, to ſoften his character, ſays (*q*), he had an happy mixture of diſcretion and charity, whereby he could allow to things and perſons more than men of ſtreighter apprehenſions, or narrower affections, were able to do. He had a brother named

(*i*) D. Lloyd, p. 947.

(*k*) Fuller, as above, p. 233.

(*m*) Fuller, *ibid.*

(*o*) Fuller, p. 233.

(*l*) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 150.

(*n*) D. Lloyd, p. 945.

(*p*) Hiſtory, as above, P. i. p. 64.

(*q*) D. Lloyd, p. 947.

GEORGE, educated at Pembroke-Hall in Cambridge, who was Rector of Bigrave in Hertfordſhire, and afterwards ſucceſſively Biſhop of Briſtol and Hereford (*r*): a meek, grave, and quiet man, much beloved of thoſe who were ſubjected to his juriſdiction. He was involved in the ſame condemnation with the reſt of his brethren the Biſhops, for ſubſcribing the Proteſt in Parliament in preſervation of their privileges (*s*). He died in low circumſtances (*t*) on the 10th of December, 1646; and was buried in Hereford Cathedral, where there is a long, obſcure, and almoſt unintelligible epitaph, to his memory (*u*).

(*r*) He was made Biſhop of Briſtol in 1632, and tranſlated to Hereford, June 18, 1636. Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; vol. i. edit. 1727, p. 527.

(*s*) See Lord Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, &c. P. ii. of vol. i. p. 351; and Walker's Attempt to recover the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy, P. ii. p. 34, edit. 1714.

(*t*) Fuller, as above, in Derbyſhire, p. 233.

(*u*) Willis, as above.

*** [In the collection of the Clarendon Papers, printed ſome few years ſince at Oxford, under the direction of Dr. Scrope, a conſiderable number of letters may be met with, written by Sir John Coke, when Secretary of State. A farther ſpecimen of his political abilities may be ſeen in the "Miſcellaneous State Papers," lately publiſhed by the Earl of Hardwicke. We there find four letters of Sir John Coke's to Sir Belthazar Gerbier, relative to a ſecret treaty carried on with the Flemings in 1632, which has never appeared in our hiſtories, and which, indeed, was totally unknown to the public, till brought to light by the learned and noble Lord juſt mentioned. From theſe letters it appears, that Sir John Coke wrote his diſpatches with perſpicuity, and in a ſtyle becoming a man of buſineſs. We apprehend, that the Earl of Clarendon was under the influence of prejudice, when he repreſented him as entirely undiſcerning, and ignorant, of foreign tranſactions, or the common intereſt of Chriſtian Princes. The contrary is manifeſt, from the ſecond of the letters now referred to, which ſhews, that he was well acquainted with the views of Holland, France, and Spain, and reflects honour on his ſagacity (3).

Sir John Coke made a conſiderable figure in the third Parliament of King Charles the Firſt, which met on the 17th of March, 1627-8, and was diſſolved on the 10th of March following. In this important and buſy Parliament, our Secretary appears to have conducted himſelf with ſuch moderation, that he did not incur the diſpleaſure of the Houſe. Though he was often obliged to deliver, in his official capacity, meſſages which were far from being agreeable to the Commons, he took care to do it with a diſcretion and lenity that ſecured him from perſonal reſentment. From the ſpeeches he made, we ſhall ſelect one ſhort ſpecimen of his parliamentary capacity. It was ſpoken on the 22d of March, 1627-8; and the deſign of it was to engage the Houſe of Commons to begin with the ſupply. "I had rather you would "hear any man than me. I will not anſwer what "hath been already ſpoken. My intent is not to "ſtir, but to quiet; not to provoke, but to appeaſe. "My deſire is, that every one reſort to his own heart "to re-unite the King and the State, and to take "away the ſcandal from us. Every one ſpeaks from "the abundance of his heart: I do conclude, out "of every one's concluſion, both to give to the "King, and to redreſs grievances; all the difference "is about the manner. We are all inhabitants in "one houſe, the Commonwealth: let every one "amend his own houſe, for ſomewhat is amiſs in "every one: but if all the houſe be on fire, will ye "then think of amending what is amiſs? Will ye "not rather quench the fire? The danger all apprehend; the way that is propounded, I ſeek not to "decline. Illegal courſes have been taken, it muſt "be confeſſed; the redreſs muſt be by laws and puniſhment: but, withal, add the law of neceſſity: "neceſſity hath no law; you muſt enable the State "to do, what you do, by petition, require. It is "wiſhed, that we begin with grievances: I deny "not that we prepare them, but ſhall we offer them "firſt? Will not this ſeem a condition with his Majeſty? Do we not deal with a wiſe King, jealous "of his honour? All the ſubſidies we can give cannot advantage his Majeſty ſo much, as that his "ſubjects do chearfully agree to ſupply him. This "will amaze the enemy more than ten ſubſidies: "begin, therefore, with the King, and not with "ourſelves (4)."

Several more of Sir John Coke's ſpeeches may be read in the ſeventh and eighth volumes of the Parliamentary Hiſtory.

After the ſubſidies were granted, Mr. Secretary Coke made the following report to the Houſe, of the King's acceptance of them: "His Majeſty was "pleaſed to aſk, *By how many voices they were gained?* I ſaid, *but by one.* His Majeſty aſked, *How many were againſt him?* I ſaid, none; *for they were voted by one voice, and one general conſent* (5)." The King was ſo much affected by the generoſity of the Commons, that he expreſſed a great love for Parliaments, and a deſire often to meet his people in that way: but this good underſtanding between them did not long continue.] K.

(3) Miſcellaneous State Papers, vol. ii. p. 80—88.

(4) The Parliamentary Hiſtory of England, vol. vii. p. 372.

(5) *Ibid.* p. 431.

COKE (SIR EDWARD), Lord Chief Juſtice of England, and one of the moſt eminent Lawyers this kingdom has produced. His father was Robert Coke, Eſq; of Mileham, in the county of Norfolk, himſelf a learned profeſſor of the Law, a Barriſter of great practice, and a Bencher of Lincoln's-Inn (*a*). His mother's name was Winifred, daughter and co-heireſs of William Knightley, of Morgrave-Knightley, in the county of Norfolk (*b*); ſo that in point of deſcent, he might be juſtly eſteemed of a good family, in a county where there are as many good families as in any other in the kingdom [*A*]. He was born at his father's ſeat at Mileham, in the year 1550, and had all the care taken of him in his infancy that could be beſtowed by a tender mother, for whoſe memory he had always the higheſt veneration. At the age of ten he was ſent to the free-ſchool at Norwich, then eſteemed one of the beſt in England, where, under the care of Mr. Walter Hawe (*c*), and by his own ſingular diligence and application, he made a very great proficiency. His next remove was to Trinity-College in Cambridge, where, if a certain author might be relied on, he had Dr. George Whitgift for his tutor (*d*); but that ſeems to be improbable, for Dr. Whitgift was Fellow of Peter-Houſe (*e*), and became Maſter of Trinity-College, about the time that Mr. Coke became a member of the Univerſity (*f*), which is ſufficient to juſtify the fact for which he is mentioned as his tutor, and of which we ſhall hereafter take notice. He remained in the Univerſity about four years, and was then removed to Clifford's-Inn; the year after which he was entered a Student of the Inner-Temple. He had not been long there before he gave a very extraordinary proof of the quickneſs of his penetration, and the ſolidity of his judgment. This was with regard to the Cook's caſe of the Temple, which had puzzled the whole Houſe, and which he ſtated ſo exactly, that it was taken notice of and admired by the Bench (*g*). It is not at all improbable, that this might promote his being early called to the Bar, as he was at ſix years ſtanding, which, in thoſe ſtrict times, was held very extraordinary (*h*). We are told by himſelf, that the firſt cauſe in which he appeared in the Court of Queen's Bench, was in Trinity term 1578, and it was a very remarkable one (*i*) [*B*]. About this time he was appointed Reader of Lyon's-Inn, and ſo continued for three years, during which ſpace his lectures were much reſorted to, his reputation increaſed, and with it his practice; ſo that when he had been

(*a*) Stowe's Survey of London, p. 429.

(*b*) Collins's Peerage, vol. iv. p. 349.

(*c*) Antiquitates Scholæ Regiæ Norwic. p. 37.

(*d*) Fuller's Worthies in Norfolk, p. 251.

(*e*) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, p. 9.

(*f*) Hiſtory of Cambridge.

(*g*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 823.

(*h*) Fuller's Worthies, p. 250.

(*i*) Coke's Reports, P. iv. fol. 12. b, 14. b.

[*A*] *Where there are as many good families as in any other in the kingdom.*] It appears, from a pedigree of this family drawn by the learned Camden, that William Coke was ſeated at Doddington, in the county of Norfolk, in the 8th of King John, that is, in the year 1206 (1); from whom deſcended lineally, Sir Thomas Coke, Knt. who flouriſhed in the reign of King Edward III. and his eldeſt ſon Sir Thomas Coke the younger, Knight, who for his wiſdom was made Seneſchal of Gaſcoigne (2); and for his valour a Knight Banneret, but he died before his father. Robert Coke, the grandſon of Sir Thomas Coke the elder, married a lady of a conſiderable fortune, and by her had iſſue John, who was the father of Thomas Coke, by whoſe intermarriage with Alice, daughter of William Falcard, Lord of Sparham and Stivekey-Hall (3), thoſe eſtates, or at leaſt the greateſt part of them, came to their ſon Robert Coke, who married Anne, daughter of Thomas Woodhouſe, Eſq; by whom he had two ſons and two daughters; and his eldeſt ſon, Robert Coke, was the father of Sir Edward, of whom we are ſpeaking; who by the lady mentioned in the text, had this only ſon and ſeven daughters, who all lived to be married (4). As for this Robert Coke, Eſq; he died November 15, 1657, at his chambers in Lincoln's-inn, while his ſon was at Norwich ſchool; who, in honour of his memory, cauſed a fair monument be erected, many years after, in the pariſh church of St. Andrew's, Holborn, with an inſcription, from which moſt of theſe particulars are taken.

(1) Fuller's Worthies, p. 250.

(2) Rot. Vaſc. 25 E. III. m. 26.

(3) From the Pedigree drawn by Camden, in the hands of the family.

(4) Stowe's Survey of London, p. 429.

[*B*] *In Trinity term* 1578, *and it was a very remarkable one.*] Mr. Edward Denny was Vicar of Northlinham, in the county of Norfolk, and the then Lord Cromwell, who lived near him, procured two perſons to preach ſeveral ſermons in his church, in which they inveighed againſt the book of Common Prayer, ſtyling it ſuperſtitious and impious. For this reaſon, when one of them came next to preach, the Vicar, knowing he had no licence, would have hindered him; but being ſupported by Lord Cromwell, he proceeded, and did preach. Upon this occaſion ſome warm words paſſed between Lord Cromwell and the Vicar; the former ſaying, *Thou art a falſe varlet, and I like not of thee*; to which the latter replied, *It is no marvel though you like not of me, for you like of theſe*, meaning the preachers, *that maintain ſedition againſt the Queen's proceedings*. Upon this Lord Cromwell brought his action, upon the ſtatute *de ſcandalis magnatum*. The defendant juſtified, upon which the plaintiff demurred, and the bar was held inſufficient; but upon a motion in arreſt of judgment, that the declaration was inſufficient, the court gave judgment for the defendant. Upon this Lord Cromwell brought another action, and amended his declaration, and then the court was moved, that the words were not actionable, becauſe they might be taken in a milder ſenſe; but the court delivered no opinion, but ſaid to the defendant's council, be well adviſed, and plead or demur at your pleaſure; whereupon they pleaded a ſpecial juſtification, and ſet it forth in the manner before recited; to which the plaintiff's council took exception, for two reaſons: Firſt, That the matter of juſtification was inſufficient, becauſe ſedition cannot be committed by words, but by public and violent actions: Secondly, If the matter of juſtification was ſufficient, then the defendant was not guilty, and ought ſo to plead. The court however held, that the juſtification was good, and that the defendant ſhould not be driven to the general iſſue. Afterwards the matter in diſpute was compromiſed between the parties. Our author's obſervations upon this, will ſhew the excellence of his method in reporting, which acquired him ſo high a reputation in his own time, and which has been deſervedly admired and applauded ever ſince (5). 'In this caſe, reader, you 'may obſerve an excellent point of learning in actions 'for ſlander, to obſerve the occaſion and cauſe of 'ſpeaking of them, and how it may be pleaded in 'the defendant's excuſe. 2. When the matter of fact 'will clearly ſerve for your client, although your 'opinion is, that the plaintiff has no cauſe of action, 'yet take heed you do not hazard the matter upon a 'demurrer; in which upon the pleading and otherwiſe, more perhaps will ariſe than you thought of; 'but firſt take advantage of the matters of fact, and 'leave matters in law, which always ariſe upon the 'matters in fact *ad ultimum*, and never at firſt demur 'in law; when after trial of the matters in fact, the 'matters in law (as in this caſe it was) will be ſaved 'to you.'

(5) Coke's Reports, P. iv. fo. 14. a.

at the bar a few years, he thought himſelf in a condition to form pretences to a lady of one of the beſt families, and at the ſame time of the beſt fortune, in the county of Norfolk (*k*). This lady's name was Bridget, daughter and co-heireſs of John Paſton, Eſq; whom he ſoon married, and with whom he had, firſt and laſt, thirty thouſand pounds (*l*) [*C*]. After this marriage, by which he became allied to ſome of the nobleſt houſes in the kingdom, he began to riſe faſter by much than was uſual in thoſe times; for the cities of Coventry and Norwich (*m*) choſe him their Recorder: he was in all the great cauſes of Weſtminſter-Hall, was in high credit with the Lord-Treaſurer Burleigh (*n*), and was frequently conſulted in the Queen's affairs. His large eſtate, and his great credit in his country, as well as at court, recommended him to the freeholders of his county, by whom he was choſen Knight of the ſhire; and in the Parliament held in the thirty-fifth of Elizabeth, he was choſen Speaker (*o*), being at that time the Queen's Solicitor, which was beſtowed upon him in 1592 (*p*), and very ſoon after he was advanced to the poſt of Attorney-General. Some time after this he loſt his wife, by whom he had ten children, which gave him an opportunity of making his addreſſes to another lady of great fortune and quality, *viz.* the Lady Hatton, relict of Sir William Hatton, and ſiſter to Thomas Lord Burleigh, afterwards Earl of Exeter; which marriage, as it was afterwards the ſource of many inconveniences and troubles to both parties, ſo the very celebration of it occaſioned no ſmall noiſe and diſquiet, by a very unlucky accident that attended it. There had been the ſame year, which was 1598, ſo much notice taken of irregular marriages, that Archbiſhop Whitgift had ſignified to the Biſhops of his province, that he expected they ſhould be very diligent in cauſing all ſuch perſons to be proſecuted as were guilty of any irregularity in the celebration of marriage, in point of time, form, or place (*q*). But whether it was that Mr. Coke looked upon his own and the Lady's quality, and their being married with the conſent of the family, as ſetting them above ſuch reſtrictions, or whether he did not advert to them, certain it is, that they were married in a private houſe, without either banns or licenſe; upon which Mr. Coke and his new-married Lady, Mr. Henry Bothwel, Rector of Okeover, in the county of Rutland, Thomas Lord Burleigh, and ſeveral other perſons, were proſecuted in the Archbiſhop's Court; but upon their ſubmiſſion by their proxies, were abſolved from the greater excommunications, and the conſequent penalties which they had incurred, by overlooking the authority of the Church; becauſe, ſays the record, they had offended, not out of contumacy, but through ignorance of the law in that point (*r*). It cannot be conceived, that there was any thing either of extraordinary ſeverity, or of perſonal prejudice, in the Archbiſhop, but rather the contrary: for upon Mr. Coke's being made the Queen's Attorney-General, we are told that he ſent him a fair Greek Teſtament, with this meſſage, *That he had ſtudied the* Common Law *long enough, and that he ſhould thereafter ſtudy the* Law *of* God (*s*); neither was it likely that Mr. Coke meant any contempt of the Church, ſince it clearly appears, that he was, upon all occaſions, a very faſt friend both to it and to the Clergy; as is more eſpecially evident from an extraordinary teſtimony given him in that reſpect, by the Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Norwich, to whom he had been very uſeful in his profeſſion, and had ſaved part of their lands from being torn from them by foul practices, and under colour of concealments (*t*) [*D*]. His favour to the Clergy was alſo very diſcernible,

(*k*) Lloyd's Worthies, p. 820.

(*l*) Fuller's Worthies, p. 250.

(*m*) Collins's Peerage, vol. iv. p. 350.

(*n*) Several of his Letters to that noble perſon are in the hands of James Weſt, Eſq;

(*o*) Prynne's Animadverſions on the Fourth Part of the Inſtitutes.

(*p*) Dug. Chron. Series in Orig. Juridic. p. 99.

(*q*) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, p. 522.

(*r*) Regiſt. Whitgift, P. iii. fo. 108. *A.D.* 1598.

(*s*) Fuller's Worthies, p. 251.

(*t*) See that Certificate in note [*D*].

[*C*] *With whom he had, firſt and laſt, thirty thouſand pounds.*] The Paſtons, of Paſton, in Norfolk, were a very ancient and honourable family, greatly diſtinguiſhed by their ſervices rendered to the crown in almoſt all capacities. William Paſton was Serjeant at Law in the reign of Henry IV. a Judge, and in high favour with King Henry VI. He left a vaſt eſtate to John Paſton, Eſq; his eldeſt ſon, and no ſmall one to William his ſecond ſon, who married Anne, daughter to William Duke of Somerſet (6). Of the ſame line was Sir Clement Paſton, who it is ſaid King Henry VIII. called his champion, the Duke of Somerſet his ſoldier, Queen Mary her ſeaman, and Queen Elizabeth her father (7). As for the father of this lady, he was the third ſon of Sir William Paſton, of Paſton, but was himſelf ſettled at Huntingfield-Hall, in Suffolk (8). His ſiſter Eleanor, married Thomas Earl of Rutland, by whom ſhe had Henry Earl of Rutland, Gertrude Counteſs of Shrewſbury, Anne Counteſs of Weſtmoreland, and Frances Lady Abergavenny; to all which noble families Mr. Coke became allied, by this marriage (9). If therefore we conſider that he had a very large fortune left him by his father; that he had, one way or other, thirty thouſand pounds with this lady; and that from his firſt coming to the bar he was in great buſineſs; to which we may add, that purchaſes were then made at very moderate rates, we need not at all wonder, that in a very few years he acquired a very large landed eſtate; more eſpecially as he was always frugal, and a great œconomiſt, keeping very exact accounts both of the income of his eſtates, and of what he acquired by his profeſſion; as appears from ſeveral large books, moſtly in his own hand-writing, that are ſtill carefully preſerved, as authentic monuments of his wonderful accuracy and induſtry (10); qualities, by which he was diſtinguiſhed in an age, when they were much more common than they are now. It does not very clearly appear, either when he married this lady, or when ſhe died; but from ſeveral concurring circumſtances it ſeems pretty evident, that his firſt marriage was contracted about ſeven years after he was firſt called to the bar.

(6) Fuller's Worthies, p. 250.

(7) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 203.

(8) Collins's Peerage, vol. iv. p. 349.

(9) Obſervations on the Life of Sir Edward Coke.

(10) In the cuſtody of this ſince noble family.

[*D*] *Under colour of concealments.*] The ſervices rendered by this worthy perſon to the Church of Norwich, were of different ſorts, upon very different motives, and done at many different times. What we aim at in this note, is to give the reader a general, and at the ſame time a clear notion, of the nature of theſe ſervices; becauſe they caſt a ſtrong light upon the temper and diſpoſition of this gentleman, with regard to the Church and Churchmen in general, and of the Clergy of his own county of Norfolk in particular. He was very inſtrumental in procuring an act to paſs in the 35th of Elizabeth (11), when he was Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, of the nature

(11) Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 659.

cernible, in the freedom with which he beſtowed the many benefices that were in his own gift, and from his memorable ſaying on that head, as indeed many of his ſayings were memorable on very different ſubjects; but in regard to this it was his conſtant maxim, *That he would have Church livings paſs by* livery *and* ſeiſin, *not* bargain *and* ſale (*u*). As there was no reign in which great Lawyers were more conſidered than in that of Queen Elizabeth, which perhaps may be one reaſon why in few reigns there have been ſo many conſiderable Lawyers as in her's, ſo, amongſt them, none, towards the latter end of her government, was either more diſtinguiſhed in his profeſſion, or had greater reſpect paid him, than Mr. Coke, whom the Miniſters conſulted in all points of difficulty, and who never failed to furniſh them with legal colours for all their proceedings, which, though many of them were very extraordinary, yet being ſo guarded, were beheld by the people as juſt and honourable. But the affair of greateſt moment, in which, as Attorney-General, he had a ſhare in this reign, was the proſecution of that popular Nobleman Robert Earl of Eſſex, who, together with Henry Earl of Southampton, was brought to the bar before the Lords commiſſioned for his trial in Weſtminſter-Hall, Feb. 19, 1600 (*w*), the Earl of Buckhurſt ſitting as Lord High-Steward. The charge againſt the Lords was opened by Serjeant Yelverton, in which, though he compared the Earl of Eſſex to Catiline, and expreſſed his wonder that the Lords did not bluſh to put themſelves upon a trial, inſtead of confeſſing their guilt, which he ſaid was in all men's judgment palpable, yet it does not appear that either of the priſoners were troubled at his diſcourſe. But when Mr. Attorney Coke laid open the nature of the treaſon, the many obligations the Earl of Eſſex was under to the Queen, and hinted at laſt, *That by the juſt judgment of God, he of his Earldom ſhould be* Robert the Laſt, *that of a kingdom thought to be* Robert the Firſt (*x*), Eſſex loſt all patience, and on ſeveral other occaſions in his trial, endeavoured to repreſent Mr. Attorney, as having a ſpecial hand in all the proceedings to his prejudice, and as if he was deep in the intereſts of Cobham, Cecil, and Raleigh, whom he alledged were his capital enemies; and inſinuated that they, and particularly Sir Robert Cecil, were in the Spaniſh intereſt; and that the latter had gone ſo far as to declare, that none but the Infanta had a right to the crown of England. It does not however appear, that Mr. Attorney Coke had any particular prejudice to that unfortunate Lord, but that, as his manner always was, he kept cloſe to the point; and inſtead of running on, as others did, into parallels from the Greek and Roman Hiſtories, he ſtuck to the facts, and ſhewed wherein the treaſons conſiſted with which the Earls were charged (*y*) [*E*]. There is no doubt, that in the latter part of that Queen's

(*u*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 822.

(*w*) Camdeni Annal. p. 847.

(*x*) State Trials, vol. i. p. 199.

(*y*) Camdeni Annal. p. 853. State Trials, vol. i. p. 205.

ture and effects of which, more will be ſaid hereafter. This was with regard to the Church in general. Some years afterwards, a ſet of people procured, in conſequence of letters-patents of concealment, bearing date Auguſt 2, in the 27th of Queen Elizabeth, ſeveral eſtates to be taken from them by leaſes, and one particularly with the privity of Dr. William Redmayne, then Biſhop of Norwich; but Mr. Attorney Coke foreſeeing what this might produce, interpoſed ſo far as to prevail upon the Biſhop to agree to the bringing in of a bill for eſtabliſhing the Biſhoprick and the revenues, which by his intereſt was paſſed into a law; which ſet the Cathedral of Norwich out of the reach of theſe devourers of Churches, as this gentleman very juſtly calls them (12). This did not hinder the ſame ſort of folks from endeavouring, under the very ſame title, to ſeize the eſtate of the Deanery and Chapter of Norwich; but here again Mr. Attorney Coke interpoſed, and with ſpirit and learning defended the Chapter, and preſerved their eſtates, as the reader may ſee at large in his own excellent work (13). At the cloſe of this report, he ſhews the great importance of the act mentioned at the beginning of this note, and the great ſecurity derived from thence to the Proteſtant Clergy.

(12) Coke's Inſtitutes, Part iv. fo. 257.

(13) Coke's Reports, Part iii. fo. 73.

'Note reader, The great aſſurance and eſtabliſhment, which is made by the good and ſtrong act of Parliament, of the ſaid moſt illuſtrious and moſt noble Queen Elizabeth, in the ſaid thirty-fifth year of her reign, not only of all foundations of cathedral churches and colleges, in any manner founded or tranſlated, or mentioned to be founded or tranſlated by King Henry VIII. but alſo to all ſubjects who have any eſtate or intereſt, in any of the poſſeſſions of any Abbot, Prior, or any ſuch religious perſons, notwithſtanding they made not any ſurrender to King Henry VIII. or that their ſurrender was inſufficient, or that the record thereof be now imbezzled or loſt; and notwithſtanding divers other ſuch like defects, all which are remedied by the ſaid moſt excellent act of Parliament, the fatal plea to all concealments as to theſe poſſeſſions. And although theſe reſolutions properly concern the meridian of the Cathedral Church of Norwich, yet they will very well ſerve as well for many other Cathedral Churches, as for divers Colleges in the Univerſities of Cambridge and Oxford.'

The Dean and Chapter therefore might well grant, under their common ſeal, an authentic teſtimony of the obligations they were under to ſo kind a friend, ſo learned an advocate, and ſo powerful a protector. This teſtimonial was conceived in the following terms (14).

(14) Fuller's Worthies, p. 251.

Edwardus Coke, Armiger, ſæpius & in multis difficilimis negotiis eccleſiæ noſtræ auxiliatus eſt, & nuper eandem contra templorum helluones, qui dominia maneria & hæreditamenta noſtra devorare, ſub titulo obſcuro (concelatum dicunt) ſponte ſuâ nobis inſciis & ſine mercede ullâ legitimè tutatus eſt, atque eandem ſuam noſtri defenſionem in perpetuam tantæ rei memoriam, quam poſterorum (ſi opus fuerit) magna cum induſtria & ſcriptis redegit & ſub ſigil. noſtræ eccleſiæ donavit.

[*E*] *With which the Earls were charged.*] We have a large account of the whole of this tranſaction in Camden, as well as in the printed trial by authority; and in the former, I think there are ſome things more clearly explained than in the latter. We are there told, 'That Southampton made a ſhort and modeſt defence, and aſked pardon for his crime, which was purely owing to his affection for the Earl of Eſſex; and after a declaration of his ſtedfaſt loyalty to the Queen, he anſwered, That ſome propoſals of that kind were made indeed, but nothing reſolved upon, the whole being referred to Eſſex. That what was acted, was a thing quite different from the matter of debate, *viz.* their going into the city, which was with no other deſign than to facilitate Eſſex's acceſs to the Queen, there to make a perſonal complaint of the wrongs that were done him: that his ſword had not been drawn all that day: that he heard nothing of the

Queen's reign, Mr. Attorney was upon the beſt terms poſſible with Sir Robert Cecil, and the reſt of her Miniſters; and there is good reaſon to believe, that the Proclamation of King James, and other papers of State at that time, were drawn by him (z). Yet he was not ſo haſty as many much inferior to him in degree, in procuring admiſſion to the King's perſon; but upon the 22d of May, 1603, when the King feaſted the principal perſons of the kingdom, on account of his quiet acceſſion, at Greenwich, he, together with Robert Lee, then Lord-Mayor of London, and John Crooke, Eſq; the Recorder, received the honour of Knighthood (a). In the beginning of July following, that which was called Sir Walter Raleigh's plot was diſcovered; but though all who were concerned in it were immediately ſeized, and ſent to ſeveral priſons, yet they were not brought to their trial till the beginning of the month of November following, at Wincheſter, to which city the term was adjourned on account of the plague being at London (b). There, upon the 17th of November, Sir Walter Raleigh was tried before commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe, amongſt whom were Sir John Popham, Chief Juſtice of England, and Sir Edmund Anderſon, Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas. The trial laſted from morning till ſix in the evening (c): there was no evidence offered againſt the priſoner, but ſeveral examinations of the Lord Cobham, and extracts of other examinations; for the Chief Juſtice told the priſoner, that the ſtatutes requiring two witneſſes were repealed, and that if there were proofs, either under hand, or by teſtimony of witneſſes, or by oaths, it was ſufficient, even if the examinations were not ſigned by thoſe from whom they were taken, if it did otherwiſe appear by evidence that they were taken (d). Sir Edward Coke managed this trial entirely, with much eagerneſs againſt the priſoner, and with great indecency towards the court; for upon Lord Cecil's interpoſing, and deſiring him to be patient, or, as it is elſewhere ſaid, with ſome ſhew of probability, upon that Lord's aſking him, *Whether he came thither to direct them* (e)? he ſat down in his chair, and would not ſpeak again, until all the commiſſioners joined their entreaties; upon which he roſe up, and recapitulating the circumſtances relating to the charge, Sir Walter was found guilty. This behaviour of Sir Edward Coke has been generally and juſtly cenſured, as carrying in it ſuch marks of heat, reſentment, and an overbearing ſpirit, as much leſſened him in the world's opinion (f). Whatever credit this

(z) See Stowe, Wilſon, Saunderſon, &c.

(a) Stowe's Annals, p. 824.

(b) Camden. Annal. Jacob. p. 11.

(c) Stowe's Annals, p. 830.

(d) State Trials, vol. i. p. 218.

(e) Sanderſon's Reign and Death of King James, p. 287.

(f) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 153, note [C].

'the proclamation, wherein they were declared rebels: that he hindered, as much as in him lay, the firing of any ſhot from Eſſex's houſe. He then deſired that the cauſe might be decided by rules of equity, not the niceties and quirks of the law. This the Queen's Attorney called a colourable evaſion, and demanded, *Whether it were not treaſon to ſeize upon the Court-Gate, the Court, the Privy-Chambers*, &c. *hereby to get the* Queen *into their hands?* Southampton calmly aſked him, *What he thought, in his conſcience, they deſigned to do with the* Queen? *The ſame*, replied he, *that* Henry *of* Lancaſter *did with* Richard II. *He went to the King, and fell on his knees, pretending nothing but the removal of his evil counſellors: but when he had once got the King in his clutches, he robbed him of his crown and life* (15).' This ſeems to be a ſevere paſſage, and to have gone deeper in ſhewing the Earl's treaſon, than any in the trial; and yet there are many ſharp things there too, inſomuch that the Earl of Eſſex all along complains of being talked out of his life by Orators; and as for the Earl of Southampton (16), he went farther, making uſe of theſe words at the end of his defence: Mr. Attorney, *you have urged the matter very far, and you wrong me therein. My blood be upon your head.* Yet it is evident enough, that Mr. Attorney Coke did not ſtretch the nature of that treaſon at all, nor does he ſeem to have changed his opinion ſome years afterwards, as appears by what he ſaid to Sir Walter Raleigh upon this ſubject at his trial: 'Eſſex, ſaid he, died the child of God; God honoured him at his death; thou waſt by when he died: *Et lupus & vulpes inſtant morientibus urſæ.* He died indeed for his offence (17). The King himſelf ſpake theſe words: *He that ſhall ſay* Eſſex *died not for treaſon, is puniſhable.*' So that Coke not only kept his own notions, but prevailed on King James to change his, for we are told, he once conſidered Eſſex as his martyr.

(15) Camden. Annal. p. 851, 852.

(16) State Trials, vol. i. p. 206.

(17) *Ibid.* p. 224.

[F] *As much leſſened him in the world's opinion.*] This appears clearly from a letter ſent to him by Sir Francis Bacon many years afterwards, containing a very extenſive view of all his faults and foibles, wherein are theſe expreſſions (18): 'As in your pleadings you were wont to inſult over miſery, and to inveigh bitterly at the perſons, which bred you many enemies, whoſe poiſon yet ſwelleth, and the effects now appear, &c.' It has been believed, that Shakſpeare, in his comedy of the Twelfth Night (19), hints at this ſtrange behaviour of Sir Edward Coke at Raleigh's trial. Mr. Oſborn ſays plainly, *that* Sir Walter Raleigh *was tired out of his life, by the bawling of the King's Council on one ſide, and the Bench inſiſting on a confeſſion extorted from the Lord* Cobham *out of fear, on the other.* Another gentleman obſerves (20), 'that as to Coke's behaviour, there is but one way to account for it, which is this: that if Eſſex was known to have ever been in any wiſe a friend or patron to him, as it appears he was, in a private memorial of an honourable perſon, who was of the ſame College in Oxford with Raleigh, and almoſt of the ſame ſtanding, then Coke might perhaps think of retrieving himſelf in the eye of the world, and making atonement for his ingratitude to the ſaid Earl alſo, at his trial, and to his memory after his death, by his inhumanity now to one of the contrary faction (21).' The reader may compare this with what is obſerved at the cloſe of the laſt note, from which it plainly appears, that though Sir Edward Coke commended Eſſex's death, yet he did not retract his opinion of his being a traitor, but urges as a confirmation of it, that the King was of his opinion alſo. He was as tenacious of his ſentiment with reſpect to Raleigh's treaſon; for we find him inſiſting upon it again and again, at the trial of the Powder Plotters (22). Yet whatever his opinion might be, it is no ſort of excuſe for his language, and therefore that worthy perſon who wrote the preface to the State Trials, deſcribes very juſtly ſuch petulant Orators in the following terms (23): 'Thoſe who with rude and boiſterous language, abuſe and revile the poor unfortunate priſoner; who ſtick not to take all advantages of him, however hard and unjuſt, which either his ignorance, or the ſtrict rigour of the law may give them; who by force or ſtratagem endeavour to diſable him from making his defence; who brow-beat his witneſſes as ſoon as they appear, though ever ſo willing to declare the whole truth; and do all they can to put them out of countenance, and confound them in delivering their evi-

(18) Bacon's works, vol. iv. p. 626.

(19) Theobald's edition of Shakſpeare, 1733, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 503.

(20) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 153.

(21) Oſborne's works, vol. ii. p. 108.

(22) State Trials, vol. i. p. 242, 243, 252, 253.

(23) Preface to the State Trials, in ſix Volumes, p. 3.

'dence,

this great man might lose by his intemperate behaviour upon this occasion, yet he soon recovered it again by the sagacity and vigilance he shewed in unravelling all the dark scenes of the Powder Treason, and by his admirable management of the evidence against Sir Everard Digby, and the rest of the conspirators tried at Westminster, June 27, 1605 (g); and at the trial of Henry Garnet at Guildhall, the 28th of March following; on both which occasions he gave the most convincing proofs of his extensive capacity, quick penetration, and solidity of judgment, so that the Earl of Salisbury had reason to say, in his own speech, upon the last trial, *That the evidence had been so well distributed and opened by the* Attorney-General, *that he never heard such a mass of matter better contracted, or made more intelligible to a Jury* (h). This appears so exactly conformable to truth, that many esteem this last speech especially, Sir Edward Coke's master-piece at this day [G]. It was in reward for his service upon this occasion, that it was resolved to promote him to the most beneficial place in the Law; in order to which he was called to the degree of a Serjeant, June 20, 1606 (i); and upon this promotion it was remarkable, that the motto he gave upon his rings came to be afterwards very applicable to his fortune, *viz.* 'Lex est tutissima cassis,' *The Law is the safest helmet* (k). On the last of the same month, he was raised to be Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and as this made way for Sir Henry Hobart to be Attorney-General, so it brought Sir Francis Bacon into the post of Solicitor (l), not much to the satisfaction of the new Chief Justice, if we may confide in a letter written to him by Sir Francis Bacon on that occasion, the contents of which are singular enough [H]. In this post, as Sir Edward Coke behaved

(g) Hist. of the Powder Treason, p. 39.

(h) State Trials, vol. i. p. 266.

(i) Chronic. Jurid. p. 181.

(k) Fuller's Worthies, p. 251.

(l) Stevens's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 15.

'dence, as if it were the duty of their place to convict all who are brought to trial, right or wrong, 'guilty or not guilty; and as if they, above all others, 'had a peculiar dispensation from the obligations of 'truth and justice. Such methods as these should be 'below men of honour, not to say men of conscience; 'yet in the perusal of this work, such persons will too 'often arise to view; and I could wish for the credit 'of the Law, that that great Oracle of it, the Lord 'Chief Justice Coke, had given less reason to be numbered among this sort.'

[G] *Sir Edward Coke's master-piece at this day.*] In his speech at the trial of Sir Everard Digby (24), he informs us, that three and twenty days had been spent in taking those examinations, the substance of which he offered to the court: he shews, that the ground-work of this treason was laid in the life-time of Queen Elizabeth; and that two of the conspirators, Catesby and Tresham, had been in all the plots that had fallen under his inspection; that of the unfortunate Earl of Essex, that of Watson and Clark, that with which Sir Walter Raleigh was charged, and now this, which was originally contrived to have taken effect by the assistance of a Spanish army; but not being able to depend upon that, the conspirators had recourse to the horrid design of freeing themselves from penal laws, by blowing up the King, the Royal Family, and the Parliament, with thirty-five barrels of gunpowder. There is not a step or motion of these conspirators, in the management of their affairs, for so many years together, with so many different persons, and in so many several places, that is, in Spain and Flanders as well as in England, but what he has traced out; nor were there any colours in which they meant to shade or conceal their treason, which he did not remove; setting the whole and every circumstance of the transaction in so perspicuous a light, that the prisoners themselves acknowledged, that all their doings were fairly detected, recommending themselves to the favour and intercession of the court. At Garnet's trial (25) he carried his enquiries much higher, and traced the plots and conspiracies of the Priests and Jesuits through the greatest part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, down to this very last; shewing, that there was a constant series of them, from which they were never to be diverted, either by severe laws and frequent punishments, or by repeated acts of lenity and mercy; that with respect to the King then reigning, they plotted against his title to the crown before Queen Elizabeth's death, wrote books on purpose to render it weak and dubious in the opinions of the people; that after his accession, and before his coming into England, they entered into schemes to defeat his possession; as a little more than a month after he came, they formed a design of surprizing his person; that notwithstanding his lenity and clemency towards them in the first year of his reign, they were still prosecuting the same wicked purposes by a variety of treasons; and that by their absolute dominion over the consciences of their deluded followers, they had influenced some who were embarked in this treason, and who died before they could be brought to justice, to perjure themselves in their last moments. To sum up all in a word, whoever desires to see a true picture of the art and subtilty of these sort of men, and to find, in a narrow compass, the history of their endeavours to subvert this constitution, and to throw all things into blood and confusion, for the furtherance of their design, need only peruse this speech of Sir Edward Coke's, most of the capital facts in which, were acknowledged freely by Garnet himself, in open court, after his conviction; so that as the penetration and sagacity of this great man are plainly proved by so long and clear a deduction, the truth of what he delivered is freed from all doubts, by the evidence then produced, and the confession before-mentioned.

(24) Hist. of the Powder Plot, and the Proceedings against Sir Everard Digby and his Accomplices, p. 21.

(25) State Trials, vol. i. p. 248.

[H] *The contents of which are singular enough.*] As we have occasion to speak often of the disputes and animosities between these two great men *Bacon* and *Coke*, it is requisite to produce this short letter from the former to the latter, which shews when, and whence, it took rise, *viz.* in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when Bacon, by the assistance of his great friend the Earl of Essex (26), made the strongest efforts to have obtained the post of Solicitor-General about the year 1594; which missing then, and more than once afterwards, fixed in him that strong desire of mortifying his adversary; for which, as various opportunities offered, so it will be found that he neglected none, whenever they offered. There is no date to this letter; but the contents of it plainly shew, that it was written while Sir Edward Coke continued Attorney-General, and after it was resolved that he should be made Chief Justice of the Common Pleas (27).

(26) See the article of BACON (Sir FRANCIS), in this Dictionary.

(27) Bacon's works, vol. iv. p. 570.

'Mr. Attorney,

'I thought best, once for all, to let you know in 'plainness what I find of you, and what you shall 'find of me: you take to yourself a liberty to disgrace and disable my law, my experience, my discretion; what it pleaseth you, I pray think of me; 'I am one that knows both mine own wants and 'other men's, and it may be perchance that mine 'mend, others stand at a stay. And surely I may not 'endure in publick place to be wronged, without 'repelling the same to my best advantage to right 'myself. You are great, and therefore have the 'more enviers, which would be glad to have you 'paid at another's cost. Since the time I missed the 'Solicitor's place (the rather I think by your means) 'I cannot expect that you and I shall ever serve as

haved with great probity as well as ſufficiency, ſo there ſeems to be little or no reaſon to doubt, that he was perfectly well ſatisfied with his ſtation, and would very willingly have remained there as long as he lived: but it ſeems there were other people who deſired to ſee him removed, and the method they took was, by ſuggeſting that his great abilities might be much better employed for the King's ſervice in another place; and by this ſlight he was, October 25, 1613, raiſed to be Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, or, as he ſtyled himſelf, according to the cuſtom of his predeceſſors, Chief Juſtice of England (*m*). By this he made room for Sir Henry Hobart to ſucceed him as Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, whereupon Sir Francis Bacon became Attorney-General; which it is proper to mention, becauſe the latter ſeems to own, that he had no ſmall hand in that intrigue by which all theſe changes were brought about (*n*); and this plainly ſhews, that the old diſlike between them ſtill continued; and we ſhall meet with ſome other very remarkable inſtances before this article is concluded, that will ſhew how great injuries the public receive from the private feuds and animoſities of great men, who ſtudy to gratify their particular inclinations, though it be at the expence of their Maſter's ſervice, and the good of his ſubjects (*o*). But notwithſtanding all this, and the Lord Chief Juſtice having, in point of proclamations, prohibitions, and other matters, ſhewn himſelf no friend (*p*) to a boundleſs prerogative, yet ſo much he retained of the King's favour, or at leaſt ſuch expectations were had of his future ſervices, that November 4, 1613, he was ſworn of the Privy-Council (*q*). This was a mark only of the King's countenance; for Bacon had now his Majeſty's ear entirely, to whom he repreſented his antagoniſt in a very unfavourable light on many occaſions, but more eſpecially in a certain caſe of treaſon, where he undertook to obtain the opinions of the Judges of the Court of King's-Bench, and particularly that of the Chief Juſtice, ſeparately and privately (*r*), in which he met with more difficulty than he imagined; for Sir Edward Coke was very unwilling to enter into any matter of this ſort in the manner Mr. Attorney propoſed; becauſe it was directly contrary to his Lordſhip's ſound maxim, *That he was a Judge in a Court and not in a chamber*. It appears, however, that Sir Francis Bacon valued himſelf very much on the art and ſkill he ſhewed in managing the Chief Juſtice, though in ſpite of all his dexterity and addreſs, he ſeems to confeſs that he was baffled in the end [*I*]. In the ſpring of the ſucceeding year, an occaſion happened,

(*m*) Chronic. Jurid. p. 185.

(*n*) Bacon's works, vol. iii. p. 272.

(*o*) Memorable Events of the Reign of James I. MS.

(*p*) Coke's Reports, P. xii. p. 50. 74. 82. 85.

(*q*) Camden. Annal. Jacob. p. 9.

(*r*) Bacon's works, vol. iv. p. 593.

' Attorney and Solicitor together; but either to ſerve ' with another upon your remove, or to ſtep into ' ſome other courſe: ſo as I am more free than ever ' I was, from any occaſion of unworthy conforming ' myſelf to you, more than general good manners, or ' your particular good uſage ſhall provoke; and if ' you had not been ſhort-ſighted in your own for- ' tune (as I think), you might have had more uſe of ' me. But that ſide is paſſed. I write not this, to ' ſhew my friends what a brave letter I have written ' to Mr. Attorney; I have none of thoſe humours, but ' that I have written is to a good end; that is, to ' the more decent carriage of my Maſter's ſervice, ' and to our particular better underſtanding one of ' another. This letter, if it ſhall be anſwered by you ' in deed and not in word, I ſuppoſe it will not be ' worſe for us both: elſe it is but a few lines loſt; ' which for a much ſmaller matter I would have ad- ' ventured. So this being to yourſelf, I for my ' part reſt.'

[*I*] *That he was baffled in the end.*] It is neceſſary, in the firſt place, to ſhew what the nature of this buſineſs was; next, what the King deſired; and, laſtly, how Sir Francis Bacon endeavoured to accompliſh what the King committed to his charge. As to the firſt, the caſe was this: Mr. Peacham was a Miniſter, and in a ſermon found in his ſtudy, which was never preached, or intended to be publiſhed, there were ſeveral paſſages ſuppoſed to be treaſonable (28). Now the thing the King deſired, was to have the ſentiments of the Judges as to theſe paſſages ſeparately and privately, before the man was brought to his trial. This was the point Sir Francis Bacon was to manage, and of his management he gives this account to the King, in a letter dated January 27, 1614 (29).

(28) Memorable Events in the Reign of King James, MS.

(29) Bacon's works, vol. iv. p. 595.

' For the courſe your Majeſty directeth and com- ' mandeth, for the feeling of the Judges of the King's- ' Bench their ſeveral opinions, by diſtributing our- ' ſelves and enjoining ſecrecy; we did firſt find an ' encounter in the opinion of my Lord Coke, who ' ſeemed to affirm, that ſuch particular, and as he ' called it, auricular taking of opinions, was not ac- ' cording to the cuſtom of this realm; and ſeemed to ' divine, that his brethren would never do it. But ' when I replied, that it was our duty to purſue your ' Majeſty's directions, and it were not amiſs for his ' Lordſhip to leave his brethren to their own anſwers; ' it was ſo concluded, and his Lordſhip did deſire ' that I mought confer with himſelf; and Mr. Ser- ' jeant Mountague was named to ſpeak with Juſtice ' Crook, Mr. Serjeant Crew with Juſtice Houghton, ' and Mr. Solicitor with Juſtice Dodderidge. This ' done, I took my fellows aſide, and adviſed that they ' ſhould preſently ſpeak with the three Judges, be- ' fore I could ſpeak with my Lord Coke for doubt of ' infuſion; and that they ſhould not in any caſe make ' any doubt to the Judges, as if they miſtruſted they ' would not deliver any opinion apart, but ſpeak re- ' ſolutely to them, and only make their coming to ' be, to know what time they would appoint to be ' attended with the papers. This ſorted not amiſs; ' for Mr. Solicitor came to me this evening, and re- ' lated to me, that he had found Judge Dodderidge ' very ready to give opinion in ſecret; and fell upon ' the ſame reaſon, which upon your Majeſty's firſt ' letter I had uſed to my Lord Coke at the Council- ' Table; which was, that every Judge was bound ' expreſsly by his oath, to give your Majeſty council ' when he was called; and whether he ſhould do it ' jointly or ſeverally, that reſted in your Majeſty's ' good pleaſure, as you would require it. And ' though the ordinary courſe was to aſſemble them, ' yet their mought intervene caſes wherein the other ' courſe was more convenient. The like anſwer ' made Juſtice Crook; Juſtice Houghton, who is a ' ſoft man, ſeemed deſirous firſt to confer; alledging, ' that the other three Judges had all ſerved the crown ' before they were Judges, but that he had not been ' much acquainted with buſineſs of this nature. We ' purpoſe therefore forthwith, they ſhall be made ac- ' quainted with the papers; and if that could be ' done as ſuddenly as this was, I ſhould make ſmall ' doubt of their opinions: and howſoever I hope, ' force of law and precedent, will bind them to the ' truth: neither am I wholly out of hope, that my ' Lord Coke himſelf, when I have in ſome dark man- ' ner put him in doubt that he ſhall be left alone, ' will not continue ſingular.'

In

happened by which the Chief Juſtice might have recovered his Maſter's favour. Mr. Oliver St. John, upon a benevolence being ſet on foot, had declared his opinion publicly, that it was againſt law, reaſon, and religion, for which he was brought into the Star-Chamber; and April 25, 1615, was ſentenced there to pay a fine of five thouſand pounds, and to ſuffer impriſonment during the King's pleaſure (*s*). Upon this occaſion, as Bacon told the King in a letter, the Chief Juſtice delivered the law for the benevolence ſtrongly; but adds, that this might do him no good, that he wiſhed he had done it timely (*t*). Another caſe followed ſoon after, in which Bacon alſo boaſts of having ſifted the Chief Juſtice, but owns that he found him exceedingly clear in his opinion; and this too was a caſe of treaſon: for one Mr. Owen, of Godſtowe, in Oxfordſhire, having aſſerted that Princes excommunicated by the Pope might be lawfully killed, he was thereupon indicted and convicted, May 17, 1615 (*u*). Some time after this there broke out a very extraordinary affair, which was the diſcovery of Sir Thomas Overbury's being murdered in the Tower, at the diſtance of about two years after the fact happened; for Overbury died September 16, 1613 (*w*), and the judicial proceedings againſt his murtherers did not commence till about September 1615. It has been much diſputed whence this affair took riſe, ſome aſcribing it to Dr. George Abbot, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was ſuppoſed to have a great averſion to the Earl of Somerſet; others to Sir Edward Coke (*x*); but the moſt probable opinion is, that Sir Ralph Winwood, who ſucceeded the Earl of Somerſet as Secretary, had the firſt intelligence of it from one Mr. Trumbal, the King's Agent in the Low-Countries, which produced ſome ſtrong reports that reflected on Sir Gervaſe Ellways, Lieutenant of the Tower; and he, by endeavouring to vindicate his own character, brought the whole matter to light, as has been already mentioned in another place (*y*). In the detecting all the ſecret ſteps of this dark buſineſs, the Lord Chief Juſtice Coke was equally zealous and diligent, taking, as we are told from a very high authority, ſeveral hundred examinations (*z*). In conſequence of theſe, the principal actors in this black affair were apprehended and brought to juſtice, notwithſtanding all the arts and influence that were exerted to prevent it. Richard Weſton, who had been Overbury's Keeper, was brought to his trial October 19, 1615, at Guildhall, and at firſt ſhewed a reſolution of ſtanding mute; to which he is ſaid to have been prompted by the King's Solicitor, who owed his promotion, and other favours, to the Earl of Somerſet (*a*). The Chief Juſtice very judiciouſly avoided coming to extremities by adjourning the Court, and before it met again Weſton was prevailed upon to plead, and was thereupon convicted and executed (*b*). Upon this, Sir John Hollis, afterwards Earl of Clare, Sir John Wentworth, and Mr. Lumſden, undertook to examine him at the gallows, in order to make the world believe, that this exemplary act of juſtice, was only the effect of a conſpiracy againſt that Nobleman, who has been ſo often mentioned, for which they were ſeverely cenſured in the Star-Chamber (*c*). It is certain, that from the very beginning, the Chief Juſtice was very apprehenſive of the conſequences of this affair, and therefore went to Royſton to the King, and deſired that others might be joined with him in commiſſion, which was granted; and theſe commiſſioners were, the Lord Chancellor Elleſmere, the Duke of Lenox, Lord Steward, and the Lord Zouch, Warden of the Cinque Ports; and by their aſſiſtance this whole buſineſs was conducted (*d*). Sir Francis Bacon, in a letter to the King himſelf, ſays, that this was the wiſeſt action of Sir Edward's life; which ſeems to ſpeak it to have been voluntary, and ſo it is repreſented upon another ſolemn occaſion (*e*). But there is, notwithſtanding, a very different account of this matter, which, as it is ſuppoſed to have come from the mouth of one of his Lordſhip's ſons, who was an eye and ear witneſs, may be worth the reader's notice (*f*) [*K*]. But however this matter

(*s*) Memorable Events of the Reign of King James, MS.

(*t*) Bacon's works, vol. iv. p. 602.

(*u*) Camden. Annal. Jac. I. p. 12.

(*w*) Hiſtorical Narration of the firſt fourteen years of Jac. I. p. 53.

(*x*) Coke's Detection, p. 49.

(*y*) Biographia Britannica, vol. i. Article, BACON (FRANCIS).

(*z*) See Sir Francis Bacon's Speech at the Earl of Somerſet's Trial.

(*a*) This is hinted by my Lord in his Speech in the Star-Chamber againſt Mr. Lumſden.

(*b*) Camden. Annal. Jac. I. p. 14

(*c*) State Trials, vol. i. p. 333.

(*d*) Camden. Annal. Jac. I. p. 14.

(*e*) Bacon's works, vol. iv. p. 612.

(*f*) Coke's Detection, p. 49.

In another letter, dated the 31ſt of the ſame month, he acquaints the King at large, with the arguments he made uſe of to the Lord Chief Juſtice; and concludes with ſaying, that the Chief Juſtice deſired the papers might be left with him (30); and notwithſtanding, it appears by ſeveral letters, that Sir Francis Bacon gave him no reſt, yet it was a fortnight before he could obtain his Lordſhip's anſwers; which were ſo little to his purpoſe, that he tells the King his Maſter, *He was glad to ſend them in the* Chief Juſtice's *hand-writing, for his own diſcharge* (31). Yet notwithſtanding this, it ſeems Mr. Peacham was tried and convicted of high treaſon.

(30) *Ibid.* p. 596.

(31) *Ibid.* p. 601.

[*K*] *May be worth the reader's notice.*] There is hardly any tranſaction, about which there has been more written, than as to this barbarous and inhuman murder of Sir Thomas Overbury; and yet it may be very truly affirmed, that hardly any of the relations we have, are (at leaſt as they ſtand) of any great authority; becauſe moſt of them are full of inconſiſtencies, contradictions, and palpable falſhoods; notwithſtanding which, we find them tranſcribed into our hiſtories, as if they contained indiſputable facts. The following is a very proper ſpecimen of this, as it pretends to great accuracy, as well as to the beſt authority (32). 'The King, *ſays this writer*, at this 'time, that is, when the murder was diſcovered, 'which he places in the middle of Auguſt, was at '*Royſton*, and *Somerſet* with him; and when the King 'had been there about a week, next day he deſigned 'to proceed to *Newmarket*, and *Somerſet* to return to '*London*, when Sir *Ralph* (*Winwood*) came to *Royſton*; 'and acquainted the King with what he had diſco-'vered about Sir *Thomas Overbury*'s murder: the 'King was ſo ſurprized herewith, that he poſted away 'a meſſenger to Sir *Edward Coke*, to apprehend the 'Earl: I ſpeak this with confidence, becauſe I had 'it from one of Sir *Edward*'s ſons.

'Sir *Edward* lay then at the *Temple*, and meaſured 'out his time at regular hours, two whereof were to 'go to bed at nine o'clock, and in the morning to 'riſe at three. At this time Sir *Edward*'s ſon, and

(32) Roger Coke's Detection of the Court and State of England, 1696, 8vo. p. 49.

matter might be, the Chief Juſtice, with the aſſiſtance of his fellow-commiſſioners, proceeded vigorouſly, though with great caution. On the 7th of November following, Mrs. Anne Turner, who had been about the Counteſs of Somerſet from her youth, was brought to her trial in the Court of King's-Bench, and upon very full evidence convicted and executed (*g*). On the 16th of the ſame month, Sir Gervaſe Ellways, who had been Lieutenant of the Tower, was convicted at Guildhall, and on the 20th hanged at Tower-Hill (*h*). Upon the 27th of the ſame month, James Franklin was tried and convicted in the King's-Bench, and a few days after executed. One would have imagined, after all this, that no great blame could be laid at the Chief Juſtice's door; and yet we find a certain writer charging him, though in all appearance very falſely, with dealing hardly with the priſoner at this laſt trial, and making too much haſte in the former (*i*) [*L*]. Sir Thomas Monſon, who was a great favourite with Lord Northampton, who

(*g*) Truth brought to Light by Time, p. 141.

(*h*) Camden. Annal. Jac. I. p. 15.

(*i*) Court and Character of King James, p. 109.

'ſome others, were in Sir *Edward*'s lodging, but 'not in bed, when the meſſenger, about one in the 'morning, knocked at the door, where the ſon met 'him, and knew him: Says he, *I come from the King, 'and muſt immediately ſpeak with your father. If you 'come from ten Kings*, he anſwered, *you ſhall not, for I 'know my father's diſpoſition to be ſuch, that if he be 'diſturbed in his ſleep, he will not be fit for any buſi-'neſs; but if you will do as we do, you ſhall be wel-'come; and about two hours hence my father will riſe, 'and you then may do as you pleaſe*; to which he aſ-'ſented.

'At three Sir *Edward* rung a little bell, to give 'notice to his ſervant to come to him, and then the 'meſſenger went to him and gave him the King's let-'ter, and Sir *Edward* immediately made a warrant 'to apprehend *Somerſet*, and ſent to the King that he 'would wait upon him that day.

'The meſſenger went back poſt to *Royſton*, and ar-'rived there about ten in the morning; the King had 'a loathſome way of lolling his arms about his fa-'vourites necks, and kiſſing them; and in this poſture 'the meſſenger found the King with *Somerſet*, ſaying, '*When ſhall I ſee thee again? Somerſet* then deſigning 'for *London*, when he was arreſted by Sir *Edward*'s 'warrant: *Somerſet* exclaimed, that never ſuch an 'affront was offered to a Peer of *England*, in the pre-'ſence of the King: *Nay man*, ſaid the King, *if* 'Coke *ſends for me I muſt go*; and when he was gone, '*Now the Deel go with thee*, ſaid the King, *for I will 'never ſee thy face any more.*

'About three in the afternoon, the Chief Juſtice 'came to *Royſton*, and ſo ſoon as he had ſeen the 'King, the King told him that he was acquainted 'with the moſt wicked murder by *Somerſet* and his 'wife, that was ever perpetrated, upon Sir *Thomas 'Overbury*; and that they had made him a pimp, to 'carry on their bawdry and murder; and therefore 'commanded the Chief Juſtice, with all the ſcrutiny 'poſſible, to ſearch into the bottom of the conſpiracy, 'and to ſpare no man, how great ſoever; concluding, '*God's curſe be upon you and your's, if you ſpare any of 'them*; *and God's curſe be upon me and mine, if I par-'don any one of them.*'

In the firſt place it is obſervable, that here is not one ſingle date; but from the manner in which this is delivered, one would imagine that all theſe facts paſſed in the month of Auguſt: but there is another circumſtance which ſeems to point out the day, and that is the commitment of the Earl of Somerſet; and yet this was upon the 18th of October (33). It is indeed true, as is ſaid in the text, that Sir Edward went to Royſton, and received the King's inſtructions, and this might be about the time, or perhaps before the Earl of Somerſet was committed. It is certainly not true, that he was ſent for from Royſton, or arreſted there by Sir Edward Coke's warrant. On the contrary, he was at full liberty when Weſton was firſt taken up and examined, and came from court to London, to outface the report that he was concerned in the murder (34). It is no leſs certain, that at this very time King James was not convinced of the Earl of Somerſet's having a hand in the murder: but upon the application of the Lord Chief Juſtice, which ſeems to have been on the day the Earl was committed, and that was the day before Weſton was arraigned, the enquiry was referred to commiſſioners mentioned in the text (35), and not to the Judges: ſo that, upon the whole, there are very few circumſtances in all this account, that can, with any ſhadow of probability, be thought true; and this will ſtill farther appear, from the circumſtances mentioned in the ſubſequent notes.

(33) Camden. Annal. Jacob. I. p. 14.

(34) Truth brought to Light by Time, p. 159.

(35) State Trials, vol. i. p. 350.

[*L*] *Dealing hardly with the priſoner at this laſt trial, and making too much haſte in the former.*] Sir Anthony Welden, if he was the author of the book that goes under his name, pretends alſo to tell this ſtory very circumſtantially; ſometimes from his own knowledge, and ſometimes from the information of perſons, who had the greateſt opportunity of knowing the truth. His account is equally inconſiſtent with itſelf, and with the former, and yet moſt of the ſame facts are in it. He makes the King go from Whitehall to Royſton; and the ſame day, when he was there, ſend for all the Judges, and make a ſpeech to them, ending with the curſes mentioned in the former (36). The Chief Juſtice's ſon, if the account laſt mentioned came from him, makes the King ſend only for his father late at night (37). Sir Anthony Welden makes the Judges ſent for to Royſton in a body (38), without ſhewing any cauſe why the King did not ſend for them the day before, when he was at Whitehall. Yet Sir Francis Bacon, in a letter to the King himſelf, ſays, that Sir Edward Coke went of his own accord, and ſhews us why he went (39). Sir Anthony Welden pretends to have been an eye-witneſs of the King's parting with Somerſet, and ſpeaks of his hanging upon his neck, and kiſſing him (40). The former account ſays, this was after the Chief Juſtice had ſent for him, and that by a warrant (41); Sir Anthony directly the contrary, and that he was not arreſted till his coming to London, which the King knew would happen, but Somerſet did not (42). Wilſon, from whom we have the ſame ſtory, ſays, that the Chief Juſtice ſent for him, and that the Earl complained to the King of his inſolence (43). After all it is certain, that he was not ſent for, that he came to London of his own motive, and to take meaſures for his own ſafety, as he affirmed himſelf (44) at his trial. But Sir Anthony Welden, though he makes the Earl of Somerſet as black as he can make him, inclines to make this a conſpiracy againſt him, into which he inſinuates Sir Edward Coke entered, on account of Sir George Villiers's brother being to marry his daughter, which was a thing not thought of for many years after. Having thus prejudiced the reader's opinion againſt the Chief Juſtice, he proceeds to blacken his conduct in the following manner (45). 'And now 'poor Mrs. Turner and Franklyn began the trage-'dy; Mrs. Turner's day of mourning, being better 'than the day of her birth; for ſhe died very peni-'tently, and ſhewed much modeſty in her laſt act, 'which is to be hoped was accepted with God: after 'that died Weſton, and then was Franklyn arraigned, 'who confeſſed that Overbury was ſmothered to death, 'not poiſoned to death, though he had poiſon given 'him. Here was Coke glad how to caſt about to 'bring both ends together, Mrs. Turner and Weſton 'being already hanged for killing Overbury with 'poiſon: but he being the very quinteſſence of the 'law, preſently informs the Jury, that if a man be 'done to death with piſtols, poinards, ſwords, 'halters, poiſon, &c. ſo he be done to death the in-'dictment is good, if but indicted for any of thoſe 'ways: but the good Lawyers of thoſe times were 'not of that opinion, but did believe that Mrs. 'Turner

(36) Court and Character of King James, p. 99.

(37) Coke's Detection. p. 49.

(38) Court and Character of King James, p. 100.

(39) Bacon's works, vol. iv. p. 612.

(40) Court and Character of King James, p. 102, 103.

(41) Coke's Detection, p. 50.

(42) Court and Character of King James, p. 104.

(43) Compleat Hiſt. of England, vol. ii. p. 698.

(44) State Trials, vol. i. p. 364.

(45) Court and Character of King James, p. 99. 108, 109.

who appears to have been very deep in this affair, and to have made uſe of him as his agent, was arraigned on the 4th of December at Guildhall, as an acceſſary, before the fact, with Weſton and the reſt, in poiſoning Sir Thomas Overbury (*k*): yet he was never tried, for reaſons about which poſterity have been but darkly informed; and it is with much confidence reported, that the Lord Chief Juſtice, at his arraignment, let fall ſome very haſty and myſterious ſpeeches, which gave occaſion to the ſtopping the progreſs of his proſecution (*l*). Yet with reſpect to theſe ſpeeches, there is only inconſiſtent and ſuſpicious evidence, as the reader will ſee in the notes [*M*]. One might conjecture, from the laying together of circumſtances, that Sir Thomas Monſon's trial

(*k*) Truth brought to Light by Time, p. 160.

(*l*) Court and Character of King James, p. 123.

'Turner was directly murthered by my Lord Coke's 'law, as Overbury was without any law.' Some little truth there is in this paragraph, and but a little, for Weſton was executed long before Mrs. Turner; and not only hanged before her, but before ſhe was arraigned. As for Sir Thomas Overbury's being ſmothered, that is a pure invention of his own; nor was Franklyn ever indicted for any ſuch thing, but for procuring the poiſons which Weſton adminiſtered to Sir Thomas; neither was Franklyn preſent at Overbury's death, nor was there ever the leaſt ſuſpicion but by himſelf, that Mrs. Turner was murdered by my Lord Coke's law. In all probability, this poor gentleman wrote after his ſenſes began to fail him: for, after all, there was a kind of ground for this ſtrange ſtory that he has told, though not with regard to Franklyn, but to Weſton; of whom, as we ſaid before, there was a report that he did not confeſs the fact at his death; and the reaſon of this the Lord Chief Juſtice gave, in the ſpeech he made at the trial of Sir John Hollis in the Star-Chamber, from a dark remembrance, or a hearſay report, of which this wild tale was coined. What he ſaid, take in his own words (46). 'In this caſe of Weſton, he would ne-'ver confeſs the indictment, becauſe the indictment 'was, that he poiſoned Sir Thomas Overbury with 'arſenick, roſeaker, and mercury ſublimate, when as 'indeed it was not known what poiſon killed him. 'Here the poor man conceived a ſcruple, that if he 'did not know with which of the poiſons Overbury 'was poiſoned, he was not guilty of the offence laid 'in the indictment, and therefore ſaid he was not 'guilty of the offence. Now, *ut obſtruatur os iniqui*, 'that the mouth of the wicked man may be fully 'ſtopped, after that it was reſolved unto him, that 'the manner of killing laid in the indictment, was 'not the point of the indictment, but the matter of 'killing; as if the indictment be that a man was 'killed with a ſword, whereas indeed he was killed 'with a dagger, yet the party is guilty, becauſe the 'killing of a man is the point of the indictment: 'then he confeſſed the fact.'

(46) State Trials, vol. i. p. 337.

[*M*] *As the reader will ſee in the notes.*] The firſt, and indeed the moſt credible author that relates any thing upon this head to the prejudice of the Chief Juſtice, delivers his ſtory thus (47). 'Sir Thomas 'Monſon, another of the Counteſs's agents in this 'poiſoning contrivance, had paſſed one day's trial at 'Guildhall. But the Lord Chief Juſtice Coke, in 'his rhetorical flouriſhes at his arraignment, vented 'ſome expreſſions (which he either deduced from 'Northampton's aſſuring the Lieutenant of the 'Tower, that the making away of Sir Thomas Over-'bury would be acceptable to the King, or from ſome 'other ſecret hint received) as if he could diſcover 'more than the death of a private perſon; intimat-'ing, though not plainly, that Overbury's untimely 'remove had ſomething in it of retaliation, as if he 'had been guilty of the ſame crime againſt Prince 'Henry, bleſſing himſelf with admiration at the hor-'ror of ſuch actions. In which he flew ſo high a 'pitch, that he was taken down by a court lure; Sir 'Thomas Monſon's trial laid aſide, and he ſoon after 'ſet at liberty, and the Lord Chief Juſtice's wings 'were clipt for it ever after.

(47) Wilſon's Life and Reign of King James, p. 702.

'And it was rumoured that the King (heightened 'to ſo much paſſion by this eruption of Sir Edward 'Coke's) went to the Council-Table, and kneeling 'down there, deſired *God to lay a curſe upon him and 'his poſterity for ever, if he were conſenting to Over-'bury's death.*' It is exceedingly ſtrange, that if the Lord Chief Juſtice really dropt any ſuch expreſſions at this trial, there ſhould not be a word of them mentioned in the minutes of that trial, which were publiſhed not only at a time when any thing might have been freely ſaid in reſpect to this Monarch's memory, but when, from the preface prefixed to them, it plainly appears the great end of publiſhing them, was to throw dirt upon him (48). It is alſo worth obſerving, that the ſtory of the curſe is entirely altered for the third time, but appears here with greater probability than in either of the other ſtories. Here comes in properly, what Sir Anthony Welden ſays, both with reſpect to the King's curſe, and the Chief Juſtice's ſpeech (49). 'It is verily believed, that when 'the King made thoſe terrible imprecations on him-'ſelf, and deprecations of the Judges, it was in-'tended the law ſhould run in its proper channel, 'but was ſtopt and put out of courſe, by the folly of 'that great Clerk, Sir Edward Coke, though no 'wiſe man; who in a vain-glorious ſpeech, to ſhew 'his vigilancy, enters into a rapture as he ſat on the 'bench, ſaying, *God knows what became of that ſweet 'babe Prince Henry, but I know ſomewhat*; and ſure-'ly, in ſearching the cabinets, he lighted on ſome 'papers that ſpake plain in that, which was ever 'whiſpered; which had he gone on in a gentle way, 'would have fallen in of themſelves, not to have been 'prevented; but this folly of his tongue, ſtopt the 'breath of that diſcovery, of that ſo foul a murder, 'which I fear cries ſtill for vengeance.' There is yet another writer who ſpeaks of this matter, and it is very fit the reader ſhould ſee what he ſays (50): 'There was a general rumour, that the Chief Juſtice, 'making a ſevere inſpection into Overbury's murder, 'found ſome papers about the poiſoning of Prince 'Henry; and Sir Anthony Welden, in his Hiſtory 'of the Reign of King James, ſays, That the Chief 'Juſtice had blabbed abroad ſo much: I am ſure there 'was never any ſuch acquaintance between the Chief 'Juſtice and him, that he ſhould blab it out to Wel-'den: whether this was true or falſe I cannot tell, 'but ſure the diſplacing Sir Edward Coke the next 'year, gave reputation to theſe rumours?' Yet this very writer, notwithſtanding this inſinuation, very well knew what was the real cauſe of Sir Edward Coke's removal, and that from his family, which he afterwards gives in his work very fairly (51). What has been before ſaid of the printed trials, is a full anſwer to both theſe writers, as well as to him who is firſt cited. But beſides all this, we have ſeveral letters of Sir Francis Bacon's to the King upon this ſubject, in which he is far enough from magnifying the Chief Juſtice's conduct, and yet not a word in them of theſe intemperate ſpeeches (52). If it ſhould be ſuggeſted, that Bacon could not mention theſe to his Maſter with decency, we have yet another letter of his to Sir Edward Coke after his fall, in which he inſiſts largely upon his errors in the management of this buſineſs; and there ſurely he would hardly have omitted a thing, at once ſo groſs and ſo notorious, if there had been any truth in it (53). On the whole, therefore, this ſeems to be a groundleſs rumour thrown out by thoſe, who hated both the King and the Chief Juſtice; and who were credulous enough to believe any thing, or at leaſt malicious enough to ſay any thing, that might fix an odium upon either. As to the credulity of Sir Anthony Welden, it appears clearly in this, that after all he has ſaid, he declares, in his own opinion, that the Earl of Somerſet was innocent of the murder (54); and, which is ſtill more extraordinary, he ſeems to think Sir Gervaſe Ellways innocent (55) alſo; ſo that his notions and his evidence, ſeem to be of equal value; or, to ſpeak plainly, of no value at all.

(48) See that Preface, ſigned *Mi. Scintilla*, before the book printed in 4to. *A. D.* 1651.

(49) Court and Character of King James, p. 122, 123.

(50) Coke's Detection, p. 56.

(51) *Ibid.* p. 54.

(52) Bacon's works, vol. iv. p. 616. 618. 620. 625.

(53) *Ibid.* p. 627.

(54) Court and Character of King James, p. 121.

(55) *Ibid.* p. 93.

was poſtponed, in order to bring on thoſe of the Earl and Counteſs of Somerſet: for if the evidence had failed in convicting him, it might have given a new turn to things, at leaſt with reſpect to the Earl; and his conviction was now looked upon as a point of very great conſequence (*m*). Beſides, Sir Francis Bacon was now come into the principal management of things, who had not meddled in this matter before, but left the proſecution of the other offenders to the Queen's Attorney-General. For this reaſon we find the proceedings were now drawn into a greater length; and it is pretty evident, that in the courſe of them certain circumſtances appeared, by which a ſuſpicion was given, that beſides their privity to this murder, Northampton and Somerſet had been embarked in ſome ſtate intrigues of a dark and dangerous conſequence, and had been tampering with the Spaniards (*n*). Hence aroſe the neceſſity of new ſearches and freſh examinations, by which this matter received a delay of ſome months. In the mean time, there happened another affair that produced no ſmall diſturbance to the Chief Juſtice. This was a claſhing in point of juriſdiction, between the Court in which his Lordſhip ſat as Chief, and the High Court of Chancery (*o*). This made a very great noiſe then, and has been the ground of much controverſy ſince, notwithſtanding the matter was brought to ſome kind of termination a few months after (*p*). At this time, when the difference broke out, the Chief Juſtice was of ſo great uſe, that thoſe who were none of his friends, adviſed the King to diſſemble any knowledge he had of the ſhare he took in it; and what ſhare that was, or rather was ſuppoſed to be, will at the bottom of the page appear (*q*) [*N*]. By this means things were kept quiet a little, while matters were preparing for the trials of the Earl and Counteſs of Somerſet, in which thoſe who were now entruſted with the King's ſecrets, were obliged to carry fair with him. Yet, as a variety of accidents retarded theſe trials, the enemies of the Chief Juſtice contrived to bring him into a new difficulty in reſpect to the buſineſs of *Commendams*, where he behaved with great dignity and firmneſs, and in which, if he was guilty of any error, he

(*m*) Bacon's works, vol. iv. p. 616.

(*n*) Hiſtorical Narration of the firſt fourteen Years of Jac. I. p. 59, 60.

(*o*) Compl. Hiſt. of Engl. vol. ii. p. 704.

(*p*) See the Act of Council in the Appendix to the firſt Volume of Chancery Reports.

(*q*) Bacon's works, vol. iv. p. 611.

[*N*] *Will at the bottom of the page appear.*] The cleareſt, moſt curious, and withal moſt conciſe account of this affair, is contained in a letter from Sir Francis Bacon, then Attorney-General, to King James; and as he profeſſes therein, to write *ex officio*, for the true information of his Maſter's judgment, ſo it is very apparent, that he penned it with equal ſkill and ſincerity; and conſidered in that light, it is one of the fineſt papers that ever fell from his pen (56).

(56) Bacon's works, vol. iv. p. 611.

'It is neceſſary I let your Majeſty know, the ground 'of the difference between the two courts, that your 'Majeſty may the better underſtand the narrative.

'There was a ſtatute made 27 Edw. III. cap. 1. 'which, no doubt, in the principal intention thereof, 'was ordained againſt thoſe that ſued to Rome; 'wherein there are words ſomewhat general againſt 'any that queſtioneth, or impeacheth any judgment 'given in the King's courts, or in any other courts. 'Upon theſe doubtful words (other courts) the con'troverſy groweth. For the ſounder interpretation 'taketh them to be meant of thoſe courts, which 'though locally they were not held at Rome, or 'where the Pope's chair was, but here within the 'realm, yet in their juriſdiction had their dependance 'upon the court of Rome; as were the court of the 'Legate here, and the courts of the Archbiſhops and 'Biſhops, which were then but ſubordinate judgment'ſeats to that high tribunal of Rome. And for this 'conſtruction, the oppoſition of the words, if they be 'well obſerved, between the King's courts and other 'courts, maketh very much, for it importeth as if 'thoſe other courts were not the King's courts. Alſo 'the main ſcope of the ſtatute fortifieth the ſame. 'And laſtly, the practice of many ages. The other 'interpretation which cleaveth to the letter, ex'poundeth the King's courts to be courts of law 'only, and other courts to be courts of equity, as 'the Chancery, Exchequer-Chamber, Duchy, &c. 'Though this alſo flieth indeed from the letter, for 'that all theſe are the King's courts.

'There is alſo another ſtatute, which is but a ſim'ple prohibition, and not with a penalty, of a pre'munire, (as the other is) that after judgments given 'in the King's courts, the parties ſhall be in peace, 'except the judgment be undone by error or attaint, 'which is a legal form or reverſal. And of this alſo 'I hold the ſounder interpretation to be, to ſettle poſ'ſeſſions againſt diſturbances, and not to take away 'remedy in equity, where thoſe judgments are ob'tained *ex rigore juris*, and againſt good conſcience.

'But upon theſe two ſtatutes, there hath been a late 'conceit in ſome, that if a judgment paſs at the com'mon law againſt any, that he may not after ſue for 'relief in Chancery; and if he doth, both he and his 'Counſel, and his Solicitors, yea and the Judge in 'Equity himſelf, are within the danger of thoſe 'ſtatutes.

'Here your Majeſty hath the true ſtate of the queſ'tion, which I was neceſſarily to open to you, firſt 'becauſe your Majeſty calleth for this relation, not 'as news, but as buſineſs. Now to the hiſtorical 'part.

'It is the courſe of the King's-Bench, that they 'give in charge to a Grand Jury offences of all na'tures, to be preſented within Middleſex where the 'ſaid court is; and the manner is to enumerate them, 'as it were in articles. This was done by Juſtice 'Crook the Wedneſday before the term ended. And 'that article (if any man after a judgment given had 'drawn the ſaid judgment to a new examination in any 'other court) was by him ſpecially given in charge, 'which had not uſed to be given in charge before. It 'is true it was not ſolemnly dwelt upon, but as it 'were thrown in amongſt the reſt.

'The laſt day of the term, and that which all men 'condemn, the ſuppoſed laſt day of my Lord Chan'cellor's life, there were two indictments preferred 'of premunire, for ſuing in Chancery after judgment 'in common law; the one by Richard Granville, the 'other by William Allen; the former againſt Court'ney, the party in Chancery, Gibb the Chancellor, 'and Deurſt the Clerk; the latter againſt Alderman 'Bowles and Humphrey Smith, parties in Chancery; 'Serjeant More, the Counſellor, Elias Wood, Soli'citor in the cauſe, and Sir John Tindal, Maſter in 'Chancery, and an Aſſeſſor to my Lord Chancellor.

'For the caſes themſelves it were too long to trou'ble your Majeſty with them, but this I will ſay, if 'they were ſet on that preferred them, they were the 'worſt markſmen that ever were, that ſet them on. 'For there could not have ben choſen two ſuch cauſes 'to the honour and advantage of the Chancery, for 'the juſtneſs of the decrees, and the foulneſs and ſcan'dal both of fact and perſon, in thoſe that impeach 'the decrees.

'The Grand Jury, conſiſting, as it ſeemeth, of 'very ſubſtantial and intelligent perſons, would not 'find the bills, notwithſtanding they were clamoured 'by the parties, and twice ſent back by the court; 'and, in concluſion, reſolutely ſeventeen of nine'teen found an *ignoramus*, wherein, for that time, I 'think, *Ignoramus* was wiſer than thoſe that knew 'too much.'

offended

offended in company with all his brethren, as will be ſhewn hereafter (*r*). This happened towards the latter end of April, and within a day or two after the Peers were ſummoned for the trial of the Earl and Counteſs of Somerſet. The latter was firſt tried on the 24th of May, and Lord Chancellor Elleſmere ſat as Lord High Steward. The King's inſtructions were produced to the commiſſioners, by which they were directed to examine, firſt, Whether there were good grounds to believe the Lord and Lady guilty? and if there were not, then they were to enquire after the authors of the conſpiracy (*s*). To theſe inſtructions were ſubjoined heads of examination, and they were produced to the Lords as an evidence of the King's care and impartiality, as well as the commiſſioners diligence in this buſineſs. The Counteſs gave them no trouble, for ſhe pleaded guilty (*t*). The next day, being the 25th of May, the Earl of Somerſet was tried, and the Lord Chief Juſtice gave a very full and fair account of his own conduct in the whole buſineſs, and the manner in which the letters and other written evidence produced came into the hands of the commiſſioners; ſo that after a trial, which laſted twelve hours, the Earl was found guilty by his Peers (*u*). All the thanks which the Chief Juſtice received for his honeſt zeal and matchleſs vigilance in this buſineſs, was to be conſidered in a bad light at Court, where he was alike perſecuted by the friends of the old, and the creatures of the new, favourite. By the induſtry of theſe people, his conduct was not only miſrepreſented to the King, but to the crowd; and Bacon, who certainly wrote as well as any man, undertook to make my Lord Coke himſelf ſenſible (*w*), that for all the pains and labour he had beſtowed, he met with no worſe treatment than he deſerved [*O*]. It was not long after, that he was attacked in another manner, and with greater

(*r*) See the letter ſigned by himſelf and the reſt of the Judges, in note [*P*].

(*s*) State Trials, vol. i. p. 350.

(*t*) Truth brought to Light by Time, p. 71.

(*u*) State Trials, vol. i. p. 365.

(*w*) Bacon's works, vol. iv. p. 626.

[*O*] *He met with no worſe treatment than he deſerved.*] It is very certain, that this letter of Sir Francis Bacon, as it is written with much ſpirit and freedom, ſo it is very far from being void of elegance or truth; and perhaps it had been a great happineſs for him, if, in his turn, he had met with ſuch a monitor. It is however to be regretted, that this letter has no date, though the very circumſtances of it plainly ſhew, that Sir Edward was already under difficulties, though not abſolutely overthrown; and hence we may conjecture, that it might be penned in June 1616. At preſent, we will quote only what relates to theſe proſecutions (57).

(57) *Ibid.* p. 612, 613.

'In your laſt, which might have been your beſt 'piece of ſervice to the ſtate, you affected to follow 'that old rule, which giveth juſtice leaden heels and 'iron hands; you uſed too many delays, till the de'linquents hands were looſed, and your's bound: in 'that work you ſeemed another Fabius, where the 'humour of Marcellus would have done better. 'What need you have ſought more evidences than 'enough? While you pretended the finding out of 'more (miſſing your aim) you diſcredited what you 'had found. This beſt judgments think; though 'you never uſed ſuch ſpeeches as are fathered upon 'you, yet you might well have done it, and but 'rightly: for this crime was ſecond to none but the 'Powder Plot: that would have blown up all at one 'blow, a merciful cruelty; this would have done the 'ſame by degrees, a lingering but a ſure way; one 'by one might have been culled out, till all oppoſers 'had been removed.

'Beſides, that other plot was ſcandalous to Rome, 'making Popery odious in the ſight of the whole 'world; this hath been ſcandalous to the whole Goſ'pel, and ſince the firſt nullity to this inſtant, when 'juſtice hath her hands bound, the Devil could not 'have invented a more miſchievous practice to our 'State and Church than this hath been, is, and is like 'to be. God avert the evil!

'But herein you committed another fault; that as 'you were too open in your proceedings, and ſo 'taught them whereby to defend themſelves; ſo you 'gave them time to undermine juſtice, and to work 'upon all advantages, both of affections, and ho'nour, and opportunity, and breach of friendſhip; 'which they have ſo well followed, ſparing neither 'pains nor coſts, that it almoſt ſeemeth an higher 'offence in you to have done ſo much indeed, than 'that you have done no more; you ſtopt the confeſ'ſions and accuſations of ſome, who perhaps had 'they been ſuffered, would have ſpoken enough to 'have removed ſome ſtumbling-blocks out of your 'way; and you did not this in favour of any one, 'but of I know not what preſent unadviſed humours, 'ſuppoſing enough behind to diſcover all, which fell not out ſo. Howſoever, as the Apoſtle ſaith in 'another caſe, you went not rightly to the truth, and 'therefore though you were to be commended for 'what you did, yet you were to be reprehended for 'many circumſtances in the doing; and doubtleſs 'God hath an eye in this croſs to your negligence, 'and the briars are left to be pricks in your ſides, 'and thorns in your eyes.'

It is not a little ſtrange, that theſe reflections upon Sir Edward Coke's conduct have gone ſo long current, and are like to be tranſmitted without ſo much as a remark to poſterity, and yet ſurely they deſerve a contrary uſage. The Lord Chief Juſtice, at his ſetting out, acted with the ſpirit of Marcellus; which nobody knew better than the author of this letter, or he would not have ſaid ſo much in his fine ſpeech againſt Sir John Hollis in the Star-Chamber (58). But when there appeared ſuch a ſpirit in the city and country, as well as in the court, of treating this matter not as a courſe of juſtice, but as a conſpiracy againſt the Earl of Somerſet, it very much imported Sir Edward Coke to act with caution. It was then he aſſumed the character of Fabius; and this very writer told the King thereupon, in one of his letters, it was the wiſeſt part he ever acted (59): but what was right then, could it be wrong now? As to the trial of the great offenders, no man could be better acquainted with the reaſons of the delay than the author of this letter, who aſcribes them abſolutely to the Chief Juſtice, though ſurely many of them lay out of his power. For firſt they could not be tried as acceſſaries before the fact, till the principals were convicted. Franklyn, who was the laſt of them, was tried on the 30th of November, and on the 9th of December following, the Counteſs of Somerſet was brought to bed (60). This was another cauſe of delay, which the Chief Juſtice could not either foreſee or prevent. But the Earl might have been tried in the mean time. He might ſo, if there had been evidence to convict him, which very probably there was not; ſince the evidence on which he was convicted, did not come to the Chief Juſtice's hands till the 21ſt of December, when by accident the trunk was diſcovered, in which the letters that affected him were hid (61). There was indeed a delay of four months after this; but that ought not to lie at the Chief Juſtice's door, as any who will peruſe this gentleman's letters to Sir George Villiers and the King will perceive. Others have accuſed Sir Edward Coke for his intemperate ſpeeches, of which he is acquitted by Sir Francis Bacon; who by a very ſingular kind of logick, cenſures him for not uſing them, though himſelf adviſed and procured the King's command, that no harſh ſpeeches ſhould be uſed at the trials of the Earl and Counteſs (62). After all, what was done in the way of juſtice was done by Lord Coke; what was afterwards done in

(58) State Trials, vol. i. p. 335.

(59) Bacon's works, vol. iv. p. 612.

(60) Camd. Annal. Jac. I. p. 15.

(61) State Trials, vol. i. p. 357.

(62) Bacon's works, vol. iv. p. 624, 625.

greater effect; first, with relation to the cause of *Commendams*, in which not only his behaviour, but that of the whole twelve Judges, was examined and censured in the Privy-Council, for doing what they took to be their duty, and following what they understood to be the meaning of an Act of Parliament; to which the rest submitted patiently, but Sir Edward Coke expostulated the matter with dignity and decency; so that notwithstanding he could not resist a superior power, for here he had both the Crown and the Church, or rather the Crown at the instigation of the Church, against him; yet he did not give way to it, or afford any sanction to the usage he met with, by a tame and pusillanimous submission (*x*) [*P*]. About this time the business of the Court of

(*x*) See the extract of the Act of Council in the note.

in the way of mercy, came through other hands. It is also no less certain, as the reader may see in another place, that Bacon was very jealous of Coke's becoming Chancellor; to prevent which, he insinuated some things to the King, that were not much to the advantage of Lawyers, or indeed of the Law itself (63). These are facts that occur in justification of this great man's memory, though I do not find they have ever been applied to that purpose. The reader must decide with what propriety they have been so applied here.

(63) *Ibid.* p. 607.

[*P*] *By a tame and pusillanimous submission.*] The history of this affair, which is very curious, and has also a very close connection with the memoirs of this eminent person, we shall digest into the narrowest compass possible. The dispute arose thus: Dr. Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, informed the King, that Serjeant Chiborne, in arguing the cause against *Commendams* at the Common Pleas Bar, had maintained divers positions contrary to the King's prerogative, as that the translation of Bishops was against the Canon Law; and that the King had no power to grant *Commendams* but in cases of necessity; which necessity could never happen, because no man was bound to hospitality beyond his means (64). Upon this information, the King directed his Attorney-General, Sir Francis Bacon, to signify his pleasure unto the Lord Chief Justice, that he held it necessary himself should be first consulted, before the Judges proceeded to argue it; and therefore the day appointed should be put off, till they might speak with his Majesty. This letter was dated April 25, 1616 (65). Sir Edward Coke, upon receiving the letter, desired the other Judges might have the like, which they accordingly had; and upon their meeting together, they came unanimously to a resolution of doing in this case, what they took to be their duty; and when they had so done, they justified themselves by the following letter to the King. Mr. Collier, in his Ecclesiastical History, says, this letter was signed by ten Judges, of whom Coke and Hobart were two (66); but the reader will see (67), that it was signed by all the twelve, and runs thus:

(64) See the Act of Council, dated June 6, 1616.

(65) Bacon's works, vol. iv. p. 637.

(66) Collier's Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 710.

(67) This letter is transcribed from the Act of Council.

'Most dread and most gracious Sovereign,

'IT may please your most excellent Majesty to be 'advertised, That this letter here inclosed, was de- 'livered unto me your Chief Justice on Thursday last 'in the afternoon, by a servant of your Majesty's 'Attorney-General; and letters of like effect were 'on the day following, sent from him by his servant 'to us, your Majesty's Justices of every of the Courts 'at Westminster: we are, and ever will be ready, 'with all faithful and true hearts, according to our 'bounden duties, to serve and obey your Majesty, and 'think ourselves most happy to spend our times and 'abilities to do your Majesty true and faithful service. 'In this present case mentioned in this letter; what 'information hath been made unto you, whereupon 'Mr. Attorney doth ground his letter from the 'report of the Bishop of Winton, we know not; this 'we know, that the true substance of the cause, 'summarily is thus: It consisteth principally upon 'the construction of two Acts of Parliament, the one 'of the 25th year of King Edward III. and the other 'of the 25th of King Henry VIII. whereof your 'Majesty's Judges upon their oaths, and according 'to their best knowledge and learning, are bound to 'deliver their true understanding faithfully and up- 'rightly; and the case between two for private inte- 'rest and inheritance, earnestly called on for justice 'and expedition. We hold it our duty to inform 'your Majesty, that our oath is in these express 'words, That in case any letters come unto us con- 'trary to Law, that we do nothing by such letters, 'but certify your Majesty thereof, and go forth to do 'the Law notwithstanding the same letters: we have 'advisedly considered of the said letter of Mr. Attor- 'ney, and with one consent do hold the same to be 'contrary to Law, and such as we could not yield to 'by our oath; assuredly persuading ourselves, that 'your Majesty being truly informed that it standeth 'not with your royal and just pleasure to give way to 'them. And therefore knowing your Majesty's zeal 'to justice to be most renowned, therefore we have 'according to our oaths and duties, at the very day 'prefixed the last term, proceeded, and therefore 'certified your Majesty, and shall ever pray to the 'Almighty for your Majesty in all honour, health, 'and happiness, long to reign over us.

'Serjeant's-Inn.

'Edw. Coke, Henry Hobarte, Laur. 'Tanfield, Pet. Warburton, Geo. 'Snigge, Ja. Altham, Ed. Brom- 'ley, John Croke, Humphry 'Winche, John Dodderidge, 'Augustine Nicholls, Robert 'Houghton.'

The King replied in a letter, that the alledging their oath for their non-compliance, was a weak and impertinent pretence: that it was very unreasonable to suppose his predecessors should be carried off their guard to such a degree, as to pass an act so very prejudicial to their prerogative: that their oath only reached to private cases between subject and subject, and was designed to prevent the Prince being solicited by either of the parties. And in the close, commands them not to proceed in the cause, till his return to London. At his Majesty's coming to town, the Judges were all sent for to the Council-Table. The King began with taking their letter in pieces, and shewing their misbehaviour with respect both to matter and manner. He reprimands them for their remissness, in permitting the Council to dispute his prerogative at the Bar; and tells them it was their duty to check those intemperate sallies, and not suffer such insolence upon the Crown. Then as to their own business he acquaints them, That deferring their resolution upon just and necessary reasons, is neither a denial nor delay of justice: 'tis rather a pause of necessary prudence: nothing being more proper and advisable, than to consult the King where the Crown is concerned. He told them farther, That to say the point was a private contest between the subject, was wide of the case: for that a Bishop, the defendant, pleaded for a *Commendam* only in virtue of the prerogative royal: and besides, they could not prove either of the parties solicited for expedition. And lastly, he let them know their letter was indecently couched, and failed in the form. Upon this all the Judges kneeled, owned their error, and craved pardon. But as to the matter, the Chief Justice Coke stood upon his defence, declared that his Majesty's command for stopping the proceedings was a delay of justice, and by consequence against Law and their oath: and that as they intended to manage the pleading, the King's prerogative should not have been concerned. To this the King answered, that for them to pronounce whether his prerogative was concerned or not, without consulting him, was preposterous management. And his Majesty required the Lord Chancellor to deliver

of Chancery was alſo brought to an iſſue, in which it is generally thought, that the Chief Juſtice, who was a man of high ſpirit, and naturally prone to rough meaſures, was, in reality, much in the wrong (*y*). But perhaps there is ſomewhat of miſtake in this matter; for though it ſhould be granted that there might be ſomething amiſs in the deciſion of the cauſe in the King's-Bench, which gave occaſion to this diſpute, and that conſequently it was reaſonable the party injured ſhould find relief elſewhere; yet as it was never ſuggeſted that the Chief Juſtice did any thing that was wrong, and as there appear only ſuſpicions of his having countenanced the meaſure taken to ſupport the juriſdiction of his Court, we ought not to be too haſty in concluding to his prejudice (*z*) [Q]. But a deſign there was of humbling him, and a multitude of great and powerful perſons were embarked in it; ſo that there is no great cauſe for amazement, if, notwithſtanding his ſteady courage, his great integrity, and his quick and admirable parts, he was brought into great difficulties, more eſpecially in the Royal preſence, and before a new judicature, and where thoſe who ſat while he knelt, were, ſome of them at leaſt, the principal authors of his calamity, and the inventors of this new method of treating a Lord Chief Juſtice, conſidered by the nation as the head of the Law, in a manner as extraordinary as it was mortifying (*a*) [R]. The iſſue of this ſtrange buſineſs, that on

(*y*) Wilſon's Life and Reign of King James, in the Compleat Hiſt. of Engl. vol. ii. p. 704.

(*z*) Bacon's works, vol. iv. p. 612.

(*a*) Compl. Hiſt. of Engl. vol. ii. p. 705.

liver his opinion, whether he had commanded the Judges any thing againſt Law and their oath?

The Chancellor excuſing himſelf as to the point of Law, referred the Queſtion to the King's Counſel. Upon this the Attorney-General Bacon declared, That to put off the day was no delay of juſtice, nor any failure in their oaths: that the King's reaſons for this delay were only to ſecure his prerogative: and therefore puts the queſtion to the Judges, *Whether this refuſal of theirs to make a ſtay, was not nearer a breach of their oath?* For they were ſworn to counſel the King when they are called. But not to give his Majeſty counſel till the buſineſs is over, is in effect not to give counſel at all. The reſt of the King's Counſel concurred with the Attorney. The Chief Juſtice Coke argued the King's Counſel had exceeded their bounds: that it was their duty to plead before the Judges, but not againſt them. To this the Attorney Bacon replied, that the King's Counſel were obliged both by their oath and office, not only to plead, proceed, and declare againſt the greateſt ſubject, but alſo againſt any body of ſubjects, were they Judges, Courts, or Commons in Parliament: That the Judges had highly outraged their character by making this challenge. And in the cloſe, the Attorney appealing to the King, the Chief Juſtice ſaid he would not diſpute it with his Majeſty. The Lord Chancellor gave his opinion for the King, and his Counſel learned in the Law. Upon this the queſtion was put by all the Lords of the Board, *Whether in a caſe where the King believed his prerogative or intereſt concerned, and requires the Judges to attend him for their advice; whether in ſuch a caſe they ought not to ſtay proceedings till his Majeſty has conſulted them?*

All the Judges ſubmitted to the affirmative ſide of the queſtion, excepting Coke Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, who ſaid, *That when the caſe happened, he would do his duty.* The Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas was more compliant in his anſwer, and declared that for his part, he would always truſt the juſtice of the King's command. The day drawing nigh for arguing the *Commendams* farther, the King aſked the Judges if they intended to diſcuſs, whether the King had a general power for granting *Commendams* or not? They agreed not to draw his Majeſty's power into queſtion, and promiſed to correct the preſumption of thoſe pleaders, who took the liberty to ſtate the prerogative. And as to the preſent caſe, Judge Dodderidge gave his opinion for the King, that the Church was void and in his Majeſty's gift; and that he might grant a *Commendam* to a Biſhop, before, or after conſecration, and that either during life, or for years. When the Judges were gone, it was reſolved by the Privy-Council, that what the King required, was neither againſt Law, nor the Judge's oath. And this opinion was ſigned by all the Board (68).

(68) Franklyn's Annals of King James, p. 17, from the Council Book.

[Q] *We ought not to be too haſty in concluding to his prejudice.*] We are told by a certain Hiſtorian, that the caſe in the King's Bench about which all this trouble aroſe, was a very foul one; and ſo indeed it was, if he hath ſtated it fairly (69); which from certain authorities I have ſeen, I really conceive he has. The matter then was thus: the defendant in the cauſe while in the King's Bench, prevailed upon the plaintiff's principal witneſs not to attend, or to give any evidence in the cauſe, provided he could be excuſed. One of the defendant's agents undertakes this, and carrying the witneſs to a tavern, called for a gallon of ſack in a pot, and bid the man drink. As ſoon as he laid his lips to the flaggon, the defendant's agent quitted the room. When the witneſs was called, the Court was informed that he was unable to come; to prove which this agent was produced, who depoſed, *that he left him in ſuch a condition, that if he continued in it but a quarter of an hour he was a dead man.* For want of this perſon's teſtimony the cauſe was loſt, and the verdict given for the defendant. Upon this a bill was brought in Chancery for relief, to which the defendants refuſed to anſwer, and were committed for their contempt; and they again in revenge for this, preferred bills at the cloſe of term, as has been before mentioned. The King having all this matter brought before him, and having had it ſolemnly argued by his Attorney and Solicitor-General, and Counſel learned in the Law, cauſed the ſame to be ſettled by an order of Council (70). In this matter it cannot be denied, that the reſort of the plaintiffs to the Court of Chancery was very reaſonable; but then on the other hand, there is room to imagine, that ſome inconveniencies were alſo diſcernable in the other practice, ſince we fined that Sir Francis Bacon (71), upon his having the Seals, thought fit amongſt other things to declare himſelf largely upon this very head in the court of Chancery, and this in terms, which ſhew plainly enough, that how much ſoever he aggravated the offence of the Lord Chief Juſtice Coke, in taking ſuch rough meaſures to ſupport the juriſdiction of his Court; yet he did not care in the place he then held, to be eſteemed the author of a ſentiment directly oppoſite, but choſe rather to qualify the power of the Court of Chancery, and thereby remove effectually thoſe inconveniencies, that with great reaſon were apprehended, from the claſhing of theſe juriſdictions. Whoever deſires to ſee this whole matter, as it was diſcuſſed upon this memorable occaſion, may conſult the book cited in the margin, and receive full ſatisfaction (72). It may not be amiſs however to obſerve, that it will hereafter appear, that the Lord Chief Juſtice himſelf was content with this deciſion, and that he never complained of it afterwards; which is a proof, that the principal point he aimed at, was to obtain ſome kind of ſettlement, that was to be an univerſal benefit to the ſubjects of this kingdom; and for the ſake of which, his conduct might ſurely be excuſed, though not juſtified.

(69) Wilſon's Life and Death of King James, in the ſecond vol. of the Compleat Hiſt. of England, p. 704.

(70) Memorable Events in the Reign of King James.

(71) Bacon's Reſuſcitatio, p. 81.

(72) Reports in Chancery, 8vo. 1715, vol. i. in the Appendix.

[R] *In a manner as extraordinary as it was mortifying.*] The firſt proceedings by way of cenſure on the Chief Juſtice, were before the Privy-Council, July 26, 1616, and were thus reported to the King (73).

(73) From the MS. Collections of the late Rev. Mr. Thomas Baker, of St. John's.

'It may pleaſe your Majeſty,

'THE Lord Chief Juſtice preſenting himſelf on 'his knees at the Board, your Solicitor ſignified, that 'he

on the 30th of June, 1616, Sir Edward Coke was ſuſpended from the execution of his office, and Sir Randolph Crew appointed to go the circuit in his ſtead (*b*). Things ſtood

(*b*) Camden. Annal. Jac. I. p. 19.

'he was by your commandment to charge him for certain acts and ſpeeches, wherein your Majeſty was much unſatisfied, which were in number three. I. An act done. II. Speeches of high contempt, uttered in the ſeat of juſtice. III. Uncomely and undutiful carriage in the preſence of your Majeſty, the Privy-Council, and Judges. Concerning the firſt, which was the act, it was done when he was in a place of truſt, and concealed a ſtatute of 12,000*l.* taken of Sir Chriſtopher Hatton to the uſe of Sir Edward Coke, when he was your Majeſty's Attorney-General, not to pay a debt of good value due unto your Majeſty, nor to accept of a diſcharge for the ſame. And for the better ſtrengthening of the ſtatute, there was likewiſe a bond taken of 6000*l.* with ſureties to the ſame effect. So that Sir Chriſtopher Hatton lay charged under the penalty of 18,000*l.* not to pay the debt, nor agree to any ſurrender, diſcharge, or releaſe, nor any ways to aſſent thereunto. That this offence was aggravated by the denial and proteſtation made of late by the Lord Chief Juſtice, that he was not privy to the condition of the defeazance, whereas the ſtatute was taken to himſelf by indenture, whereof Sir Chriſtopher Hatton's part was found, but the other was not found. That he was privy to the penning of it, inſerted words with his own hands, and that Mr. Walter and Mr. Bridgman his own Counſel, were witneſſes thereunto. The *ſecond*, words ſpoken in the King's Bench the laſt day of Hilary Term laſt, at a caſe of Glanvill and Allen, whereof the Solicitor made a narrative relation, and charged the Lord Chief Juſtice to have given too much heart and encouragement to that cauſe; and that he had too conſtantly directed the Jury, turning them thrice from the Bar, that if they ſet their hand to a bill after judgment, he would foreclose them the Court. And further in another cauſe the ſame day, ſaid, that the Common Law of England would be overthrown, and that the light of the Law would be obſcured. And that all this was confirmed by good witneſſes. The *third* and laſt point, was his undecent behaviour before your Majeſty, your Council, and your Judges. And that conſiſted of two points. Firſt, the exception that he took at your learned Counſel in your preſence, for ſpeaking at your commandment. The ſecond, that your Majeſty having opened yourſelf in the caſe of *Commendams*, and ſatisfied the Judges that your Majeſty's ſending to them, had no intent to delay juſtice; and the queſtion being put to the reſt of the Judges, whether they did not hold it for a delay of juſtice, that your Majeſty had ſent in the caſe, or if your Majeſty ſhould ſend hereafter in a like caſe, wherein your Majeſty's progenitors were intereſted? The reſt of the Judges ſubmitting themſelves, he only diſſented from all the reſt. This being the effect of your Solicitor's charge, your Lord Chief Juſtice made anſwer, that he would by their Lordſhips favour begin with the laſt. And ſaid, for the part of challenge and taking exception at your Majeſty's Counſel learned, ſpeaking in the caſe by your Majeſty's commandment, he acknowledged it for an error, and ſubmitted himſelf. To the part, that upon the queſtion aſked the Judges, touching ſtay of proceedings, he denied when all the reſt did yield, his anſwer was, That the queſtion yielded many particulars, which ſuddenly occurred to his mind, and cauſed him to make his anſwer; that when the time ſhould be, he would do that which ſhould become an honeſt and juſt Judge. For the bond he ſaith, that that aſſurance was in hammering a year and a half, they were *Elephanti libelli*; and now twelve years being paſt, it was no great marvel if his memory were ſhort. Eſpecially ſince about that time he was employed, firſt, in the great ſervice of the Prieſt treaſon and Cobham, and in the next year in the Powder Treaſon. And that if any things had ſlipped in the multitude of buſineſs, that theſe ſervices blot out his errors. Secondly, *ab impoſſibili*, which was, that the debt remaining at the time, was 33,000*l.* and that young Mr. Hatton's means were very mean, and not above 100 marks a year. And as ſoon as it came to the poſſibility, when he firſt heard of Sir Robert Rich's offer, he then ſubmitted it before ſuch time as he remembered the ſtatute or defeazance. Thirdly, *Cui bono?* He ſaid he had never any profit by it, but the preſentation to a benefice, and all the reſt was his wife's. Fourthly, that the Crown was content with the eſtabliſhment, and he did but take bond to continue it. And throughout all this, he did ſubmit himſelf to your Majeſty and the Board, ſaying, *Actus not facit reum, niſi mens ſit rea.* For his ſpeech in the King's Bench, &c. he ſaith, that firſt, whatſoever was done, was by the common conſent. And for thoſe ſpeeches, many of them were ſpoken, and he knew by whom they were ſpoken, but not by himſelf. And then offered four conſiderations. I. That the Court, unto which nevertheleſs he did except, was *ad informandum non ad convincendum.* II. They were witneſſes but on one ſide. III. That the interrogatories might be drawn too ſhort. IV. That it was concerning words ſpoken four months ago, which being ſpoken amongſt many, may be diverſly reported. And thereupon produced a paper written by himſelf, containing, as he ſaith, the true paſſage of the day (which paper we preſent unto your Majeſty here withal) being, as he ſaith, ſet down by himſelf the day after, *ſedato animo.* And touching theſe words, that the Common Law would be overthrown, and the Judges would have but little to do at the Aſſizes, becauſe the light of the Law would be obſcured, he confeſſeth the words, but ſaith, they were not ſpoken the ſame day, but at another time, in a caſe of Sir Anthony Mildmay's. And added, that he would not maintain a difference between the two Courts, nor bring it into queſtion; yet if it were an error, he may ſay, *Erravimus cum patribus.* And thereupon alledged the examples. Firſt, the article againſt Cardinal Wolſey, 20 Hen. VIII. wherein the ſame words are uſed, *viz.* that ſuch proceedings in the Chancery, tended to the ſubverſion of the Common Law, art. 20. Secondly, the book intituled the *Doctor and Student.* Thirdly, an opinion of the Judges in Throgmorton's caſe, in Queen Elizabeth's time. And added alſo further, that for the time to come, no man ſhould ever make any oppoſition. So that the Judges having received your Majeſty's commandment by the Attorney-General, that no bill of that nature ſhould be hereafter received, he and his brethren have cauſed the ſame to be entered as an order in the ſame Court, which ſhall be obſerved; which being the effect of his anſwer, we have thought to add withal, that before us, as well in ſpeech as in action, he behaved himſelf modeſtly and ſubmiſſively.'

On the 30th of June following, the Chief Juſtice preſented himſelf again at the Council Table (74) upon his knees, when Secretary Winwood informed him, that report had been made to his Majeſty of what had paſſed there on the Wedneſday before, together with the anſwer he had given, and that too in the moſt favourable manner, but that his Majeſty was no way ſatisfied in reſpect to any of the heads; but that notwithſtanding his Majeſty, as well out of his own clemency, as in regard to the former ſervices of his Lordſhip, was pleaſed not to deal heavily with him, and therefore had decreed, I. That he be ſequeſtered from the Council Table, until his Majeſty's pleaſure be further known. II. That he forbear to ride his ſummer-circuit as Juſtice of Aſſize. III. That during this vacation, while he had time to live privately and diſpoſe himſelf at home, he take into his conſideration and review his books of Reports; wherein as his Majeſty is informed, be many extravagant and exorbitant opinions ſet down and publiſhed, for poſitive and good Law. And if in reviewing and reading thereof, he find any thing fit to be altered and amended, the correction is left to his diſcretion.

(74) From a MS. Collection belonging formerly to Dr. Moore, late Biſhop of Ely, and now to the Univerſity of Cambridge, by the gift of his late Majeſty George I.

ſtood thus till the 15th of November, when Sir Henry Mountague was made Chief Juſtice; and at the time of his being ſworn into his office, it was intimated, that the cauſe of his predeceſſor's removal was his too great popularity (c). We are, however, to conſider this merely as a colour; ſince it is in a manner certain, that he loſt his office for not complying with the will of the favourite, then Lord Viſcount Villiers (d), afterwards Duke of Buckingham; and as this aſſertion would be an inexcuſable injury to King James's adminiſtration, if it were not well founded, ſo it will be ſhewn in the notes, that it is not a piece of ſecret hiſtory drawn from the libels of thoſe times, or from weak and ſuſpected authorities, but ſupported by plain, poſitive, and inconteſtable evidence (e) [S]. Thus was this great man removed from that high ſeat of juſtice, in which he had been regarded as the Oracle of the Law; and be it ſpoken to his honour, that he was removed by the power of his enemies, and did not fall through any fault of his own. Not that Sir Edward Coke was free from imperfections, either as a man or as a Judge; but thoſe imperfections were not of a nature to require, or to juſtify, ſuch a proceeding towards him; and this is apparent from hence, that he might have been reſtored if he would but have taken, not the right, but the ready, road to it; which he diſdained: for his anſwer upon ſuch a motion was (f), *That as a Judge ought not to* take, *ſo neither ought he to* give, *a bribe.* We are told that his Maſter ſaid of him, *That which ever way he was thrown, he would fall upon his feet*: but perhaps it might be

(c) Sir Francis Moor's Reports, p. 826.

(d) Stephens's Introduction prefixed to Bacon's Letters, p. 37.

(e) Bacon's works, vol. iv. p. 657.

(f) Hacket's Life of Archbiſhop Williams, P. ii. p. 120.

cretion. Amongſt other things, the King was not well pleaſed with the title of thoſe books, wherein he ſtyled himſelf Lord Chief Juſtice of England, whereas he could challenge no more, but Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench. And having corrected, what in his diſcretion he found meet, in theſe Reports, his Majeſty's pleaſure was, he ſhould bring the ſame privately to himſelf, that he might conſider thereof, as in his princely judgment ſhould be found expedient. Hereupon Mr. Secretary adviſed him to conform himſelf in all duty and obedience, as he ought, whereby he might hope that his Majeſty, in time, would receive him again to his gracious and princely favour. Thereunto the Lord Chief Juſtice made anſwer, That he did in all humility proſtrate himſelf to his Majeſty's good pleaſure; that he acknowledged that decree to be juſt, and proceeded rather from his Majeſty's exceeding mercy, than from his juſtice; gave humble thanks to their Lordſhips for their favours and goodneſs towards him; and hoped that his behaviour, for the future time, ſhall be ſuch as ſhould deſerve their Lordſhips favours. The Lords having thus far proceeded, the Lord-Treaſurer told him, that he had one thing more to let him know, which belonged to the Earl Marſhal to take notice of, which was, that his coachman uſed to ride bare-headed before him, which was more than any ways he could aſſume or challenge to himſelf, and required him to forbear it for the future. To which the Lord Chief Juſtice anſwered, That his coachman did it only for his own eaſe, and not by his commandment. And ſo, with the like ſubmiſſion and acknowledgment of favour, departed.

[S] *But ſupported by plain, poſitive, and inconteſtable evidence.*] A certain writer, who ſays that he had his information from one of his Lordſhip's ſons, gives us the hiſtory of his removal, pretty truly in the main (75); though he makes a ſtrange miſtake in the name, and lets ſlip a very material paſſage, if indeed his author, out of regard to his father's memory, did not conceal it from him. We will relate the whole ſtory, let the blame fall where it will. In the time of the Earl of Somerſet's proſperity, Sir Edward Coke had given his conſent to an agreement, that upon Sir John Roper's reſigning the office of Chief Clerk for inrolling of Pleas in the King's-Bench, which, at that time, was worth four thouſand pounds a year, he would admit two perſons that ſhould hold that office in truſt for the favourite (76). Upon the fall of the Earl of Somerſet, and the riſe of Sir George Villiers, an overture was made to the Chief Juſtice by Sir Francis Bacon, that he ſhould admit two truſtees for the new favourite (77). To this the Chief Juſtice gave no other anſwer, than that *he was old and could not ſtruggle*, which very probably was taken for a mark of compliance. But when Sir John Roper actually ſurrendered his office, in conſideration of which, July 9, 1616, he was created Lord Teynham (78), the Chief Juſtice ſhewed himſelf of another opinion; and ſuggeſted, that as the ſalary of the Judges in his Court were very ſmall, it would be an eaſy matter to augment them, by making a proper uſe of this place, which was abſolutely in his diſpoſal (79). This was Sir Edward's great crime; for a reſolution was immediately taken to remove him, and to prefer another perſon, who ſhould do what the favourite, now Lord Viſcount Villiers, expected. It ſeems that Lord Teynham was deſirous of having one of the lives, and leaving the other to the Viſcount; and to this the Lord-Treaſurer Suffolk was inclined to give way; but the Attorney-General interpoſed warmly, and ſecured both lives for his friend. He went farther ſtill, for he took declarations in truſt from Mr. Shute and Mr. Heath, afterwards Solicitor-General, who were to be the Viſcount's deputies and truſtees, ſo as to ſecure him the entire benefit of that office for their lives, that he might diſpoſe of it by will, in caſe he died before them (80). His caution ſtretched beyond this; for Sir Henry Mountague, then Recorder of London, being the perſon fixed upon to ſucceed Sir Edward Coke, he took a tye of him, (not a *toy*, as it is falſly printed in Bacon's works) that is, an obligation that he would keep his promiſe (81); for having miſtaken one Chief Juſtice's ſenſe, he was reſolved not to truſt another. Accordingly, he was no ſooner poſſeſſed of his office, than Lord Villiers's deputies were admitted. All theſe circumſtances are collected, as the reader ſees, from Bacon's own letters; and if it be requiſite to ſhew, that this was the true and abſolute reaſon of Sir Edward Coke's removal, we have their teſtimony for that too; for thus Sir Francis Bacon writes to the Viſcount (82). 'I did caſt with 'myſelf, ſays he, that if your Lordſhip's deputies had 'come in by Sir Edward Coke, who was tied, (that 'is, under an agreement with Somerſet) it would 'have been ſubject to ſome clamour from Somerſet; 'and ſome queſtion what was forfeited by Somerſet's 'attainder, being but a felony to the King; but now 'they coming in from a new Chief Juſtice, all is 'without queſtion or ſcruple.' Thus the reader ſees plainly, what was meant by the ſeveral gradations of Sir Edward Coke's puniſhment, and why he was ſuſpended before he was removed; as well as the means made uſe of to intereſt the new favourite in both. It is a very ſtrange thing, and deſerved to be ſet in a clear light, that the great may ſee there is a time, when the darkeſt intrigues are diſcovered, and the cloſeſt and moſt ſubtile practices are brought to light. The miſtake committed by the author firſt mentioned, is this: he ſets down Sir Nicholas Tufton inſtead of Sir John Roper; and ſays, he was created Earl of Thanet, inſtead of Lord Teynham, which was the natural conſequence of his firſt miſtake: his omiſſion is, that he takes no notice of Sir Edward's Coke's agreement with the Earl of Somerſet, from whence the new demand aroſe; and as it is probable he had his account from Sir Robert Coke, it is not at all unlikely that he might conceal that circumſtance, out of tenderneſs to his father's memory.

(75) Coke's Detection, p. 54.

(76) Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 37.

(77) Bacon's works, vol. iv. p. 605.

(78) Coke's Detection, p. 54.

(79) Bacon's works, vol. iv. p. 657.

(80) *Ibid.*

(81) Letters of Sir Francis Bacon, publiſhed by Stephens, 4to. 1702, p. 187.

(82) Bacon's works, vol. iv. p. 658.

more truly ſaid, that in ſpite of all the art and power of his adverſaries, he ſtill ſtood upon them (g), and made good his motto, when advanced to the degree of a Serjeant, *The Law is the beſt helmet:* for it was not long before a new turn happened in his affairs, and that ſome even of thoſe who were moſt buſy in bringing him into difficulties, found it for their intereſt, and therefore were as ready to bring him out of them again; and to ſmooth the way for his return to ſome degree, at leaſt, of the King his Maſter's favour. But the firſt ſtep to his being reſtored to credit, was a difference that fell out between the Lord-Keeper Bacon, and Secretary Winwood: for upon the King's going to Scotland, about the middle of March, 1617, the chief direction of affairs was confided to the former, who carrying it ſomewhat haughtily to the Secretary, he is ſaid to have refuſed ever to ſit afterwards with him in council, during the King's ſervice (b). Sir Edward Coke having buſineſs with Secretary Winwood, who was his old friend, and knowing his intereſt with the favourite, now become Earl of Buckingham, propoſed to him a match between the Earl's elder brother Sir John Villiers, and his own youngeſt daughter by the Lady Hatton (i). An account of this being written to Buckingham in Scotland, the propoſal was readily accepted; but it very quickly appeared, that notwithſtandingthe great perſonages intereſted therein, it was not likely to proceed ſo quietly as might have been expected; and, in proceſs of time, this little family buſineſs ripened into an affair of State (k). On the one hand, the Lady Hatton reſenting her huſband's attempt to diſpoſe of her daughter without aſking her leave, carried away the young lady, and lodged her at Sir Edmund Withipole's houſe, near Oatlands (l). Upon this Sir Edward wrote immediately to the Earl of Buckingham, to procure a warrant from the Privy-Council, to reſtore his daughter to him; but before he received an anſwer, he had intelligence where ſhe was, and thereupon, without waiting for any authority, he went with his ſons to Sir Edmund Withipole's houſe, and took her away by force, which produced a complaint of the Lady Hatton to the Privy-Council (m). On the other hand, the Lord-Keeper Bacon, ſuſpecting that he ſhould loſe the favourite, and in conſequence of that the King, oppoſed this match to the utmoſt, and thereby drew upon himſelf immediately that, of which he had only a diſtant apprehenſion. For Buckingham, who was not of a nature to bear any contradiction, reſented his proceeding highly; and his mother, the Lady Compton, loſt all patience, and treated the Lord-Keeper with extraordinary freedom (n). His Lordſhip, however, was ſo ſet upon carrying this point, that he countenanced the Attorney-General, Sir Henry Yelverton, (the ſame perſon who had adviſed Weſton to ſtand mute at his trial) in filing an information in the Star-Chamber againſt Sir Edward Coke, for the ſteps he had taken to recover his daughter (o). In the mean time the two Ladies, Compton and Hatton, came to a good underſtanding; and ſoon after the latter was, in appearance at leaſt, reconciled to Sir Edward Coke, upon which the Star-Chamber ſuit was ſuſpended. On the King's return from Scotland, which was on the 15th of September, Sir Edward Coke was reſtored to his favour, and reinſtated in his place (p) as a Privy-Counſellor, for which however he paid pretty dearly [T]. The King's affairs, in general, were at this time in much diſorder on every ſide,

(g) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 826.

(b) Court and Character of King James, p. 131.

(i) Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 42.

(k) Memorable Events in the Reign of King James.

(l) Several Letters, in which this whole tranſaction is largely ſet forth, are ſtill preſerved in the valuable Collection of James Weſt, Eſq;

(m) Memorable Events in the Reign of King James.

(n) Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 43.

(o) Camden. Annal. Jac. p. 26.

(p) Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 44. Camden. Annal. Jac. I. p. 26.

[T] *For which however he paid pretty dearly.*] To ſuch a degree was King James under the direction and dominion of his favourite, that upon his coming to London, he ſignified his ſatisfaction in their conduct to ſuch of his Miniſters as had promoted this match, and made thoſe who had oppoſed it thoroughly ſenſible of his diſpleaſure, particularly Bacon and Yelverton. The former, by a very deep ſubmiſſion to Buckingham, ſoon recovered the King's good graces (83); but the latter ſtood upon his integrity, and never made any ſubmiſſions, which coſt him afterwards the loſs of a great part of his fortune, and a ſevere impriſonment; and yet his courage and conſtant friendſhip to his old maſter Somerſet, wrought ſo much with Buckingham, that he ſued for his friendſhip, and made him a Judge of the Common-Pleas unaſked, in which ſtation he died (84). The very ſame day the King arrived, Sir Edward Coke was admitted to his preſence, and to the Council-Table; and on Michaelmas-day following, Sir John Villiers was married to Mrs. Frances Coke, at Hampton-Court, with all the ſplendor imaginable (85). It was this wedding, that as it reſtored Sir Edward to credit at court, went ſo deep in his fortune. For beſides 10,000*l.* paid in money at two payments, Sir Edward, and his ſon Sir Robert, did, upon the 2d of November, purſuant to articles and directions from the Lords of the Council, aſſure to Sir John Villiers a rent charge of 2000 marks *per annum*, during Sir Edward's life; and of 900*l.* a year during the Lady Hatton's, if ſhe ſurvived her huſband. And after both their deaths, the manor of Stoke, &c. in Buckinghamſhire, of the value of 900 *l. per annum*, (being the moiety of the lands intended to his two daughters by the Lady Hatton) to Sir John Villiers and his Lady, and to the heirs of her body. And that the ſame were ſettled, by good conveyances carefully drawn, upon the 27th of January, 1617, was certified to his Majeſty, under the hands of Sir Ranulph Crewe, Sir Robert Hicham, and Sir Henry Yelverton, the King's Serjeants and Attorney (86). It is not abſolutely certain, what ſettlements were made by the Lady Hatton upon this marriage, but without queſtion they were very conſiderable; for ſince her marriage with Sir Edward Coke, ſhe had purchaſed the iſland and caſtle of Purbeck, and ſeveral other eſtates in different counties; and by her liberality upon this occaſion, ſhe procured her liberty ſoon after; for at the time of the marriage ſhe was confined, upon the complaint of her huſband (87). On the 2d of November ſhe was ſet at large, and on the 18th of the ſame month, ſhe entertained (88) the King, the Duke of Buckingham, and the whole court, without inviting her huſband. In the month of June, 1619, Sir John Villiers was raiſed to the dignity of Baron Stoke, in the county of Buckingham, and Viſcount Purbeck, in the county of Dorſet (89); and it was currently reported, that the Lady Hatton might have been raiſed to the dignity of Viſcounteſs Weſtmoreland at the ſame time, but that ſhe refuſed to come up to the price (90). All this time the quarrel between her and her huſband ſubſiſted, and many letters are

(83) See his humble Letter upon that occaſion, in his works, vol. iv. p. 674.

(84) Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 15.

(85) Camd. Annal. Jac. p. 26.

(86) Stephens's Introduct. to Bacon's Letter, p. 36.

(87) This appears from ſeveral Letters of both parties, which are ſtill preſerved.

(88) Camden. Annal. Jac. p. 27.

(89) Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 432.

(90) Memorable Events in the Reign of King James. Camden. Annal. Jac. p. 45.

ſide, but more eſpecially in reſpect to his treaſure, which, through his own liberality on one ſide, and the frauds of thoſe who had been entruſted with the management of it on the other, was, in a great meaſure, exhauſted; and, which was ſtill worſe, it was found a thing equally difficult, to procure ſupplies, or to work a reformation (*q*). The favourite was by no means inclined to a Parliament, the only method by which the firſt could be obtained; and therefore the latter was looked upon as the only remedy, in reſpect to which the counſels of Sir Edward Coke were very much regarded. The Lord-Chancellor Bacon, ſeeing him in this road, and aiming, as he apprehended, at the poſt of Lord-Treaſurer, dropped his animoſity; and from this time forward we find Sir Edward Coke's abilities repreſented in a very favourable light, both to Buckingham and the King his maſter (*r*). It would draw this article into too great a length, if we ſhould enter particularly into the ſervices he performed of this kind during his continuance in favour, and therefore it ſhall ſuffice to give the reader a ſuccinct account of them in the note [*U*]. The enemies of this great man have repreſented him as one of an impatient ſpirit, and yet apt to retain the impreſſion of injuries, and to follow them, at a great diſtance of time, with extraordinary reſentments (*s*). If this was really a part of his character, he had undoubtedly as many favourable opportunities, during the ſhort ſpace in which he enjoyed this ſecond poſſeſſion of power, from the recovery of his Maſter's favour, as ever any man had, to gratify them; ſince, excepting thoſe of his enemies, who had reconciled themſelves to him, there was hardly one that did

(*q*) See this largely ſet forth in Bacon's Letters. Wilſon's Life and Death of King James. Sanderſon's Hiſt.

(*r*) See Bacon's Letters, in the years 1618, 1619, 1620.

(*s*) Wilſon's Life and Death of King James, p. 705. Sir Anthony Welden's Court and Character of King James. Sanderſon's Hiſt.

are ſtill preſerved, which ſhew a great deal of heat and reſentment in both parties; and what is moſt extraordinary, is to find that ſeveral perſons of the firſt quality in the kingdom, intereſted themſelves deeply on both ſides in this quarrel, inſomuch that the Lord Houghton (formerly Sir John Hollis) was committed, for having, in conjunction with Lady Hatton, framed ſome ſcandalous libels againſt Sir Edward Coke (91). This marriage of the Lord Purbeck and his Lady, as it began with ſo much trouble and diſturbance, became productive of much more; the Lady being accuſed of too great familiarity with Sir Robert Howard, which ſerved to exerciſe the tongues of the multitude for many years (92). The Lord Viſcount Purbeck went abroad in the latter end of May, 1620, under colour of drinking the waters at Spa, but, in fact, as Camden tells us, to hide from the world his being run mad with pride (93). To this man, and to him only, of all Buckingham's family, Sir Anthony Welden gives a good character, and inſinuates, that his wife was ſupported in her bad behaviour, till ſhe drove him mad (94); which is a little improbable, conſidering the proſecutions ſet on foot againſt her for her bad behaviour. Many years after this, Viſcount Purbeck married privately, after her demiſe, the daughter of Sir William Slingſby, of Yorkſhire, by whom he had a ſon, who married the daughter of Sir John Danvers, one of the King's Judges, and obtained a patent from the Protector Cromwell, to change his name from Villiers to Danvers, but he died without iſſue (95).

(91) Memorable Events in the Reign of King James. Camden. Annal. Jac. p. 46.

(92) Strafford's Letters, vol. i. p. 390. 426. 434.

(93) Camden. Annal. Jac. p. 58.

(94) Court and Character of King James, p. 137.

(95) Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 432.

[*U*] *A ſuccinct account of them in the note.*] We can only give the reader here, an account from the records of thoſe weighty and important affairs, in which Sir Edward Coke, as a Privy-Counſellor, was employed. He was commiſſioned, 23d June, 1618, 16 Jac. I. (96), with other Privy-Counſellors, to put in force the Act of Parliament made in Queen Elizabeth's reign, againſt Jeſuits, Seminary Prieſts, and others; and to baniſh them out of England and Ireland, and all other the King's dominions. The ſame year he was alſo commiſſioned with others, in confidence of their approved wiſdoms, fidelities, and circumſpections, from time to time, to call before them all officers, or Miniſter's Clerks, and other perſons, that ſince the firſt of May, in the tenth year of the reign of the King, had any charge, directly or indirectly, in or about the receipt or diſburſement of any of his treaſure; or had any office in or about the receipt or diſburſement of his treaſure; as alſo to view Privy-Councils, and other warrants, orders, tallies, books, &c. to the ſame belonging, in order to diſcover frauds committed by the Miniſtry, in diſpoſing of the public money.

(96) Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xvii. p. 93.

The year after, the King ſignifies to Sir Edward Coke, Knt. one of his Privy-Council, and others, 2d July, 1619 (97), That whereas by a late commiſſion, dated the 19th of April laſt paſt, he impowered them, or ſome of them, to make inventories and ſchedules of all ſuch jewels, precious ſtones, ornaments, houſhold-ſtuff, and implements, &c. as did belong to his late dear conſort Queen Anne, in her life-time, with their names, faſhions, qualities, and values, and the ſame to ſign, which they had performed. And foraſmuch as he appointed the choiceſt of them to be ſent to the ſecret Jewel-houſe in the Tower of London, there to be preſerved for the honour of the Crown; others to be preſerved for preſents for Ambaſſadors, and others to the cuſtody of Sir Henry Knight, Maſter and Treaſurer of his jewels and plate; and others to be kept at Denmark-houſe, for ornament there, or otherwiſe to be diſpoſed of at pleaſure; and the reſt, being of ſmall value, to be diſpoſed of to the beſt advantage; and a book or inventory being made of the ſame, with their names, faſhions, and quantities, amounting to the ſum of 20,000*l.* or thereabouts. Therefore, confiding in their approved fidelities, wiſdoms, and circumſpections, he commiſſions them to ſell and diſpoſe of the ſame, at ſuch rates and prices, as the ſame ſtand therein valued, or to the moſt benefit and advantage; and the monies ariſing thereby, to deliver into the receipt of Exchequer, &c.

(97) *Ibid.* p. 97.

He was alſo commiſſioned, 16th July, 1619, 17 Jac. I. (98), to confer with the Deputies of the States-General, touching the differences between the Dutch Eaſt-India Company and the Engliſh Merchants trading to the Eaſt-Indies. And by another commiſſion, dated at Weſtminſter the 29th of April, 1620, 18 Jac. I. (99), he was empowered to put in force certain laws, relating to matters eccleſiaſtic. Alſo by commiſſion, dated at Weſtminſter the 22d of June, 1620 (100), 18 Jac. I. he and others were to enquire into the abuſes touching fines payable to his Majeſty, as well by copyholders as freeholders, on ſurrenders, alienations, and the herriots, reliefs, eſcheats, perquiſites, and profits of courts, waifs, eſtrays, goods and chattels of felons, growing due to his ſaid Majeſty, and being within the ſurvey of the Court of Exchequer. And in another commiſſion, dated at Weſtminſter, 15th July, 1620 (101), 18 Jac. I. he was empowered, with others of the Privy-Council, to demiſe the royalties of the Crown, caſualties and caſual profits, and to ſuppreſs the ſuperfluous number of officers, and for reducing the unneceſſary charge of them. The ſame year the King, on December the 12th, ſignifies to Sir Edward Coke, Knt. and others, the great offences committed by tranſporting to foreign parts, great quantities of brazen and iron ordnance for their private lucre and gain, contrary to law; and therefore appoints them commiſſioners, to examine witneſſes, on or without oath; and to ſearch into ſuch books or writings, as to them ſhall ſeem convenient, for the diſcovery of all ſuch matters, ſince the beginning of his reign. Such were the ſervices in which Sir Edward Coke was employed during his ſecond return to royal favour.

(98) *Ibid.* p. 166.

(99) Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 722. Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xvii. p. 201.

(100) Annals of the Reign of King James. Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xvii. p. 224.

(101) See Bacon's Letters in that year. Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xvii. p. 240.

not fall under the weight of his hand; a few inſtances of which make not only proper, but indeed neceſſary parts of his perſonal Hiſtory. In the year 1619, the chief of the Dutch Merchants in England fell under a proſecution for exporting bullion contrary to law, in the bringing which cauſe to a hearing, Sir Edward Coke was almoſt alone, the Chancellor Bacon being ſuſpicious of the event, from a change in the Attorney-General's conduct; who, though warm in the beginning of the proſecution, grew faint before the trial: but Sir Edward, well knowing the grounds upon which he went, kept his own pace, and would not be either drawn off, or taken down in the management of this buſineſs, which he brought to its intended iſſue, and the ſeveral offenders were fined in the Star-Chamber to the amount of one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds; which, as they were very able to pay, this might have been a ſeaſonable relief to his Maſter, if Buckingham, at the requeſt of the States-General, had not interfered, and procured a mitigation (*t*). The year following the Lord High-Treaſurer Suffolk and his Lady fell into diſgrace, and under a ſevere proſecution for corruption. The reader has been told how that Lord ſtepped once a little out of his way to reflect upon Sir Edward Coke, when upon his knees, upon his coachman's driving bare-headed; but Sir Edward now ſat on the Bench when he came to receive his ſentence in the Star-Chamber, November 13, 1619, and led the way in a long and learned ſpeech, where, after ſhewing how often Treaſurers had pillaged both King and people, he concluded with proving, that by the Earl and his Counteſs the King had loſt fifty thouſand pounds, for which he fined them double that ſum, and impriſonment in the Tower till it was paid: but the Lord Chief Juſtice Hobart thinking that too much, propoſed thirty thouſand, and with him the major part of the Court agreed; but the Earl and Counteſs were committed to the Tower, and their inſtrument, Sir John Bingley, to the Fleet (*u*). In 1620, the Attorney-General Yelverton, who, when he was Solicitor, had been ſo active againſt the Lord Chief Juſtice, fell under a like proſecution, for having put ſome clauſes into a charter for the City of London, for which he had no warrant; and though his cauſe was drawn to a great length, yet on the 8th of November it came to a hearing, when Sir Edward Coke, whoſe place it was to begin, concluded his long and bitter ſpeech, as a certain author calls it, with a fine of ſix thouſand pounds, and loſs of his place, which the reſt of the Court moderated to four thouſand pounds, diſcharging him of his place by way of opinion, but ſubmitting the ſame to the King, during whoſe pleaſure they alſo ſentenced him to impriſonment in the Tower (*w*). It appeared clearly, towards the end of this year, that the King's affairs abſolutely required the calling of a Parliament, which was chiefly adviſed by Chancellor Bacon, now become Lord Verulam and Viſcount St. Alban's, who undertook to prepare things for its meeting; and in this conſulted with, and had all the aſſiſtance that Sir Edward Coke (*x*) could give him; notwithſtanding which, it was very far from anſwering thoſe purpoſes for which it was called. Sir Edward Coke was a member, and his age, experience, and dignity, gave him a great weight there; but it very ſoon appeared, that he was reſolved to act a different part from what the Court, and more eſpecially the great favourite Buckingham, expected. On the 6th of February, 1620-21, there was a great debate in the Houſe of Commons on ſeveral points of importance, ſuch as liberty of ſpeech, the increaſe of Popery, and other grievances; upon which Sir Edward Coke ſpoke very warmly, and alſo took occaſion to ſhew, that Proclamations againſt the tenor of Acts of Parliaments were void, for which he is highly commended by Camden (*y*). On the 15th of March, complaints were made to the Houſe of Commons againſt the Lord Viſcount St. Alban's, Chancellor of England, in which Sir Edward Coke was of the Committee for preparing the charge, and proceeded mildly (*z*). On the 5th of May following, Clement Coke, Eſq; youngeſt ſon to Sir Edward, was committed to the Tower for ſome raſh expreſſions that had eſcaped him (*a*). In the month of July, Sir Edward Coke and his wife, the Lady Hatton, were reconciled by the King (*b*). The Houſes being adjourned, by the King's command, on the 4th of June, met again in November; and, upon their meeting, the Houſe of Commons fell into great heats on account of the commitment of Sir Edwin Sands, ſoon after the adjournment; which had ſuch unfortunate conſequences, that on the one hand the Commons proteſted, December 18, 1621, againſt the invaſion of their privileges; upon which the King prorogued the Parliament on the 21ſt (*c*), and on the 27th Sir Edward Coke was committed to the Tower, and his chambers in the Temple being broken open, his papers were delivered to Sir Robert Cotton and Mr. Wilſon to examine (*d*). On the 30th of December, the King ſent for the Journal of the Houſe of Commons, and tore out the Proteſt with his own hand, as appears by an Act of Council (*e*) drawn up by his order upon that occaſion. On the 6th of January the Parliament was diſſolved, and the ſame day Sir Edward Coke was charged before the Council with having concealed ſome true examinations, in the great cauſe of the Earl of Somerſet, and obtruding falſe ones (*f*); notwithſtanding which, he was ſoon after releaſed, but not without receiving ſome very high marks of the King's reſentment: for he was a ſecond time turned out of the Privy-Council, and the King gave him this character: *That he was the fitteſt inſtrument for a tyrant that ever was in England*; which

(*t*) Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 46. Memorable Events in the Reign of King James.

(*u*) Bacon's works, vol. iv. p. 696. Wilſon's Life and Death of King James, p. 706.

(*w*) Stephens's Introduction to Bacon's Letters, p. 17.

(*x*) Bacon's works, vol. iv. p. 704.

(*y*) Annal. Jac. p. 67.

(*z*) State Trials, vol. i. p. 375.

(*a*) Camden. Annal. Jac. p. 71.

(*b*) Memorable Events in the Reign of King James.

(*c*) Franklyn's Annals of King James.

(*d*) Camden. Annal. Jac. p. 76.

(*e*) See that Act in Franklyn's Annals of King James.

(*f*) Camden. Annal. p. 77.

which might very probably be, on account of his having called the King's prerogative in Parliament *a great monſter* (g). Some have repreſented him as very inconſiſtent in this; but we want ſufficient lights to judge of this queſtion; and where we find them in others, it never appears that Sir Edward Coke did not know what he was ſaying, or was ever at a loſs to defend what he had done. Notwithſtanding all this we find, that towards the cloſe of the year 1623, the King iſſued a commiſſion to him, with ſeveral others, in which very large powers were given them in the kingdom of Ireland; but it might be very much queſtioned, whether this was a mark of favour and confidence, or a ſtigma of baniſhment and diſgrace: but it is very apparent, that Sir Edward himſelf underſtood it in the latter ſenſe, and yet he was willing to have gone (b) [W]. It may be the willingneſs he ſhewed prevented his going, though other gentlemen, who were in his ſentiments, actually went. He remained firm in his opinions; nor does there appear any traces of his ſeeking to be again reconciled to the Court: ſo that he was abſolutely out of favour at the death of King James. In the beginning of the next reign, when it was found neceſſary to call a ſecond Parliament, he was pricked for Sheriff of the county of Buckingham, in 1625, to prevent his being choſen (i). He laboured all he could to avoid it, in order to which he took exceptions againſt the oath, which he tranſmitted to the Attorney-General; who, by order of the Council, attended the Judges, who found only one objection out of four to be reaſonable, and that was as to the proſecution of Lollards (k), in reſpect to which the oath was amended; but Sir Edward was obliged to ſerve the office, and to attend the Judges at the aſſizes, who had been Chief Juſtice of England himſelf (l). This did not hinder his being elected Knight of the Shire for the county of Bucks, in that Parliament which was held in the year 1628 (m), in which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf more than any man in the Houſe of Commons, ſpoke warmly for the redreſs of grievances, argued boldly in defence of the liberty of the ſubject, and ſtrenuouſly ſupported the privileges of the Houſe of Commons (n). In this Patliament he did the higheſt ſervice to his country, not only in regard to his perſonal endeavours, but perhaps the higheſt that was ever done by a private man: for he it was, that, laying hold of a meſſage from the King, propoſed and framed the PETITION OF RIGHTS (o). He alſo, on the 5th of June, 1628, vindicated the right of the Houſe of Commons to proceed againſt any ſubject, how high ſoever, who miſled his Sovereign to the prejudice of his ſubjects, by naming the Duke of Buckingham as the cauſe of all the miſeries of the kingdom [X]. We are indeed told, by the noble Hiſtorian,

(g) Wilſon's Life and Death of King James, in the ſecond vol. of Compleat Hiſt. of England, p. 748, 749.

(b) See this clearly explained in the note.

(i) Compleat Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 12.

(k) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 822.

(l) Franklyn's Annals of the Reign of King Charles.

(m) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, vol. i. p. 79.

(n) Ruſhworth's Collections, vol. i. p. 505. 509. 512, 513.

(o) *Id. ibid.* p. 558, 559.

[W] *And yet he was very willing to have gone.*] Among other arts that were practiſed at this time, to remove out of the way ſuch perſons as were obnoxious to the great favourite Buckingham; one was, to put ſuch perſons into commiſſions, for the kingdom of Ireland (102), with great expreſſions of royal kindneſs and confidence in them, but with a real deſign to prevent their being troubleſome, by ſending them out of the realm. The truth of the firſt part of this account, will ſufficiently appear, by giving the heads of that commiſſion, in which the name of Sir Edward Coke was inſerted, and his own explanation of the matter five years after, will make good the latter part of the aſſerſion. On the 29th of December, 1623 (103), the King ſignifies to Sir Edward Coke, Knt. and others, That whereas he granted his commiſſion to his Deputy of Ireland, and others, dated at Weſtminſter the 20th of March, in the nineteenth year of his reign, out of his princely care and deſire to advance the flouriſhing ſtate of Ireland, by the increaſe of trade, ſettling of plantations, &c. he now commiſſions Henry Viſcount Falkland, Deputy of Ireland, Sir Edward Coke, Knt. Sir William Jones, Knt. Sir Edwin Sandys, Knt. John Lloyd, and Francis Philips, to enquire what, and how many pariſhes and churches be in Ireland; alſo how many preſentations, and which are appropriate, and how thoſe churches are ſerved, &c. and to conſider what churches are fit to be repaired or new built, &c. and generally to enquire into all matters tending to the decay of religion in that kingdom; as alſo into the trade and commerce of that nation, &c. Thus far the commiſſion: let us come next to the explication.

In the third Parliament, called in the reign of King Charles the Firſt, *viz.* April the ſecond, 1628, amongſt other grievances, this of ſending men abroad againſt their will, and thereby into a kind of involuntary baniſhment, was canvaſſed in the Houſe of Commons (104); when Mr. Selden, Sir Thomas Hobby, Sir Peter Hayman, Mr. Hakvill, and others, delivered their ſentiments. Amongſt the reſt, Sir Edward Coke ſpoke to the following effect (105); 'No reſtraint, be it ever ſo little, but is impriſonment, and foreign employment is a kind of honourable baniſhment: I myſelf was deſigned to go to Ireland; I was willing to go, and hoped if I had gone, to have found ſome *Mompeſſons* there: there is difference when the party is the King's ſervant, and when not, 46 E. III. This was the time, when the law was in its height; Sir Richard Pembridge was a Baron, and the King's ſervant, and at that time Warden of the Cinque-Ports: he was commanded to go to Ireland, and to ſerve as Deputy there, which he refuſed: he was not committed, but the King was highly offended; and having offices, and fees, and lands, *pro ſervitio ſuo impenſo*, the King ſeized his lands and offices. I went to the Parliament roll, 47 E. III. where I found another precedent for foreign employment: they that have offices *pro conſilio*, or *ſervitio impenſo*, if they refuſe, thoſe lands and offices ſo given are ſeized, but no commitment.'

(102) Wilſon's Life and Death of King James, in the ſecond vol. of Compl. Hiſt. of England.

(103) Rymer's Fœd. tom. xvii. p. 531.

(104) Franklyn's Annals of King Charles I. p. 214.

(105) Ruſhworth's Collections, vol. i. p. 523. Franklyn's Annals, p. 257.

[X] *By naming the Duke of Buckingham as the cauſe of all the miſeries of the kingdom.*] On the 5th of June, 1628, Sir John Finch, the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, delivered a meſſage to the Houſe from the King, importing, That his Majeſty had fixed a day for putting an end to their ſeſſion, and therefore required that they ſhould not enter into new buſineſs, or lay any aſperſion on the Government, or Miniſters thereof. This produced a warm debate, in which Sir John Elliot, advancing ſomewhat that looked as if he meant to touch the Duke of Buckingham, the Speaker roſe up, and ſaid, *There is a command upon me, that I muſt command you not to proceed* (106). Upon this a deep ſilence enſued, and then the Houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee, to conſider what was fit to be done; and ordered, that no man ſhould go out, on pain of going to the Tower. The Speaker, however, deſiring to withdraw, had leave ſo to do; and Mr. Whitby being in the chair, Sir Edward Coke ſpoke to the following effect (107): 'We have dealt with

(106) Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 10.

(107) Franklyn's Annals of King Charles I. p. 325.

Hiſtorian, that, not long before this, Sir Edward Coke had blaſphemouſly ſtyled the ſame Duke *our Saviour* (*p*). It is not eaſy to excuſe him upon this head; but perhaps if we had the whole of that ſpeech, the taſk might not be ſo difficult. In all probability this might be in the laſt Parliament of King James, when the Duke of Buckingham took great pains to ſhew, that he brought the Prince back from Spain, and was the breaker of the match, as moſt undoubtedly he was; and for that reaſon grew into as great favour with the people, as he had been with either of his royal Maſters. At this time, if, in the high-flown eloquence of that age, Sir Edward Coke did ſtyle him Saviour of the nation, it might deſerve pardon, though it could not be juſtified. But the noble Hiſtorian himſelf, in the very place where he ſays this, confeſſes that the Duke had been the cauſe of diſſolving two Parliaments, and of ſome violent counſels that had attended theſe diſſolutions; by which, whatever he might intend, he certainly frees Sir Edward Coke from inconſiſtency, ſince the Duke's ſaving the nation, by bringing home the Prince, and breaking the Spaniſh match, gave him no title to proceed ſo far as he afterwards did, towards the ruin of the King and kingdom; and all that can be inferred from hence, in reference to the perſon of whom we are ſpeaking, is no more than this, that he was a very open and frank Orator upon all occaſions; for there is nothing appears to ſhew, that he was not alike ſincere in both his declarations. We may add to this, that whatever he might deſign with regard to the Duke, he could not, by that high commendation, ſeek to flatter King James, with whom the favourite then ſtood upon doubtful terms; and in the laſt caſe he did what he took to be his duty, without fear of incurring the hatred of the favourite, or the diſpleaſure of his Maſter. After the diſſolution of this Parliament, which happened March 28, 1628-9, he retired to his houſe at Stoke-Pogey's (*q*), in Buckinghamſhire, where he ſpent the remainder of his days in a quiet retirement, univerſally reſpected and eſteemed; his behaviour, in the latter part of his life, having cancelled all the prejudices that had been formed againſt him in the earlier part of it; and there, September 3, 1634, he breathed his laſt, in the eighty-ſixth year of his life, expiring with theſe words in his mouth, *Thy kingdom come, thy will be done* (*r*). It is ſaid, that he was perſecuted by the reſentment of his potent enemies, even in his very lateſt moments, Sir Francis Windebanke entering his houſe, in virtue of an order of Council for ſeizing certain ſeditious papers, when he took away his Commentary upon Littleton, and the Hiſtory of that Judge's Life in his own handwriting; his Commentary upon *Magna Charta*, &c. the Pleas of the Crown, and Juriſdiction of Courts, and fifty-one other manuſcripts, together with his laſt Will and Teſtament, in which he had diſpoſed of his very large fortune in the way he judged moſt convenient, amongſt his numerous poſterity. About ſeven years afterwards, upon a motion made by one of his ſons in the Houſe of Commons, the King was deſired to order all the papers taken by Sir Francis Windebanke out of Sir Edward's houſe, to be delivered to Sir Robert Coke, his heir, with which his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to comply; and ſuch of them as could be found, were accordingly ſo delivered; but as to his will, it was never heard of, to the no ſmall prejudice of his family (*s*). We have now compleated the memoirs of this great man; but there ſtill remains a duty incumbent upon us, to ſay ſomewhat of his public and private character, as well as of his valuable writings. To begin then with his perſon. He was every way well proportioned, his features regular, his countenance always grave and compoſed, and his air and manner of ſpeaking full of dignity (*t*). He was neat, but not nice, in his dreſs;

(*p*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, vol. i. p. 12.

(*q*) Deſiderata Curioſa, vol. ii. B. xiv. p. 15.

(*r*) This fact is inſcribed on his monument.

(*s*) Coke's Detection, p. 107.

(*t*) Fuller's Worthies, p. 251.

' with that duty and moderation, that never was the ' like, *rebus ſic ſtantibus*, after ſuch a violation of the ' liberties of the ſubjects; let us take this to heart. ' In 30 E. III. were they then in doubt in Parliament ' to name men that miſled the King? They accuſed ' John de Gaunt, the King's ſon, and Lord Latimer, ' and Lord Nevil, for miſadviſing the King; and ' they went to the Tower for it. Now when there ' is ſuch a downfal of the State, ſhall we hold our ' tongues? How ſhall we anſwer our duties to God ' and men? 7 Hen. IV. parl. rot. No. 31, 32. and ' 11 Hen. IV. No. 13, there the Council are com- ' plained of, and are removed from the King: they ' mewed up the King, and diſſuaded him from the ' common good; and why are we now retired from ' that way we were in? Why may we not name thoſe, ' that are the cauſe of all our evils? In 4 Hen. III. ' and 27 E. III. and 13 R. II. the Parliament mode- ' rateth the King's prerogative; and nothing grows ' to abuſe, but this Houſe hath power to treat of it. ' What ſhall we do? Let us palliate no longer; if ' we do, God will not proſper us. I think the Duke ' of *Buckingham* is the cauſe of all our miſeries; and ' till the King be informed thereof, we ſhall never go ' out with honour, or ſit with honour here: that man ' is the grievance of grievances; let us ſet down the ' cauſes of all our diſaſters, and all will reflect upon ' him.' It ſeems, that the Patriots of thoſe times were either much more in earneſt, or much better diſſemblers, than in others; for we are aſſured, that the Speaker wept very much, while he delivered his diſagreeable meſſage to the Houſe: that many of the members followed his example, during the ſilence occaſioned thereby; and that Sir Edward Coke himſelf ſat down, after he began ſpeaking, to wipe away his tears (108). His ſpeech was ſeconded by Mr. Selden; and at length it was agreed, to frame a remonſtrance to the King, and therein to name the Duke of Buckingham as the great author of their grievances. But while this was in agitation, the Speaker, who went privately to the King, returned, and in his Majeſty's name deſired them to adjourn to the next day; which was agreed (109). But in conſequence of this debate, a remonſtrance was drawn up full of duty and reſpect to the King, as well as zeal and fidelity to the public, in which the Duke of Buckingham, and the Biſhops Neale and Laud, are expreſsly named, as the authors of thoſe calamities which the nation felt at that time (110); and the concern he had in this, was the very laſt public ſervice that Sir Edward Coke rendered to his country.

(108) See Mr. Allured's Letter in Rushworth's Collections, vol. i. p. 609.

(109) Coke's Detection, p. 69.

(110) Franklyn's Annals of the Reign of Charles I. p. 330.

and his common ſaying was, *That the* cleanneſs *of a man's* clothes *ought to put him in mind of keeping all* clean *within* (*u*). He had great quickneſs of parts, deep penetration, a faithful memory, and a ſolid judgment. He was wont to ſay, *That matter lay in a little room*; and in his pleadings he was conciſe, but in ſet ſpeeches, and in his writings, rather too diffuſe: but whether this was owing to an affectation of learning, to the activity of his fancy, and the ſtrength of his memory, which furniſhed not only a copiouſneſs but a redundancy of matter, or to the error of the times, when this manner of ſpeaking and writing was much in faſhion, is not eaſy to determine (*w*). He was indubitably a great maſter of his profeſſion, as even his enemies allow; had ſtudied it regularly, and was perfectly acquainted with all the old authors in which the true principles of our laws are found, and with the records which contain the laws themſelves. It was by his ſingular and comprehenſive knowledge in theſe, that he gained ſo high an eſteem in Weſtminſter-Hall, and came to enjoy ſo large a ſhare in the great Lord Burleigh's favour, who never loved ſuperficial men, or raiſed any that were not maſters of the ſcience they profeſſed (*x*). He valued himſelf, and not without reaſon, upon this; that he obtained all his preferments, without employing either *prayers* or *pence*; and that he became the Queen's Solicitor, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, Attorney-General, Chief Juſtice of both Benches, High-Steward of Cambridge, and a member of the Privy-Council, without either begging or bribing. As he derived his fortune, his credit, and his greatneſs, from the law, ſo he loved it with the moſt ſincere affection (*y*); ſome think to a degree of intemperance: but however that might be, as he maintained the character of a learned and upright Judge upon the Bench, to which he was raiſed by his abilities at the bar, ſo he had no deſire to hide his talent in a napkin, or to conceal the lights he had acquired by his indefatigable reading and extenſive practice. On the contrary, he committed every thing to writing with an induſtry beyond example, and ſuperior to imitation: neither were his writings confined to his cloſet, but ſent abroad into the world, to the great credit of their author; and, if the beſt judges may be believed, no leſs to the benefit of the public (*z*). More he had publiſhed, if he had not been hindered by his troubles; and more correct thoſe writings had certainly been, that have ſince come abroad, if they had paſſed the preſs in his life-time. As it is, a certain author ſays (*a*), *His learned and laborious works on the laws will be admired by judicious poſterity, while Fame has a trumpet left her, and any breath to blow therein.* This is the character of his writings in general; and with reſpect to particulars, they belong properly to the notes [*Y*]. His whole life, from the time he became a man, was ſpent in

(*u*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 823.

(*w*) Memorable Events in the Reign of King James.

(*x*) This appears from his preferring him to Bacon, and from many Letters of Sir Edward Coke's, which are ſtill preſerved.

(*y*) See his Preface before the ſecond Part of his Reports.

(*z*) Camd. Britan. in Icen.

(*a*) Fuller's Worthies, p. 251.

[*Y*] *They belong properly to the notes.*] In ſpeaking of the writings of this great man, the moſt natural method ſeems to be, to begin with thoſe publiſhed in his life-time, and conſequently with his Reports; the title of the firſt part of which runs thus:

The firſt Part of the Reports of Sir Edward Coke, *Knt. her Majeſty's Attorney-General, of divers Reſolutions and Judgments given with great Deliberation by the reverend* Judges *and* Sages *of the* Law, *of Caſes and Matters in Law, which were never reſolved, or adjudged before. And the Reaſons and Cauſes of the ſaid Reſolutions and Judgments during the moſt happy Reign of the moſt illuſtrious and renowned Queen* Elizabeth, *the Fountain of all Juſtice, and the Life of the Law.*

It appears, from the preface, that theſe were publiſhed about the year 1600; and in the ſame preface, there is an account of the principal reaſons which induced him to publiſh them; which take in his own words. 'I have, ſince the twenty-ſecond year of her 'Majeſty's reign, which is now twenty years compleat, obſerved the true reaſons, as near as I could, 'of ſuch matters in law, (wherein I was of counſel, 'and acquainted with the ſtate of the queſtion) as 'have been adjudged upon great and mature delibe'ration; and as I never meant, as many have found, 'to keep them ſo ſecret for my own private uſe, as 'to deny the requeſt of any friend, to have either 'view or copy of any of them; ſo, till of late, I ne'ver could be perſuaded (as many can witneſs) to 'make them ſo public, as by any entreaty to com'mit them to print. But when I conſidered, how 'by her Majeſty's princely care and choice, her ſeats 'of juſtice have been ever, for the due execution of 'her laws, furniſhed with Judges of ſuch excellent 'knowledge and wiſdom, (whereunto they have at'tained in this fruitful ſpring-time of her bleſſed 'reign) as I fear, that ſucceeding ages ſhall not af'ford ſucceſſors equal to them. I have adventured 'to publiſh certain of their reſolutions (in ſuch ſort 'as my little leiſure would permit) for the help of 'their memory who heard them, and perfectly knew 'them; for the inſtruction of others, who knew them 'not, but imperfectly heard of them; and, laſtly, 'for the common good, (for that is my chief pur'poſe) in quieting and eſtabliſhing of the poſſeſſions 'of many in theſe general caſes, wherein there hath 'been ſuch variety of opinions.'

The ſecond and third part of his Reports were publiſhed in the ſame reign. In the preface to the former, he ſpeaks largely of the excellency of the Common Law, the uprightneſs of the Judges, and of the integrity of its profeſſors. In the preface to the third part, he ſhews, that at the time of his writing, there were no more than fifteen volumes of Reports, *viz.* The nine Year Books, the Commentaries of Mr. Edward Plowden, and the Reports of Sir James Dyer, Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, with his own three parts of his Reports. He publiſhed his fourth Reports in the firſt year of King James, when he was Attorney-General; and ſo alſo the fifth part of his Reports, which begins with *Caudrey*'s caſe, from whence he takes occaſion to enter into a full and large diſcourſe *of the King's Eccleſiaſtical Law*; in anſwer to which, there was written a famous piece by Robert Parſons, the Jeſuit, under the following title:

An Anſwer to the fifth *Part of Reports, lately ſet forth by* Sir Edward Coke, Knt. *the King's* Attorney-General, *concerning the ancient and modern municipal Laws of* England, *which do appertain to* Spiritual Power *and* Juriſdiction. *By occaſion whereof, and of the principal Queſtion ſet down in the ſecond Page, there is laid forth an evident, plain, and perſpicuous Demonſtration of the* Continuance *of* Catholic Religion, *from our firſt Kings chriſtened unto theſe Days; by a* Catholic Divine, 1606, 4*to.*

Of this book, we have a very high character given by Biſhop Nicholſon (111); but for what reaſon is not eaſy to find out; ſince the whole of it is penned in a high-flown declamatory ſtyle, in defence of papal power and of popiſh religion; for which reaſon Sir

(111) Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 238.

in labouring to understand, and in endeavouring to support, the constitution. It is already shewn, that he was a friend to the Church and to the Clergy; and to this it must be

Edward Coke, in the fifth part of his Reports, says, very justly, that it was impossible for him to write any answer, because, as his own was a book of Law and facts, so that of his adversary was a rhapsody of Divinity, History, Canon Law, &c. How competent a Critic the Prelate before-mentioned was, appears from his censuring Camden (112), for calling Sir John Popham, Chief Justice of the King's-Bench, and asserting he never was so, contrary to the concurring authorities of Records, Law, and History. The sixth part of Sir Edward Coke's Reports followed soon after. In the title of the seventh Report, he styles himself *Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas*, and it was published in the sixth year of King James; and as it appears by the preface, *Calvin*'s Case, which is that of the *post-nati*, was reported by order. The eighth part of the Reports was published in the ninth year of King James, and the year following, the ninth part, in which the author takes the same title. In the tenth Report, published in the eleventh year of King James, our author styles himself *Lord Chief Justice of England*, which is thus qualified in the next part of his Reports, which was published anno 1615: that is, in the thirteenth of King James, *viz. The eleventh part of* the Reports *of Sir* Edward Coke, *Knt.* Chief Justice *of* England, (*of Pleas assigned to be holden before the* King *himself*) and *one of the* Privy-Council *of State*. These were all the Reports published by himself. The twelfth part of his Reports hath a certificate printed before it, dated February 2, 1655, and subscribed *E. Bulstrod*, signifying that he conceives it to be the genuine work of Sir Edward Coke. The title of the thirteenth part is *Select Cases in Law, reported by Sir* Edward Coke; and these are asserted to be his in a preface, signed with the initial letters, J. G.

(112) Annal. Elizabethæ, p. 654. English Historical Library, p. 239.

There was published, in the year 1607, *A Speech and Charge at Norwich Assizes*, intended to pass for Sir Edward Coke's; but he clearly disclaims it (113); not but that he did make a speech at that time, and in some measure to this purpose; but these notes of it were gathered and published, without his knowledge, in a very incorrect and miserable manner; so that there was not so much as a single sentence that was not corrupted and maimed in such a manner, as made it apparent to all the world, that it could not be the speech of this grave and learned Judge, but published with a design to prejudice and expose him: in which, however, the authors of that design were by no means successful, the blunders in the book rendering the forgery ridiculous.

(113) See Coke's Preface to the seventh Part of his Reports.

A Book *of Entries, containing perfect and approved* Precedents *of* Counts, Declarations, Informations, Plaints, Indictments, Bars, Replications, Rejoinders, Pleadings, Processes, Continuances, Essoigns, Issues, Defaults, Departure in despight of the Court, Demurrers, Trials, Judgments, Executions, *and all other matters and proceedings* (*in effect*) *concerning the practic part of the* Laws *of* England, *in actions* real, personal, *and* mixt, *and in* Appeals; *being very necessary to be known, and of excellent use for the modern practice of the* Law, *many of them containing matters in* Law, *and points of great learning*; collected *and* published *for the common good and benefit of all the studious and learned professors of the* Laws of England, fol. 1614.

As this was a very laborious, so, at the time it was composed, it was a most useful undertaking, compiled with accuracy and judgment, and serving in some measure as a supplement to his Reports. It is true, that, notwithstanding there have been but two editions of this very large collection, it is very far from being scarce, and farther still from being dear: but this ought not to diminish the credit of the work, or of its author, with men of impartial judgments; since this has partly happened from the subsequent alterations of the Law, with respect to practice, and partly from many lesser volumes that have been stolen out of it, and have been accommodated to vulgar use. But when Sir Edward Coke published his book, Entries were more scarce, and he actually laid the foundation thereby of another capital pillar for supporting the great edifice of the Law (114).

(114) See the Prefaces to later books under the same title.

We come now to speak of his Institutes, which are divided into *four* parts. The *first* is his Translation and Comment upon the Tenures of Sir Thomas Littleton, one of the Judges of the Common-Pleas, in the reign of Edward IV. It was published in the life-time of the author, in 1628, but that edition was very incorrect. There was a second in 1629, said to be revised by the author, and in which the work is much amended: yet very probably that manuscript copy, that was seized amongst his papers at the time of his decease, was still more correct; and if it had been printed, there might perhaps have been less room for the censure of a certain prelate, who was more inclined to remark other people's mistakes than to correct his own (115). The second part of the Institutes gives us *Magna Charta*, and several other select statutes in the original languages in which they were first enacted, and much more correct than they were to be had any where else. He adds to these a continued Commentary full of excellent learning, wherein he shews how the Common-Law stood before those statutes were made, how far they are introductory of new Law, and how far declaratory of the old; what were the causes of making them, to what ends they were made, and in what degree, at the time he wrote, they were either altered or repealed. The *third* part of the Institutes contains the *Criminal Law* or *Pleas of the Crown*; and therein the author proposes the same end as in his former work, comparing the Statute with the Common Law, shewing where acts are only declaratory, and where introductory of new matter. After explaining the nature of crimes, and ascertaining the punishments inflicted on them by Law, he concludes with the nature of pardons and restitutions, shewing, how far the King may proceed in such matters by his prerogative, and where the assistance of Parliament is necessary. The *fourth* part of the Institutes comprehends the jurisdiction of all the Courts in this kingdom, from the high Court of Parliament, down to the Court-Baron. In his proem to this part of his work, he modestly observes, that having collected some materials towards the raising this great building, and fearing they would be of little use after his decease, being very short, and not easy of others to be understood, he in his declining years had done what in him lay to advance and perfect his performance. But this not being published till after his decease, there are, as might be expected, many inaccuracies, and some greater faults, which gave occasion to the following work.

(115) Nicholson's English Historical Library, p. 238.

Brief Animadversions on, Amendments of, and additional explanatory Records to, the fourth part of the Institutes of the Laws of England, concerning the Jurisdiction *of* Courts; *compiled by the late famous Lawyer* Sir Edward Coke, *Knight*, Chief Justice of both Benches, *in his life-time*; *but published and reprinted with some disadvantage since his death.* By *William Prynne*, Esq; London, 1669. Fol.

We have besides of the Chief Justice Coke's writing,

A Treatise of Bail *and* Mainprize, *London*, 1637, 4*to*.

Reading on the State of *Fines*, 27 Ed. I. French, *London*, 1662, 4*to*.

Compleat Copyholder, London, 1640, 4*to*. There was added in another edition of this book in 1650, 4*to*, Calthorpe's *Reading between a Lord of a Mannor and a Copyholder his Tenant*, &c. And in the editions in 12*mo*, 1668 and 1673, there is a Supplement.

When we consider not only the quantity, but the quality of his writings, how they contribute to illustrate, as well the origin as the body and substance of our Laws, explain their nature, vindicate their justice, and demonstrate the benefit of them; how they take in the whole circle of this extensive science, in reference both to its grounds and practice, and how methodically and accurately every thing touched by his pen is treated, we cannot but stand amazed at his wisdom, his diligence, and his public spirit. His wisdom appears

be added, that after he had loſt his public employments, and a great Peer was inclined to queſtion the rights of the Cathedral Church of Norwich, he hindered it, by telling him plainly, *That if he proceeded, he would put on his cap and gown, and follow the cauſe through Weſtminſter-Hall* (*b*). He was a zealous and faithful ſervant of the Crown in all capacities; aſſerted the prerogative conſidered in a right light, and oppoſed it when either miſtaken or miſapplied. He was an uſeful member of the Privy-Council, while he continued in it; and very ſerviceable to Queen Anne, to whom he was of counſel, and Chief Juſtice in Eyre of her foreſts, as long as ſhe lived (*c*). In the Star-Chamber he is reputed to have been not only ſtrict and active, but even bitter and ſevere; by which he created himſelf many enemies, who gave him trouble enough, and who, no doubt, would have brought his conduct under public cenſure, if any colourable imputations could have been fixed upon it (*d*). In his behaviour as a Senator, he ſhewed a laudable zeal for correcting abuſes, an inflexible integrity in purſuing them, and a ſpirit not to be quelled either by the arts or threats of a Court (*e*). He met with many changes of fortune, was ſometimes in power, ſometimes in diſgrace; and it muſt be allowed, that he made a better figure in adverſity than in proſperity; for, as King James ſaid, *he fell always upon his feet*; and whatever credit he loſt at Court, he found it made up to him in the country, where he was equally reverenced and eſteemed (*f*). In the earlier part of his life, he repreſented the county of Norfolk in Parliament; and more than forty years after, he was Knight of the Shire for the county of Bucks, and in that quality ſat in the laſt Parliament he lived to ſee (*g*). With all theſe great endowments, he was certainly not free from failings, nor are we ignorant what thoſe were reputed to be: for as his character was eminent, ſo it has been drawn by pens very differently affected, and by comparing what has fallen from them, poſterity may come at leaſt pretty near the truth [*Z*]. His private reſembled his public life, that is, it was checquered with

(*b*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 825.

(*c*) As appears by the inſcription upon his tomb.

(*d*) See Mr. Stephens's Preface to the Lord Bacon's Letters.

(*e*) Coke's Detection, p. 79.

(*f*) Fuller's Worthies, p. 251.

(*g*) Willis's Not. Parl. p. 79.

pears in his being able able to examine, acquire, and digeſt, ſuch a prodigious fund of knowledge, and apply it with ſuch diſtinctneſs, perſpicuity, and propriety, as he did, to every point; and though much of what he has written, may through time become of little uſe in regard to practice; yet the utility of it, in reſpect to the underſtanding of our Law, will remain as long as it ſubſiſts on its preſent baſis; and that I hope will be as long as we ſhall continue a people. Viewing things only in this light, it is impoſſible for any impartial reader to avoid paying the higheſt reverence to his memory. But when we conſider alſo, his wonderful diligence in collecting, framing, and diſpoſing, ſo many, ſo laborious, and ſuch different kinds of writing, our wonder muſt increaſe. And when we reflect on the ſtrange returns made him, for the vaſt ſervices done the Commonwealth in this reſpect, and his continuing to the very laſt to proſecute the ſame ſervices, in ſpite of this ill uſage, merely from a principle of public ſpirit, and the ſincere love of his country and its Laws, it muſt raiſe our admiration ſtill higher. Beſides, there are ſome circumſtances yet untouched, that ought to have equal weight with any thing that has been already ſaid upon this ſubject. For he took all this pains for poſterity in the midſt of a life occupied with continual cares for the ſervice of that age in which he lived, when in the full poſſeſſion of the greateſt practice at the Bar, when called to the higheſt offices of his profeſſion, when involved in the perplexity of public employments, as well as when out of them and more at leiſure. We may add to all this, that, from the account we have of the manuſcripts ſeized at his death, there is a very great probability that the world has been deprived of a conſiderable part of his writings, notwithſtanding thoſe we enjoy make ſo great a figure, and place him in a ſphere ſo much ſuperior to any of thoſe who have laboured to ſerve their country in the ſame way. Permit me to add to theſe remarks, which proceed purely from ſincerity of heart, and a real concern for truth and juſtice, that, to his care we owe the reducing the knowledge of our Laws into a ſyſtem, and the putting it in the power of others, to proſecute and improve his plan; for if we compare the Law, as he found it, with the condition in which he left it, and the benefits that have ſince ariſen from his induſtry and example, we ſhall ſee his merit in its true point of light, and have a juſt notion of the reaſons which induced that and the ſucceeding age to ſtyle him the Oracle of the Law, as he really was, and will be, whatever may be the fate of his writings in ſucceeding times; ſince from him were originally borrowed thoſe lights that have led all ſucceeding Lawyers, who, if they had wanted this great guide, would never have been able to have traverſed thoſe paths which led them to knowledge and credit. We live in times, when it is faſhionable to decry, or at leaſt to depreciate, the abilities of thoſe who went before us; and therefore it is the duty of all ſuch as are embarked in works of this nature, to make a ſtand in favour of antiquity, and to vindicate the memories of thoſe great men whoſe actions they record; and in doing which, as they faithfully diſcharge their truſt, ſo they may hope for a favourable reception from poſterity for themſelves.

[*Z*] *Poſterity may come at leaſt pretty near the truth.*] In order to obtain the ſentiments of the contemporaries of Sir Edward Coke, concerning his character, we ought to conſider, not ſo much what was ſaid of him in power, for then envy might work and paſſion prevail; but what was thought of him in diſgrace, and publiſhed when he was no longer in a condition either to hurt ſuch as ſpoke ill, or to reward thoſe who ſpoke well of him. When he was firſt in diſgrace, the Lord-Keeper Bacon ſtirred up the buſineſs of his Reports, and deſired that two more Judges might be added to the committee appointed to examine them. Upon this, Sir Edward Coke deſired two things; firſt, that his books might be reviſed by the whole twelve Judges; and, ſecondly, that they might report not only his defects, but what he had publiſhed for his Majeſty's prerogative, the benefit of the Church, the quieting men's inheritances, and the general good of the commonwealth: upon this the affair dropped; the enemies of Sir Edward Coke did not chuſe to truſt him with ſuch a jury as the twelve Judges (116). When he fell under his ſecond diſgrace, and was ſent to the Tower, all methods poſſible were contrived, as well to diſtreſs as to blacken him; his papers were ſeized, and amongſt them ſecurities for money: ways and means were conſulted to exclude him from the benefit of a general pardon, and a proſecution ſet on foot for the old debt of Sir William Hatton; but no imputations could be fixed upon him, notwithſtanding the induſtry of Sir Henry Yelverton, his old antagoniſt; and when a brief was given in the cauſe to Sir John Walter, he laid it aſide, with this memorable ſentence, *Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, whenever I open it againſt Sir* Edward Coke. Yet he, who ſaid this, was the Prince's Attorney-General: the cauſe however was tried, and a verdict given for the Defendant (117). This, and his care in preſerving Sutton-Hoſpital, or the Charter-Houſe, are ſtrong proofs of his uprightneſs and integrity. The learned Camden,

(116) Bacon's Letters, publiſhed by Stephens, p. 205.

(117) Coke's Detection, p. 80.

with good and evil. He was unhappy in his second marriage more ways than one; and as the inconveniencies arising from it began early, so they stuck to him to his last breath (*b*); yet he left behind him a numerous posterity, as well as a vast fortune. By his first Lady he had seven sons and three daughters. Of the latter, Elizabeth died young; Anne

(*b*) Strafford's Letters, vol. i. p. 265.

Camden, besides many other occasional commendations, drew his character at large in these words, which follow his mentioning a small rivulet in Norfolk (118). 'The river is anonymous, rising not far 'from Godwicke, a lucky name, where is a small 'seat, but made great by the ornament it receives 'from the famous Sir Edward Coke, Knt. a person 'of admirable parts, than whom, as no one ever ap-'plied himself closer to the study of the Common-'Law, so never any understood it better; whereof he 'convinced England, by his discreet management for 'many years together, whilst Attorney-General, and 'still does by executing the office of Lord Chief Jus-'tice of the Common-Pleas with the greatest pru-'dence; nor has he given less proof of his abilities 'in his Commentaries upon our Laws, whereby he 'has highly obliged both his own age and posterity.' We will next quote his old adversary, Sir Francis Bacon, who in a famous piece of his addressed to King James, speaks thus of our author's writings. 'To give every man his due; had it not been for 'Sir Edward Coke's Reports, which, though they 'may have errors, and some peremptory and extra-'judicial resolutions, more than are warranted, yet 'they contain infinite good decisions, and rulings 'over of cases; the Law by this time had been al-'most like a ship without ballast; for that the cases 'of modern experience are fled from those that are 'adjudged and ruled in former time.' If we should cite all the commendations bestowed upon him by his learned successors in the profession, we might fill a small volume; and therefore it may be sufficient to produce the character entered of him by Sir George Croke, one of the Judges of the King's-Bench, in his Reports, which runs thus (119): 'Memorandum, 'in the Vacation, *viz.* in August 1634, William 'Noy, Attorney-General, died at his house at Brain-'ford, in the county of Middlesex; and Sir Edward 'Coke (who was Attorney-General to Queen Eliza-'beth, and to King James, and afterwards Chief 'Justice of the Common Bench, and then Chief 'Justice of the King's-Bench, and in 14 Jacobi dis-'charged of that place) died at his house in Stoke, 'in the county of Bucks, in September 1634, being 'a prudent, grave, and learned man in the Common 'Laws of this realm, and of a pious and virtuous 'life.' We will now produce a mixt character of him by an author very little inclined to flatter; speaking of him he says (120), 'Truly he was a man 'of excellent parts, but not without his frailties: For 'as he was a storehouse, and magazine of the Com-'mon-Law for the present times, and laid such a 'foundation for the future, that posterity may ever 'build on; so his passion and pride were so predomi-'nant, that, boiling over, he lost (by them) much of 'his own fullness, which extinguished not only the 'valuation, but respect to his merit; so often is a 'heat, that gives life to noble parts by a circular 'motion, the ruin of them.' Sir Henry Spelman, whose learning was so great, and his character so fair, that his commendation of any man might pass without dispute, in citing the opinion of our author, makes use of this extraordinary circumlocution, *That ever honourable Judge and Oracle of Law my Lord* Coke *himself* (121), which sufficiently shews his sentiments of him. After such writers as these, to cite, as might be easily done, many of lesser note, would be so far from adding to, that they might seem rather to diminish his reputation. But there were writers that spoke of him in a different manner. It is very true, and the reader shall hear who and what they were. The famous Parsons, the Jesuit, was one of the fiercest and the loudest (122); he charged him with murdering Father Campion and his companions, to gain credit with the Earl of Essex, in Queen Elizabeth's time; and serving Father Garnet, and his friends, in the same manner, in the days of her successor. But it is well known that these men died by the hand of the hangman for high-treason, and Sir Edward Coke only stated the proofs against them. Sir Anthony Welden (123) has bestowed his dirt pretty plentifully upon his character, which I hope has been already so well wiped off, as to leave little or no stain. The famous Mr. William Prynn (124), though he qualifies what he delivers with many strange compliments and forced civilities, yet bears hard enough upon him in many circumstances, though he knew very well, that the true reason of the imperfections of the book he criticized, was the death of the author before its publication, and either the ignorance or want of care in those who sent it to the press. The renowned philosopher of Malmesbury too Mr. Thomas Hobbes (125), was a great adversary to my Lord Coke, whom he corrects for his errors in Law, with the same air of superiority and sufficiency, that he did the Archbishop of Armagh in Divinity, and Dr. Wallis in Geometry, as being alike knowing, or to speak plainly, alike conceited in all things. As for any more censurers, I profess I cannot tell where to find them, unless I mention one Mr. Jeffs (126), who in the fifth year of King Charles I. delivered a paper to his Majesty, in which he complained of a judgment given by Sir Edward Coke, in the case of Magdalen College, which he affirmed to be treason, and styled him therein a traitor and a perjured Judge: for which he was convicted in the King's Bench, and was set on the pillory at Westminster and Cheapside; obliged to make submission in all the Courts, fined a thousand pounds to the King, and to find sureties for his good behaviour during life. Such were the friends and admirers, such the adversaries and censurers, of Sir Edward Coke; and which do him most honour, being unable to decide, I leave to the judgement of the reader. C.

(118) Camden. Britan. Iceni.

(119) Croke's Reports, vol. iii. p. 273.

(120) Wilson's Life and Death of King James, in the Compl. Hist. of England, vol. ii. p. 705.

(121) Spelman's Posthumous Works, p. 14.

(122) In his Preface to his Answer to the fifth Part of Coke's Reports.

(123) Court and Character of King James.

(124) In his Animadversions on the fourth Institute.

(125) A Dialogue between a Philosopher and a Student of the Common Laws of England, p. 56. 66. 96. 105.

(126) Croke's Reports, vol. iii. p. 125.

*** [The perspicuity, accuracy, and copiousness with which this article is written, are such as not to leave much room for addition and improvement. Contrary to what is suggested by Mr. Oldys, in note [*F*], it doth not appear that Sir Edward Coke was ever under obligations to the Earl of Essex, or had any connections with that Nobleman. It is evident, from what we have formerly seen (127), that the Earl opposed our Lawyer's promotion to the post of Attorney-General, and was solicitous to have Mr. Francis Bacon appointed to that office. On one occasion, Mr. Coke gave the highest provocation to the Earl of Essex. This was, by his endeavouring to deprive his Lordship's sister, the Countess of Northumberland, of her jointure by her first husband Sir Thomas Perrot. A courtier being desirous of reconciling the Earl of Essex, to the Attorney-General, Mr. Anthony Bacon was very averse to the reconciliation. In a letter to his great patron, he assured him, that his forgiving of the attorney would, besides giving offence to the Earl of Northumberland, his brother-in-law, not a little scandalize, not only the nobility and gentry, but the whole world, who had no hope of redressing Coke's intolerable insolency but by his Lordship's authority and wisdom (128).

(127) Biographia Britannica, vol. i. Second edition, p. 493. Note [*LL*].

(128) Birch's Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, vol. ii. p. 291.

The ferocity with which Sir Edward Coke treated the State Prisoners against whom he was officially called to plead, was undoubtedly a great blot in his character. It was carried to such a height, that it cannot admit of being palliated from the spirit of the times. It excited the odium of his contemporaries, and is one of the things for which he was severely reproached by Sir Francis Bacon, in the letter referred to, in the course of the article.

The distinguishing glory of Sir Edward Coke (his writings as a lawyer excepted) was his parliamentary conduct; especially in the latter part of his life; when he nobly stood up, in support of the constitution and liberties of his country. Indeed, his behaviour, in general, as a member of the House of Commons, from his first entrance into that House, appears to have been unexceptionable, and highly worthy of his cha-

Anne became the wife of Ralph Sadler, Eſq; ſon and heir of Sir Thomas Sadler; and Bridget was married to William Skinner, Eſq; ſon and heir of Sir Vincent Skinner (*i*). Of his ſeven ſons, Edward, the eldeſt, died an infant; Robert, his ſecond ſon, was knighted, and married Theophila, daughter to Thomas Lord Berkeley, by whom he left no iſſue, dying July 19, 1653, aged ſixty-ſeven (*k*). Arthur, the third ſon, married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir George Walgrave, by whom he had four daughters. John, the fourth ſon, was ſeated at Holkham, and married Meriel, the daughter of Anthony Wheatly, Eſq; by whom he had ſeven ſons, and as many daughters; but the inheritance deſcending to John, the youngeſt of them, and he dying unmarried, the eſtate came to the heirs of Henry Coke (*l*). This Henry, the fifth ſon, was ſeated at Thurrington, in Suffolk; and having eſpouſed Margaret, daughter and heireſs of Edward Lovelace, Eſq; left iſſue Richard Coke, Eſq; who, by Mary, daughter of Sir John Rous, Bart. left Robert Coke, Eſq; who by the death of John Coke, of Holkham before-mentioned, became poſſeſſed of that ſeat, and the greateſt part of the Lord Chief Juſtice Coke's eſtate (*m*). This Robert Coke, Eſq; married the Lady Anne Oſborne, daughter of Thomas, Duke of Leeds, by whom he had an only ſon, Edward Coke, Eſq; and dying January 16, 1679, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, was interred in the church of Tittleſhall, in Norfolk, where an elegant monument, with a ſuitable inſcription, was erected to his memory, by his widow, the Lady Anne Coke. The ſaid Edward Coke, his only ſon, married Carey, daughter of Sir John Newton, in the county

(*i*) Collins's Peerage, vol. iv. p. 355.

(*k*) See his monumental inſcription in Epſom Church, in the county of Surrey.

(*l*) Collins's Peerage, vol. iv. p. 355.

(*m*) See his monumental inſcription in Tittleſhall Church in Norfolk.

racter as a repreſentative of the people. The Engliſh are to this day greatly indebted to him for the active part he took in ſupporting and procuring the famous petition of right, which, after much ſtruggle, was confirmed by King Charles the Firſt, in the year 1628 (129). The ſpeeches which Sir Edward Coke made, at different times, and upon various occaſions, may be ſeen in the fourth and fifth, but eſpecially in the ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth volumes of the parliamentary hiſtory. In the parliaments which met from 1620, to his death, he exerted himſelf, with great vigour, in oppoſition to tyranny, and in defence of the rights of the ſubject. The ſpeeches delivered by him were not of the declamatory kind, but pithy and ſententious; and almoſt univerſally grounded upon legal precedents. Agreeable to this is an obſervation of Mr. Daines Barrington, that the late publication of the Journals of the Houſe of Commons ſhews, that Sir Edward Coke did not proſtitute his amazing knowledge of the municipal law to political purpoſes, as he generally argues in the ſame manner and from the ſame authorities which he cites in his "Inſtitutes (130)." We ſhall inſert one ſpecimen of his mode of ſpeaking, taken from the debate upon grievances, on the 22d of March, 1627-28. "*Dum tempus habemus, bonum operemur.* I am abſolutely for giving ſupply to his Majeſty; yet with ſome caution. To tell you of foreign dangers and inbred evils, I will not do it; the ſtate is inclinable to a conſumption, yet not incurable. I fear not foreign enemies; God ſend us peace at home. For this diſeaſe, I will propound remedies; I will ſeek nothing out of my own head, but from my heart; and out of acts of parliament. I am not able to fly at all grievances, but only at loans. Let us not flatter ourſelves. Who will give ſubſidies, if the King may impoſe what he will? And if, after parliament, the King may enhance what he pleaſeth? I know the King will not do it. I know he is a religious King, free from perſonal vices; but he deals with other men's hands, and ſees with other men's eyes. Will any give a ſubſidy, if they are to be taxed, after parliament, at pleaſure? The King cannot lawfully tax any by way of loans. I differ from them, who would have this of loans go amongſt grievances; for I would have it go alone."

(129) Parliamentary Hiſtory, vol. viii. p. 202, 203.

(130) Granger's Biographical Hiſt. vol. p. 389. Octavo edition.

"I'll begin with a noble record: it chears me to think of it, 26 Edward III. It is worthy to be written in letters of gold: *Loans againſt the will of the ſubject, are againſt reaſon, and the franchiſes of the land; and they deſire reſtitution.* What a word is that franchiſe? The Lord may tax his villain high or low, but it is againſt the franchiſes of the land, for freemen to be taxed, but by their conſent in parliament. Franchiſe is a *French* word, and in *Latin* it is *Libertas.* In *Magna Charta* it is provided, that, *nullus liber homo capiatur, vel impriſonetur, aut diſſeiſetur de libero tenemento ſuo, &c. niſi per legale judicium parium ſuorum, vel per legem terræ:* This charter hath been confirmed by ſundry good Kings, above thirty times (131)."

(131) Parliamentary Hiſt. vol. vii. p. 371, 372.

Mr. Mainwaring, in the Notes to his Diſſertation on the Compoſition of Sermons, has made ſome ſtrictures on Sir Edward Coke's pedantry. This gentleman, who obſerves, that Lord Coke boaſts, with a ſort of triumph, that he has quoted Virgil three hundred times, has produced a few ſpecimens, in order to enable the reader to judge how far the knotty points, and nice diſtinctions of our common law were rendered more clear to Sir Edward's Auditors by referring ſo frequently to the Roman Poet; and to ſhew the taſte of the age, as well as the claſſic ſpirit of the noble lawyer. Mr. Mainwaring has concluded his remarks with the following character of Sir Edward Coke, in which praiſe and diſpraiſe are diſtributed with an impartial hand. "Lord Coke, however, in the knowledge of the common law, ſtands almoſt unrivalled: but *there* his knowledge ended; and though it was the only ſcience he was acquainted with, it ſeems to have been the only one which he did not value himſelf for underſtanding. The reader, I believe, will not be offended, if I forget my ſubject a moment longer in obſerving the farther peculiarities of this extraordinary perſon. In his public character, what ſtrange contradiction! At Sir Walter Raleigh's trial how baſe and ſhameful was his conduct! how diſgraceful to his profeſſion, and to human nature itſelf! He did not behave himſelf (to uſe the poor priſoner's words) as became a gentleman, or a man. At the trial of Eſſex and Southampton the ſtrain of his adulation is horrid: he extols the clemency of her Majeſty towards the conſpirators, becauſe none of them were put to the rack or torture; though he well knew, and it now appears from his works, that it would have been againſt law, and could not be juſtified by uſage.—And yet, on other occaſions, this ſame man could look prerogative in the face with the moſt undaunted ſpirit. This he did before his diſgrace; and after he had been taught moderation in the ſchool of adverſity, in many inſtances he ſhewed himſelf a warm and zealous aſſertor of the conſtitution (132)."

(132) Mainwaring's Diſſertation, prefixed to his Sermons on ſeveral Occaſions, p. lxxv—lxxx.

Mr. Gutch, in his Collectanea Curioſa, hath publiſhed a ſhort diſcourſe of Sir Edward Coke's, concerning the unlawfulneſs of private combats, written at the requeſt of Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton. Nothing can be more clearly made out, than that ſuch combats are contrary to every principle and rule of the common law of England (133). But arguments of this kind will be of no effect, ſo long as the preſent notions, with regard to what conſtitutes honour and diſgrace, are entertained by gentlemen in general, and by military characters in particular. The practice of duelling can only be aboliſhed by introducing a new ſet of ideas and feelings into the minds of men; and that, perhaps, is beyond the ability of the wiſeſt legiſlator to accompliſh.] K.

(133) Collectanea Curioſa, vol. i. p. 9—12.

of Glouceſter, Bart. He died on the 13th of April, 1707, and ſhe ſurvived him but a ſhort time, deceaſing on the 4th of Auguſt following, and were both buried at Tittleſhall in Norfolk. They had iſſue three ſons and two daughters. THOMAS; Edward Coke, of Longford, in the county of Derby, Eſq; who dying at his ſeat at Longford, in Auguſt, 1733, unmarried, left his eſtate to his youngeſt brother, Robert Coke, who was Vice-Chamberlain to the late Queen Caroline; and in June, 1737, married the Lady Jane, eldeſt ſiſter and coheir of Philip, late Duke of Wharton, and relict of John Holt, of Redgrave, in Suffolk, Eſq. The two daughters were, Carey, wife of Sir Marmaduke Wyvill, of Conſtable-Burton, in the county of York, Bart. and Anne, married to Philip Roberts, Eſq; Major of the ſecond troop of horſe-guards. Thomas Coke, Eſq; the eldeſt ſon and heir of the family, having diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the ſervice of his country, by his conſtant attendance in Parliament, was, on the 27th of May, 1725, upon the revival of the Order of the Bath, appointed by his late Majeſty King George I. one of the Knights-Companions, and ſo inſtalled at Weſtminſter; after which his late Majeſty, in the firſt year of his reign, *viz.* on the 28th of May, 1728, was graciouſly pleaſed, in conſideration of the merits of Sir Thomas Coke, and of the ſervices rendered by himſelf and his family to the crown, to raiſe him to the dignity of a Peer of this realm, by the ſtyle and title of Baron Lovell, of Minſter Lovell, in the county of Oxford. In 1733, his Lordſhip was conſtituted Poſt-Maſter-General of Great-Britain and Ireland, jointly with the Honourable Edward Carteret, Eſq; which employment he afterwards held with Sir John Eyles, Bart. and with Sir Everard Fawkner, Knt. (*n*). In 1747, his late Majeſty, as a farther mark of his royal favour, was pleaſed to raiſe his Lordſhip to the ſuperior title of Viſcount Coke, and Earl of Leiceſter. His Lordſhip married, July 2, 1718, Lady Margaret Tufton, one of the daughters and coheireſſes of Thomas Earl of Thanet, to whom his Majeſty confirmed the right ſhe had, by deſcent, to the antient barony of Clifford, by whom he had an only ſon Edward, Lord Viſcount Coke, married to Lady Mary Campbell, daughter of the late Field-Marſhal Duke of Argyle, and who died before his father. Clement Coke, Eſq; youngeſt ſurviving ſon of the Chief Juſtice, married Sarah, daughter of Alexander Rediſh, Eſq; of an ancient family in Lancaſhire, by whom he had two ſons and two daughters (*o*); but his poſterity became extinct in 1727. Thomas, the ſeventh ſon of Sir Edward Coke, died in his infancy. By his ſecond wife, Lady Elizabeth, daughter to Thomas Earl of Exeter, Sir Edward Coke had two daughters (*p*): Elizabeth, who died unmarried; and Frances, the wife of John, Viſcount Purbeck, by whom ſhe had no iſſue.

(*n*) Collins's Peerage, vol. iv. p. 356.

(*o*) See his monumental inſcription in the Temple Church.

(*p*) Collins's Peerage, vol. iv. p. 355.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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